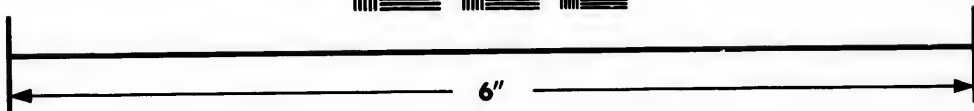
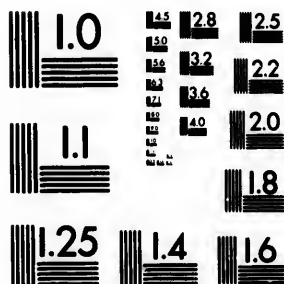


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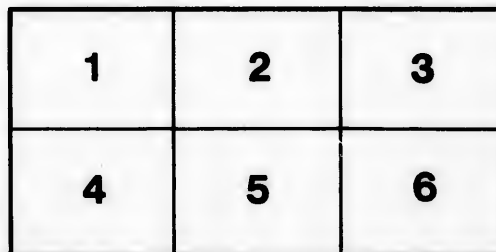
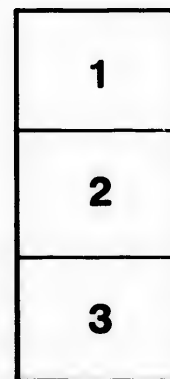
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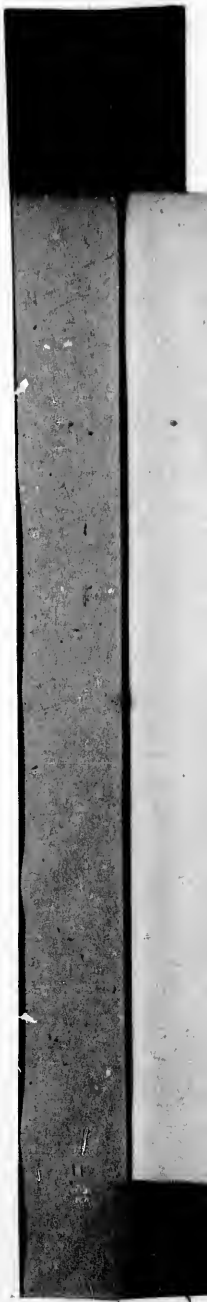
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French Memorial

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Moreau, Jacob Nicolas

Memoire contenant le précis des faits de 1755

MEMORIAL

CONTAINING

A summary View of FACTS,

WITH THEIR

AUTHORITIES.

IN

Washington's journal
pp. 70-96

ANSWER

TO

The OBSERVATIONS

Sent by the English MINISTRY

TO

The Courts of EUROPE.

Jacob Nicolas Moreau.

Translated from the French.

NEW-YORK:

Printed and Sold by H. GAINE, at the Printing-Office
at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square, 1757.

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Great Britain, May 19/22



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R E A D E R.

*T*HE Public have been already informed, that the three French Volumes, of which the following is a Translation, were found in a French Prize taken and brought into NEW-YORK: Their Authenticity cannot be suspected, as they were published at the Royal-Office, and, consequently, by Order of the French King.

It is thought that a Publication of them might be of Service, as well to discover the vile Misrepresentation of Facts of which the French have been guilty, as to make known the Falsity of their Pretensions to Countries to which they have not the least Shadow of Right or Claim.

As

As to the Translation itself, it is as literal as the different Idioms of the two Languages would permit. In a Work of this Nature Correctness rather than Elegance ought to be studied, and the Reader would be willing to dispense with the Beauties of Expression, provided he has but a just and clear Account of Facts.

The TRANSLATOR begs leave to make use of this Opportunity publicly to acknowledge the Obligations he is under to these YOUNG GENTLEMEN, who so generously favoured him with their Assistance in this Work; and to assure them, that he will ever entertain the most grateful Sense of the Favours they have conferred upon him.



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MEMORIAL, &c.

HIS *Britannic* Majesty hath caused to be sent to most of the Courts of *Europe*, a Pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on the Memorial of *France*, with an Intention to confute the Reasons upon which the King hath founded his Requisition of the 21st of *December* last, and thereby to justify the Refusal made by *England*, of restoring to *France* her Vessels taken in full Peace."

A Refusal so inconsistent both with that natural Justice which constitutes the Law of Nations, as well as those pacific Views to which his *Britannic* Majesty hath always professed an invariable Adherence, could admit of no Colour, but the Imputation of Hostilities to *France*, antecedent to those Captures. To weaken the Impression, which the Outrages committed by the *English* Navy for a Year past, must make on the Powers abroad, it was necessary to be proved, or at least maintained, that the *French* were the Aggressors: Such accordingly is the principal Fact advanced in these Observations. They are intended to evince, that the *French* have committed Hostilities in *America*, which have obliged the Court of *London*, to seek Redress by just Reprisals.

To these Imputations, the Court of *France* will only oppose the most simple View of what has passed between the two Nations, whether in *Europe* or *America*, since the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The Sovereigns have for Judges, the Age in which they live, and Posterity: It is the Province of impartial History alone, to arraign their Conduct, as it alone can defend them.

To put the Recital of such important Facts beyond the Power of Censure, nothing shall be advanced which is not
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either confessed by both Courts, or proved by authentic and incontestible Pieces. Those which were found in the Cabinet of General *Braddock*, after the Engagement which cost him his Life, have given such Lights into the Plan of the Court of *London*, as were not intended for public View, till after having try'd all possible Ways, sparing the *English* Ministry the Mortification of seeing their System-unvailed.

By the Treaty of *Utrecht*, *France* had added to *England*, *Nova-Scotia*, or *Acadia*, according to its ancient Limits, as also the Town of *Port-Royal*. It is probable, that at that Time, the Ministry of *Great-Britain* had nearly the same Idea of *Acadia*, properly so called, as had ever been entertain'd in *France*; but certain it is, that at that Time they had never dreamt of extending this Province as far as the Southern Banks of the River *St. Lawrence*.

Accordingly the *French* settled upon the River *St. John*, all along the Coast of the *Etchemins*, and from that Coast as far as the River *St. Lawrence*; even the Inhabitants of *Minas*, in the-Neighbourhood of the *Isthmus*, and the other Countries nearest to that which had been ceded to *Great-Britain*, found no Change in their Condition, or in their Possessions. The *English* neither attempted to drive them out of the Country, nor to oblige them to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *England*.

These Inhabitants continued peaceably to enjoy their Estates under the Protection of the King, whom they had never ceased to regard as their lawful Sovereign.

From the Year 1744 until 1748, the Scene of War was opened in *America*, as it had already been in *Europe*; but the Object of it there was no other than that which had already divided the Powers on the old Continent. There was then no Question about the Limits of the respective States, nor about the Interpretation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*; the Sense of which, clear in itself, seemed the more fixed by the peaceable Possession of both Nations. Thus, by the fifth Article of the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, it was thought sufficient to stipulate a Restitution of all

all that one Nation might have gained by Conquest upon any of its Neighbours since the Beginning of the War. Nobody thought of going as far back as the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and by the *ninth Article*, it was agreed, That all Things should be restored to the same State as they were, or ought to have been in, not in 1713, but before the present War.

It was immediately upon the Back of this Peace, that the Court of *London* formed the Plan of several new Settlements; in which they consulted rather the Interest of their own Commerce, than the Articles of those Treaties which were renewed by that of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The Settlements were proclaimed in all their *Gazettes*. It was then proposed to carry as far as the River *St. Lawrence*, such Settlements as should have been formed on the Coast of *Acadia*; and those projected towards *Hudson's-Bay*, were not to be confined by any Limits.

The Rumour of these Preparations, and the Importance of the Project which they threatned, roused the Attention of the King. He set forth his Claims in a Memorial, which he caused to be sent to the Court of *London*, in the Month of *June*, 1749, and proposed the Nomination of Commissaries in Behalf of both Nations, who should fix in an amicable Way, the Boundaries of their respective Colonies. This Proposal was accepted; and in the Memorial of the Month of *July*, 1749, by which his *Britannic Majesty* consented to the Nomination of these Commissaries; he declared;

1st. That there was no Design of any Project on the Side of *Hudson's-Bay*. 2^d. That he had sent effectual Orders forbidding any Attempt either towards *Nova-Scotia*, or *Hudson's-Bay*, against the Possessions or Commerce of the Subjects of his Most Christian Majesty. 3^{dly}. That he had not given any Orders for forming Settlements in that Part of *Nova-Scotia* to which *France* had formed any Pretensions.

The Settlement of *Halifax*, which had engaged the Attention of *England* at that Time, seemed in some Measure

sure, to avouch the Sincerity of this Declaration. The Government of *France* could take no Alarms from Supplies which seem'd only destined for this rising City. It is built on the Coast of *Acadia*, at the Mouth of the Bay of *Chibouctou*.

One of the principal Stipulations which accompanied the Nomination of Commissaries, was, that the Countries upon which they were to decide should suffer no Alteration in the mean Time. This Stipulation was a Consequence of the Declaration express'd in the Memorial of the Court of *London*. Thus the *French* continued to possess all the Land which they had constantly inhabited ever since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, whether between *French Bay* [*Bay of Funda*] and the River *St. Lawrence*, or in the Peninsula itself, from *Minas*, as far as the *Isthmus*, and from the *Isthmus* to the Bay of *Chedabouctou*. As to the Banks of *Belle Riviere (Ohio)* and the Countries situated to the West of the *Apalachian Mountains*; the *English* had never had any Forts or Trading-Houses there. The Court of *London* had not even conceived any Project of an Establishment on that Side, and there was no Mention of that Country, neither in the Negotiations which preceded the Treaty of *Utrecht*, nor in those which paved the Way for the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

The Appointment of Commissaries, and the mutual Engagement which had preceded this Appointment, gave room to think, that the Court of *London*, would send to the Governors of the *English Colonies in America*, Orders conformable to the Measures taken in *Europe*. Nothing more nearly concern'd the Tranquility of the two Nations, than to put an early Stop to those little Dissensions, which might, in the Sequel, occasion Differences of most serious Import. We shall pass over lightly, those Broils which happened before the Nomination of Commissaries.

Mr. *Mascarens*, *English* Commandant, had intended to force the *French* Inhabitants of *St. John's River*, to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *England*. Intimidated by his Threats, they apply'd to Count *De la Galissoniere*,

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who to remove their Fright, sent them an Officer with a
small Detachment of Soldiers and *Canadian* Militia. *M. de
la Galissoniere* afterwards writ to *M. Mascarens*, not only to
complain of the Attempt, but also to engage him to forbear
those Hostilities, which the *English* had continued against
the *Abenakis*, notwithstanding their having laid down their
Arms, by Order of the *French* their Allies, from the very first
Intelligence of the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. These Com-
plaints laid the Foundation of a very spirited Correspond-
ence, which lasted for some Time between the *Marquis
de la Jonquiere* and *M. Cornwallis*, the former of whom
had replaced the Count *de la Galissoniere*, and the latter
M. Mascarens, in 1749. It was taken for granted in
Europe, that an End had been put to these Altercations,
by the Orders which the Court of *London* declared, in the
strongest Terms, had been sent to the Governors of the
English Colonies, in Consequence of the Appointment of
Commissaries.

But the Troubles were renewed as soon as Governor
Cornwallis thought himself in a Capacity to act without
reserve. There were sent him from *England* some Troops,
new Colonists, Arms and Ammunition; whereupon he
immediately attempted to drive the *French* out of that
Country, against which his *Britannic* Majesty had given
Assurance nothing should be enterprised until the Com-
missaries had come to a Determination.

The first Outrages were committed against the King's
Subjects settled along the North Side of the Peninsula.
The Design of the *English* Governor was to force them
to withdraw, in order to make room for his new Colo-
nists. The most of the *French* Families accordingly were
obliged to abandon their Possessions in the Peninsula, and
flee to seek refuge in other Parts of *New-France*.

Encouraged by this Success, Mr. *Cornwallis* had a
Mind to treat in the same Manner the *French* that were
settled without the Peninsula, on the Rivers that empty
themselves either into the *French-Bay*, or into the Gulf
of *St. Lawrence*. Those being continually exposed to the

§ The Bay of *Pundy*.

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most cruel Treatment, having already suffered Wrongs and Outrages innumerable, thought they had a right to demand of the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* that Protection which his Majesty owes to all his Subjects. The *Marquis de la Jonquiere* sent them a small Detachment of Soldiers and Militia, under the Command of an Officer, to whom he gave particular Orders, not to attempt any Thing against the *English*; but only to prevent their making any Settlement on the Lands in the Possession of *France*; and, above all, not to erect any Sort of Fortification himself. Nay further, the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* took care to acquaint Mr. *Cornwallis* of the Step he had taken, his Reasons for so doing, and the Orders he had given to that Detachment.

Mr. *Cornwallis* complained of that as an Encroachment; but as the Orders of the Governors of *New-France* were strictly observed, the Dispute went no further. *

A little after this, two Things happened which occasioned mutual Complaints, and in which the two Courts warmly interested themselves.

Mr. *Cornwallis* complained of the Cruelty with which the *Abenakis* Savages treated the *English* that fell into their Hands. These Outrages he imputed to the Suggestions of the *French*; and the Orders of the *Marquis de la Jonquiere*. The *Marquis* fully justified himself from that reproach; and indeed the *Abenakis* had only gratified their private resentment. After the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* the *Indians* at the request of the *French* Governor had ceased all Hostilities, but the *English* would never look on them as comprehended in the general Peace, but still continued to pursue them. Provoked at this, the *Indians* revenged their private Injuries; and so far was the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* from encouraging them, that he only sought how to calm their Fury. The Court of *London* seemed satisfied with the Explications of the Matter that were sent to it, and nothing farther was moved in that Affair.

* See No. 8.

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The other Affair was more important in itself, and more dangerous in its Consequences. Some Months ago the *English* intercepted all the *French* Vessels which were carrying Provisions from *Quebec*, either for the Support of the Troops posted on the Frontiers of *Canada*, or for customary Presents, which the *French* every Year make the *Indians* in their Alliance. They seized opposite to the Island *St. John*, a Vessel from *Quebec*, called the *London*, which having carried Ammunition to *Chedaic* †, was returning empty. Some Time after they attacked, and took in the Mouth of the *French Bay*, a Sloop of War, called the *Saint Francois*, commanded by a King's Officer, and having under its Convoy a Schooner laden with Provisions and Ammunition for the Detachments on the River *St. John*. These Captures, and the Plundering of some other Vessels, were the Subject of Complaints addressed to the Court of *London*. And as no Satisfaction was made to *France*, the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* thought he had a right to make reprisals, and accordingly ordered three or four *English* Vessels to be seized and confiscated.

These Hostilities on the Sea, in which you will please to observe, the *English* were always the Aggressors, were accompanied with several Enterpriises against those Countries, in which according to Agreement, no Innovations were to have been made. In the Month of *April*, 1750, General *Cornwallis* sent Major *Lawrence* on an Expedition against the *French* Forts on the Continent, which were commanded by the Chevalier de *Lacorne*. The Design of that Armament was inserted in the *Boston* Gazette in *New-England*, and was looked on as an Hostility on the Part of the Governor. The same Year, in the Month of *August*, there were Letters printed in *London* to this Effect: General *Cornwallis* hath not confined himself to his Orders; but having built a Fort at *Minas*, hath endeavoured to penetrate into the Continent, and to secure Success to his Designs, hath ordered a considerable Fortification to be raised at a Place called *Chignitou*, or *Brau-bassin*, situated on the Isthmus, and at the Head of

† See N^o. 3.

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the *French* Bay. These Places were certainly in the Number of those the Property of which was the Subject of Arbitration.

The *French* Officers, in order to protect the Countries they were in Possession of, against an Invasion so openly avowed, were obliged to erect in their Turn two little Forts, one opposite to *Beau-bassin*, at a Place called *Beau-sejour*; the other at *Gaspereaux*, on the Bay of *Verte*, to serve as a Magazine for the first, and to secure Provisions for it by the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*.

What passed at the building of *Beau-bassin*, shewed the Necessity of these two Forts, which were designed for a Security to the Continent. For General *Cornwallis* had marched some Troops with some Pieces of Cannon against the Inhabitants of the Isthmus, who being terrified, set Fire to their Habitations, and betook themselves to Flight. What is very singular; the *English* General, who had reduced the *French* and their *Indian* Allies to that cruel Extremity, had the Assurance to complain of an Hostility on their Part; an Hostility indeed of a new Kind, and which, as it appears, consisted only in abandoning their own Country upon being invaded * by powerful Strangers. These Complaints therefore of Mr. *Cornwallis* only produced a clearing up of the Matter, which ought to convince the King of *England* of the regular Proceedings of the Court of *France*, and the earnest Desire it had to preserve Peace.

The Consequence of that Explication was a formal Declaration, in which his *Britannic* Majesty assures the King, that he had sent new Orders to attempt nothing. The King, on his Part, repeated the Orders he had already sent to the *Marquis de la Jonquiere*.

Whether the Court of *London* actually took any Measures to prevent General *Cornwallis* from going any farther, or whether the Vigilance with which the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* provided against a Surprize, put a Stop to the Proceedings of the *English*, they made no more Attempts on that Side, but kept themselves within their

* See N^o. 4.

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Forts at *Minas* and *Beau-bassin*: And the *French* remained quiet in those of *Beau-sejour* and *Gaspereaux*. From the Year 1751, to the Expedition in 1755, of which we shall give an Account in the Sequel, that Part of *New-France* suffered nothing from the Neighbourhood of the *English* Colonies. A good Understanding seemed again to be re-established, so that to put an End to the frequent Desertions on that Frontier, the *Marquis du Quesne*, the Successor of the *Marquis de la Jonquiere*, and Mr. *Hobson*, who succeeded General *Cornwallis*, agreed to a Cartel, which was strictly observed from 1752, till last Year.

But if Tranquility seemed to be re-established on the Side of *Acadia*, Enterprizes and Hostilities were multiplied on another Side, in which the Preservation of *Canada* was not less concerned. To fix the Origin and Date of these Troubles, it is necessary to go back a little farther than the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

The *Ohio*, or *La belle Riviere*, as it is sometimes called, forms a natural Communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*, by the Lake *Erie*, the *French* being concerned both to discover and preserve that Communication, were the First that traced out the whole Course of that River, part of which was visited by *M. de la Salle*, a Gentleman of *Normandy*, in the Year 1679. In 1712, the King in his Letters Patent for the Settling of *Louisiana*, comprehended the River *Wabash*, which empties itself into the *Ohio*, and in general all the Rivers that fall into the *Mississippi*. Since that Time, the *Ohio* has never been frequented by any but the *French*; nor did the *English* ever make any Pretensions to the Lands watered by it. The *Apalachian* Mountains have always been looked on as the Bounds of their Colonies.

The *English* Ministry, who neglected no Means of lessening the Trade of *France*, had for some Time past envied it that advantageous Communication. In 1749 some *English* Traders began a contraband Trade on that River; and it was discovered that they privately stirred up the *Indians* to a War with the *French*. Whereupon
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the Count *de la Galissoniere* sent thither *M. Celeron*, an Officer from *Canada*, with Orders, not to use any Violence against those strange Traders; but only to enjoin them to withdraw, and, in Case of their obstinate Continuance, to seize their Goods. That Enjoinment had all the Effects that could be desired: The *English* Traders were obliged to remove, and were strictly charged never to return thither. *M. Celeron* also, upon some of the Traders producing their Commissions from the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, gave them a Letter for him; and in it he acquainted the Governor of what had passed, and prayed him not only not to grant any such Commissions for the Future, but also to put a Stop to that contraband Trade which was carried on by the *English* of his Government, on the Lands of the King.

M. Celeron was no sooner gone from *le Belle Riviere*, than the *English* Traders returned in Crouds. They had Orders from the Government to excite the *Indians* to take up Arms against *France*, nay, they even brought them Arms and Ammunition. In 1750 the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* was obliged again to send different Detachments, always with the same Orders, not to use any Violence against the *English*, and to keep in Awe the *Indians* that had revolted. Accordingly they were used with all Gentleness: However to prevent the Progress of that contraband Trade, it was thought necessary to seize four *English* Traders, who in Spite of the Prohibition continued the Trade, and who heretofore had been very much suspected of having endeavoured to make the *Indians* revolt. They were conducted to *Canada*: The *Marquis de la Jonquiere* himself questioned them, and their Answers † convinced him of the Certainty of the Advice he had received. It was proved that the Governor of *Pennsylvania* had actually sent Arms and Ammunition and other Presents to the *Indians* to excite them to a War. Hereupon the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* without Hesitation sent these four *English* Men to *France*, and they were kept some time Prisoners at *Rochelle*. My Lord *Albemarle*, who was then *English*

† See N^o. 3.

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Embassador, and to whom they applied for Protection, solicited their Liberty, without complaining of the Reason for which they were deprived of it. The King ordered them to be discharged, and some Money also to be given them: For which my Lord *Albemarle* thanked the Superintendent of the Marine, as for a personal Favour.

The Moderation with which the *French* had conducted themselves, served to embolden the *Indians* on *Ohio* inso- much that there was room to fear a general Conspiracy of those People, to whom the *English* had promised all kinds of Succour. Nevertheless the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* did no more in 1751 than he had done in 1750, but the Detachments that were sent discovered that Things were in a very great Ferment, the ill Effects of which it was absolutely necessary to prevent with all Expedition. The Governor of *Canada* convinced that the Colony was threatened with an Invasion of *Indians*, was preparing to march a more considerable Body of Troops in order to keep them in Awe, when he died in the Month of *March* 1752.

The *Marquis du Quesne* his Successor arrived at *Quebec* some Months after. Finding the Colony in the greatest Alarm, he made all hast to carry into Execution the Designs of the *Marquis de la Jonquiere*; but several Things having retarded the March of the Detachments, all that *M. de Saint Pierre*, who had the Command of it, could do, was to erect at a small Distance from *Lake Erie*, a Blockhouse, in which he passed the Winter, from 1753 to 1754.

There he remained quiet till the Month of *October* 1753, when he received a Letter from the Governor of *Virginia*, summoning him to withdraw. To this he only answer'd, that he was on *French* Ground, and by the Order of his General, to whom he was going to dispatch that Summons †. As to the rest of his Conduct, he treated with all Politeness the *English* Officer who brought him the Letter. The

† The Governor's Letter, and *M. de Saint Pierre's* Answer, were sometime ago inserted in the public News Papers in *London*.

The *Marquis du Quesne* at the same Time that he was informed of this Step of the Governor of *Virginia*, received Advice from all Parts of the Preparations the *English* Colonies were making to attack the *French*, under Pretence of succouring the *Indians*. These Preparations were approved of by the Court of *London*, in as much as they were published in all the *English* Gazettes since that Time, even to the Harangues by which the Governors of *New-England* and *Virginia* laboured to engage the *Indians* to a War with the *French*.

The *English* had already passed the *Apalachian Mountains* with an Army and some Pieces of Cannon, when *M. de Contiecaur*, who had taken the Command of that Detachment, which formerly belonged to *M. de St. Pierre*, advanced in the Spring of the Year 1754, with five or six Hundred Men, towards the *Obia*. He found the *English* actually entrenched in a little Fort which they had built between the *Obia* and *Riviere le Beuf*, [*French* Creek]. They did not exceed Fifty in Number, and were commanded by *Capt. Trent*. They were summoned to depart immediately out of the Lands belonging to *France*. They obeyed, and quietly evacuated their Fort; they also prayed *M. de Contiecaur* to give them some Provisions, which they were in want of: He ordered them a plentiful Supply, and destroyed their Fort.

Having continued his March to the *Obia*, he found on its Banks the Traces of a Fort which the *English* intended to build, but which they had no doubt abandoned at the News of his Approach; there he settled and fortified himself. As they were working at the Entrenchments of that Fortification, which they called *Fort du Quesne*, *M. de Contiecaur* was informed that a considerable Body of Forces was marching towards him. Hereupon he charged *M. de Jumonville*, with a written Summons, in Form of a Letter, directed to the first *English* Officer he should meet: † It was dated the 23d of *May*, 1754, and was almost of the same Tenor with the Summons before sent to *Captain Trent*. He assured the

† See N^o 7.

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English that no Violence would be offered them, and furthermore, desired the *English* Commander to return his Answer by *M. de Jumonville*, and to treat that Officer with that Distinction and Respect which he deserved.

That Deputy set out with an Escort of Thirty Men, and the next Morning found himself surrounded by a Number of *English* and *Indians*: The *English* quickly fired two Volleys, which killed some Soldiers. *M. de Jumonville* made a Sign that he had a Letter from his Commander; hereupon the Fire ceased, and they surrounded the *French* Officer, in order to hear it. He immediately ordered the Summons to be read, and, as it was reading the second Time, the *English* assassinated him. The rest of the *French* that escorted him were, upon the Spot, made Prisoners of War. The only one who escaped, and who gave *M. de Contiecaur* a circumstantial Account of that Affair, assured him, that the *Indians* who were with the *English*, had not fired a Gun; and that at the Instant *M. de Jumonville* was assassinated, they threw themselves in between the *French* and their Enemies.

That Murder produced an Effect in the Minds of the *Indians*, which Major *Washington*, who was at the Head of that *English* Detachment, did not in the least expect. Even those, who, by the Suggestions of the *English*, had been most animated against the *French*, came and offer'd to go themselves and revenge that Crime.

The Marquis *du Quesne* would not accept the Offer of a Nation always cruel in their Vengeance. He imagined at first, that the *English* would disavow the Fact, and throw it upon the Fierceness of some Traders; but it has been since proved that nothing was done but by the Orders of the Governors of the *English* Colonies. (We have the original Journal of Major *Washington*, from which it is apparent that what he did, was by Virtue of express Orders which he had received. It was a Thing before agreed upon, to attack the *French* wherever they could be met with.

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As the *English* made no Satisfaction to M. *Contieœur*, he, upon receiving Instructions from the Marquis *du Quesne*, endeavoured to discover the Place where the Murderers had retired to. He was informed that Major *Washington*, with his Detachment, was in a little Fort which the *English* had built, and called Fort *Necessity*, where he waited the Arrival of some new Troops that were destined to come and attack Fort *du Quesne*. He thereupon sent out a Detachment to recover, if possible, the *French* Prisoners, or at least to oblige the *English* to withdraw from the Lands belonging to the *French*. M. *de Villiers*, the Brother of M. *de Jumonville*, was charged with that Commission, and the Instructions given him were entirely confined to that. He was also expressly commanded, not to use any Violence, if the *English* would withdraw.

He left Fort *du Quesne* the 28th of *June*, and having passed the Place where the Murder was committed, and where the Bodies of the *French* still lay; he arrived the third of *July*, in Sight of Fort *Necessity*. The *English*, who were without the Fort, fired a Volley, and retired into it. The Fort was immediately invested, and attacked: The Fire was very hot, but M. *Villiers* put a Stop to it about eight o'Clock at Night, in order to propose to the *English* a Surrender, to avoid an Assault, which would have exposed them to all the Cruelties of the *Indians*, even in Spight of the *French*. The Proposal was accepted, and the Capitulation drawn up. The *French* would not make them Prisoners, because they did not look on themselves as at War. They only demanded, that those who escorted M. *Jumonville* should be returned. Major *Washington* engaged to send them to Fort *du Quesne*, and gave Hostages for the Performance of his Promise. In fine, the *English* were suffered to depart with one Piece of Cannon, and all their Effects. § They themselves acknowledged, in the first Article of that Capitulation, that the Design of the *French* was only to revenge the Assassination of a *French* Officer, the Carrier of a Summons. The Capitulation

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pitulation being signed, and the Fort evacuated, the French destroyed it, and returned to Fort du Quesne, with the two Hostages.

But that Agreement, to which seven or eight Hundred Englishmen owed their Lives; was by no Means executed on their Part. The Prisoners were never sent back to Fort du Quesne: Out of twenty that were taken, seven have been sent to England, where they arrived separately, after having suffer'd the most unworthy Treatment. Upon their Arrival, they implored the Assistance of the Duke de Mirepoix, who sent them over to France at the Expence of the King; what is become of the rest, we are altogether ignorant.

Perhaps the Motive which induced the English to detain the Prisoners, was a Piece of Cunning on their Part. The French would have made no Hesitation in sending back the Hostages immediately; but these had their Orders, and their Stay at Fort du Quesne was too advantageous for the English to think of having them removed.

These Hostages named, the one Jacob Ambrane, and the other Robert Stobo, were two very crafty Spies, and found Means to carry on a Correspondence with the English Generals. There were found among the Papers which fell into the Hands of the French after the Battle of the 9th of July, 1755, the Letters which Robert Stobo, one of the Hostages, had written to Major Washington. † That of the 28th of July, to which is annexed, an exact Plan of Fort du Quesne, which he had himself drawn, deserves, above all, a careful Perusal. In it that Spy gives a very just Account of the Situat on the French were then in, their Number, and their Forces: He shews both the Time when the English might attack the Fort, and the surest Way to make themselves Masters of it: But what is particularly to be remarked in that Letter, is, that notwithstanding that Englishman seemed to be animated with Fury against the French, yet he is obliged to do Justice to their peaceable Dispositions.

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† See No. 10, p 104

The *English* were quite of a different Temper : Major *Washington* did not dare to attempt any Thing, because he had not Forces enough ; but from that Time all the *English* Colonies were in Motion to execute the Plan of a general Invasion, formed and sent from *London*, at a Time when the Commissaries of the *English* Nation at *Paris*, seemed to have nothing more at Heart, than to concur with those of the King in settling a Plan of Agreement:

The Facts which I am now going to relate, deserve a very serious Attention. It is with regret they are published: but the Interest of Truth requires it; besides, it is necessary that *Europe*, which is threatened with a bloody War, should at length know the true Authors of a Rupture, the Consequences of which cannot but be fatal.

On the 28th of *August*, 1753, the King of *Great-Britain* sent the several Governors of the *English* Colonies Orders respecting the Manner in which they ought to conduct themselves with regard to the *French*. As we have not the Orders, we can only judge of their Contents, by the Behaviour of the *English*. From the Instructions of his *Britannic* Majesty, found among the Papers of General *Braddock*, we learn, that he exhorted the Governors to unite their Endeavours for carrying into Execution a studied and preconcerted Plan.

On the 3d of *July*, 1754, his *Britannic* Majesty gave new Orders for the Execution of which, he sent the Governor of *Virginia* ten thousand Pounds Sterling, with Liberty to draw on *England* for ten thousand Pounds more.

On the 25th and 26th of *October*, 1754, and on the 4th of *November* of the same Year, the King of *England* wrote to the Governors of the *English* Colonies other Letters, which contained Schemes of military Operations, since one of the Instructions given the 25th of *November* 1754, to General *Braddock*, is, to consult those Letters and to act agreeable thereto.

All this could not be the Effect or Consequence of the Quarrels that happened at the *Ohio*: For it was impossible that the News of them could have yet reached *London*.

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Here then is a Plan formed, and Operations commenced. But what those Operations were, it is of Importance to examine.

In the Month of *September, 1754*, Colonel *Braddock* was nominated by his *Britannic Majesty*, General of all the Forces that were, or that should be sent to *North-America*. Immediately the Troops prepared to embark in *Ireland*, which alarmed *France*. We shall see presently whether there was any Foundation for Mistrust.

Commodore *Keppel* was appointed to command the Fleet, which was to favour the Attempts they had determined to make by Land; and when the Vessels were just ready to set Sail, the King caused to be drawn up and signed at *St. James's*, on the 25th of *November*, an Instruction, containing Thirty Articles.

As it referred to the Orders which had been before given to the Governors of the Colonies, it does not contain a circumstantial Account of the Operations intrusted to the General. There we see that he was commanded to execute a Plan, for doing which, he was to act in Concert both with Mr. *Keppel*, and the Governors of the Colonies; that, that Plan contained a Train of military Expeditions, of which he was to render an Account to the Minister who was charged with sending him fuller Orders from Time to Time.

The Duke of *Cumberland*, to whom, as it appears, his *Britannic Majesty* committed the Arrangement of the general Plan, caused to be drawn up more particular Instructions for General *Braddock*. They were contained in a long Letter which was written to him by Colonel *Napier*, in the Name of his Royal Highness, and which was dated the same 25th Day of *November 1754*. That Letter*, which deserves a particular Attention, contains the Order and Succession of those Operations, which had been concerted long before at the Court of *London*. I say long before: For indeed Colonel *Napier* begins with informing General *Braddock*, who was then in *Ireland*, that the Instructions he was going to give him in writing, were only

* See N^o. 12.

the result of those which his Royal Highness had himself given the General in the several Conversations he had with him.

I shall not here enter upon a Detail of all that is contain'd in that Letter of Instructions. It does more Honour to the Abilities of the General of an Army, than to the Intentions of the Prince in whose Name it was written: From that authentic Piece, it is apparent, that for certain in the Month of *November*, 1754; and very likely many Months before, it was resolv'd on in *England* to attack *Canada* on all Sides, and that the Method of doing it, was settled and made known to the several Commanders whose united Endeavours were all to be directed to the same Object. We see that General *Braddock* was to make himself Master of Fort *du Quejne*, thence proceed to *Niagara*, and to reduce that Place; that Fort *Frederick* was to be attacked; and carried by the Provincial Troops; and, finally, that Colonel *Lawrence* was charged with reducing Fort *Beaufejour*, in the *Isthmus*, and that all these Expeditions were to be seconded by the Motion of the Fleet. The conquered Countries were afterwards to be protected by some Forts which they intended to build, and the Troops after a Campaign; the Operations of which were so well settled, were to be quartered in Places where they could assist each other to execute, no doubt, the Sequel of the general Plan, and those fuller Orders which were promised the General.

While the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, endeavour'd to amuse the Court of *France*, and in the Negotiation that was then carrying on, seem'd to shew the most earnest Desire to preserve Peace; General *Braddock*, in Concert with Commodore *Keppel*, Colonel *Shirley*, and the Governours of the *Englifo* Colonies, laboured vigorously in *America*, to hasten the Preparations for War. What I am going to mention of these Preparations, is taken from the General's own Letters: They form a very singular Contrast with the Memorials which were some Time ago deliver'd to the *French* Ambassador at *London*, and which

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I shall not take Notice of, till I have first given a full Account of what passed in *America*, after the Arrival of General *Braddock*.

He landed at *Williamsburg*, the Capital of *Virginia*, in the Month of *February*, 1755. * All the Governors of the several *English* Provinces, had already received their Orders, which principally concerned the raising of Troops and Money. A common Fund was to be established, for defraying the Expences of so important a Campaign: As to the rest, they were ordered to execute whatever was prescribed to them by the General, whose Abilities for War, deserved to have been employed in a better Cause.

He found at *Williamsburg*, Sir *John St. Clair*, who gave him an Account of the Disposition of the Colonies, and Situation of the Troops. The Independant Companies of *New-York*, were in a very bad Condition; and among the Provinces, *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*, were far from furnishing their Quota. They had no Occasion to complain of their Neighbours the *French*, and they were not willing to interrupt an Harmony that was advantageous to their Trade and Commerce. The Orders of the Court of *London*, and the Letters which the General wrote upon his Arrival, had a greater Effect upon the other Colonies. In order to hasten the raising of Money, the General engaged to make himself accountable for the Manner in which it should be expended. M. *Dinwiddie*, Governor of *Virginia*, had found Means to raise 20,000 Pounds Sterling: His Example kindled an Emulation in the other Governors; accordingly, the Assemblies of the Colonies were called to meet in the Month of *May* next ensuing.

General *Braddock* appointed *Alexandria* for the Rendezvous of the *Virginia* and *Maryland* Troops; and, instead of quartering those he had brought from *Europe*, as he at first intended; he ordered the Transport Vessels to sail up the River *Potomack*, and to land them at *Alexandria*, in order to form a Camp there. † In the mean Time, he took care to establish Posts, that he might

* See N^o 13.† See N^o 13.

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maintain a sure Correspondence between the Army and the Cities of *Philadelphia*, *Annapolis*, and *Williamsburg*. But as it was impossible to find Forage beyond the Mountains, before the latter End of *April*, he resolv'd not to begin his Expedition till that Time.

In the Interim no Time was lost: The General had begun with shutting up the Forts, *in order*, says he, *that no Provisions may be carried to the Enemy*. To this was added another Advantage, of keeping all Things secret, while they rais'd Recruits, transported the Artillery, and form'd Magazines of all necessary Provisions and Munitions. General *Braddock* and Commodore *Keppel* continually communicated to each other their Views and Projects: The latter furnish'd some Cannon, of which the Land-Army had not a sufficient Number. These two principal Men were divid'd in one single Point, which was, how they should treat the *French*, whom they were quite sure of taking. The King of *England* had order'd them to be put on board the Fleet and sent to *France*. *M. Keppel*, who had not been apprized, but by General *Braddock*, of that Resolution, found it a very nice Affair for him. Hitherto he had followed simply the Directions of the Court, yet he was well assur'd of the Desire of the Nation. He wanted however, to have it in his Power to justify himself, in case the Nation should one Day disapprove of these Violences, so contrary to the Law of Nations, and, therefore, he demand'd of the General to send him positive Orders.

As the Number of the Forces could not be too great with which they intend'd to fall upon *Canada*, on the one Hand, the Governours had Orders to receive all *French* Deserters, to treat them well, and to furnish them with every Thing that they want'd: On the other Hand, Pains were taken to acquaint the *Indians* on *Ohio*, that the *English* had no other Design, but to defend them against the Encroachments of the *French*: And the Governours of the Provinces did not fail to press them to repair to *Wills-Creek*, on the Frontiers of *Virginia*. However, we can
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say, in general, the *English* had very little Assistance from those People. The *Iroquois*, [the Five Nations] did not in the least assist them. By M. *Braddock's* Letters, we see, that, of the Five Nations, none but the *Aniez* [*Mohawks*] seemed to shew any Attachment to them.

What Means should be used in order to engage the *Indians* to take up Arms against the *French*, and to ravage their Colonies, was one of those Things which were debated in a grand Council held at *Alexandria*, about the Middle of *April*. On the 13th, Colonel *Sbirley*, Governor of *New-England*, arrived in that Town: He was accompanied with all the other Governors, and with Colonel *Johnson*, who, of all the *English* Officers, was the best acquainted with the Genius of the *Indians*, and the Manner of treating with them. M. *Sbirley*, if we believe Colonel *Napier's* Instructions, was fitter for Council than for Command. However, he had with an armed Force, built a Fort in the *French* Country, up the River *Nourentsouac* [*Kennebec*] about 30 Leagues from *Quebec*; that Expedition, no doubt, gained him the Friendship of the General, who had always a particular Regard for him, and who, as we shall see, trusted him with one of the most important Commands. He had already had an Interview with him at *Annapolis*, in *Maryland*, and very likely they had settled between themselves Part of those Things which were the Subject of Deliberation in the general Council at *Alexandria*. A Copy of the Resolutions there taken, was sent to M. *Robinson*, Secretary of State, in a Letter which the General wrote to him the 19th of *April*. That Letter informs us, that the Plan of Operations for the Campaign was there finished. They seemed so well connected together; that M. *Braddock* is not afraid to say, that the Success of one, assured him of the happy Issue of all the Rest. † ---- And there might be Reason for his writing so; for the ill Success of one, has made all the rest to miscarry. Here then are the different Parts of the Plan, as they were settled at that Congress.

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† See his Letter of the 19th of April, in N^o. 13.

1st. It was agreed, that in Pursuance of the Plan concerted between M. *Sbirley* and M. *Lawrence*, Governor of *Acadia*, and formerly sent to the Court of *London*, Colonel *Monckton* should, without Delay, attack the *French* Forts on the Side of *Acadia*. His Orders for that Expedition were immediately dispatched to him.

2^d, It was agreed that Mr. *Johnson*, with a Body of about four Thousand four Hundred Men, raised in the Northern Provinces, should attack Fort *Frederic* [Crown-Point] and make himself Master of it.

3^d, That M. *Sbirley*, with his own and *Pepperell's* Regiments, should attack Fort *Niagara*, that he should be supplied with a sufficient number of *Battoes* to transport his Troops and Artillery thither by Lake *Ontario*, and that the Garrison of *Oswego* should be reinforced, which was to assist him in Case of Need, and to favour his Retreat, if he should be pursued.

4^{thly}, Besides the Attack of Fort *Frederic*, Colonel *Johnson* was charged with an important Treaty with the *Iroquois*, [Indians of the Six Nations] whom they wanted by all Means to engage in the War. General *Braddock* was not ignorant what formidable Enemies these *Indians* are. He gave Mr. *Johnson* Harangues ready made §, and two thousand Pounds, to be laid out in Presents for them.

5^{thly}, The remaining Expedition, which the General reserved for himself, is but too well known by its ill Success. It was resolved, that he should set out for *Frederic-Town* the 20th of *April*, and to reach the Mountains by the first of *May*, that he might be in a Capacity to finish in the Month of *June*, all that he proposed to execute on the *Ohio*.

Such exactly was the Plan, which tended to open all the Gates of *Canada* to the *English*, and to make them Masters of the River *St. Lawrence*. Every Commander knew his particular Destination, and the Connection his Commission had with all those that ought to be executed at the same Time. They thought, by hastening the In-

§ See N^o. 13 & 14.

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vasion, to surprize the French. General Braddock having
spent at Frederic-Town the Last of April and Beginning
of May, arrived the 10th of May at Fort Cumberland,
which Place the Army reached on the 17th, after a very
painful March of twenty-seven Days. This Army con-
sisted only of two Thousand effective Men, and so was
only designed to reduce Fort du Quesne, and then to join
at Niagara that Body of Troops commanded by Mr.
Sbirley.

It appears that Mr. Braddock had not given himself
Time to reflect seriously on the Difficulties attending his
Enterprize. You see his Disquietudes and Uneasiness
painted in the Letter he wrote the 5th of June to Mr.
Robinson. He there complains of the little Zeal with
which the Colonies had seconded him, of the Dangers he
had under-gone, and the Charges he had been at, in
order to transport the Artillery and Munitions in a
Country as yet uninhabited, unknown, and unpassable, even
for the Inhabitants themselves *. He was yet at Fort
Cumberland when he wrote that Letter. He left that
about the latter End of June, and all know what was the
Issue of the Engagement on the 9th of July, which was
unhappy for him, and which put an End to his Life and
Projects.

Colonel Johnson had set out immediately after the
Congress at Alexandria, in order to execute on his Part,
the Commission which was intrusted to him. He spent
Part of the Month of May among the Five Nations, in
order to animate them to the War. Nothing was spared
to render the French odious. But neither Calumnies nor
Presents had the desired Effect. In vain did he endeavour
to persuade the Mohawks, that the French had taken Pos-
session of different Countries which belonged, not to the
English (for he durst not go so far) but to the Indians,
their Allies. Those People, who have more Sense than
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* How do these Terms agree with that Possession, which, according
to the English, secures to them the Property of the Countries West of the
Appalachian Mountains.

is commonly imagined, were not to be taken in that Snare. They returned an Answer full of Compliments ; but they refused coming to any Conclusion, under Pretence that it could not be done, but in a general Council of all the Nations. In fine, the Speeches both of Colonel *Johnson*, and of the *Indian* Sachems, prove, that the latter did not think the *English* had any Right to prescribe Laws to them. Both Nations treat with each other on a Foot of Equality. The *Iroquois*, who were then something inclined to make a Treaty of Alliance with the *English*, are become their mortal Enemies, since the Proclamations, by which the *English* Commanders were so imprudent as to offer a Reward for their Scalps.

While that important Treaty was carrying on, Colonel *Johnson* did not lose Sight of the Attack of Fort *Frederic*. On the 5th of *May* he wrote to the Governors, who were to furnish him with Men and Artillery §. On the one Hand, that Letter proves that he had resolved to bombard the Fort ; and, on the other, that he flattered himself, he should be able to appear before the Place, before the *French* had any Intimation of his Design.---*All Things*, says he, *must be hastened, that Nothing may retard our March, which might confirm the Enemy in their Suspicion of an Attack, if unhappily they have any Intelligence of it.*

On the Side of *Acadia*, Colonel *Monckton*, ready to execute the Attack of the Forts on the *Isthmus*, began with publishing a Proclamation on the third of *May*, in the Name of Governor *Lawrence*, by which all the Inhabitants of the *French* Lands beyond the *Isthmus*, are commanded to surrender themselves immediately to the *English*, and to deliver up all their Arms*. That was certainly the Country, in respect to which, his *Britannic* Majesty had, after the Building of the *English* and *French* Forts in the *Isthmus*, formerly promised, that no Innovations should be made, till the Commissaries had come to a Determination. On the 16th and 17th of *June* following, Colonel *Monckton* bombarded and took the *French* Forts of *Beau-sejour* and *Gaspereaux*.

§ See N°. 15. * See N°. 16.

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We are now come to the Time, when the Rupture between the two Courts became notorious ; it would have been sooner, if the Court of *France* could have been sooner informed of the Resolutions of his *Britannic* Majesty : But at the very Time that they executed in *America* the Plan of Invasion, that had been concerted before the Year 1754, the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, sought to amuse the Court of *France* with Negotiations. They carried on a War beyond Sea, and in *Europe*, seemed wholly taken up with a System of Pacification, and the Means to prevent that Rupture which *England* had resolved on.

That Negotiation, which *Europe* ought to be informed of, was only intended, on the Part of *England*, to gain as much Time as would be necessary to carry into Execution all the Parts of the Plan. So we shall see, that the more condescending *France* shewed itself, the more the *British* Ministers invented new Difficulties, to prevent the coming to an Agreement, till, at length, General *Bradock*'s Letters having given the Court of *London* full Assurance of Success ; his *Britannic* Majesty gave express Orders to make open War by Sea, and to attack, without Distinction, all the Vessels of the King.

The Designs of the Court of *London* will be laid open, by a particular Account of the Negotiations, which engaged the most serious Attention of the *French* Minister, and which seemed to engage the Attention of the Minister of *Great-Britain*, for the first six Months of the Year 1755.

In the Month of *January* of that Year, his Majesty, willing to prevent the ill Effects of the accidental Differences between the *French* and *English*, on the Banks of *Ohio*, (the Cause of which, as you have seen above, cannot be imputed to the *French*) sent to the Court of *London*. by the Duke de *Mirepoix*, a Memorial, which had a Tendency to prevent the Effect of these Troubles. §

In that Memorial, which was dated the 15th of *January*, the King proposed to his *Britannic* Majesty, that, before they examined into the Grounds and Circumstances of that

§ See N^o 1.

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Quarrel, they should first send positive Orders to the respective Governours, to make them cease from all Enterprizes and Violences; and command them, with Respect to the Territory on the Side of OHIO, or, LA BELLE RIVIERE, to put all Things, without Delay, in the same Condition in which they were, or ought to have been, before the last War.

The King demanded at the same Time, that the Claims respecting that Country, should be amicably referred to the Commissaries; and, that to remove all Grounds of Uneasiness, his BRITANNIC Majesty would explain himself fully, as to the Destination and Motives of that Armament which was made in Ireland.

Had that Proposal been accepted, Fort du Quesne, which General Braddack was commanded to attack, would have been destroyed by the French themselves, and the Commissaries of the two Nations, would have examined in an amicable Manner, the Titles and Possession of each Crown.

The Answer to that Memorial, was sent to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 22d of January, 1755. That Answer† has two Parts; and if the first appeared captious, the second, however, contained nothing equivocal, and ought to have been sufficient to assure the French of the Destination of the Armament in Ireland.

1st, His Britannic Majesty demands, that the Possession of that Territory on the Side of Ohio, be put in the same Condition, in which it was at the Time of the Conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht; and, agreeable to the Stipulation of that same Treaty, he would have the same done in all the other Possessions of North-America; and agrees, when that is done, to treat about the Instructions of the respective Governours, and making them cease from all Violences, and to refer the Pretensions of both, to be quickly and finally discussed and adjusted, in an amicable Manner, between the two Courts.

2d, He declares, That the Defence of his Rights and Possessions, and the Protection of his Subjects, had been the sole Motives of that Armament which had been sent to

† See N^o. 2.

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North-America ; WHICH WAS DONE WITHOUT INTENTION TO OFFEND ANY POWER WHATEVER, OR TO DO ANY THING WHICH COULD INFRINGE THE GENERAL PEACE.

It was difficult to conceive, how the Treaty of *Utrecht* could be made use of, to settle the Rights of each Nation on the *Ohio* ; or how it was possible to demand, as previous to all Negotiation, that the other Lands in Dispute, should be restored to the Condition in which they were at the Conclusion of that Treaty, and agreeable to the Stipulations which are therein contained. At the Time of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Possession was in Favour of *France*, since it was *France* that ceded it.---And the Extent of that Cession, and the Meaning of the Stipulations in that Treaty, were the Things, which it was agreed should be referred to Commissaries ; and the King of *England* had promised, that no Innovations should be made, till they had come to a Determination.

The Court of *France*, therefore, urged [and at the same Time that it assured his *Britannic* Majesty of the Confidence it had in the Sincerity of his Declaration, it made it appear, in a Reply, which was sent to the Court of *London*, the 6th of *February*] that the Proposal made by his Majesty, was the only one, which could effectually prevent Trouble and Uneasiness. It asserted, that, that Method was agreeable to the Engagements of the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to the Measures taken since that Time, and to the Conditions demanded by *England* itself, in 1750, and 1751. And indeed, as the Design of that Commission, to which the Court of *London* had agreed to, was to determine the Meaning of the 12th and 13th Articles of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Execution of those Articles, could not be looked on as the Basis of a Negotiation. That would have been to give up, as an undoubted Principle and Rule of Action, the very Thing that was submitted to the Decision of Commissaries.

His Majesty therefore proposed, 1st. That both Kings should command their respective Governors, to abstain from all Violence, and all Enterprizes. 2^d.

2d. That in all *North-America*, Things should be restored to the Condition in which they were, or ought to have been, before the last War, agreeable to the 9th Article of the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

3d. That, agreeable to the 18th Article of the same Treaty, his *Britannic Majesty* inform the Commission established at *Paris*, of his Pretensions, and the Foundation on which they were built.

Finally. In Answer to the Enquiry of the Court of *London*, in the last Memorial, respecting the Design of those Armaments which his Majesty had made, it was not dissembled that those Armaments, which the Court of *London* had published to all *Europe*, and which it had, in Part, carried into Execution, had made these Precautions necessary, on the Side of *France*.

At length, *France* submitted to the Difficulties raised by the Court of *London*. It even consented to take for a provisional Rule, the Condition in which Things were, immediately after the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and the Duke *de Mirepoix* sent the *English* Ministers, the Plan of a preliminary Agreement; the Terms of which, it was believed, would be accepted †. The two Sovereigns therein agreed, to send Orders to put a Stop to all Violences on both Sides: It was moreover stipulated, that the *French* and *English* should, by Agreement, evacuate all that Country situate between the *Ohio* and the *Apalachian Mountains*; and that the *French* should retire beyond the River, and the *English* on this Side the Mountains: That all that Country, during the Time agreed on, should be looked on as Neutral; that neither Nation should be at Liberty to frequent it; that all Things should be restored to the same Condition, in which they were, or ought to have been, after the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and that the Forts, which had been built since that Time, on the Lands contended for, should on both Sides be destroyed; Furthermore, their Majesties agreed, that in the Space of two Years, they would cause every Matter in Dispute, to be examined and regulated, by Commissaries nominated for that Purpose.

† See N^o 4.

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This, as you see, was to concur with the Proposal, contained in the Memorial of the Court of *London*, dated the 22d of *January*, 1755. The Court of *France* negotiated with much more Sincerity than the Ministers of his *Britannic* Majesty acted, when they assured the Duke *de Mirepoix*, that the Armaments made in *Ireland*, and the Fleet which had sailed from thence, were principally intended to preserve a Subordination and good Order in the *English* Colonies.

These very Ministers, who feared nothing so much as an Accommodation, and who knew that *M. Braddock*, and all the *English* Commanders, were then on their March, were extremely surprized to see *France* comply, in some Measure, with their first Demands. They thereupon immediately changed the Plan, which they themselves had proposed; and on the 7th of *March*, sent to the Duke *de Mirepoix*, another Plan of Agreement, which they would never have devised, but because they well knew it could not possibly be agreed to*.

The two Kings therein agreed to send Orders to put a Stop to all Violences: But these were not to take Place, until *France* had submitted to the following Conditions. 1st. To destroy not only the Forts situate between the *Apalachian Mountains* and the *Ohio*, but also to destroy all the Settlements which lie between the *Ohio* and the *Wabash*, or the River *St. Jerome*. 2d. To demolish *Fort Niagara* and *Fort Frederick*, situate on *Lake-Champlain*; and, with Regard to the Lakes *Ontario*, *Erie*, and *Champlain*, they were to belong neither to one nor the other, but should be equally frequented by the Subjects of both Crowns, who should have an equal Right to trade there. 3d. To grant definitively to *England*, not only that Part of the Peninsula to the North of *Acadia*, which was then in Dispute, but also the Space of Twenty Leagues, from South to North, in all that Country which reaches from the River *Pentagoet*, as far as the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*. 4th. and lastly, That all the Southern

* See No. 5.

Southern Bank of the River *St. Lawrence*, should belong to no Body, but should remain uninhabited.

On these Conditions his *Britannic Majesty* was willing to commit the Decision of his other Claims to the Commissaries of the two Crowns.

By that Means the Court of *London* rendered the Preliminary Negotiation as long, and subject to as many Difficulties, as the principal One, which was all that it desired. The Court of *France*, sensible that Proposals so different from those first made, only tended to prevent the Conclusion of a preliminary Agreement, insisted on the Necessity of beginning, before all Things, with giving Orders to prevent all Hostilities, and to put a Stop to all Violences. It was also proposed, that the two Courts should mutually communicate to each other, the Orders they gave; but with this Proposal, so just and equitable, the *British* Ministers absolutely refused to comply, in the Answer§ they sent to the Duke *de Mirepoix*, the 6th of *April*, 1755.

There was therefore a Necessity to return and combat that Plan of Agreement, on which the *English* Ministry so much insisted. It was easy to prove, that the preliminary Agreement which *England* demanded, began with absolutely deciding, to the Prejudice of *France*, that Controversy, which his *Britannic Majesty* had formerly promised to refer to Commissaries. By that Plan, the *French* irretrievably lost all Trade with *Canada* by the River *St. John*, the King was stripped of the Property of the three Lakes, which had always been looked on as Part of *New-France*, and the River *St. Lawrence*, which is the Center of *Canada*, became the Boundary of that Colony. All these Things were discussed in a Letter of the 13th of *April*, 1755†, by which the *French* Minister informed the Duke *de Mirepoix* of his Majesty's Intentions, and his Answer to the Plan proposed by *England*, which was an absolute Refusal to agree thereto.

On the 24th of *April*, 1755, the *British* Ministers sent the Ambassador of *France*, a sort of an Answer to

¶ See N°. 6. § See N°. 7. † See N°. 8.

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that Letter. They had not yet received Advice of the last Disposition of Affairs in *America*; nor were they sure in *England*, that the Operations, which they took so much Care to conceal, could all be executed at the same Time. It was therefore necessary still to prolong the Negotiation: So we see, that in that Answer* the Court of *London* complains of the little Attention that the *French* Minister had given to their Reflections; and, they also add, that *they are ready to enter upon an Examination of all the Points in Dispute, and in the COURSE OF THAT EXAMINATION, they will be able to discover wherein the principal Differences consist.*

His Majesty, even then, would have very willingly consented to enter upon the Examination and Discussion of those Points, which prevented the Conclusion of a preliminary Treaty. Of this, the Duke de Mirepoix assured the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, on the 6th of *May*, 1755†: And in the Memorial which the Court of *London* ordered to be sent to him, on the 9th of the same Month, they affect to testify the greatest Satisfaction on that Account. In these Terms they express themselves:§

“ The Court of *Great-Britain* sees, with the greatest Satisfaction, by the Answer which his Excellency the Duke de Mirepoix has sent to Mr. *Robinson*, the 6th of this Month, not only that the Court of *France* continues in its Resolution to maintain the Peace, but that its Dispositions are the same as those of *England* always have been, and that it is still ready to enter, without Delay, upon the Examination and amicable Discussion of all the Points in Dispute. The Court of *London*, in the whole Course of this Examination, has proceeded with so much Candour and Sincerity, &c.”

It is not necessary to remark the Date of that Memorial. Every Body may compare it with those of General *Braddock's* Letters, which I have spoken of above, and may, if they please, reconcile that Candour and Sincerity, with the Hostilities which were then committed in *America*. At the very Time that the Ministers of *Great-Britain*,

* See N^o. 9. † See N^o. 10. § See N^o. 11.

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were giving such repeated and strong Assurances to his Majesty's Ambassador, the People in *London* began to publish, that a Rupture was resolved on, and that Admiral *Boscawen*, who had just set Sail, had Orders to attack the *French* Vessels wherever he should find them. No longer did they assign the pretended Encroachments of *France* as Motives of the War, but the Necessity there was to embrace this Opportunity to ruin her Commerce, and to put it out of her Power to re-establish her Marine.

These Reports were so current and uniform, that the Duke de *Mirepoix*, thought it his Duty to inform his Court thereof: Which he did, notwithstanding the most formal and repeated Assurances, which the Ministers of *Great-Britain* gave him of their pacific Intentions. They told him again and again, that he ought to give no Credit, either to common Reports, or to the public News-Papers. Nay, these Ministers went even farther: The Duke de *Mirepoix*, having about the latter End of *April*, shewed some Uneasiness about the Destination of Admiral *Boscawen's* Fleet, and the Orders that were given him, they positively assured him, that the *English* would certainly not attack first.

Considering the Confidence due to so many Appearances of Sincerity, it is no Wonder that *France* thought the Negotiation ought to be continued. The *English* Ministers had never made a Proposal, but at the same Time, they gave sufficient Room to believe that it was not their last: Therefore, on the 12th of *May*, the Duke de *Mirepoix* sent them a Memorial, much more regular than the former ||, and in which the Rights and Interests of both Nations were examined, with Relation to Articles of a preliminary Agreement, in which they could not yet concur.

The *English* Ministry made him wait an Answer, till the End of *May*, and some Days in *June*: On the 7th they sent it. Now if any one will reflect, that on the 8th Admiral *Boscawen* gave the Signal of an open Rupture by Sea, he must be convinced, that the Delay of that Answer,

|| See N^o. 12.

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swer, made a Part of that Plan of Action, which the Court of London had formed.

In that Answer, which was deferred with so much Address, the British Ministry repeated anew, the Grounds of all their Claims in America: In it they found the Right which England has to that Dominion it exercises over the Iroquois, on a pretended Sale which the Indians have made to the English. In fine, they renew all the Disputes about Acadia: the Decision of which had been referred to the Commissaries of the two Nations. This was no longer to treat about a preliminary Agreement, which might prevent Hostilities, and put the two Courts in a Condition to treat in an amicable Manner. It was to examine the very Foundation of the Controversy: But it then little concerned England, which had only sought to gain Time; and now approached the Period, when all their Enterprizes must become notorious.

On the 15th of July, the News came to London, of the Capture of two French Men of War, the Alcide and the Lys. They had been attacked on the Banks of Newfoundland by Admiral Boscawen, who had talked of nothing but Peace, till the Moment he had brought his Guns to bear, and was ready to pour a Broadside into them.

If his Majesty's Ambassador at London, had Room to be surpris'd at that News, he had much more Reason afterwards, at the Insinuation of one of the English Ministers, who would have him attribute such open Hostilities to a Mistake. The Secretary of State, went so far as to endeavour to persuade him, that what had happened, ought by no Means to break off the Negotiation. Doubtless, it would have been more advantageous for the British Ministry, that France had negotiated till they could have had certain Advice, that the general Plan of Invasion, the Success of which was then looked on certain, was carried into Execution.

From what is said, it is easy to judge, whether the Departure of the French Ambassador from London, was

too precipitate, as the Court of *Great-Britain* asserts, in the Memorial which I have answered, only by a Detail of Facts.

What has passed since his Departure, either in *Europe* or *America*, is too public, and too well known, to need a Relation here. The Account I have given, both of the military Operations, and political Negotiations of *England*, is sufficient to give a just Idea of the Causes of the Rupture, and of the Views which have influenced both Powers.

Such are the Facts. *England* cannot deny one of them. Let *Europe* now pronounce.

End of the First Volume.



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A
COLLECTION
OF PAPERS,

Tending to vindicate the Conduct of the Court of France,
in Answer to the Observations sent by the English Mi-
nistry to the several Courts of Europe.

PART the FIRST,
NUMB. I.

An Extract of a MEMORIAL from the British Court, de-
liver'd to the French Ambassador the 24th July, 1749,
in Answer to that which was sent from the French
King, relating to the Settlements projected by England.

HIS Majesty the King of Great-Britain, having
considered the Memorial which was presented to
the Duke of Bedford, the 7th of last Month, con-
cerning Nova-Scotia, by Mr. Durand, one of the Mi-
nisters of his most Christian Majesty, at the Court of
England, ordered, That the different Observations which
appear necessary to be made on the said Memorial, be re-
presented in the following Manner to the said M. Durand.

The two Points concerning which, the most Christian
King demands an Explanation; *to wit*, The Settlement
of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia, and the Project attributed to
Governor Dobbs, are in themselves, so little liable to any
Objection from any Power whatsoever, that it will be
easy to remove the bad Opinion, the Court of France
may have conceived, by the false Reports which may have
been suggested to them on that Account.

The only Thing which might in Justice give Umbrage
to the Court of France, would be an Apprehension found-
ed on Reason, that the King had given Orders to extend
the Settlements in Nova-Scotia, farther than his Majesty
had a Right to do, by the 12th Article of the Treaty of
Utrecht.

But

But such an Apprehension falls of itself, since the King of *Great-Britain*, in Conformity to the *French* King's Desire, agrees to submit the Regulation of the Limits of *Nova-Scotia* to Commissioners, according to its ancient Bounds, as also the Limits and the Right of Possession of the several Islands and Countries in *America*, which have been in Dispute between the two Nations; nor can it be supposed the King would extend Settlements, which must of Necessity, be attended with vast Expence, in a Part of the Province he has not a clear and undoubted Right to.

As the Limits, therefore, of *Nova-Scotia*, are to be submitted to the Examination of Commissioners, it is needless to answer here all the Assertions contained in the Memorial of Mr. *Durand* upon that Head. Mr. *Durand* has also lightly touched in his Memorial, on the Plan projected by Governor *Dobbs*, as tending to incroach upon the Trade which the *French* have with the *Indians* towards the North of *Canada*, and to extend the *British* Settlements in those Parts, to the Prejudice of the Rights of his most *Christian* Majesty; he did not enter into Particulars thereupon, the Objects of the said Plan not being sufficiently known in *France*.

But it would be very easy to give the Court of *France* an intire Satisfaction on that Article, assuring them that this Plan, which was debated in Parliament, had absolutely no other Intention, than to open an exclusive Commerce to the whole Nation, which had been practised a long Time by a privileged Company, under a private Patent; and that only, with an Intent to extend a general Trade in those Parts, and not to enlarge the Possessions of the Nation, at the Expence of any other.

But as this Plan was not approved of in Parliament, it is now laid aside, and consequently out of the Question; nevertheless, had it been put in Execution, it cannot be conceived, how it could have given the Court of *France* the least Grounds of Complaint, as it had only a Relation to an Affair that concerned the Subjects of the Kingdom alone; that is to say, Whether a Trade, a long Time practised

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practised at *Hudson's-Bay*, should be continued by a private Company, exclusively, or should be open to all his Majesty's Subjects in general.

His Majesty having thus explain'd his Sentiments, makes no Difficulty to declare, in Answer to the Demands made by the Court of *France* ;

1st, That effectual Orders have already been given, not to commit any Attempt, either on the Side of *Nova-Scotia*, or on that of *Hudson's-Bay*, against the Trade, or against the Possessions of his Most Christian Majesty's Subjects ; or that might, in any Respect, derogate from the definitive Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, or from any former Engagements actually existing between the two Crowns.

2^d, That his Majesty consents to nominate forthwith, two Commissioners, to confer at *Paris*, with those who shall be appointed by his most Christian Majesty, concerning the respective Limits, which are actually in Dispute between the two Crowns ; not only those which concern *Nova-Scotia* or *Acadia*, but also the Limits in other Parts of that Continent, wheresoever the Settlements of the two Nations border one upon another ; as also, to determine (according to a Proposal made in a former Memorial) which are the Islands belonging to each Crown, and which are to remain neutral.

Before his Majesty approved of any Settlements raised by his Subjects in that Part of *Nova-Scotia*, to which (though undoubtedly belonging to the King) *France* has laid Claim, he consented to submit his Pretensions to the Decision of Commissioners, as a convincing Proof of his Desire to preserve the Union and Harmony so happily restored between the two Crowns.

N U M B. II.

A Letter from my L. Albemarle, to M. the Marquis de Puyzieulx, complaining of a Detachment sent by M. de la Jonquiere, to protect the Inhabitants of Chiboudi. Paris, March 25, 1750.

I Have this Moment received a Letter from the Duke of *Bedford*, wherein I have Orders from his Majesty, to represent to your Excellency, the Causes of Complaint, which

which the Governors of his most *Christian* Majesty in *America* have occasioned, by inroaching upon the Territories of his Majesty in *Nova-Scotia*. It is with the greatest Reluctance, that his Majesty finds himself under a Necessity of making Representations against any of the Subjects of his most *Christian* Majesty; and more so, having entertained some Hopes, that after those which I had made, by his Majesty's Orders in *September* last, and the Answer of your Excellency, concerning the Settlement which *M. de la Galissonniere* had undertaken at the River *St. John*, positive Orders had been sent to the *French* Governors, not only to terminate every Cause of Dispute, but also to avoid for the future, with the greatest Care, all Proceedings which might give rise to new Debates. Nevertheless, his Majesty has now received Letters from Governor *Cornwallis*, of *Nova-Scotia*, wherein he complains, that *M. de la Jonquiere* sent Troops to *Cbiboudi*, which is one of those Districts that had sent Deputies to the said Governor, at his Arrival in that Province, in order to submit themselves to him, and to receive the Orders of his Majesty. There can be no stronger Proof, that those Inhabitants looked upon themselves as Subjects of *Great-Britain*, since the Province of *Nova-Scotia* was annexed to that Crown.

It is needless to repeat here the Reasons which authorize his Majesty to demand that Justice which is due to him on the Account of the new Proceedings of *M. de la Jonquiere*; his most *Christian* Majesty cannot be ignorant of them. After the express Orders his Majesty sent to all his Governors, to bear continually in Mind to adjust all these Disputes in an amicable Manner, and consequently to avoid, with Care, all Manner of Hostilities*, unless

* This is what Governor *Cornwallis* has not done, since it is certain, that the Fort at *Mines*, and that at *Beaubassin*, were built before the *French* raised those of *Beaufejour* and *Gaspareaux*, and that the latter were built only after the violent Measures taken by Governor *Cornwallis*, against the Inhabitants of the *Isthmus*, which had obliged them to retire to the inner Part of the Lands. This is a Fact which the *English* cannot deny, as the Era of the Building of those Forts, is well known to both Nations.

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a just Defence of the Honour, and of the Rights of the Crown, should indispensably require them. Without mentioning his Majesty's incontestable Right, there is a Reason of mutual Obligation, to determine his most Christian Majesty to give the like Orders to *M. de la Jonquiere*, that it belongs to him to restore all Things in their former State, until the Commissioners, who are empowered to decide on the Limits in *America*, have settled the Decision thereof, and have directed the Rights of the two Crowns, and that he desist from every Attempt which might give the least Interruption to the Union so happily restored between both Nations. The King of *Great-Britain* is persuaded that his most Christian Majesty will be so much the more inclined to make Use of such friendly and wholesome Measures, as small Contests of this Kind, draw after them much greater; unless timely prevented.

I am, &c.

Signed, ALBEMARLE.

An ANSWER from the Marquis de Puyzieulx, to the foregoing Letter.

Versailles, March 31, 1750:

SIR,

I Received the Letter your Excellency was pleased to honour me with, dated the 25th of this Instant, containing the Complaints your Court makes against the *Marquis de la Jonquiere*, Governor of *New-France*, for sending a Detachment of Troops to *Cbiboudi*, as the Count *de la Galissonniere*, his Predecessor, had done heretofore to the River *St. John*.

The *British* Court has no Doubt seen the Reasons, which have authorized the Conduct of these two Governors in a Memorial delivered to them in *June* last, wherein it was demonstrated, that the River *St. John* and *Cbiboudi* are on the Continent of *Canada*.

As to the Submissions which some of the Inhabitants of *Cbiboudi* are said to have made to the *English* Governor of *Nova-Scotia*, before the Arrival of the Detachment

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ment from *Canada*, the said Inhabitants being intimidated by that Governor, those Submissions would not acquire any Right to *Great-Britain*, nor prevent their being settled on *French* Ground; they would only prove that if there was any Commotion upon that Frontier, it was occasioned by some Innovations brought about by the *English* Governor; and certain it is, that the Precautions which the *French* Governors thought it their Duty to take, were with no other View than to remove from the said Inhabitants the Fear of those Innovations.

But there are to be no more Debates on that Head, amongst the respective Governors; by Virtue of the Orders they have received to make no Alterations until the Limits are settled, which is to be done by Commissioners: Orders, which *M. de la Jonquiere* could not have received when he sent the Detachment to *Cbiboudi*, since they could not be sent over to him before the latter Part of the Winter, as 'tis well known in *England*.

Lastly, This ought to make us the more sensible of the Necessity there is to endeavour to forward the Business of the Commissioners who are to regulate the Limits of the two Crowns, in *America*; and the King orders me to renew his Instances on that Head, with his Majesty the King of *Great-Britain*: His Majesty insists thereon with so much the more Earnestness, as this Work tends to keep up that good Harmony, so happily restored between the two Crowns, and the Subjects thereof; and his Majesty has nothing more at Heart, than to procure the Support and Preservation thereof.

I am, &c.

Signed, PUYZIEULX.

NUMB:

§ These Submissions forced from some Inhabitants, were, in Effect, a Sequel of the Threats of the English Governor, and prove a recent Attempt. How came it to pass, since the Treaty of Utrecht, that England has had no Thought of making that Country acknowledge the Authority of its Government? We are yet in Doubt, as to the Submission of the Inhabitants; but certain it is, the major Part of them implored the Protection of the Marquis de la Jonquiere, against Violence.

A MEMORIAL delivered by Order of his most Christian Majesty, to my Lord Albemarle, the 5th of January, 1751, and sent the same Day to M. the Duke of Mirepoix, in England; containing the Complaints which France makes concerning the Hostilities committed and allowed of by the English.

THE publick News-Papers have made known, some Months since, several Attempts which the English have made against some French Vessels in the Bay of St. Lawrence, and upon the Coast of New-France: But this News seemed so contrary to the Right of Nations, and the friendly Dispositions of which the British Court has given so many Marks since the Restoration of Peace, that no Credit could be given to them: But now, to our greatest Surprize, we hear, by Letters from Canada and Cape-Breton, that English Vessels act in those Seas, as in the Time of an open War. During the whole Summer last, those Vessels were spread about, even to the utmost Part of the Bay of St. Lawrence, stopping and insulting all the French Sloops they came a-crofs. They attempted to take away a Brigantine which was at Anchor in the River St. John, to which Place she had been sent by the Intendant of Canada, to carry Provisions to the Detachments of the King's Troops which are in those Parts; and, finding it could not be done, an English Captain took some Sailors out of the Brig, who have since been sent by Governor Cornwallis, to Cape-Breton. But, without entering into Particulars concerning all the Violences and Irregularities of which the English have been guilty, we shall only mention here two Facts.

The first is, The taking of a French Sloop called the London, Capt. Jalain, by two Snows of War. This Sloop was sent by the Intendant of Canada to Chedaick, in the Bay of St. Lawrence, there to carry Provisions to the King's Troops, as also the annual Presents, which it was customary for his Majesty to make to certain Indians belonging to a French Mission; the said Presents consist-

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ed in Ammunition, different Sorts of Goods, and Provisions. This said Sloop returning from *Cbedaick*, where she had landed her Cargo, was taken, towards the End of the Month of *August*, between the Coast of *Canada* and the Island *St. John*. She was afterwards sent to *Cibouçou*, where she was condemned.

The second is, The taking a *French* Brigantine, by a Frigate belonging to the King of *Great-Britain*, the Circumstances whereof, will, undoubtedly, appear to his *Britannic* Majesty, more aggravating than the first. The *Marquis de la Jonquiere*, being informed of the Conduct of the *English* Vessels, had often sent Complaints thereof to Governor *Cornwallis*, though to no Purpose; and having Occasion to send the necessary Succours to the Detachments of the Troops which are towards the River *St. John*, thought it necessary, in *September* last, to fit out a Brigantine at *Quebec*, called the *St. Francis*, in order to convoy a Schooner laden with the Succours afore-mentioned. He gave to Mr. *Vergor*, Captain of the Troops, the Command of the Brig afore said, carrying Ten small Guns, and Sixty Men, including Thirty Soldiers. Captain *Vergor* was positively forbidden in the Instructions which were given him, to undertake any Thing against any of the *English* Vessels he should chance to meet; and in Case he found any one that would oppose him in his Passage, his Orders were not to fire until the *English* had begun, and to let them know first, that he was Commander of a Vessel belonging to the King of France, fitted out to carry Provisions to his Troops.

On the 16th of *October*, the Brigantine and Schooner being Two Leagues to the Westward of the *Isles of Seal*, Capt. *Vergor* discovered at Eleven in the Forenoon, an *English* Frigate making towards him, and crowding Sails, being right before the Wind, presently came up to him. In about Half an Hour after, the Frigate fired a Ball a-stern of the Brigantine, and hoisted her Flag. Whereupon Capt. *Vergor* ordered his Streamer and Flag to be hoisted, and fired one Gun, without Quacking Sail. The

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Frigate, still continuing her Pursuit, came in Half an Hour's Time, within Reach of a Six Pounder, then fired a second Gun, and hoisted her Streamer. Soon after a Third Gun was fired, the Bullet whereof went through his Fore-top-sail. Then he prepared for an Engagement, in Case of a fresh Insult: However, the *English* Frigate coming close up, again, fired a fourth Gun, with a Ball, into Capt. *Vergor's* Sails. According to the Orders the *Marquis de la Jonquiere* had given him, he hailed the Vessel in *French*, telling them he was Commander of a Vessel belonging to the King of France, and that he was carrying Provisions and Ammunition to the Troops of his Majesty. Whereupon the *English* Commander made no further Answer, than to tell him to bring to, or he would sink him. To which the *French* Captain ordered the same Words to be repeated in *English*, which had before been spoken in *French*. But all the Answer he could get, was a whole Broadside, and a Volley of Musket-Shot. The Fight lasted near five Hours; but the *French* Brigantine was at last so torn and shattered in its Sails and Rigging, that Capt. *Vergor* was obliged to strike, after having had several Men killed and wounded. His Long-Boat being also in a shattered Condition, the *English* Captain sent his own to take him on board, where Capt. *Vergor* discovered that it was the *Albany* Frigate, carrying Fourteen Guns, Twenty-eight Swivels, and One Hundred and Twenty Men, commanded by Capt. *Rous*. This Captain also took the Crew on board, as also the Soldiers belonging to the Brigantine; and left none but the Wounded, then sailed immediately for *Cbibouctou*, leading the Brig aforesaid in tow. They arrived at *Cbibouctou* the 19th of *October*. The next Day Governour *Cornwallis* sent for Capt. *Vergor*, who was immediately conducted from on board the Frigate to his House, in one of whose Chambers he was confined. Governour *Cornwallis* came to him Half an Hour after, and having given his People Orders to lock him in with the said *Vergor*, told him he was sorry for what had happened, that Capt. *Rous* had
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lost a great many Men. He answered, that he was very sorry for it himself, that it was altogether owing to Capt. *Rous*, whose Conduct he immediately related. Governor *Cornwallis* answered, that if Things were as he said, Capt. *Rous* was in the Wrong; and furthermore, would call his Council the next Day to decide thereon, which he accordingly did. Capt. *Rous*, his Mate, and some of the Company belonging to the Brigantine, were called to it; Capt. *Vergor* was also called, who declared the Facts in the same Manner as related heretofore: Capt. *Rous* could not but own, he had first fired a Gun with a Ball in the Fore-mast of the Brigantine. Whereupon the Governor arose, and having ordered all the Officers belonging to the Brigantine, who were in a Room adjacent, to come into the Council Chamber; they were asked who had fired the first Gun, and they all replied, that Capt. *Rous* had fired two Volleys. Immediately the Declaration of Capt. *Vergor* was read before them, and they all affirmed it true in every Circumstance. Nevertheless, nothing was determined, either at that Sitting, nor at five or six others which were since assembled. But two or three Days after the first Sitting, Governor *Cornwallis* asked Capt. *Vergor*, what he would require to repair the Brig. fit for Sea Service, offering to provide him with all that was necessary for that Purpose? He answered, he could not do without a Main-mast, and four Pieces of Cordage. The Governor promised he should have them, and accordingly ordered one to be cut down, which the Crew belonging to the Brigantine drew out of the Woods, and told Capt. *Vergor*, to see that his Sails, his Rigging, and every Thing else he had Occasion for were mended. Whilst this Captain was about repairing his Vessel, Capt. *Rous* applied to the Admiralty, where the Brigantine was condemned. In a Letter which Governor *Cornwallis* wrote to M. *Desbiers*, a Commander at *Cape-Breton*, as he was sending him back, Mr. *Vergor*, and the Men belonging to the Brig, as also their Arms, he saith, that the Admiralty pronounced it a lawful Prize, for having carried on an illicit Trade

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Trade within the Province of his *Britannic Majesty*: These are the Terms he makes use of.

There is no Necessity of any *Pro or Con* in an Affair of this Kind. Here is a Vessel fitted out for the Service of his Majesty, commanded by one of his Majesty's Officers, attacked as in a Time of War. So good an Opinion we have of the Integrity of his Majesty the King of *Great Britain's* Intentions, that we cannot attribute an Attempt so contrary to all Manner of Laws, to any Order from his said Majesty; but, on the contrary, that as soon as he is acquainted with the Truth of these Facts, we may rely entirely on his Equity, concerning that Justice and Satisfaction these Captures call for; as also, Orders to be given to prevent hereafter the like Abuse.

*An Extract of a Letter from Capt. Rous, Commander of his Majesty's Frigate the Albany. Dated, Chibouctou, in Nova-Scotia, the 31st of October, 1750. **

THE Day after having left the River *St. John*, as I passed *Cape-Sable*, about Noon, I discovered a Brigantine and a Schooner, turning the Cape, about two Miles from the Coast, steering North-West; and as I had before been informed of a Brigantine which was a Pirate on that Coast; || I immediately gave her Chace in order to speak to her. As soon as she found out who we were, she made a Signal to the Schooner which was with her, who thereupon altered her Course, West-south-west, coming pretty near Gun-shot of the Brig, which was steering W. N. W. I fired one Gun at the Fore-Part of the said Brig, to bring her to, while the Schooner was making off with all Speed. The Brigantine put up *French* Colours, and fired also one Gun; the Schooner did the same, but put up no Colours. When I was come within Gun-shot, I fired

** That Extract was given to his Majesty's Minister by the English Ambassador, in order to excuse the Conduct of the English. Capt. Rous suppresses several essential Circumstances therein, and alters the Facts; nevertheless he is obliged to own that he was the Aggressor.*

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fired another right a-head of her, which she returned, and furled her Main-sail to make Room for her Small-Arms to play, and prepared to engage us. We hailed them when we were near enough to them, but they returned no Answer. I ordered a Six Pounder to be fired upon them, and continued hailing. Soon after coming up close to her, she presented her Head right upon our Star-board, made one half Turn to the Southward, in order to present us her Larboard, and gave us her whole Broad-side, be sides Small-Arms, while we continued hailing without Answer. I returned immediately a Broadside, and the Fight lasted two Hours and a Half; after which some of them hailed us in *English*, that they would not fire any longer. I ordered them to strike, and sent my Lieutenant on board, who brought me the Captain of the Brigantine, and his Papers, whereby I presently discovered it to be the *St. Francis* Brigantine, of about One Hundred and Twenty Tons, mounting Ten Guns, and four Swivels, having sixty Men on board, including thirty Soldiers; that she had been laden at *Quebec* with Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing, and Provisions for the *Indians*, and had been fitted out to convoy the Schooner aforesaid, which had made her Escape during the Engagement, and was also laden with the like Effects.

I have brought the Brigantine to this Port, where she has been condemned by a Court of Admiralty, for carrying on a prohibited Trade: Here is annexed a Copy of the Sentence pronounced by the said Court; your Excellencies will be pleased to peruse it.

We had two Men killed and one wounded, during the Fight. On board the Brigantine were six killed, and seven wounded. The Commander of the Brigantine, saith she is a King's Ship: Though he has no Commission from the Crown, only an Order from the Governor of *Canada*, to command the said Vessel, and to convoy the Schooner to the River *St. John*; where, after having unladen the Ammunition, and the Presents destined for the *Indians*, she was to return to *Quebec*, there to be disarmed.

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I must inform your Honors, that when I came here last, I saw his Majesty's Frigate the *Tryal* returning from a Cruize in *Bay-Vert*, where, upon the 8th of *August 1750*, she had taken a *French Sloop* called the *London*, from *Canada, La Gras*, Master; and having examined his Papers, found that the Business of this Vessel was to carry Ammunition, Provisions, and other Goods to the *Indians*, who are in a Province belonging to his Majesty; whereupon the *Tryal* took her, and brought her to this Port, where she was condemned by his Majesty's Court of Admiralty, for having carried on an illicit Trade.

N U M B. IV.

An Extract of a Letter written by M. de la Jonquiere, Governor of Canada, to Governor Cornwallis, of Nova-Scotia; dated Quebec, April 2, 1750.

THE King my Master is already acquainted with the Orders which I have given to the several Officers that were sent by me to command the Forts aforesaid; to wit, to allow nobody to settle near them, and even to oppose such by Force of Arms, as would offer to molest them, after my Orders were made known to them: However, I shall give them no Orders to raise any Fortifications, until the Commissioners, who are undoubtedly nominated, have regulated the true Boundaries of *Nova-Scotia*, and which are to belong to *New-France*. Those Limits have never been regulated, since you acknowledge that Commissioners are nominated for that Purpose; and that is the very Reason which engages me to send Troops to keep the said Stations, until Matters are adjusted between the two Crowns.

I hope you will seriously observe this Letter which I send you. You have, no Doubt, acquainted the King your Master, of all that is done; and as you have given me to understand, that you will do your Duty whilst you are waiting for his Majesty's Orders; I also give you Notice, that I shall not fail to do mine.

A Re:

A Report prevails here, that Mr. Goram has arrested M. Girard, the Abbot, who is the Curate of Copequit; I know not the Reasons for such a Proceeding; but as he is a Subject of the King my Master, I desire you would send him home forthwith.

A MEMORIAL, containing the Complaints of England, and delivered to M. the Marquis de Puyzieulx, the 7th of July, 1750, by my Lord Albemarle.

BE it known, that the Subscriber hereof, an Ambassador Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary, of his Majesty the King of *Great-Britain*, has received Orders from the King his Master, dated at *Hanover*, the 26th of last Month, to represent to the Court of *France*, the extreme Surprize his Majesty is in, to learn the rash Proceedings of the *French* in *America*, under the Direction and Authority of M. de la Jonquiere, who has made no Scruple to avow them.

Governor *Cornwallis*, of *Nova-Scotia*, acquaints the Duke of *Bedford*, in a Letter of the first of *May*, this present Year, that the *French* have taken Possession of all that Part of *Nova-Scotia*, on the other Side of the Bay of *Fundi*,* from the River *Chignecto*, to the River *St. John*, fixing the first for the Limits of that Province.

They have reduced *Beaubassin* to Ashes, and transported all the Inhabitants and their Effects beyond the River §, have forced them to take up Arms, and have formed them into Companies; so that Mr. *Lacorne*, (a *French* Officer) has there a Body of Two Thousand Five Hundred Men, composed of Regulars, *Canadians* and *Indians*.

Mr.

* How could they take Possession thereof, seeing the English own themselves, that the French were Possessors of it ever since the Treaty of *Utrecht*. But M. de la Jonquiere, sent a Detachment to prevent the English from executing a Project which they themselves had formed to take Possession thereof.

§ By *Beaubassin*, is here understood, a French Settlement at *Chignecto*, which the French were obliged to quit. Setting Fire to one's own Habitation, upon being frightened by the News of an Invasion cannot be called committing an Hostility.

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Mr. de Lacorne, and Father Loutre, (a French Misio-
nary) have often threatened the Inhabitants of that Pro-
vince, and as often promised them Presents, in order to
persuade them to leave the Country †.

The Inhabitants do not scruple to declare, that those
Proceedings are contrary to their Inclinations; but that
Messrs. Lacorne and Loutre, threaten to set the Indians
on to murder them, if they tarry in the Province.

They protect and support, in open View, all those In-
dians who are willing to side with them, although our
most inveterate Enemies. They detain the Subjects of
the King of Great-Britain§, make his Officers and Sol-
diers Prisoners. They stir up the French Subjects of his
Majesty to Rebellion, and threaten to cut off all those
who remain true. They send the Indians, who are
their Slaves, all over the Province, who commit all
Manner of Cruelties.

They have set Fire to some Towns, which they them-
selves acknowlege were belonging to his Majesty*.

Governor Cornwallis sent Major Lawrence, with a
Detachment to Chignecto, who arrived there the 20th of
last April; they saw the Town of Chignecto burnt to
Ashes, the French Colours planted on the Bank, and Mr.
Lacorne at the Head of his Detachment, daring Major
Lawrence, and declaring he would defend that Country,
to the very last, as a Place belonging to France.

Mr. Lacorne having desired a Conference with Major
Lawrence, the latter went to him, accompanied by two
H Captains

† How shall we reconcile the leaving of a Country which is posses-
sed by the French, with an Invasion laid to their Charge.

§ The Ambassador ought to have named some of them. But that
was out of his Power.

* There was not a Town in the Istmus; all that were burnt, were
some few Cabins, which were built at Chignecto, to which the Indians
set Fire themselves, when they and the French were obliged to fly at
the Attack of Governor Cornwallis.

† M. de la Cerné could not come with any Design to attack, seeing
his Desire was to come to a Parley. Governor Cornwallis was there
before him. What could his Business be at that Place, which was
possessed by the French at least till then?

Captains, and having asked said *Lacorne* by what Orders he thus invaded the Territories of his Majesty the King of *Great-Britain*, and there committed such Outrages; he answered, that what he did was by Virtue of the Orders of *M. de la Jonquiere*, who had commanded him to take Possession of *Cbiboudi*, the River *St. John*, *Marem-Cook*, *Pitcodiack*, and all that Part of the Country, as belonging to his most *Christian* Majesty; and would at least keep and defend it, until the Limits were settled by the Commissioners appointed for that Purpose.

Although the Detachment of Regular Troops, commanded by Major *Lawrence*, was little inferior to that which *M. de la Corne* headed, yet the Orders of his Majesty, detained him from committing any Act of Hostility.

His Majesty cannot imagine that the Court of *France* has any Knowledge of such Outrages, nay, he is so convinced of the Equity of his most *Christian* Majesty, and of his Desire to maintain a good Understanding between the two Crowns, that he will make no Scruple to disapprove of them.

Governor *Cornwallis* never had the least Intention to form any Settlements beyond the Limits of the Peninsula; or in such Parts of the Country, as *France* did not look upon to belong to him; nor was it ever the Design of his Majesty in settling his Province of *Nova-Scotia*, to encroach upon the Rights of his most *Christian* Majesty,

† Keeping and defending, cannot be called an invading; that is true.

* How came it to pass that those very Orders did not keep him from advancing so far with his Troops? He acknowledges that the Detachment of *M. de la Corne*, was superior to his; that Detachment was, no Doubt, a Disappointment to his Designs; it was therefore very well done in the *Marquis de la Jonquiere*, to send Troops to oppose the Invasion.

‡ That is positive, and the *English* acknowledge it themselves at least they had no Liberty to form Schemes in the Continent, before the Determination made by Commissioners. But did they wait when?

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or to take Possession by Force of Arms of any Country, whose Right and Property his Majesty had before agreed should be determined by Commissioners nominated for that Purpose, until the Regulation of the Limits be effectually decided.

The Ambassador is ordered to require a Disapprobation of *M. de la Jonquiere's* Conduct; and that positive Orders be sent him forthwith to withdraw his Troops, as also the *Indians* who are under his Command, from off those Places belonging to *Great-Britain*; that Satisfaction be given for Injuries committed, and for the Wrongs which the Subjects of his Majesty have suffered. His Majesty is fully perswaded, that the Court of *France* will readily consent to deliver the said Ambassador, a Duplicate of whatever Orders may be sent to the Governor of *Canada*, that he may send it to his Court. *Compeigne*, the Seventh of July, 1750.

Signed, ALBEMARLE.

A LETTER from the Marquis de Puyzieulx, to my Lord Albemarle, as a preliminary Answer to the Complaints aforementioned, until his Most Christian Majesty should receive from Canada, an exact Account of the Facts which had occasioned them.

Compeigne, June 23, 1750.

S I R,
THE Memorial which your Excellency sent me, concerning the Complaints made by Governor *Cornwallis*, of *Nova-Scotia*, contains several Facts, so contrary to that Equity which is due to his Majesty, and to the Instructions which *M. de la Jonquiere* has received, that if they are such as the Memorial represents them to be; the King will order that Satisfaction be made to the Subjects of his *Britannic* Majesty, and will send new Instructions, in Order to prevent all Manner of Disputes between the two Nations, not doubting, his *Britannic* Majesty will give the like Orders on his Part. Permit me, Sir, to tell you, that I cannot help thinking the Declaration of the Facts is much exaggerated; and as I know *M. de la Jonquiere*, is a Gentleman of Wisdom, and know also his Instructions, I am sorry Governour

Governor *Cornwallis* did not apply to him, before he sent Complaints to his Court; I sent immediately your Memorial to *M. Rouille*, desiring him to enquire with all Speed, how Affairs were transacted in *Canada*, and to let me know them, that I may be able to answer your Excellency in a more positive Manner.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Signed, PUYZIEULX.

P. S. Perhaps Governor *Cornwallis* may have formed Settlements on some Lands contended for, or on the King's Territories.

A LETTER sent by *M. Rouille* to *M. de la Jonquiere*, a Copy of which was sent on the 15th of July, 1750, to my Lord Albemarle.

Verfailles, July the 11th, 1750.

S I R,

I Send you the Copy of a Memorial directed to the Marquis de *Puyzieulx*, from the Ambassador of *Great-Britain*; wherein you will see the Complaints made by the *British* Court, concerning certain Transactions on the Frontiers of *Canada* and *Nova-Scotia*: If any of the *French* Inhabitants in those Parts, be guilty of the Outrages there complained of, they would deserve Punishment, and the King would make an Example of them. His Majesty therefore desires you would send me, by the first Opportunity, a faithful and true Account of the Facts, that I may acquaint him with the Particulars thereof.

The King also commands me to put you in Mind of the several Orders which his Majesty has already given you, concerning the Manner in which you are to conduct yourself towards the *English*, especially in every Thing that regards the Limits of the respective Colonies, till they are regulated; in supporting his just Rights against every Attempt which might tend to invade them: You are also to attempt nothing against the Rights of the *English*, but to treat them in such a respectful Manner, as may be consistent with the Honour of the Nation, and the Preservation of its Possessions; you are also to take Care that those Officers, who shall be sent by you, from Time to Time, to such Block-Houses as are adjacent to the *English* Colonies, behave likewise in the same Manner: In a Word, prevent every Thing which might occasion any just Cause of Complaint against you. His *Britannic* Majesty, as I have already acquainted you, has prescribed to the Governors of his Colonies, the like Conduct respecting you. There is Reason to hope that all Things

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will be carried on between both Parties, in a Manner agreeable to the Views of their Majesties, for the Support of the Union of both Nations. Once more, his Majesty charges you to undertake nothing that might cause any Disorder.

I am, &c.

Signed, ROUILLE.

A MEMORIAL in Answer to the Complaints made by England, and sent the 15th of September, to my Lord Albemarle.

TWO essential Observations have been made in the Answer to the Memorial sent by the Earl of Albemarle to the Marquis de Puyzieulx, concerning the Complaints of Governor Cornwallis, of Nova-Scotia.

1st, That it is not reasonable, that those Outrages, which the said Governor imputes to the French Officers, should be left to his Declaration only; that his Majesty would get an Account of what had passed; and if the Facts be complained of, were founded on Reason, his Majesty would not hesitate to punish them accordingly.

2d, That his Majesty was about renewing his Orders to the Marquis de la Jonquiere, on the chief Subject relating to Limits in the most positive Terms, that the French within his Government, should have in a Manner agreeable to that good Correspondence existing between the two Nations, and to the Intentions of his Majesty, for strengthening thereof; being confident that his Britannic Majesty would give the like Orders to the Governors of his Colonies; to act according to the same Principles.

We have not yet been able to know certainly, whether his Majesty sent any Orders: However, by Letters from the Marquis de la Jonquiere, and M. Delherbiets, Commander of Cape-Breton, which are just come to Hand, we are now enabled to convince the English Ministry, that the two forementioned Observations were well grounded. Governor Cornwallis began in the Month of March to raise considerable Forces, and sent even to Boston to demand Military Succours from that Colony, to that End.

Towards the latter End of August, several Troops, and some Field Pieces, under the Command of Major Lawrence, were put on board several Vessels, under Convoy of the Albany Frigate of 18 Guns, in order to attack M. de la Corne, Captain of the Canadian Troop, in the Posts which he possessed, and to make himself Master of them; also to force the French Inhabitants and the Indians, to submit to whatever Conditions he thought proper to lay on them.

The

Exact News of what had passed in America, had then been received.

The sitting out of these Troops, as also the Threats of Governor Cornwallis, who made no Mystery of his Projects, exasperated the Indians, and alarmed the Inhabitants, even of some Parts of Acadia, who, terrified at the Attempts and Proposals of that Government, and seeing the Vessels at Anchor in an Harbour belonging to the French Bay, called Le Grand Maringouin, or great Musketto Harbour; and one of the Vessels making towards Beau-bassin, the Inhabitants of that Place betook themselves to Flight, and the Indians immediately set it on Fire. This happened May the Second.

The same Day, Major Lawrence, landed his English Troops on the Continent, upon a Point of Land called Beau-sejour. The Captain of that Place having with him a white Flag, spoke to them, and gave them to understand, that those Lands belonged to France, and that his Orders were to bid them depart.

Whereupon the English desired to speak with the French General. M. de Lacorne having had Intelligence of this March, also came there, desiring himself, to have a Conference with the English General. After some short Discourse between the Subalterns, Major Lawrence agreed to the Conference, and M. de la Corne met him half Way.

The English Commander told M. la Corne, that he was surprized at their setting Fire to Beau-bassin, and to find the French on English Territories; that General Cornwallis had given him Orders to bid him withdraw; that it was contrary to the Law of Nations; and contrary to Justice, to take Possession of those Territories, and to encourage the Indians to a War against the English.

The French General answered Major Lawrence, that he ought not to be surprized to find him in the Forts which he possessed; and that M. de la Jonquiere had acquainted Governor Cornwallis thereof, before; that it was without any Foundation he reproached him with the Commotions of the Acadians, that he had no Part therein, nor in setting Beau-bassin on Fire, that the Indians were the sole Authors thereof; moreover, that his Orders were to allow no English to make any Descent upon that Coast, which belonged to France, and to repel Force by Force. Hereupon, the two Commanders parted, and Major Lawrence made a Signal for his Troops to embark, which was immediately done.

This is a particular Account of what happened in that Adventure, in Consequence of which, Governor Cornwallis thought proper to be the first in sending Complaints; what he said himself as to the March of his Troops, is right; but from thence it follows, that the French did not enter the Peninsula of Acadia, as was set forth; they had no Hand in the Outrages committed by the Indians, nor in the Commotions of the Acadians; it is therefore with the greatest Injustice that

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Governor Cornwallis attributes the Causes thereof, to the French;
his own Conduct towards those People, being the sole Occasion thereof.
What is here advanced, concerning the Conduct of that Governor, is
well known, having been publickly related at London.

The Preparations which the said Governor was making for War,
and the Occasion thereof, were inserted in the Gazette at Boston, in
New-England, and were looked upon as an Act of Hostility on his
Part.

The 26th of last August, Letters from Halifax were printed in
London, containing, not only a particular Account of all the Prepa-
rations of that Expedition, but also an Affair which had preceded it,
in the Peninsula aforesaid, between the English Troops and the Indians.

According to the Testimonies of those very Letters, Governor Corn-
wallis acted against those Indians, as in a Time of open War. The
Inhabitants of his own Government, and even these French themselves
who are the King's Subjects, were no better used.

We have Accounts from elsewhere, that it was currently reported
in that Country, that the same Governor had laid a Scheme for other
Attempts, and by a Letter which he wrote to the Marquis de la Jon-
quiere, dated the 5th of May, O. S. a Copy of which is here annex-
ed, it is apparent how little he was inclined to a Peace.

The King has Reason to hope for Justice from his Britannic Majesty,
that he will give Governor Cornwallis Orders to observe a Conduct
more moderate, and more agreeable to the Intentions of the two Courts,
for the Establishment of Peace, and that he will not allow the said
Governor to take Measures so contrary to the Stipulations of the Trea-
ties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, and to the Design of that Com-
mission which is settled at Paris.

The King is pleased to repeat here, that should any of his Officers
make any Attempt of that Kind, when there is no Necessity to repel
Force by Force, his Majesty would not hesitate to make a publick Ex-
ample of them. He has renewed his Orders to them on that Head, in
such a Manner, that they will not infringe them: It may be also de-
pended upon, that in their Correspondence with the British Officers,
they will never make Use of such Declamations as could not be approv-
ed of, even in the smartest War. The Style of the Letter which Go-
vernor Cornwallis sent to M. de la Jonquiere, dated Halifax,
May the 5th, O. S. we leave to his Majesty to judge of.

We shall conclude with this Observation: When M. de la Jon-
quiere had received Orders from his most Christian Majesty, for an
Exchange of Prisoners last Winter; he sent, without Delay, all those
who were in his Custody, to an English Officer belonging to the Pro-
vince of New-York; and gave the strictest Orders throughout his
Government, that the readiest Methods might be taken for the Redemp-
tion.

tion of such English Prisoners as were in the Custody of the Indian Nations. This he did, without waiting for Securities, which he had a Right to demand from the English Governors. By this the English Ministry may see, the good Dispositions of the French Governor, as also what Orders were given him, relating to every Thing that might tend to a Union between the two Nations.

The English Governors, 'tis to be hoped, have been as diligent and faithful in sending Home the French Prisoners; the English Court, no Doubt, will be ready, whatever happens, to renew their Orders to their said Governors, to prevent all future Complaints on that Head.

N U M B. V.

An EXTRACT of the Examination of four English Traders, who were arrested on the Territories of France†.

ON the 19th Day of June, 1751, in the Forenoon, before us the Marquis de la Jonquiere, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Lewis, Admiral, and Lieutenant Governor of all New-France, Isle Royale, and the Territories of Louisiana; as also in the Presence of Baron de Lonquell, Governor of the City and Province of Montreal, and Mr. Varin, a Director of Affairs in the City aforesaid, at a Council held in the Castle of Vaudreuil, the Place of our Abode, in Montreal aforesaid.

Personally appeared four Englishmen, &c. having with us Daniel Joseph Maddox, an English Interpreter, duly sworn, and in the King's Pay, to serve us in the said Quality, to interpret whatever Questions and Answers might be made between us and the Englishmen aforesaid, who we examined separately, as follows:

One of the four appearing; we gave him to understand, by the Interpretation of said Maddox, that he must be qualified to answer us truly, whatever Questions we should ask him; to which he readily agreed, and laying his Hand upon his Breast, according to the Laws and Customs of Great-Britain, he in that Manner promised and swore, that he would tell us the Truth.

We

† These Examinations will prove, that English Traders could obtain a Licence from the Governor of Pennsylvania, in order to trade on French Territories, and that he had a Spy, whose Business it was to give Presents to Indians there residing, to stir them up to War.

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We required of him to tell us his Name, Sir-Name, Age and Profession, as also where he was born, the Place of his Residence, and in what Kingdom or Government:

To all which he answered, that his Name was *Luke Aro-win*, aged Twenty-eight Years, that he was a travelling Trader; an *Irishman* by Birth, and an Inhabitant of *Pbiladelphia*; in the Province of *Pennsylvania*.

Quest. 1st, Being asked how long he had left *Pennsylvania*, where he had been since, and how far he proposed to travel? He answered, that he did not positively remember the Day of his Departure, but it was in *August* last; that he went straight way to a Village belonging to the *Shawanese*, on the *Obio*.

Quest. 2d, Being asked in whose Company he was when he left *Pennsylvania*, and what was his Design, &c? He answered, that he was in Company with two *English* Traders, and six Servants of the same Nation, and that his Design was to Trade among the *Indians*, having for that Purpose, Goods that suited them, which they proposed to sell soon, in order to return home laden with Skins. That *James Hamilton*, Esq; Governor of *Pennsylvania*, had granted him a printed Licence to trade every where, with all friendly *Indians* in general, for which he had paid the said Governor, the Sum of *Fifty Shillings*, &c.

Quest. 3d, Being asked, whether he had not sold the Goods aforesaid, to those *Indians* who are settled on the *Obio*; *Rock-River*; and round about there, at a low Rate, endeavouring to persuade them, that his Goods were much cheaper and better than those sold by the *French*, and how long he had been in that Trade with them? He answered, that he had sold his Goods to those *Indians* who are settled on the *Obio*, *Rock-River*, and wherever he could see them, and that he had sold them very cheap, in Exchange for their Skins; but that he had never undervalued the *French* Goods, but the *Indians* themselves made a vast Difference between them.

Quest. 4th, Being asked, if it was not true that some Years before, as well as this, he had, by

Governor of *Pennsylvania*, and at the Expence of that Province, carried Messages, Wampum, *English* Duck for Tents, and Hatchets to the said *Indians*, as also considerable Presents, and Ambundance of Rum, in order to induce them to acknowledge no other than the *English*, and to animate them against the *French*, and to engage them to destroy the *French*, promising them for that Purpose, a Sum of Money for every *French* Scalp? If he could not speak the *Shawanese* Language, or any of the Languages spoken by the *Indians* who are settled on *River Blanch*, or elsewhere; and if the said Governor had not sent him on that Account to the *River Ohio*, *Rock-River*, and to ogher Parts, in order to accomplish his Views? He answered, that he had carried Wampum, Hatchets and Rum, in order to trade with those *Indians*; but that from or by Order of the Governor, he had never carried them either Messages or any Thing else; that the Governor employed for that Purpose, one *George Croghan*, a Trader, whom he sent with all his Messages to those *Indians*, and who had continually a Native of *Canada* with him, named *Andrew Montour*, (as he had been informed) who understood the *Indian* Languages perfectly well; that he could not tell whether the said *Croghan* was then at that Time among those *Indians*, but he knew he had Orders from the Governor to depart soon after him, in Quality of an Express to the *Miamis Indians*, and to several other Nations, and that for the following Reason, *to wit*;

- The *Miamis Indians* aforesaid, came the last Spring to pay the said *Croghan* a Visit at *Veskak*, or *Ogbwick*, (where he and sixteen other Traders are settled) to intreat him to receive them; whereupon the said *Montour* went to those *Indians*, to assure them, in the Name of the said Governor, that the *English* would receive them well; but he could not tell if the Governor had given Orders to stir up those Nations to destroy the *French*, for the *Miamis Indians* were not arrived at *Philadelphia* when he left it,

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and nothing had transpired; he acknowledged that he could speak *Shawanese*, and several other Indian Languages; but the Governor had never made Choice of him as an Express to the *Indians*.

Quest. 5th, &c.

Quest. 6th, Being asked, whether he was not at the *Ohio* in the Year 1749, with a Number of *English* Traders, when *M. le Celoron*, a Major and Commander of the Fort *Detroit*, was there, who had Orders from the Marquis *de la Galissonniere*, Commander in Chief of all *New-France*, and the Territories thereon depending, to summon them to withdraw forthwith, from the Territories of the King our Master? and whether they were not strictly forbidden to return there any more? and whether the said *M. le Celoron*, had not written to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, to acquaint him thereof, and to give him Notice, that if any more *English* Traders ever appeared on the Territories of his Majesty, he would not be answerable to him for what might happen. He answered, that he had heard of *M. de Celoron's* Expedition to the *Ohio*, and of the Injunctions he had laid upon the *English* Traders, and of the Letter he wrote to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*; but he thought that the Licence he had from the Governor, was sufficient to indemnify him, without regarding any Orders to the Contrary.

Then was read before the said *Luke Arowin*, the whole Examination, &c.

The second *Englishman* appearing before us, we gave him to understand, by the Interpretation of the said *Mad-dox*, that he must be qualified to answer us truly, whatever Questions we should ask him, to which he readily agreed, and laying his Hand upon his Breast, according to the Laws and Customs of *Great-Britain*; he in that Manner promised and swore, that he would speak the Truth.

We required of him to tell us his Name, Sir-name, his Age and Profession, as also where he was born, the Place of his Residence, and in what Kingdom or Government?

To

To which he answered ; that his Name was *Joseph Fortiner*, aged Twenty-six Years, an hired Servant, a Traveller, born in the *Ferries*, a Place belonging to the Province of *New-York*.

He was examined on the first Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered ; that he had been four Years absent from the *Ferries*, and lived the most Part of that Time in the Woods, but in the Winter he commonly retired to a Village in the Province of *Pennsylvania*, called *Scanaris*; that he had traded with the *Shawanese* at the *Obio*, and wherever he could see any *Indians*.

He was examined on the second Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered ; that he set out with *Michael Teaf*, on Purpose to trade with the *Indians* ; that he was hired to the said *Teaf*, in order to help him with his Horses and Goods ; that himself and the other *Englishmen* who were taken, had burnt their Invoice, and that consequently they could not tell us the Value of the Goods he had ; that they had been bought from the same Person *Luke Arowin* had bought his ; that he had a Licence from the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, but had left it in his Cabin, at an *Indian* Town, called by the *English* *Vendack*, adjoining the *Shawanese*.

Being examined on the third Question, which was read to him Word for Word,

He answered ; that he had sold his Goods to those Nations settled on the *Obio*, and in the adjacent Parts ; that he had never despised the *French* Goods, but the *Indians* themselves had told him, that they rather chose to trade with the *English*, knowing their Goods to be better and cheaper than those which the *French* sold them ; that he had traded with those *Indians* only four Years, as aforesaid.

He was examined on the eighth Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

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To which he answered ; that in the Year 1749, he was at *Susquebannab*, in the Province of *Pennsylvania*, where he had heard that *M. de Celeron* was at the *Ohio*, but further said not.

Then was read before the said *Joseph Fortiner*, the whole Examination, and his Answers, &c.

The third *Englishman* appearing before us, we gave him to understand by the Interpretation of said *Maddox*, that he must be qualified to answer us truly, whatever Questions we should ask him, to which he readily agreed, &c.

Being asked his Name, &c.

He answered, that his Name was *Thomas Burk*, aged Twenty-three Years, a Traveller, a Native of *Cork*, in *Ireland*, and now an Inhabitant of *Lancaster*, in the Province of *Pennsylvania*.

He was examined on the first Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered ; that he had left *Ireland* almost Eight Years, that it was scarce ten Months since he left *Susquebannab*, that he was hired by *John Martin*, an *Englishman*, who traded at the *Ohio*, that he set out with two other hired Servants, in order to trade near *Otsandoket*, and from thence intended to return to *Lancaster*.

He was examined on the third Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered ; that he had no other Company with him than the two aforesaid *Englishmen* ; that his Effects, including his Horses, might be valued at Fifteen Hundred Livres, but he had left them all at a small River, about two Leagues from where the Rev. Father *de la Richardie* had wintered, in the Care of two *Englishmen*, who as soon as they had heard that Warrants were issued out to take them, had left all and fled ; that the aforesaid Goods were the Property of the said *Martin*, he having bought them of two different Merchants in *Philadelphia*, the Name of one he remembred was *Shippen* ; that he had a Licence from the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, but had left it at said River with his Effects.

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He was examined on the eighth Question, &c.

To which he answered ; that he had heard of M. de *Coloron* being at the *Ohio*, as also of the Letter he had written to the Governor of *Pennsylvania* ; that it was intrusted to the hired Servants belonging to *George Croghan*, the chief Interpreter, but he could not tell if it had ever been delivered.

Then was read before the said *Thomas Burk*, the whole Examination, and his Answers, &c.

The fourth *Englishman* then appeared before us, who being qualified, &c.

We required of him to tell us his Name, Sir-Name, his Age, &c.

He answered, that his Name was *John Patten*, aged Twenty-six Years, an *Indian* Trader, a Native and Inhabitant of *Wilmington*, in the Province of *Pennsylvania*.

He was examined on the first Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered, that he had left *Wilmington*, the 24th of last *August*, O. S. that he set out in order to trade with some *Miamis Indians* who are settled on *Rock-River*, about thirty Leagues, as near as he could guess, from the *Miamis Fort*.

He was examined on the second Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered, that he had with him two hired Servants, and that he was in Company with an *English* Trader who had five more ; that they all came together to *Rock-River*, at which Place they found upwards of fifty Traders, including Servants, lodging in Cabins belonging to the *Miamis Indians* ; that the Name of their Chief, was *La Demoiselle* ; that those Cabins were in a Fort ; that the Value of his Goods amounted to about Seven Thousand Livres ; that he had provided himself at setting out, with a Licence from the Governor of *Pennsylvania* *, for which he had paid a Pistole, which Licence

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He was examined on the third Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered, that he had sold some Goodsto the *Indians* who are settled on the *Ohio, Rock-River*, and other adjacent Parts ; that it was the first Time of his coming to *Rock-River* ; and the only Way he used to trade with the *Indians*, was by shewing them his Goods, and agreeing with them as to the Price ; but that he had never undervalued the *French* Goods.

He was examined on the fourth Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered ; he had only heard that the Governor of *Pennsylvania* had intrusted *George Croghan*, the head *Indian* Interpreter, with Goods to the Value of a Thousand Pistoles ; and that he went up and down the Woods with the said *Montour*, a *French Canadian*, in order to distribute the said Goods among the *Indians* who are settled on the *Ohio, Rock-River*, and particularly the *Miamis Indians*, and further saith not ; he denied knowing any *Indian* Language.

He was asked if he had not been arrested in the *Miamis Fort*, by Order of *M. de Villiers*, Commander of the said Fort, and was it not with Intention to trade, that he went there ?

To which he answered, that the *Indians* telling him the *French* were desirous to see him, was the Reason of his going to that Fort ; that he was greatly surprized to see himself arrested therein ; that he had Occasion to buy in said Fort, a Musket and some Tobacco, and had taken with

The *Indians* having no Territories of their own, can freely trade throughout every Part of the Country, whether belonging to the *English* or to the *French*. As to the *European* Nations, none can trade with any *Indians*, except those who are on their own Territories. Therefore these Letters of Licence granted to Traders by *English* Governors, in order to permit them to trade on Lands possessed by the *French*, are so many Enterprizes and Usurpations : Those *English* Traders, properly speaking, kept up a Contraband-Trade with their Governor's Permission.

with him five Silk Caps, one Piece of coarse *Holland*, and twelve Silk Handkerchiefs, for that Purpose, and that all had been seized by the said *M. de Villiers*, as also his Horse; that his Boots and Portmanteau, wherein his Clothes were, had been left in an *Indian* Cabin, and were to have been sent to him at *Detroit*; but he never had any Tidings of them since; that another Horse had also been taken from him, whereon was an *Indian* who was his Guide.

He was asked whether (at the Time he had proposed to go to the *French* Fort at *Miamis*). Presents had not been made; either by him, or any other Person, to the *Indians* who are settled on the *Ohio*, and *Rock-River*, in order to obtain their Assistance against the *French*, in case they should Attack them?

He answered entirely in the Negative to every Thing contained in the aforesaid Question.

He was asked; if those Goods which had been seized at † *La Croix*, twenty Leagues from the Fort at *Miamis*; were not his, and if they were not the same, which were mentioned in the verbal Process of *M. de Montigny*, an Officer, dated *December* the 2d, 1750, which had been read to him.

To which he answered, that he had left his Goods at *La Croix*, and was satisfied that those Goods mentioned in the verbal Process, were the same Sort as his, but in much less Quantity; that he could not tell what was become of the rest; it might be, his Servants had carried them away when they fled.

He was examined on the eighth Question, which was read to him Word for Word.

To which he answered, that he was not at the *Ohio* in the Year 1749, that he was told of *M. le Celoron's* being there at that Time, and of what Orders he had enjoined the *English* Traders; that he had also been told of the Letter which *M. le Celoron* had written to the Governor of *Pennsylvania* on that Account, but was informed he had never received it; *Croghan*, the chief Interpreter

† *La Croix*, is the Name of a Place signifying in *English* the Cross.

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ter aforesaid, having torn it, that the Governor might not know the Contents thereof, lest he should order him to act agreeable to it.

Then was read before the said *Patten*, the whole Examination, and his Answers; and he was asked if he was inclined to add to, or extenuate his Answers? To which he answered, That all he had said was true, and stood to it; and furthermore said, that the aforesaid *Croghan*, the head Interpreter, had at all Times persuaded the *Indians* to destroy the *French*, and had so far prevailed on them by the Presents he had made them, that five *French* had been killed by said *Indians*, in the Upper-Part of the Country; that Self-Interest was his sole Motive in every Thing he did; that his Views were to engross the whole Trade, and to scare the *French* from Dealing with the *Indians*: And as to the Letters which *M. de Celoron* had written to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, three of them had been intercepted by the said *Croghan*, lest the said Governor, being acquainted with his Deeds, * should forbid him ever to go amongst them again.

Said *Patten* hath set his Hand to every Page, as also the Baron *de Longueuil*, *M. Varen*, the said *Maddox*, the Interpreter, and our Secretary: Thus signed *John Patten*, *D. J. Moddox*, *La Jonquiere*, *Longueel*, *Varin*, and *Saint Sauveur*, Secretary.

N U M B. VI.

A SUMMONS sent by Order of *M. de Contricœur*, Captain of one of the Independant Companies of the Detachment of Marines, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Troops at the *Ohio*, to the Commander of those Troops belonging to the King of Great-Britain, whereof *M. le Mercier* was Bearer, the 16th Day of April, 1754.

NOTHING can surprize me more than to see you thus attempt to settle on the Territories of the King my Master; tis that which obliges me this Day, to send you *M. Le Mercier*, Captain of the Cannoneers, and Commander of the Artillery in *Canada*, that he may know, Sir, from yourself, by Virtue of
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* This is added to justify the Governor. You have read before how he had given *Croghan* some Goods to the Value of 100 Pistoles to be distributed among the *Indians*.

what Orders you are erecting Forts on the Territories of the King my Master. This Motion appears to me so contrary to the last Treaty of Peace, concluded at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, between his most *Christian* Majesty, and his Majesty the King of *Great-Britain*, that I know not to whom I shall impute such Usurpation; since those Lands which are situated along the River *Ohio*, beyond all Dispute, belonging to the most *Christian* King.

I am certainly informed, Sir, that your Schemes are contrived only by a Company who hath the Interest of Trade more in View, than to maintain the Union and Harmony existing between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *France*; though, Sir, the Maintainance thereof, may be as advantageous to your Nation as to ours.

However, Sir, if you are come vested with any Orders to this Place, I summons you from the King my Master, by Virtue of the Orders which I have from my General, peaceably to withdraw yourself, and your Troops, from the King's Territories, if not, I shall be under a Necessity, for the Performance of my Duty, to oblige you thereto. I hope, Sir, you will not prolong the Time, and thereby force me to Extremes: You may, Sir, in that Case, be fully persuaded, I shall give such Orders to my Detachment, that you shall receive no Damage thereby.

Sir, I give you Notice now, that it will be to no Purpose to demand one Hour's Delay, or to expect I shall consent to your Stay, until you receive Orders from your Governor, for none he can give upon the Lands of the King my Master. The Orders I have received from my General, are a Law to me; therefore, Sir, I cannot go from them.

But if, on the Contrary, you have no Orders; if you are only come here to trade, I am sorry to inform you, that I am obliged to seize your Person, and to confiscate your Effects to the Use of the *Indians*, who are our Children, our Allies, and our Friends, as you are not permitted to follow any illicit Trade.

It was for that very Reason, Sir, that two *Englishmen* were by us arrested last Year, for trading on our Lands. Furthermore, the King my Master, demands only what is his Right: His Intentions are not to interrupt that good Harmony and Friendship subsisting between his Majesty and the King of *Great-Britain*.

The General of *Canada*, can give Proofs in what Manner he concurieth to keep up the Union existing between the two Princes; for having been informed, that some *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, in Company with some *Nepissingues*, from the Lake of the two Mountains, had fallen upon, and destroyed an *English* Family towards *Carolina*; he stopped their Passage, and obliged them

them to deliver up the Goods which were taken from them by Mr. *Ullrich*.

Moreover, the usual Cruelty, complain, Year to the Year, were busy in

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them to deliver him up a little Boy belonging to that Family, and who was the only one left alive; he was brought back to *Boston*, by Mr. *Ulerich*, who was then upon some Negotiation at *Montreal*.

Moreover, he has strictly forbidden all *Indians* to exercise their usual Cruelties on those *English* who are our Friends. I could complain, Sir, of the many Solicitations you have made last Year to the *Indians*, to take up the Hatchet against us, whilst we were busy in maintaining Peace.

Sir, I am persuaded that you will receive *M. le Mercier*, in a polite Manner, on Account of his Commission, as also of his Distinction and personal Merit; and I expect you will send him back to me with one of your Officers, who will bring me an exact Answer, signed by yourself. As you have *Indians* with you, I send an Interpreter with *M. le Mercier*, that he may acquaint them with my Intentions on their Account.

I am, &c. Signed, CONTRECOEUR.

Done at our Camp, the 16th of April, 1754.

N U M B. VII.

A COPY of those Orders which *M. de Contrecoeur* gave *M. de Jumonville*, the 23d of May, 1754.

BE it Known, that the Captain of a Company belonging to the Detachment of Marines, Commander in Chief at the *Ohio*, *Fort Duquesne*, the *Peninsula*, and *River Beef*, hath given Orders to *M. de Jumonville*, an Ensign of the Troops, to depart immediately, with one Officer, three Cadets, one Voluntier, one *English* Interpreter, and twenty-eight Men, to go up as far as the *High-Lands*, and to make what Discovery he can; he shall keep along the *River Monongalala*, in *Pettiaguas*, as far as the *Hangard*; after which he shall march along, until he finds the Road which leads to that said to have been cleared by the *English*. As the *Indians* give out that the *English* are on their March to attack us (which we cannot believe, since we are at Peace) should *M. de Jumonville*, contrary to our Expectation, hear of any Attempt intended to be made by the *English*, on the Lands belonging to the *French* King, he shall immediately go to them, and deliver them the Summons we have given him.

We further charge him, to dispatch a speedy Messenger to us, before the Summons be read, to acquaint us of all the Discoveries he hath made; of the Day he intends to read them the Summons; and also, to bring us an Answer from them, with all possible Diligence, after it is read.

If Mr. de Jumonville should hear that the *English* intend to go on the other Side of the *Great-Mountain*,* he shall not pass the *Hgh-Lands*, for we would not disturb them in the least, being desirous to keep up that Union which exists between the two Crowns.

We charge Mr. de Jumonville, to stand upon his Guard against every Attempt, either from the *English* or *Indians*. If he should meet any *Indians*, he shall tell them he is travelling about to see what is transacting on the King's Territories, and to take Notice of every Road, and shall shew them Friendship.

Done at the Camp at Fort Du Quesne, the 23d of May, 1754.

Signed, CONTRECOEUR.

A COPY of the Summons whereof Mr. de Jumonville, was the Bearer.

A SUMMONS which Mr. de Jumonville shall read. From an Officer of the Troops of the Most Christian King, to the Commander of the English Troops, if any he shall find on the Territories of the French King.

SIR,

THE *Indians* have already acquainted me, you were coming armed, on the Territories of the King my Master, though I cannot believe it; but as it is my Duty to leave no Stone unturned to discover exactly the Truth thereof, I have sent out Mr. de Jumonville, on that Account; and in Case he should see you, to summons you in the King's Name, and by Virtue of the Orders which I have received from my General, to depart forthwith in Peace, with your Troops; if you refuse, you will oblige me, Sir, to force you thereto, by using the most powerful Means, for the Honour of the King's Arms: Your buying those Lands at the *Ohio*, from the *Indians*, gives you so weak a Right thereto, that I shall be obliged to repel Force by Force. I forewarn you, that if, after this Summons, which shall be the last, there be any Act of Hostility, you shall answer for it; as it is our Intention to keep up the Union existing between the two Crowns. Whatever your Schemes may be, I hope, Sir, you will shew Mr. Jumonville all the Respect that Officer deserves, and that you will send him back to me again, with all Speed, to acquaint me with your Intentions,

I am, &c.

Signed, CONTRECOEUR.

Done at the Camp at Fort Du Quesne, the 23d of May, 1754.

* The Apalachian Mountains.

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A LETTER sent to the Marquis du Quesne, by M. de Contre-
coeur, dated June 2d, 1754.

S I R,

SINCE the Letter I had the Honour to write to you, dated the 30th of last Month, whereby I acquainted your Honour, that I expected Mr. de Jumville, within four Days; the *Indians* have just now informed me, that that Party is taken and defeated; they were Eight in Number, one whereof was Mr. de Jumville. One of that Party, Monceau by Name, a *Canadian*, made his Escape, and tells us that they had built themselves Cabbins, in a low Bottom, where they sheltered themselves, as it rained hard. About seven o'Clock the next Morning, they saw themselves surrounded by the *English* on one Side and the *Indians* on the Other. The *English* gave them two Volleys, but the *Indians* did not fire. Mr. de Jumville, by his Interpreter, told them to desist, that he had something to tell them. Upon which they ceased firing. Then Mr. de Jumville ordered the Summons which I had sent them to retire, to be read; a Copy of which, I here send your Honour. The aforesaid Monceau, saw all our *Frenchmen* coming up close to Mr. de Jumville, whilst they were reading the Summons, so that they were all in Platoons, between the *English* and the *Indians*, during which Time, said Monceau made the best of his Way to us, partly by Land through the Woods, and partly along the River *Monaungahela*, in a small Canoe.

This is all, Sir, I could learn from said Monceau. The Misfortune is, that our People were surprized; the *English* had incircled them, and came upon them unseen.

I have this Moment, Sir, received a Letter from M. de la Chauvignerie, which you have here inclosed, where you will see, that we have certainly lost Eight Men, one of whom is Mr. de Jumville.

The *Indians* who were present when the Thing was done, say, that Mr. de Jumville was killed by a Musket-Shot in the Head, whilst they were reading the Summons; and that the *English* would afterwards have killed all our Men, had not the *Indians* who were present, by rushing in between them and the *English*, prevented their Design. Messrs. Drouillon and la Force, are taken Prisoners. We cannot tell, if Messrs. de Boucerville and du Sable, both Cadets, are in the Number of the Eight who are killed. This is the Account which the *Indians* have given us.

I believe, Sir, it will surprize you to hear how basely the *English* have acted; it is what was never seen, even amongst Nations who are the least civilized, to fall thus upon Embassadors,

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CONTRECOEUR.

3d of May, 1754.

dors and murder them. the *Indians* are so enraged thereat, that they have applied to me for Liberty to fall upon the *English*. I had sent *Goyogwin*, an *Indian* Chiet, to hold a Council at his Village, on the *Action* aforesaid; but he is returned, and is now constantly with me.

The *English* are, no Doubt, on their March, with an Army of Five Thousand strong. The *Indians* say, they have always Six Hundred Men going before, in order to clear a Broad-Road, to bring up strong Cannon; this was the *Indian* Expression. As I am certain the *English* are in their March, I wrote to M. *Pean* to come to us with all Diligence with the Provisions, and to send us Three Hundred Men, either by Land or by Water. I also wrote to M. *de Carqueville*, that, if M. *Pean* was not at *Tradavuin*, he should come with the same Number of Men, as I wrote to M. *Pean* for.

If the Discovery which has cost our People so dear, had not been made, the *English* would have come upon us unawares; but now we shall be vigilant on all Accounts. We are told that the Main-Body of the Army is yet far distant, that it will be one Moon at least before they reach this Place. 'Tis said they are reinforcing *Tpauillon*, up the River *Monaugabela*. This Advice we have from the *Indians*, who also say, that the *English* have with them Ten *Cochaquas*, and Thirty *Flat-Heads*, of the nearest to them, and One Hundred Men of the *Dog Nation*; which puts them in high Spirits; as they are all Enemies to the *Indians* who are on this River.

'Tis said the *English* intend to build a Fort half a League above us, and another a little more than half a League below us, which is at the *Little-Rock*, besides another at some small Distance along the River *Monaugabela*, on the same Side that we are.

I shall acquaint your Honour, at every Opportunity, of every Thing that is done, &c.

X
N U M B. VIII.

The JOURNAL of Major Washington.

ON the 3rd of *March*, I received from his Honour, a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission, of the *Virginia* Regiment, whereof *Joshua Fry*, Esq; was Colonel, dated the 15th; with Orders to take the Troops, which were at that Time quartered at *Alexandria*, under my Command, and to march with them towards the *Ohio*,

* Governor *Dinwiddie*, of *Virginia*

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there to help Captain *Trent* to build Forts, and to defend the Possessions of his Majesty against the Attempts and Hostilities of the *French*.

April the 2d, Every Thing being ready, we began our march according to our Orders, the 2d of *April*, with two Companies of Foot, commanded by Captain *Peter Hog*, and Lieutenant *Jacob Vambraam*, five Subalterns, two Serjeants, six Corporals, one Drummer, and one Hundred and twenty Soldiers, one Surgeon, one *Swedish* Gentleman, who was a Volunteer, two Waggons, guarded by one Lieutenant, Serjeant, Corporal, and Twenty-five Soldiers.

We left *Alexandria* on Tuesday Noon, and pitched our Tents about four Miles from *Cameron*, having travelled six Miles.

(From the 3d of *April*, to the 19th of said Month, this Journal only contains the March of the Troops, and how they were joined by a Detachment which was brought by Captain *Stevens*.)

The 19th, Met an Express who had Letters from Captain *Trent*, at the *Ohio*, demanding a Reinforcement with all Speed, as he hourly expected a Body of Eight Hundred *French*. I tarried at *Job Pearsall's* for the Arrival of the Troops, where they came the next Day. When I received the above Express, I dispatched a Courier to Colonel *Fry*, to give him Notice of it.

The 20th, Came down to Colonel *Cresap*, to order the Detachment, and on my Rout, had Notice that the Fort was taken by the *French*. That News was confirmed by Mr. *Wart*, the Ensign of Captain *Trent*, who had been obliged to surrender to a Body of One Thousand *French* and upwards, under the Command of Captain *Contrecoeur*, who was come from *Venango* (in *French*, the Peninsula) with Sixty Battoes, and Three Hundred Canoes, and who having planted eighteen Pieces of Cannon against the Fort, afterwards had sent him a Summons to depart.

Mr. *Wart* also informed me, that the *Indians* kept stedfastly attached to our Interest. He brought two young *Indian*

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his Honour n, of the *Vir-*; was Colonel, Troops, which *ria*, under my wards the *Ohio*, there

Indian Men with him, who were *Mingoes*, that they might have the Satisfaction to see that we were marching with our Troops to their Succour.

He also delivered me the following Speech, which the *Half-King* sent to me †.

Fert-Obio, April 18th, 1754:

A SPEECH from the *Half-King*, for the *Governors* of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

MY Brethren the *Englsh*. The Bearer will let you understand in what Manner the *French* have treated us. We waited a long Time, thinking they would come and attack us; we now see how they have a Mind to use us §.

We are now ready to fall upon them, waiting only for your Succour. Have good Courage, and come as soon as possible; you will find us as ready to encounter with them as you are yourselves.

We have sent those two young Men to see if you are ready to come, and if so, they are to return to us, to let us know where you are, that we may come and join you. We should be glad, if the Troops belonging to the two Provinces could meet together at the Fort which is in the Way. If you do not come to our Assistance now, we are intirely undone, and imagine we shall never meet together again. I speak it with a Heart full of Grief.

A Belt of Wampum.

The *Half-King* directed to me the following Speech. I am ready, if you think it proper, to go to both the *Governors*, with these two young Men, for I have now no more Dependance on those who have been gone so long, without returning or sending any Message.

A Belt of Wampum.

April

† This *Half-King* was an *Indian* Chief to whom the *Englsh* had given that Title, and had set him on exceedingly against the *French*.

§ Behold here is a Confession of that Goodness, with which the *French* had treated the *Indians* which had revolted. Those *Indians* expected to be pursued; surprized at the Indulgence of the *French*, they propose to attack them themselves, and acquaint the *Englsh* of their Resolution.

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April 23d. A COUNCIL of WAR held at *Wills-Creek*, in order to consult upon what must be done on Account of the News brought by Mr. *Wart*,

The News brought by Ensign *Wart*, having been examined into, as also the Summons sent by Captain *Conrecoeur*, Cominander of the *French* Troops, and the Speeches of the *Half-King*, and of the other Chiefs of the *Six-Nations*; it appears, that Mr. *Wart*, was forced to surrender the said Fort, the 17th of this Instant, to the *French*, who were above One Thousand strong, and had eighteen Artillery Pieces, some of which were nine Pounders †, and also that the Detachment of the *Virginia* Regiment, amounting to One Hundred and Fifty Men, commanded by Colonel *Washington* had Orders to reinforce the Company of Captain *Trent*, and that the aforesaid Garrison consisted only of Thirty-three effective Men.

It was thought a Thing impracticable to march towards the Fort without sufficient Strength; however, being strongly invited by the *Indians*, and particularly by the Speeches of the *Half-King*, the President gave his Opinion, that it would be proper to advance as far as *Red-Stone-Creek*, on *Monaungabela*, about Thirty-seven Miles on this Side of the Fort, and there to raise a Fortification, clearing a Road broad enough to pass with all our Artillery and our Baggage, and there to wait for fresh Orders.

The Opinion aforesaid was resolved upon, for the following Reasons;

1st, That the Mouth of *Red-Stone* is the first convenient Place on the River *Monaungabela*.

2^d, That Stores are already built at that Place for the Provisions of the Company, wherein our Ammunition may be laid up; our great Guns may be also sent by Water whenever we should think it convenient to attack the Fort.

3^d, We may easily (having all these Conveniences) preserve our People from the ill Consequences of Inaction, and encourage the *Indians* our Allies, to remain in our Interest.

† Captain *Trent*, and Ensign *Wart* had greatly exaggerated the *French* Forces. Which is common enough for People to do, who abandon their Fort at a bare Summons.

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8th, 1754:
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April

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Interests. Whereupon, I sent Mr. *Wart* to the Govern-
nor, †, with one of the young *Indians* and an Interpreter :
I thought it proper also to acquaint the Governors of
Maryland and *Pennsylvania* of the News ; and I sent
away the other *Indian* to the *Half-King*, with the
Speeches inclosed in the following Letter.

To the Honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esq; Governor, &c.

S I R,

MR. *Wart*, an Ensign of Captain *Trent's* Company,
is this Day come from *Monaungabela*, and has
brought the sorrowful News of the Reduction of the Fort,
on the 17th of this Instant ; having been summoned by
Captain *Contrecoeur* to surrender to a Body of *French*
Troops who were a Thousand strong, who came from
Venango, with eighteen Pieces of Cannon, sixty Battoes,
and Three Hundred Canoes ; they permitted all our Men
to retire, and take with them their Working-Tools out
of the Fort, which was done the same Day.

Upon receiving this News, I called a Council of War,
in order to consult what was the best to be done in such
Circumstances ; and have sent you a particular Account
of every Thing agreed upon at the said Council by the same
Express, that you may know Things yet more particularly.

Mr. *Wart* is the Bearer of the Summons, as also of the
Speech from the *Half-King*, wherein I inclosed the *Wam-
pum* ; he is in Company with one of those *Indians* men-
tioned in the Speech, who had been sent to see our Forces,
and to know what Time they might expect us ; the other
Indian, I have sent back with a Message. I hope you will
find it necessary, to send us our Forces as soon as they are
raised, as also a sufficient Number of Canoes, and other
Boats with Decks ; send us also some Mortar-Pieces, that
we may be in a Condition to attack the *French* with equal
Forces. And as we are informed that the *Indians* of the
Six Nations, and the *Outawas*, are coming down *Scioto-
Creek*, in order to join the *French* who are to meet at the
Ohio ; so I think it would not be amiss to invite the

† The Governor of Virginia is here understood. *Cherokees*

*Spent to give this Letter as of 25 April 1754 but has
to attend it as to confer*

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Cherokees, Catawbas, and the Chickasaws to come to our Assistance; and as I have received Intelligence, that there is no good Understanding between them and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* aforesaid, it would be well to persuade them to make a Peace with them; otherwise if they should meet at the *Ohio*, it might cause great Disorder, and turn out to our Disadvantage.

We find the great Advantage there is in Water-Carriage, wherefore, I would remind you to provide a Number of Boats for that Purpose.

This Day, arrived the Men belonging to Captain *Trent*, who by your Orders had been enlisted as Militia-Troops; the Officers having imprudently promised them *Two Shillings* per Day, they now refuse to serve for less Pay; *Wart* shall receive your Orders on that Head.

To his Excellency *Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.*

S I R,

I AM here arrived with a Detachment of One Hundred and Fifty Men: We daily expect Colonel *Fry* with the remaining Part of the Regiment and the Artillery; however, we shall march gently across the Mountains, clearing the Roads as we go, that our Cannon may with the greater Ease be sent after us; we propose to go as far as *Red-Stone River*, which falls into *Monongabela*, about Thirty-seven Miles this Side of the Fort which the *French* have taken, from thence all our heavy Luggage may be carried as far as the *Ohio*. A Store is built there by the *Ohio* Company, wherein may be placed our Ammunition and Provisions.

Besides the *French* Forces above mentioned, we have Reason to believe, according to the Accounts we have heard, that another Party is coming to the *Ohio*; we have also learnt that Six Hundred of the *Chippowais* and *Ollowais Indians*, are coming down the River *Scioto*, in order to join them, *

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§ How can the *English* say that Country was their's? They had not one Road leading to it from their Colonies.

* This letter in full *Baltimore Report*, March 16 11
Also *Magazine of Am. History* 1881

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The following is my Answer to the Speech of the *Half-King* ;

“ To the *Half-King*, and to the Chiefs and Warriors of the *Sbawanese* and *Loups* our Friends and Brethren. I received your Speech by Brother *Bucks*, who came to us with the two young Men six Days after their Departure from you. We return you our greatest Thanks, and our Hearts are fired with Love and Affection towards you, in Gratitude for your constant Attachment to us, as also your gracious Speech, and your wise Counsels.

This young Man will inform you, where he found a small Part of our Army, making towards you, clearing the Roads for a great Number of our Warriors, who are ready to follow us, with our great Guns, our Ammunition and Provisions. As I delight in letting you know with speed the Thoughts of our Heart, I send you back this young Man, with this Speech, to acquaint you therewith, and the other young Man I have sent to the Governor of *Virginia*, to deliver him your Speech and your Wampum, and to be an Eye-witness of those Preparations we are making, to come in all Haste to the Assistance of those whose Interest is as dear to us as our Lives. We know the Character of the treacherous *French*, and our Conduct shall plainly shew you, how much we have it at Heart. I shall not be satisfied if I do not see you before all our Forces are met together at the Fort which is in the Way ; wherefore, I desire, with the greatest Earnestness, that you, or at least one of you, would come as soon as possible to meet us on the Road, and to assist us in Council. I present you with these Bunches of Wampum, to assure you of the Sincerity of my Speech, and that you may remember how much I am your Friend and Brother.”

Signed, WASHINGTON,
or CONOTOCARIOUS*.

April 28. Came to us some Pieces of Cannon, which were taken up to the Mouth of *Patterson's River*.^(*)
(From

* This was without Doubt an *Indian Name* that Major *Washington* had taken, to please those *Indians* which he wanted to delude.

⊕ Eight miles below Fort *Comberland*

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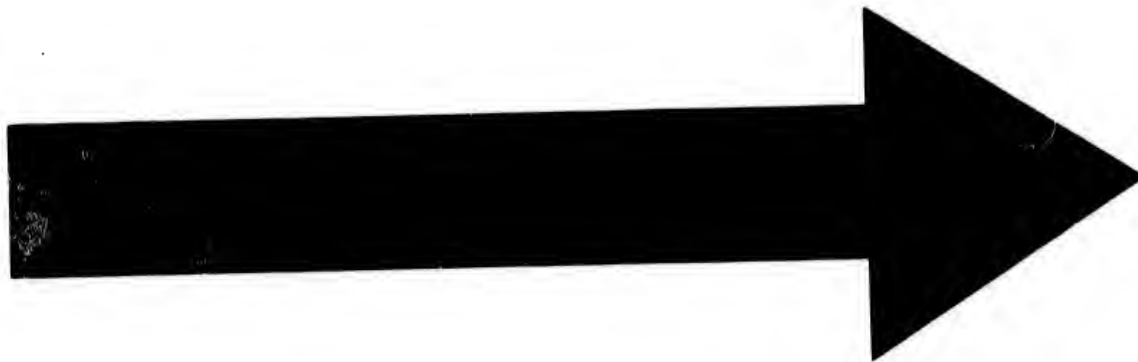
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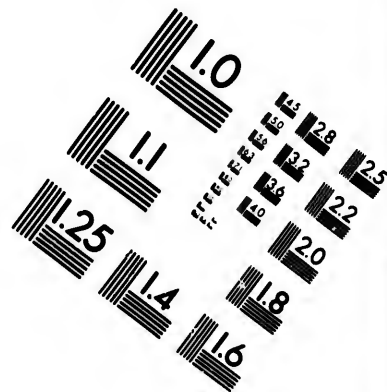
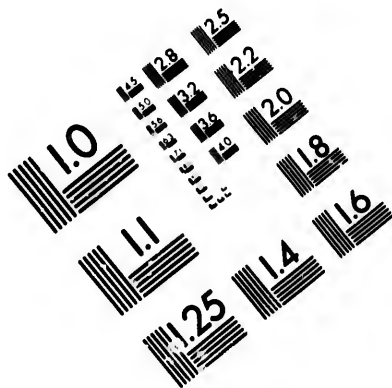
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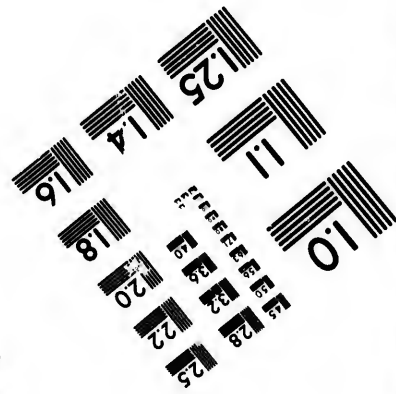
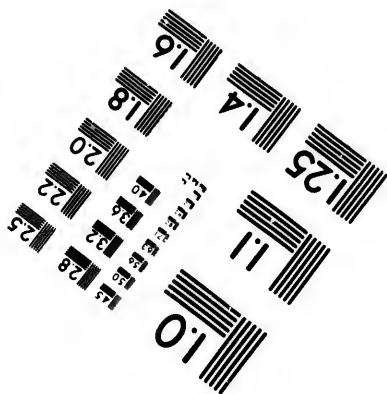
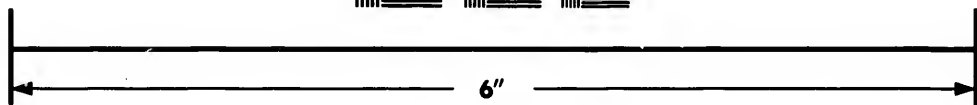
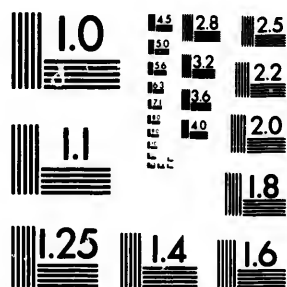
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(From the 29th of *April*, to the 11th of *May*, the Journal only contains Marches, and Things of little Consequence.)

May the 11th, Detached a Party of Twenty-five Men, commanded by Captain *Stevens* and Ensign *Peronie*, with Orders to go to Mr. *Gist's*, to enquire where *La Force* †, and his Party were; and in case they were in the Neighbourhood, to cease pursuing and to take care of themselves. I also ordered them to examine closely all the Woods round about, and if they should find any *Frenchman* apart from the rest, to seize him and bring him to us, that we might learn what we could from him: We were exceedingly desirous to know, if there was any Possibility of sending down any Thing by Water, as also to find out some convenient Place about the Mouth of *Red-Stone-Creek*, where we could build a Fort, it being my Design to salute the *Half-King*, and to send him back under a small Guard; we were also desirous to enquire what were the Views of the *French*, what they had done, and what they intended to do *, and to collect every Thing, which could give us the least Intelligence.

The 12th, Marched away, and went on a rising Ground, where we halted to dry ourselves, for we had been obliged to ford a deep River, where our shortest Men had waded up to their Arm-pits.

There came an Express to us with Letters, acquainting us, that Col. *Fry*, with a Detachment of One Hundred Men and upwards, was at *Winchester*, and was to set out in a few Days to join us; as also, that Col. *Innis* was marching with Three Hundred and Fifty Men, raised in *Carolina*; that it was expected *Maryland* would raise Two Hundred Men, and that *Pennsylvania* had raised

Ten

† Mr. *de la Force* was one of the *Frenchmen* who accompanied Mr. *Jumonville*, and about the Beginning of *May*, was sent out with three other *Frenchmen* and some *Indians*, after Deserters, and Major *Washington* had Knowledge of this from the *Indians*.

* If the *English* were ignorant of the Designs of the *French* at that Time; it cannot then be said, that their Hostilities had occasioned the Orders which Major *Washington* had to attack them.

Ten Thousand Pounds (equal to about *Fifty-two Thousand Five Hundred Livres*) to pay the Soldiers raised in other Colonies, as that Province furnisheth no Recruits, as also that Governor *Shirley* had sent 600 Men to harraſs the *French* in *Canada*; * I hope that will give them ſome Work to do, and will ſlacken their ſending ſo many Men to the *Ohio* as they have done.

The 16th, Met two Traders, who told us they fled for Fear of the *French*, as Parties of them were often ſeen towards Mr. *Giſt's*. Theſe Traders are of Opinion, as well as many others, that it is not poſſible to clear a Road for any Carriage to go from hence to *Red-Stone-Creek*.

The 17th, This Night Mr. *Wart* arrived with the young *Indian* from *Williamsburg*, and delivered me a Letter, wherein the Governor is ſo good as to approve of my Proceedings, but is much diſpleaſed with Captain *Wrent*, and has ordered him to be tried, for leaving his Men at the *Ohio*: The Governor alſo informs me, that Capt. *Mackay*, with an Independant Company of 100 Men, excluding the Officers, were arrived, and that we might expect them daily; and that the Men from *New-York* would join us within ten Days.

This Night alſo came two *Indians* from the *Ohio*, who left the *French* Fort five Days ago: They relate that the *French* Forces are all employed in building their Fort, that it is already Breast-high, and the Thickneſs of twelve Feet, and filled up with Earth and Stone, &c. They have cut down and burnt up all the Trees which were about it, and ſown Grain inſtead thereof. The *Indians* believe there were only 600 in Number; though they ſay themſelves they are 800: They expect a greater Number in a few Days, which may amount to 1600, then they ſay they can defy the *English*.

The 18th, The Waters being yet very high, hindred me from advancing on Account of my Baggage, wherefore I determined to ſet myſelf in a Poſture of Defence againſt

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against any immediate Attack from the Enemy, † and went down to observe the River.

The 19th, I dispatched the young *Indian* which was returned with Mr. *Wart*, to the *Half King*, with the following Speech.

To the *Half King*, &c.

My Brethren,

IT gives me great Pleasure, to learn that you are marching to assist me with your Counsels; be of good Courage, my Brethren, and march vigorously towards your Brethren the *English*; for fresh Forces will soon join them, who will protect you against your treacherous Enemy the *French*. My Friends whom I send to you, will acquaint you of an agreeable Speech which the Governor of *Virginia* addresses to you: He is very sorry for the bad Usage you have received. The great Waters do not permit us to make such Haste towards you as we would do; for that Reason I have sent the young Men to invite you to come and meet us: They can tell you many Things which they have seen in *Virginia*, and also how well they were received by the most Part of our *Grandees*; they did not use them as the *French* do your People who go to their Fort; § they refuse them Provisions; this Man has had given him, all that his Heart could wish: For the Confirmation of all this. I here give you a Belt of *Wampum*.

The 20th, Embarked in a Canoe with Lieut. *West*, three Soldiers, and one *Indian*; and having followed the River along about Half a Mile, were obliged to come ashore, where I met *Peter Suver*, a Trader, who seemed to discourage me from seeking a Passage by Water; that made me alter my Mind of causing Canoes to be made; I ordered my People to wade, as the Waters were shallow enough; and continued myself going down the River in the Canoe: Now finding that our Canoe was too small for six Men, we stopped to make some Sort of a Bark; with which, together with our Canoe, we gained *Turkey-Foot*; by the Beginning of the Night. We underwent several

Difficulties

† It has been seen in the foregoing Pieces, that this pretended Enemy had no Inclination to attack.

§ This is the only bad Usage this pretended *Half-King* could complain of: The *French* were not willing to receive in their Forts such *Indians* as were perfidious and evil-minded: It may be seen in *Robert Sibo's* Letter hereafter, how the *French* used the *Indians*.

Difficulties about eight or ten Miles from thence, though of no great Consequence, finding the Waters sometimes deep enough for Canoes to pass, and at other times more shallow.

The 21st, Tarried there some Time to examine the Place, which we found very convenient to build a Fort, not only because it was gravelly, but also for its being at the Mouth of three Branches of small Rivers: The Plan thereof, which may be seen here, is as exact as could be done, without Mathematical Instruments.

We went about two Miles to observe the Course of the River, which is very strait, has many Currents, is full of Rocks, and rapid; we waded it, though the Water was pretty high, which made me think it would not be difficult to pass it with Canoes.

We also found other Places where the Water was rapid, but not so deep, and the Current smoother; we easily passed over them; but afterwards we found little or scarce any Bottom: There are Mountains on both Sides of the River. We went down the River about ten Miles, when at last it became so rapid as to oblige us to come ashore.

(From the 22d to the 24th, the Journal contains only a Description of the Country.)

The 24th, This Morning arrived an *Indian*, in Company with him I had sent to the *Half King*, and brought me the following Letter from him.

To any of his Majesty's Officers whom these may concern.

AS 'tis reported that the *French* Army is set out to meet M. *George Washington*, I exhort you, my Brethern, to guard against them; for they intend to fall on the first *English* they meet; they have been on their March these two Days; the *Half King*, and the other Chiefs, will join you within five Days, to hold a Council, though we know not the Number we shall be. I shall say no more; but remember me to my Brethren the *English*.

Signed, The HALF-KING.

|| Observe the Craft of this *Indian*! It has been proved that M. *de Contrecoeur* tarried at *Fort du Quesne*; as to Mr. *de Jumonville*, this cannot concern him, seeing he did not set out before the 23d, and his Instructions have been already seen.

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I Examined those two young *Indians* in the best Manner I could, concerning every Circumstance, but was not much the better satisfied.

They say there are Parties of them often out, but they do not know of any considerable Number coming this Way. * The *French* continue raising their Fort, that Part next to the Land is very well inclosed, but that next to the Water is much neglected, at least without any Defence: They have only nine Pieces of Cannon, and some of them very small, and not one mounted. There are two on the Point, and the others some Distance from the Fort next to the Land.

They relate that there are many sick among them, that they cannot find any *Indians* to guide their small Parties towards our Camp, these *Indians* having refused them.

The same Day at Two o'Clock, we arrived at the Meadows, where we saw a Trader, who told us that he came this Morning from Mr. *Giff's*, where he had seen two *Frenchmen* the Night before; and that he knew there was a strong Detachment out, which confirmed the Account we had received from the *Half King*: Wherefore I placed Troops behind two natural Intrenchments, where our Waggon's also entered.

The 25th, Detached a Party to go along the Roads, and other small Parties to the Woods, to see if they could make any Discovery. I gave the Horse-men Orders to examine the Country well, and endeavour to get some News of the *French*, of their Forces, and of their Motions, &c.

At Night all these Parties returned, without having discovered any thing, though they had been a great way towards the Place from whence it was said the Party was coming.

The 26th, Arrived *William Jenkins*; Col. *Fry* had sent him with a Letter from Col. *Fairfax*, which informed me, that the Governor himself, as also Colonels *Corbin* and *Ludwell*, were arrived at *Winchester*, and were desirous to see the *Half King* there, whereupon I sent him an Account thereof. M The

* A new Proof of the Falschood of this Letter.

The 27th, Arrived Mr. *Giff*, early in the Morning; who told us, that Mr. *la Force*, with fifty Men, whose Tracks he had seen five Miles off, had been at his Plantation the Day before, towards Noon; and would have killed a Cow, and broken every Thing in the House, if two *Indians*, whom he had left in the House, had not persuaded them from their Design: I immediately detached 65 Men, under the Command of Captain *Hog*, Lieut. *Mercer*, Ensign *Peronie*, three Sergeants, and three Corporals, with Instructions.

The *French* enquired at Mr. *Giff's*, what was become of the *Half King*? I did not fail to let the young *Indians* who were in our Camp know, that the *French* wanted to kill the *Half King*; and that had its desired Effect †. They thereupon offered to accompany our People to go after the *French*, and if they found it true that he had been killed, or even insulted by them, one of them would presently carry the News thereof to the *Mingoes*, in order to incite their Warriors to fall upon them. One of these young Men was detached towards Mr. *Giff's*; that if he should not find the *Half King* there, he was to send a Message by a *Delaware*.

About eight at Eight, received an *Expres* from the *Half King*, which informed me, that, as he was coming to join us, he had seen along the Road, the Tracks of two Men, which he had followed, till he was brought thereby to a low obscure Place; that he was of Opinion the whole Party of the *French* was hidden there. That very Moment I sent out Forty Men, and ordered my Ammunition to be put in a Place of Safety, under a strong Guard to defend it, fearing it to be a Stratagem of the *French* to attack our Camp; and with the rest of my Men, set out in a heavy Rain, and in a Night as dark as Pitch, along a Path scarce broad enough for one Man; we were sometimes fifteen or twenty Minutes out of the Path, before we could come to it again, and so dark, that we would often

† Major Washington, it seems, did not scruple to make use of an Imposture, for here he takes Pride in it.

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often strike one against another : All Night long we continued our Rout, and the 28th, about Sun-rise, we arrived at the *Indian Camp*, where, after having held a Council with the *Half King*, it was concluded we should fall on them together ; so we sent out two Men to discover where they were, as also their Posture, and what Sort of Ground was thereabout ; after which, we formed ourselves for an Engagement, § marching one after the other, in the *Indian Manner* : We were advanced pretty near to them, as we thought, when they discovered us ; whereupon I ordered my Company to fire ; mine was supported by that of *Mr. Wager's*, and my Company and his received the whole Fire of the *French*, during the greatest Part of the Action, which only lasted a Quarter of an Hour, before the Enemy was routed.

We killed * *Mr. de Jumonville*, the Commander of that Party, as also nine others ; we wounded one, and made Twenty-one Prisoners, among whom were *M. la Force*, *M. Drouillon*, and two Cadets. The *Indians* scalped the Dead, and took away the most Part of their Arms, after which we marched on with the Prisoners and the Guard, to the *Indian Camp*, where again I held a Council with the *Half-King* ; and there informed him, that the Governor was desirous to see him, and was waiting for him at *Winchester* ; he answered that, he could not go just then, as his People were in too eminent a Danger from the *French*, whom they had fallen upon † ; that he must send Messengers to all the allied Nations, in order to invite them to take up the Hatchet. He sent a young *Delaware Indian* to the *Delaware Nation*, and gave him also a *French Scalp* to carry to them. This young Man desired to have a Part of the Presents which were allotted for them, but that the remaining Part might be kept for another Opportunity : He said he would go to his own Family, and to several others, and would wait on them at *Mr. Giff's*, where he desired Men and Horses should

§ Therefore certain it is that the English had Orders to attack.

* Major Wallington takes Care here, not to give a faithful Account : But the Endeavour he makes to justify himself, will be seen hereafter.

† All their Fear was from the French, because they knew they had been attacked, and they would certainly revenge themselves.

should be sent ready to bring them up to our Camp. After this I marched on with the Prisoners; *They informed me that they had been sent with a Summons to order me to depart.* A plausible Pretence to discover our Camp ||, and to obtain the Knowledge of our Forces and our Situation! It was so clear that they were come to reconnoitre what we were, that I admired at their Assurance, when they told me they were come as an Embassy; for their Instructions mentioned that they should get what Knowledge they could of the Roads, Rivers, and of all the Country as far as *Potowmack*: And instead of coming as an Ambassador, publickly, and in an open Manner, they came secretly, and sought after the most hidden Retreats §, more like Deserters than Ambassadors in such Retreat they incamped, and remained hid for whole Days together, and that, no more than five Miles from us: From thence they sent Spies to reconnoitre our Camp; after this was done, they went back two Miles, from whence they sent the two Messengers spoken of in the Instruction, to acquaint *M. de Contrecoeur* of the Place we were at, and of our Disposition, that he might send his Detachments to enforce * the Summons as soon as it should be given.

Besides, an Ambassador has princely Attendants; whereas this was only a simple petty *French* Officer; an Ambassador has no Need of Spies, his Character being always sacred: And seeing their Intention was so good, why did they tarry two Days, at five Miles distance from us †, without acquainting me with the Summons, or, at

last,

|| *Then I find that the only Hostility the French can be reproached of, is, the endeavouring to discover an Enemy who was marching with Orders to attack them.*

§ *Why this Apology in a bare Journal? Major Washington only mentions such Reproaches, as knowing others have a Right to reproach him in the like Manner.*

* *A Scheme is here attributed to the French, which however, declares only regular Proceedings. It was proper to summon the English to depart from the Territories they had invaded, before ever Force was used. It is the Business of an Ambassador to make that Summons, and he must acquaint the Person who sends him, with whatever is done, that if in Case the English had refused to satisfy his Demands, he might take his Measures accordingly.*

† *Mr. de Jumonville knew not that the English were five Miles off.*

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least, with something that related to the Embassy? That alone would be sufficient to raise the greatest Suspicions, and we ought to do them the Justice to say, that, as they wanted to hide themselves, they could not pick out better Places than they had done.

The Summons was so insolent, and favoured the Gafconnade so much, that if it had been brought openly by two Men, it would have been an immediate Indulgence, to have suffered them to return §.

It was the Opinion of the *Half-King* in this Case, that their Intentions were evil, and that it was a pure Pretence; that they never intended to come to us but as Enemies; and if we had been such Fools as to let them go, they would never help us any more to take other *Frenchmen*.

They say they called to us as soon as they had discovered us; which is an absolute Falshood, for I was then marching at the Head of the Company going towards them, and can positively affirm, that, when they first saw us, they ran to their Arms, without calling; as I must have heard them, had they so done.

The 29th, Dispatched Ensign *Latour* to the *Half-King*, with about Twenty-five Men, and almost as many Horses; and as I expected some *French* Parties would continually follow that which we had defeated, I sent an Express to Colonel *Fry* for a Reinforcement.

After this the *French* Prisoners desired to speak with me, and asked me in what Manner I looked upon them, whether as the Attendants of an Embassador, or as Prisoners of War: I answered them that it was in Quality of the Latter, and gave them my Reasons for it, as above.

The 30th, Detached Lieutenant *West*, and Mr. *Spindorpb*, to take the Prisoners to *Winchester*, with a Guard of Twenty Men.

Began to raise a Fort with small Pallisadoes, fearing that when the *French* should hear the News of that Defeat, we might be attacked by considerable Forces.

June

§ Another Kind of Excuse which only shows his Remorse.

| What Authority?

June the 1st, Arrived here an *Indian* Trader with the *Half-King*: They said that when *Mr. de Jumonville* was sent here, another Party had been detached towards the lower Part of the River *, in order to take and kill all the *English* they should meet.

We are finishing our Fort.

Towards Night arrived Ensign *Towers*, with the *Half-King*, *Queen Alguipa* §, and about Twenty five or Thirty Families, making in all about Eight or One Hundred Persons, including Women and Children. The old King † being invited to come into our Tents, told me that he had sent *Monakatoocba* to *Log's Town*, with Wampum, and four *French* Scalps, which were to be sent to the *Six Nations*, to the *Wiendots*, &c. to inform them, that they had fallen upon the *French*, and to demand their Assistance.

He also told me he had something to say at the Council, but would stay till the Arrival of the *Shawanese*, whom we expected next Morning.

The 2d, Arrived two or three Families of the *Shawanese*: We had Prayers in the Fort.

The 3d, The *Half-King* assembled the Council, and informed me that he had received a Speech from *Grand-Cbaudiere*, in Answer to the one he had sent him.

The 5th, Arrived an *Indian* from the *Ohio*, who had lately been at the *French* Fort: This *Indian* confirms the News of two Traders being taken by the *French*, and sent to *Canada*; he saith they have set up their Pallisadoes, and enclosed their Fort with exceeding large Trees.

There are eight *Indian* Families on this side the River, coming to join us: He met a *Frenchman* who had made his Escape in the Time of *M. de Jumonville's* Action, he was without either Shoes or Stockings, and scarce able to walk; however he let him pass, not knowing we had fallen upon them.

The 6th, *Mr. Gift* is returned, and acquaints me of the safe Arrival of the *French* Prisoners at *Winchester*, and of the Death of poor Colonel *Fry*. It

* An egregious Falshood, by the *English*.

§ An *Indian Squaw* created a *Queen* † Another *Indian Chief*.

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It gave the Governor great Satisfaction to see the *French* Prisoners safely arrived at *Winchester*.

I am also informed that, Mr. *Montour* †, is coming with a Commission to command Two Hundred *Indians*.

Mr. *Gist* met a *French* Deserter, who assured him, that they were only Five Hundred Men, when they took Mr. *Wari's* Fort, that they were now less, having sent Fifteen Men to *Canada*, to acquaint the Governor of their Success: That there were yet Two Hundred Soldiers who only waited for a favourable Opportunity to come and join us.

The 9th, Arrived the last Body of the *Virginia* Regiment, under the Command of Colonel *Must*, and we learnt that the Independant Company of *Carolina* was arrived at *Wills-Creek*.

The 10th, I received the Regiment, and at Night had Notice, that some *French* were advancing towards us; whereupon I sent a Party of *Indians* upon the Scout towards *Gist's*, in order to discover them, and to know their Number: Just before Night we had an Alarm, but it proved false.

The 12th, Returned two of the Men, whom we had sent out Yesterday upon the Scout; they discovered a small Party of *French*; the others went on as far as *Stuart's*. Upon this Advice, I thought it necessary to march with the major Part of the Regiment, to find out those Ninety Men, of whom we had Intelligence. Accordingly I gave Orders to Colonel *Must*, to put away all our Baggage and Ammunition, and to place them in the Fort, and set a good Guard there till my Return; after which I marched at the Head of One Hundred and Thirty Men, and about Thirty *Indians*; but at the Distance of half a Mile, I met the other *Indians*, who told me, there were only nine Deserters; whereupon I sent Mr. *Montour*, with some few *Indians*, in order to bring them safe to me; I caused them to be drest, and they confirmed us in our Opinion, of the Intention of M. *de Jumonville's* Party; that more than One Hundred Soldiers were only waiting for a favourable Opportunity

† This is the Canadian-Deserter, mentioned in the Examination of the four English Traders.

portunity to come and join us ; that M. de Contrecoeur expected a Reinforcement of Four Hundred Men ; that the Fort was compleated ; and its Artillery a shelter to its Front and Gates ; that there was a double Pallisadoe next to the Water ; that they have only eight smali Pieces of Cannon ; and know what Number of Men we are.

They also informed us, that the *Delaware* and *Shawanese* had taken up the Hatchet against us ; whereupon, resolved to invite those two Nations to come to a Council at Mr. Giff's. Sent for that Purpose Messengers and Wampum.

The 13th, Perswaded the Deserters to write the following Letter, to those of their Companions who had an Inclination to Desert §.

(It is not in the Journal.)

The 15th, Set about clearing the Roads.

16th, Set out for *Red-Stone-Creek*, and were extremely perplexed, our Waggons breaking very often.

17th, Dispatched an Express to the *Half-King*, in order to perswade him to send a Message to the *Loups* ; which he did.

18th, Arrived eight *Mingoes* from *Loiston*, who at their Arrival told me of a Commission they had, and that a Council must be held. When we assembled, they told us very shortly, that they had often desired to see their Brethren out in the Field with Forces, and begged us not to take it amiss, that they were amongst the *French*, and that they complied with some of their Customs ; notwithstanding which they were naturally inclined to fall upon them, and other Words to that Purport : After which they said, they had brought a Speech with them, and desired to deliver it with Speed. These, and other Discourses to the same Purpose, made us suspect that their Intentions towards us were evil ; wherefore I delayed giving them Audience until the Arrival of the *Half-King*, and desired also the *Delawares* to have Patience till then, as I only waited their Arrival to hold a Council, which I expected would

¶ This was an Effect of the Indignation that the Murder of Mr. de Jamonville, had caused.

§ How can such Proceeding be justified ?

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would be that same Day. After the eight *Mingoes* had conferred a while together, they sent me some Strings of Wampum, desiring me to excuse their insisting on the Delivery of their Speech so speedily, that they now perceived it necessary to wait the Arrival of the *Half King*.

When the *Half-King* arrived, I consented to give them Audience.

A Council was held in the Camp for that Purpose, where the *Half-King*, and several of the *Six Nations*, *Loups* and *Shawanese*, to the Number of Forty, were present.

The Speaker of the Six-Nations directed the following Speech to the Governor of Virginia.

Brethren,

WE your Brothers of the Six Nations, are now come to acquaint you, that we have been informed you threaten to destroy entirely all your Brethren the Indians, who will not join you on the Road; wherefore we who keep in our own Towns, expect every Day to be cut in Pieces by you. We would desire to know from your Mouth, if there be any Truth in that Information, and that you would not look upon it as preposterous, that we are come to enquire into it, since you very well know, that bad News commonly makes a deeper Impression upon us than good; that we may be fully satisfied by your Answers of the Truth thereof, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

We know the French will ask us at our Return, of what Number our Brethren are whom we went to see? Therefore we desire you, by this Belt, to let us know it; as also the Number of those whom you expect, and at what Time you expect them, and when you reckon to attack the French, that we may give Notice thereof to our Town, and and know also, what we shall have to tell the French.

A N S W E R.

Brethren,

WE are very glad to see you, and sorry that such Reports disturb you: The *English* do not intend to hurt you, or any of your Allies; this News, we know, must have been forged by the *French*, who are constantly treacherous, asserting the greatest Falshoods || whenever they think they will turn out to their Advantage; they speak well, promise fine Things, but all from the

N Lips

|| It may be judged by what has been before mentioned, who most deserve that Reproach, the French or the English. The Imposture which Major Washington confesseth he had Recourse to, in order to irritate the Indians, can give a clear Idea of the Means which the English made use of.

Lips outward; whilst their Heart is corrupted and full of venomous Poison. You have been their Children, and they would have done every Thing for you, but they no sooner thought themselves strong enough, than they returned to their natural Pride, and drove you off from your Lands, declaring you had no Right on the *Ohio* *. The *English*, your real Friends, are too generous, to think of using the *Six Nations*, their faithful Allies, in like Manner; when you made your Address to the Governors of *Virginia* and *Pennsylvania*, they (at your repeated Request) sent an Army to maintain your Rights †; to put you in the Possession of your Lands, and to take Care of your Wives and Children, to dispossess the *French*, to support your Prerogatives, and to make that whole Country sure to you; for those very Ends are the *English* Arms actually employed; it is for the Safety of your Wives and your Children that we fight; and as this is the only Motive of our Conduct, § we cannot reasonably doubt of being joined by the remaining Part of your Forces, to oppose the common Enemy.

Those that will not join us, shall be answerable, for whatever may be the Consequence; we only desire you, Brethren, to chuse that Side which shall seem most agreeable to them.

The *Indians* of the *Six Nations* are those, who have the most Interest in this War; for them it is that we fight; and it would greatly trouble me to do them the least Hurt: We have engaged in this War, in order to assist and protect you; our Arms are open to receive you, and our Hands ready to nourish your Families during the Course of this War. The Governor of *Virginia* has often desired they might be sent to him, that he might see them in Person, nourish and cloath them according to their own Desire; but as you could not be determined to send them to him, we are ready to share in a friendly Manner, all our Provisions with you, and shall take such Measures, and give such Orders,

* It is true that the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* have never inhabited the Borders of the *Ohio*; neither do they pretend any Right to them; but the *English* who, in *America*, treat them as Friends and Allies, would fain persuade them, that the Borders of the *Ohio* belong to the *Six Nations*, under a Pretence of some ancient Wars that these had, with the *Indians* on the *Ohio*. And in *Europe* they insist, that Country belongs to *England*, and pretend that the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* are its Subjects.

† Here the *English* confess, that Country is none of their's; of what Hostility can they then reproach the *French*? It would more become the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* to complain; yet they do not.

§ So! This is the Reason of the War against the *French*, Protesting due to the *Six Nations*, who never complained.

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Orders, that enough shall be brought to maintain your Wives and Children. Such a Conduct will evidently prove how much more the *English* love and esteem their Allies the *Six Nations**, than the *French* do; as we have drawn the Sword in your Cause, and in your Defence, delay not one Moment, be no more in Suspence, but put your Wives and Children under our Protection; and they shall find Plenty of Provisions; in the mean while, set your young Men and your Warriors to sharpen their Hatchets, in order to join and unite with us vigorously in our Battles.

The Present, my Brethren, which I offer you, is not so considerable as I could wish, but I expect in a short Time a Quantity of Goods, which are to be at my Disposal, in order to reward those who shall have shewn themselves brave and active on this Occasion; however, I shall recompense them most generously.

Be of good Courage, my Brethren, deliver your Country, and make it sure to your Children; let me know the Thoughts of your Hearts on this Affair, that I may give an Account of your Sentiments to your great Friend and Brother the Governor of *Virginia*. In order to assure you of my Sincerity and Esteem, I present you this Belt.

The 20th, The Council still continued.

When the *Delawares* knew that they were suspected of being in the *French* Interest, they demanded the Reason why they had been sent for, and what they should tell the *French* at their Return.

I answered them, it was to let them know, that we were come at their reiterated requests to assist them with Sword in Hand †; that we intended to put them in the Possession of those Lands which the *French* had taken from them.

And as they had often demanded our Assistance, in Quality of our ancient and faithful Allies, I invited them to come and place themselves under our Protection, together with the Women and Children,

Whereupon

* The grand Argument of the English in Europe, to assume the Country which lies on the other Side of the Apalachian Mountains, is, that the Six Nations are their Subjects: How can we reconcile that, with the Reasonings they hold with the Six Nations when they speak to them?

† The *Delawares* at that Time were in the *French* Interest; and gave no Credit to the Discourse of the English, who endeavoured to persuade them, that they were only come at their Request.

full of venomous they would have ought themselves tural Pride, and had no Right on are too generous, ul Allies, in like the Governors of ted Request) sent n the Possession of and Children, to ves, and to make very Ends are the he Safety of your s this is the only sly doubt of being o oppose the com-

erable, for what- re you, Brethren, able to them.

who have the most ght; and it would We have engaged u; our Arms are nourish your Fami- overnor of *Virginia* that he might see ording to their own d to send them to mer, all our Provi- ses, and give such Orders,

have never inhabited any Right to them; Friends and Allies, the Ohio belong to Wars that these had, they insist, that Country a of the Six Nations.

e of their's; of what would more become the no not. be *French*, Prote

Whereupon the Indian Speaker stretched out his Blanket on the Floor, and laid several Belts and Strings of Wampum thereon, in the same order he had received them from the French. This done, he repeated the Speeches of M. de Contrecoeur §; after which, the Delaware Speaker directed to me the following Speech.

Brethren,

THE Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania; We your Brethren, the Delawares remember perfectly well the Treaty of Ligon, where you and your Uncles the Six-Nations, considering the bad Situation we were in, for want of a Man to be our Leader, you then gave us a King, and told us, he should transact all our publick Affairs between you and us; you gave us a Charge, not to listen to every vain Report that might be spread, but to consult ourselves, and to do, what would seem to us, to be right: We assure you, that we have given no Credit to any of those Reports, nor ever shall; but will be guided by you, our Brethren; and by our Uncles the Six-Nations: And will do, on all Occasions, what is just and right, taking Advice from you alone. To assure you of the Desire we have to fulfil our Engagements with you, we present you this Belt.

After which they made the following Discourse, to the Six-Nations.

Uncles, Thirteen Days are now past since we have received this Belt from the Onondago Council; I do not doubt your knowing it: They exhorted us to remember old Times, when they clothed us with a Robe reaching down to our Heels; afterwards told us, to raise it up to our Knees, and there to make it very fast, and come to them at the Head of Susquehanna, where they had provided a Place for us to live; that they had also sent a Speech to those of our Nation, who live near the Minisinks, inviting them to go to the Place by them appointed, that they might live with us: They also sent us a Speech, to give us Notice that the English and French were upon the Point of coming to an Engagement on the River Ohio, and exhorted us to do nothing in that Juncture, but what was reasonable, and what they would tell us themselves. Lastly, They recommended to us, to keep fast Hold of the Chain of Friendship, which has so long subsisted between us and them; and our Brethren the English.

A BELT.

Then the Delawares spoke to the Shawanese as follows:

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§ Major Washington does not relate in his Journal, what those Speeches of the French, were? He had, no Doubt, good Reasons to conceal them.

* Could it be from this pretended King, the English had made such Purchases?

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" Grand Sons, by this Belt, we take you between our Arms, and fetch you away from the Ohio, where you now are, to carry you amongst us, that you may live where we live, and there live in Peace and Quiet.

The Council after this was adjourned to the next Morning. The 21st, Met very early, and I spoke first to the *Delawares* in the following Manner.

" Brethren,

BY your open and generous Conduct on this Occasion, You have made yourselves dearer to us than ever ; we return you our Thanks, that you did not go to *Venango*, when the *French* first invited you there ; their treating you in such a childish Manner, as we perceive they do, raises in us a just and strong Resentment : They call you their Children, and speak to you, as if you in reality were Children, and had no more Understanding than such.

Consider well my Brethren, and compare all their Discourse, and you will find that all it tends to, is to tell you, I am going to open your Eyes, to unstop your Ears, and such like Words to no Purpose, only proper to amuse Children. You also observe Brethren, that if they deliver a Speech, or make a Promise, and confirm it by a Belt, they imagine it binds them no longer than they think it consistent with their Interest to stand to it. They have given one Example of it ; and I will make you observe it, in the Jump which they say they have made over the Boundaries, which you had set them ; which ought to stir you up my Brethren, to a just Anger, and cause you to embrace the favourable Opportunity that we offer You, as we are come, at your Request, to assist you, and by Means of which, you may make them Jump back again, with more Speed than they advanced.

A String of Wampum.

The *French* are continually telling you, not to give Heed to the ill Reports that are told you concerning them who are your Fathers. If they did not know in their very Souls, how richly they deserve it on your Account, why should they suspect being accused ? Why should they forwarn you of it, in order to hinder you from believing what is told you concerning them ? With Regard to what they tell you of us, our Conduct alone will answer in our Behalf: Examine the Truth yourselves ; you know the Roads leading to our Habitations, you have lived amongst us, you can speak our Language ; but in order to justify ourselves from whatever might be said against us, and assure you of our brotherly Love ; we once more invite your old Men, your Wives and your Children, to take Sanctuary under

our

our Protection, and between our Arms, in order to be plentifully fed, whilst your Warriors and young Men join with ours, and espouse together the common Cause. *A String of Wampum.*

Brethren, we thank you with all our Hearts, for having declared unto us, your Resolution of accomplishing the Engagements which you had entered into, at the Treaty of *Loiston* §, and we can do no otherwise than praise your generous Conduct with Regard to your Grand Sons the *Shawansse*; it gives us infinite Pleasure.

We are greatly obliged to the Council given you by *Onondago*, charging you to hold fast the Chain of Friendship by which we are bound; I dare say, that had he known, how nearly you are interested in this War, or that it is for the Love of you, and at your Request †, we have taken up Arms, he would have ordered you to DECLARE and to act immediately against the COMMON ENEMY of the *Six Nations*. In order to assure you of my Affection, and to confirm the Truth of what I have said, I present you these

Two great Strings."

After this, the Council broke up, and those treacherous Devils, who had been sent by the *French* as Spies, returned, though not without some Tale ready prepared to amuse the *French*, which may be of Service to make our own Designs succeed.

As they had told me there were Sixteen Hundred *French*, and Seven Hundred *Indians* on their March, to reinforce those at the Garrison, I persuaded the *Half King* to send three of his Men to inquire into the Truth of it; though I imagined this News to be only Soldiers Discourse; these *Indians* were accordingly sent in a secret Manner, before the Council broke up, and had Orders to go to the Fort, and get what Information they could from all the *Indians* they should meet, and if there was any News worth while, one † of them should return, and the other two continue their Rout as far as *Venango*, and about the *Lake*, in order to obtain a perfect Knowledge of every Thing.

I also persuaded King *Shingas*, to send out Rangers towards the River, to bring us News, in Case any *French* should come; I gave him also a Letter, which he was to send me back again by an Express, to prevent my being imposed upon by a false Alarm.

Though

§ *What this Treaty of Loiston can be, no one knows; this Journal makes it appear, that it was convened by a Man whom the English gave them for a King, and of Consequence they were very safe.*

† *Why so often repeated; Major Washington was certainly in Doubt as to the Delawares giving any Credit to it.*

† *It was by the Means of those Indians, that the English had a Communication with Stobo the Spy, whose Letter will be seen hereafter.*

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Though King *Shingas*, and others of the *Delawares*, could not be persuaded to retire to our Camp with their Families, through the Fear they were in of *Onondago's* Council, they nevertheless gave us strong Assurances of their Assistance, and directed us in what Manner to act, in order to obtain our Desire: the Method was this; we were to prepare a great War-Belt, to invite all those Warriors who would receive it, to act independantly from their King and Council; and King *Shingas* promised to take privately the most subtil Methods to make the Affair succeed, though he did not dare to do it openly.

The very Day the Council broke up, I perswaded *Kaquebuston*, a trusty *Delaware*, to carry that Letter to the Fort which the *French* Deserters had written to their Comrades, and gave him Instructions how he should behave in his Observations, upon several Articles of which I had spoken to him; for I am certain the Fort may be surprized, as the *French* are encamped outside, and cannot keep a strict Guard, by Reason of the Works they are about.

I also perswaded *George*, another trusty *Delaware*, to go and take a View of the Fort, a little after *Kaquebuston*, and gave him proper Instructions, recommending him particularly to return with Speed, that we might have fresh News.

Presently after the Council was over, notwithstanding all that Mr. *Montour* could do to dissuade them, the *Delawares*, as also the *Half-King*, and all the other *Indians*, returned to the Great Meadows; but though we had lost them, I still had Spies of our own People, to prevent being surprized.

As it had been told me, that if I sent a Belt of *Wampum* and a Speech, that might bring us back both the *Half-King* and his young Men; accordingly I sent the following Speech by Mr. *Croghan*.

'Tis but lately since we were assembled together; we were sent here by your Brother the Governor of Virginia, at your own Request, in Order to succour you, and fight for your Cause; wherefore my Brethren, I must require that you and your young Men come to join and encamp with us, that we may be ready to receive our Brother Monacotocha, whom I daily expect: That this Request may have its desired Effect, and make a suitable Impression upon your Minds, I present you with this String of Wampum.

As those *Indians*, who were Spies sent by the *French*, were very inquisitive, and asked us many Questions in order to know by what Way we proposed to go to the Fort, and what Time we expected to arrive there; I left off working any further at the Road, and told them we intended to keep on across the Woods

Woods as far as the Fort, falling the Trees, &c. That we were waiting here for the Reinforcement which was coming to us, our Artillery, and our Waggon to accompany us there ; but, as soon as they were gone, I set about marking out and clearing a Road towards *Red-Stone*.

The 25th, Towards Night came three Men from the Great Meadows, amongst whom was the Son of Queen *Aligupa*.

He brought me a Letter from Mr. *Croghan*, informing me what Pains he was at to persuade any *Indians* to come to us ; that the *Half-King* was inclined, and was preparing to join us, but had received a Blow which was a Hindrance to it. I thought it proper to send Captain *Montour* to *Fort-Necessity*, in order to try if he could, possibly, gain the *Indians* to come to us :

The 26th, Arrived an *Indian*, bringing News that *Monacotocba*, had burnt his Village (*Loiston*) and was gone by Water with his People to *Red-Stone*, and may be expected there in two Days. This *Indian* passed close by the Fort, and assures us, that the *French* had received no Reinforcement, except a small Number of *Indians*, who had killed, as he said, two or three of the *Delawares*. I did not fail to relate that Piece of News to the *Indians* in its proper Colours, and particularly to two of the *Delawares* who are here.

The 27th, Detached Captain *Lewis*, Lieutenant *Wagbener*, and Ensign *Mercer*, two Serjeants, two Corporals, one Drummer, and Sixty Men, in order to endeavour to clear a Road, to the Mouth of *Red-Stone-Creek* on *Monaugabela*.



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The JOURNAL of M. DE VILLIERS.

June the 26th.

ARRIVED at *Fort du Quebec* about eight in the Morning, with the several Nations, the Command of which the General had given me.

At my Arrival was informed, that *M. de Contrecoeur* had made a Detachment of 500 *French*, and eleven *Indians* of different Nations, on the *Ohio*, the Command of which he had given to *Chevalier le Mercier*, who was to depart the next Day.

As I was the oldest Officer, and commanded the *Indian* Nations, and as my Brother had been assassinated, *M. de Contrecoeur* honoured me with that Command, and *M. le Mercier*, though deprived of the Command, seemed very well pleased to make the Campaign under my Orders.

M. de Contrecoeur called *Messieurs le Mercier, de Longueil*, and myself, in order to deliberate upon what should be done in the Campaign, as to the Place, the Strength of the Enemy, the Assassination committed by them upon my Brother, and the Peace we intended to maintain between the two Crowns.

The 28th, *M. de Contrecoeur* gave me my Orders, the Provisions were distributed, and we left the Fort about Ten in the Morning. I began from that Instant, to send out some *Indians* to range about by Land, to prevent being surprized.

I posted myself at a small Distance above the first Fork of the River *Monaungabela*, though I had no Thought of taking that Rout. I called the *Indians* together, and demanded their Opinion. It was decided, that it was suitable to take the River *Monaungabela*, though the Rout was longer.

§ Mr. JUMONVILLE.

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The 29th, Mafs was laid in the Camp, after which we marched with the usual Precaution.

30th, Came to the *Hangard* †, which was a fort of a Fort built with Logs, one upon another, well notched in, about 30 Foot in Length, and 20 in Breadth; and as it was late, and would not do any Thing without consulting the *Indians*, I encamped about two Musket Shot from that Place.

At Night I called the *Sachems* together, and we consulted upon what was the best to be done, for the Safety of our *Pettiaguas*, and of the Provisions, we left in reserve, as also what Guard should be left to keep it.

July the first, put our *Pettiaguas* in a safe Place; our Effects, and every Thing we could do without, we took into the *Hangard*; where I left one good Serjeant, with Twenty Men, and some sick *Indians*. Ammunition was afterwards distributed, and we began our March.

At about Eleven o'Clock, we discovered some Tracks, which made us suspect we were discovered.

At Three in the Afternoon, having no News of our Rangers, I sent others, who met those sent before, and not knowing each other, were near upon exchanging Shot, but happily found their Mistake. They returned to us, and declared to have been at the Road which the *English* were clearing; that they were of Opinion no Body had been that Way for three Days: We were no longer in Doubt of our Proceedings being known to the *English*.

The 2d, We marched at Break of Day, without waiting the Return of our Rangers. After having marched some Time, we stopped; for I was resolved to proceed no further, until I had positive News; wherefore I sent Scouts upon the Road. In the mean while, came some of those *Indians* to me, whom we had left at the *Hangard*; they had taken a Prisoner, who called himself a Deserter: I examined, and threatned him with the Rope, if he offered to impose upon me. I learned that the

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† This *Hangard* had been built by the *English*.

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English had left their Post, in order to rejoin their Fort, and that they had brought back their Cannon.

Some of our People finding that the *English* had abandoned the Camp, we went thereto, and I sent some Men to search it throughout; where they found several Tools, and other Utensils hidden in many Places, which I ordered them to carry away: As it was late, I made the Detachment encamp there.

I examined the *Englishman* a second Time, sometimes terrifying him, and at other Times giving him Hopes of Reward. I imparted all he told me to the *Indians*, as also of my Resolution, not to expose them rashly. We had Rain all Night.

The 30th, at Break of Day, I prepared for my Departure. I desired the *Indians* to provide me some Scouts. The Weather was inclining to Rain; but I foresaw the Necessity of preventing the Enemy in their Works.

We marched the whole Day in the Rain, and I sent Scouts one after another. I stopped at the Place where my Brother had been assassinated, and saw there yet some dead Bodies.

When I came within three Quarters of a League from the *English* Fort, I ordered my Men to march in Columns, every Officer to his Division, that I might the better dispose of them as Necessity would require.

I sent Scouts, and gave them Orders to go close up to the Camp, Twenty others to sustain them; and I advanced in Order. My Scouts soon informed me, that we were discovered, and that the *English* were coming in Battle-Array to attack us; and that they were very near us: Upon which I ordered my Men in a Posture suitable for a Bush Fight. It was not long before I perceived that my Scouts had misled me, and ordered the Troops to advance on that Side where we expected them to attack us.

As we had no Knowledge of the Place, we presented our Flank to the Fort, when they began to fire upon us; and almost at the same Time, I perceived the *English* on

the Right, in order of Battle, and coming towards us. The *Indians*, as well as ourselves, set up a great Cry, and advanced towards them; but they did not give us Time to fire upon them, before they sheltered themselves in an Intrenchment, which was adjoining to their Fort: After which, we aimed to invest the Fort, which was advantageously enough situated in a Meadow, within a Musket Shot from the Woods. We drew as near them as possible, that we might not expose his Majesty's Subjects to no Purpose. The Fire was very brisk on both Sides, and I chose that Place which seemed to me the most proper, in Case we should be exposed to a Sally. We fired so smartly, as to put out (if I may use the Expression) the Fire of their Cannon with our Musket-Shot.

Towards Six at Night, the Fire of the Enemy increased with more Vigour than ever, and lasted until Eight. We briskly returned their Fire. We took particular Care to secure our Posts, to keep the *English* fast up in their Fort all Night; and after having fixed ourselves in the best Position we could, we let the *English* know, that if they would speak to us, we would stop firing. They accepted the Proposal. There came a Captain to the Place where I was: I sent *M. le Mercier* to receive him, and I went to the Meadow, where I told him, that as we were not at War, we were very willing to save them from the Cruelties to which they exposed themselves, on Account of the *Indians*; but if they were stubborn, we would take away from them all Hopes of escaping; that we consented to be favourable to them at present, as we were come only to revenge my Brother's Assassination, and to oblige them to quit the Lands of the King our Master; and we agreed to grant them the Capitulation, whereof a Copy is here annexed. We considered, that nothing could be more advantageous than this Capitulation, as it was not proper to make Prisoners in a Time of Peace. We made the *English* consent to sign, that they had assassinated my Brother in his own Camp: We had Hostages for the Security of the *French* who were in their

coming towards us. We set up a great Cry, that they did not give us any sheltered themselves joining to their Fort : the Fort, which was in a Meadow, within a few paces as near them as his Majesty's Subjects were very brisk on both Sides, I proposed to me the most proper to a Sally. We may use the Express of our Musket-Shot. The Number of the Enemy increased and lasted until Eight. We took particular notice of the *English* fast up in having fixed ourselves in the *English* know, that they did stop firing. They accepted a Captain to the Place to receive him, and I told him, that as we were willing to save them from being killed themselves, on Account they were stubborn, we had no Hopes of escaping; I proposed to them at present, that by *Brother's Assassination*, we would send of the King our Orders for them the Capitulation, We considered, that it was more advantageous than this Capitulation, to take Prisoners in a Time they would consent to sign, that they might be in his own Camp. We considered the *French* who were in their

their Power ; we made them abandon the King's Country ; we obliged them to leave us their Cannon, consisting of nine Pieces ; we destroyed all their Horses and Cattle, and made them to sign, that the Favour we granted them, was only to prove, how desirous we were to use them as Friends.

That very Night, the Articles of Capitulation were signed, and the two Hostages I had demanded, were brought to my Camp.

The 4th, at Break of Day, I sent a Detachment to take Possession of the Fort ; the Garrison fled off, and the Number of their Dead and Wounded, moved me to Pity, notwithstanding my Resentment for their having in such a Manner, taken away my Brother's Life.

The *Indians*, who had obeyed my Orders in every Thing, claimed a Right to the Plunder ; but I opposed it : However, the *English* being frightened, fled, and left their Tents, and one of their Colours. I demolished their Fort, and M. *le Mercier* ordered their Cannon to be broken ; as also the one granted by Capitulation, the *English* not being able to carry it away.

I hastened my Departure, after having bursted the Casks wherein was their Liquor, to prevent the Disorders which would have certainly happened. One of my *Indians* took ten *Englishmen*, whom he brought to me, but I sent them back again by another.

All I lost in this Attack, were, two Men killed, and one *Pany* †, Seventeen wounded ; two whereof are *Indians*, exclusive of a Number so slightly wounded, as to have no Occasion for the Surgeon.

We marched that Day about two Leagues, and I detached some of my Men to carry on Litters those who were badly wounded.

The 5th, about Nine, I arrived at the Camp which the *English* had abandoned : I ordered the Intrenchment to be demolished, and the Houses to be burnt down ; and after having detached M. *de la Chauvignerie* to burn the Houses

† The Name of an INDIAN.

Houses round about, I continued my Rout, and incamp- ed three Leagues from thence.

The 6th, departed early in the Morning, and arrived about Ten at the Hangard.

We put our Pettiaugas in order ; victualled the De- tachment, carried away the Reserve of Provisions which we had left there, and found several Things which the English had hidden ; after which I burnt down the Hangard. We then embarked, and kept on till about six at Night, when I was obliged to incamp in a very great Rain.

The 7th, Continued my Rout, after having detached M. de la Chavignerie to acquaint M. de Contrecoeur of the Success of our Campaign. Passing along, we burnt down all the Settlements we found ; and about four o' Clock I delivered my Detachment to M. de Contrecoeur.

CAPITULATION granted by Mr. de Villiers, Captain and Commander of his Majesty's Troops, to those English Troops actually in Fort-Necessity.

July the 3d, 1754, at 8 o' Clock at Night.

AS our Intentions have never been to trouble the Peace and good Harmony subsisting between the two Princes in Amity, but only to revenge the Affas- sination committed on one of our Officers, bearer of a Summon, as also on his Escorte, and to hinder any Establishment on the Lands of the Dominions of the King my Master : Upon these Considerations, we are willing to shew Favour to all the English who are in the said Fort, on the following Conditions, viz.

ARTICLE I.

We grant Leave to the English Commander, to retire with all his Garrison, and to return 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 Indians 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 reserve.

III. That

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That we will allow them the Honours of War; that they march out with Drums beating, and one Swivel Gun, being willing thereby to convince them, that we treat them as Friends.

IV.

That as soon as the Articles are signed by both Parties, the *English* Colours shall be struck.

V.

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

VI.

As the *English* have but few Oxen or Horses left, they are at Liberty to hide their Effects, and to come again, and search for them, when they have a Number of Horses sufficient to carry them off; and that for this End, they may have what Guards they please; on Condition, that they give their Word of Honour, to work no more upon any Buildings in this Place, or any Part on this Side the Mountains.

VII.

And as the *English* have in their Power, one Officer, two Cadets, and most of the Prisoners made at the Assassination of M. de *Jumonville*, and promise to send them back, with a safe Guard to *Fort du Quefne*, situate on the *Ohio*. For Surety of their performing this Article as well as this Treaty, M. *Jacob Vambrane* and *Robert Stobo*, both Captains, shall be delivered to us as Hostages, till the Arrival of our *French* and *Canadians* above mentioned. We oblige ourselves on our Side, to give an Escorte to return these two Officers in Safety; and expect to have our *French* in two Months and a Half at farthest. A Duplicate of this being fixed upon one of the Posts of our Blockade, the Day and Year above mentioned.

JAMES MACKAYE,
G. WASHINGTON,
COULON, VILLIERS.
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Signed, Messrs.

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N U M B. X.

The Translation of a Letter written by Robert Stobo, at Fort du Quesne, who was one of the Hostages given for a faithful Performance of the Capitulation granted to the English Troops commanded by Major Washington.

SIR, July the 28th, 1754.

AN Indian called *Tusquerora* John, brought here a Piece of News, which has greatly alarmed the Indians of this River: He saith that the *Malf-King*, *Manaquahiba*, and a Chief of the *Sbawaneſe*, &c. to the Number of Thirty-seven, have been taken by the *Engliſh*, and carried away as Prisoners. He related also, that *John Mainot*, alias, *James Cork*, of *Montour's* Company, had told him, that the Thirty-seven Indians were to be all hanged, as soon as they had reached the *Engliſh* Inhabitants, and advised him to make his Escape. This was very dexterously reported, on the Night before a Grand Council which was held between the *Sbawaneſe*, the *French*, and the *Indians*, their Allies: The *French* made them a long and elegant Speech, telling them, they did not come here to war with any Body; but that the *Engliſh* would give them no Peace; that they were in Hopes, the *Indians*, their Children, would not allow their Father to be insulted in his old Age; that nevertheless, if they would join with the *Engliſh*, they might do it: But if they would take Time to consider, they would find it more to their Interest, to remain in Peace*. This is all I could learn from this Council.

The *French* accompanied these Speeches with two large Belts, and two Strings of Wampum; their Allies did the same. There were also considerable Presents made, to wit. Sixteen beautiful Muskets, two Barrels of Gun-Powder,

* It is therefore proved, by the Evidence even of an *Engliſhman*, the most exasperated against the *French*, that these did not stir up the *Indians* to War. This Conduct may be compared with the Calts and Subtilty of the *Engliſh*, which are so well represented in the Journals.

For Stobo's Letter of the 29th 1754 by the Penn^a Arch^d
Records 1756 Y1 p140

Robert Stobo, at
Hostages given
relief granted to
Washington.

28th, 1754.

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Powder, Balls in Proportion, sixteen very beautiful Suits of Cloaths, many others of a less Value, and Blankets.

The *Shawaneſe* made no Answer at that Time, neither do I hear they have made any ſince. It is affirmed that the *Half-King*, and his Band, were killed, and that their Wives and Children were delivered up to the Barbarity of the *Cherokees* and *Catawbas*, who are three Hundred in Number at the *New-Store*. Be it ſo, or not, the *Indians* are very much alarmed thereat; and had it not been for this News, you would have had many of the different Nations in your Intereſt. If it ſhould be true (which I cannot think) no Dependence can be put upon any *Indians* in theſe Parts; which will greatly indanger our Return; but this is not to be conſidered.

The *Shawaneſe*, *Pickos*, and *Delawagos**, have held a great Council together, but I know not the Iſſue of it: I have perſuaded ſome of them to go to you, aſſuring them they would be well received, and that there was at the *New-Store*, very beautiful Preſents for the *Indians*. A Preſent made in a proper Manner at this Time, might be of great Service to us. If a Peace could be made with the *Catawbas* and *Cherokees*, I believe every Thing would ſucceed well. At the Battle in the Meadows (*Fort Neceſſity*) we had no more than ſix or ſeven *Indians* whom we called ours: I believe they were *Mingoes*, and of little Eſteem in that Nation; in particular, one was called *Engliſh John*: He is of the Number of thoſe who were looked upon as Spies. I heard he was to go and ſee you, with his People: I would have you put no Confidence in them. I ſend you this by *Monacotoock's* Brother-in-Law, who is a good Subject, and may be truſted.

On the other Hand, you will ſee the Plan of the Fort, which is as well drawn, as the Time and Circumſtances would permit me. The Garrison at preſent, contains only 200 Men, all Tradeſmen; the Reſt, one Thouſand

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* *Indian Nations*. The *Delawagos* may be the ſame whom Major *Waſhington* calls *Delawaras*.

in Number, are gone in different Detachments. Mr. Mercier, a good Soldier, is to leave the Fort within two Days; then there will be only *Contrecoeur*, with some few young Officers and Cadets. A Lieutenant was sent some Days ago with 200 Men, to get Provisions: He is hourly expected; and at his Return, the Garrison will contain 400 Men. *La Force* is greatly wanted here; No more Discoveries are made since his Departure; he is so much regretted, and wished for, that I judge he was a Man of no small Account. When we entered into our Country's Service, it was expected we would do it at the Expence of our Lives; therefore let not People be deceived; consider what may promote the Expedition, without the least Regard for us. For my own Part, I could die ten Thousand Deaths, to have the Satisfaction of possessing this one *English* Fort only. The *French* are so proud of their Success in the Meadows, that I had rather die, than hear them speak of it. Attack the Fort this Fall, as soon as possible; gain the *Indians* to your Side; in a Word, do the best you can, and you will succeed. One Hundred *Indians* who can be depended upon, are capable of surprizing the Fort: They have Admittance therein every Day; they can conceal themselves, so as to dispatch the Guard without any Difficulty with their *Tamkanko**: Then let them shut the Door fast, and the Fort is ours. There are at Night, only *Contrecoeur* and the Guard, in the Fort, who never exceed Fifty Men; all the others lodge without, in Cabins that are round it. For God's Sake, speak not of this to many People, and let it be to such as you can trust. They certainly have Knowledge here of every Thing, and should they know what I am writing, the least that could befall me, would be the losing of the little Liberty I have. I would look upon your sending me News, as the highest Favour; but make no mention of this in your Letter. I beseech you to pass by the Faults that have

* This Word is not to be found in the Dictionary; but it is thought to be *Cass-ito*, Skull-breakers.

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ROBERT STOBO.

P. S. Shew Kindness to this Indian. Sbingas and Delaware George, are come here.

I The Subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, do certify, that I have translated the above Letter from English, into French, the Original being deposited in the Secretary's-Office of the Governor-General of New-France. Done at Quebec, the Thirtieth of September, 1755.

Signed, PERTHUIS.

WE the Governor-General, and Intendant of New-France, do certify, that M. Perthuis, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, hath transcribed the above Letter, and that we have heard all the English People who have been in this Town, say, that the said M. Perthuis could both speak and translate the English Tongue perfectly well. Done at Quebec, the 30th of September, 1755.

Signed, VAUDREUIL and BIGOT.

NUMB. XI.

INSTRUCTIONS given to General BRADDOCK, by his Britannick Majesty.

GEORGE R.

I NSTRUCTIONS for our loyal and well-beloved EDWARD BRADDOCK, Esq; Major-General of our Armies, whom we have appointed General and Commander of all and every of our Troops and Forces which are actually in North-America, or may be sent there, or levied, to vindicate our just Rights and Possessions on that Continent. Given at our Court, at St. James's, the 25th of November 1754, and of our Reign the 28th.

As by our Commission dated the 24th of September last, we have appointed you General and Commander of all and every of our Forces, which are or shall be hereafter in North-America;

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In

In order to enable you the better to answer the Trust which we have reposed in you, we have thought proper to give you the following Instructions, viz.

1st, We have given our most serious Attention to the Representations of our Subjects in *North-America*, and to the present State of our Colonies; and, in order to preserve our just Rights and Possessions from Usurpations, and to secure the Commerce of our Subjects, we have ordered two of our Regiments of Foot, which are now in *Ireland*, commanded by Sir *Peter Halket*, and Col. *Dunbar*, forthwith into *America*, and that a suitable Train of Artillery be also sent there, as also Transport Vessels with Provisions, under a Convoy of a certain Number of our Ships of War.

2d, As soon as you have received our present Instructions, you shall embark in one of our Vessels of War, and shall set Sail for *North-America*, where you shall take the Command of our Forces; and as we have given *Augustus Keppel* the Charge of commanding the Squadron of our Ships of War in the Latitudes of *America*, we require of you, and enjoin you to maintain a perfect Intelligence and Correspondence with him, as long as you are employed in the present Service; and we have given the same Orders to the said Commander of our Squadron, as to the Conduct and Correspondence which he is to keep with you.

3d, And as a Number of Men will be wanting to compleat our said Regiments, which are to be composed of Five Hundred, to Seven Hundred Men each; and, as our Intentions are, that two other Regiments of Foot be also raised, composed of One Thousand Men each, which shall be commanded by Governor *Sbirley*, and Sir *William Pepperell*, (whom we have nominated to be the Colonels thereof;) We have given Orders, that the Regiment under the Command of the Former, shall have its Rendezvous at *Boston*; and that under the Command of the Latter, at *New-York* and *Philadelphia*; and that our different Governors, shall take proper Measures before-

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fore-hand; to contribute as much as they possibly can, to have about 3000 Men ready to enlist for that Purpose, who are to be distributed by you in the Bodies afore-mentioned, proportionable to the Recruits raised under your Command; and as we have thought proper to detach Sir *John St. Clair*, our Quarter-Master-General, and *James Petcher*, Esq; our Commissary, to muster and review the Troops in *America*, in order to prepare all that shall be necessary for the Arrival of the two Regiments from *Europe*, as also for the raising of the Forces above-mentioned. You shall, immediately, upon your Arrival, enquire of the Governors who are nearest to you, and of all the Governors as you shall have Opportunity, as also of the Quarter-Master-General and Commissary, what Progress they have respectively made in the Execution of our Orders above mentioned, that you may be able to act accordingly.

4th, As it was represented to us, that the Forces from *Cork*, which are to be under your Command, might want Provisions at their Arrival in *America*, we have caused to be put on board, &c.

5th, As we have given Orders to our said Governors, to provide a Quantity of fresh Provisions, for the Maintenance of the Troops at their Arrival; and to furnish our Officers with whatever they shall have Occasion for, whenever they are obliged to go from one Place to another, and with every Thing that will be necessary for them on their March by Land, when they cannot go by Sea; to observe likewise, and obey all Orders that shall be given them by you, or by those whom you will appoint from Time to Time, to quarter the Troops, to press the Transports, and to provide all that shall be necessary for as many Troops as shall arrive, or shall be raised in *America*. And as these different Services shall be executed at the Expence of the Governments where-soever they are, it is our Will and Pleasure, for the due Performance of all these Articles, that you apply to our said Governors, or any one of them, as the Case will require.

6th,

6th, And as we have furthermore ordered our said Governors to do their utmost Endeavours to engage mutually the Assemblies of their Provinces speedily to raise a Sum, as considerable as they can obtain, by way of Contribution to a common Fund, to be provisionally employed for the general Service in *America*, particularly to pay the Charges of raising the Troops that are to be made Use of to compleat the Regiments above mentioned ; our Will is, that you give them all the Advice and Assistance you can, in order to accomplish these advantageous Projects, in establishing such a common Fund, as may be sufficient for prosecuting the *Plan of that Service which we propose to you* ; but you shall be particularly careful that no Money be given to the Troops that are to be under your Command, except the Payments which will be made on Account of the effective Men who shall be sent you.

7th, Having thus ordered our said Governors to correspond and confer with you concerning all Matters which may tend to accelerate the said Levies in their respective Governments : We require that you aid and assist them in the Execution of our Instructions ; wherefore you shall not only entertain a constant and frequent Correspondence with them by Letters, but shall also visit the said Provinces, or some one of them, if you think it advantageous to our Service ; and you shall put our said Governors in Remembrance to use all possible Diligence, that the Execution of our *Projects* be not delayed by the Slowness of the Levies, which are to be made in their respective Provinces, or by the Want of Transports, Provisions, or any other necessary Thing, at whatever or in whatever Place you may judge it convenient to appoint for their general Rendezvous.

You shall assemble, in order to be an Assistance to you, a Council of War, which we have thought proper to appoint, and which shall consist and shall be composed of yourself, of the Commander in Chief of our Vessels, of such Governors of our Colonies or Provinces, and of such

§ In order to know this Plan, see hereafter Col. NARRIS's Letter.

such Colonies as may be convenient to the Commander of the Majorities of the Colonies, which order your Obedience may have in that Manner that shall be thought fit, which the said Colonies shall faithfully to

8th, You shall send Money and Money to the said Governors to the Chiefs of the Colonies, in order to promote the good of those *Indian Nations* some proper Measures in the same, to visit the Colonies (we believe) will be of great Force in the Advancement of

9th, You shall take the Nature and Quality of the Land to be granted in our Interest, and be very careful to see that it be made, by the said Colonies, and shall advise, in order to the particular Advantage

† The Order of the Instructions. The said Colonies shall be sent into the Plan

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such Colonels and other Land Officers, as shall be at a
 convenient Distance from our said General and Com-
 mander of our Forces; and with their Advice, or the
 Majority of them, you shall determine all the Opera-
 tions, which are to be executed by our said Troops un-
 der your Orders, and every other important Point which
 may have any Conformity thereto; and that in the
 Manner that shall be most conducive to those Ends for
 which the said Troops are destined, and you shall answer
 faithfully to that Trust which we have placed in you.

8th, You shall not only maintain the most entire Har-
 mony and Friendship you possibly can, with the different
 Governors of our Colonies and Provinces, but also with
 the Chiefs of the Indian Nations; and for the better
 promoting and strengthening of our Correspondence with
 those Indian Nations, you shall endeavour to find out
 some proper Person who is agreeable to the Southern
 Indian Nations, and send him to them for that Purpose,
 in the same Manner as we have ordered Colonel Johnson
 to visit the Northern Nations, as being the Person (we
 believe) will be received with the most Satisfaction; in
 order to engage them to take Part, and † to act with our
 Forces in those Operations which you think the most
 advantageous, and most expedient to undertake.

9th, You shall enquire from Time to Time, into the
 Nature and Value of the customary Presents that shall
 be granted by the Assemblies of our different Colonies
 and Provinces, to invite and engage the Indian Nations
 in our Interest, and in our Alliance; and you shall be
 very careful, that a just and faithful Distribution thereof
 be made, by such Persons as shall be charged therewith,
 and shall assist those Persons, giving them your best
 Advice, in the said Distribution. You shall also give
 particular Attention, that those Presents on all Occasi-
 ons,

† The Orders given to Colonel Johnson were long before this In-
 struction. Therefore the Project was concerted long ago, and conse-
 quently the Invasion in the Country situated on the River Ohio, enter-
 ed into the Plan of that Project.

ons, where ever they shall be made, be prudently disposed of; as also, in the Cases wherein Lieutenant Governor *Dimwiddie* is concerned, with Regard to the said *Indians*, on Account of the Sums of Money which are already granted in his Towns or elsewhere.

10th, As it has been represented to us, that the *French* and the Inhabitants § of our different Colonies, keep up between them a Correspondence, and a prohibited Trade, you shall diligently take all necessary Measures to stop the Continuation of such dangerous Practices; and, particularly, that no Sort of Provisions, &c. be furnished to the *French*, under any Pretence whatsoever.

We have thought it a Thing proper in the present Occasion, to settle the Rank which is to be observed between the Officers who are invested with our immediate Commissions, and those who serve under the Commissions of our Governors, &c.

12th, You will receive, here annexed, a Copy of the Orders which we sent the 28th of *August*, 1753, to our different Governors, wherein we enjoin and exhort our Colonies and Provinces in *North-America*, to unite together for their common and mutual Defence. You will also see by our Orders of the 5th of *July* (a Copy of which is also here annexed) our reiterated Orders, for the making of our said Orders of the 28th of *August*, 1753, to be observed with more Force; and that we had the Goodness to order the Sum of *Ten Thousand Pounds*, to be sent in Specie to Governor *Dimwiddie*, and to permit our said Lieutenant Governor to draw for another Sum of *Ten Thousand Pounds*, on the Conditions mentioned in our Order of the 3d of *July* last, and sent to the said Lieutenant Governor *Dimwiddie*, the 27th of *September* following, for that Money to be employed to the general Service, and to protect *North-America*. And the

§ The King of *England* acknowledges here the general Law, which keeps one *European* Colony from going to trade with the *Indians* who are scattered on the Territories of another Colony. It is by that Law that the *French* had been authorized to confiscate the Goods of those *English* who came to trade on the River *Ohio*.

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the several other Letters of the 25th and 26th of *October*;
and of the 4th of *November*, to our Governors, to Sir
William Pepperell, and to Colonel *Shirley* (Copies of which
shall be delivered to you with these Presents) will entirely
acquaint you with our Orders and Instructions, which
have been signified to our Governors and Officers, on
that Head; which will enable you to enquire how they
have been executed, and what Advantages they have
produced.

13th, You shall not fail to send us by the first, and by
all the Opportunities that may present themselves, a clear
and particular Account of your Proceedings, and of
every Thing that shall be essential to our Service, by
your Letters to one of our principle Ministers, and Se-
cretaries of State, from whom you will receive from
Time to Time, more ample Orders, which will be of
use to you for your Conduct.

I The Subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec,
do certify, that I have translated from the English into
French, Word for Word, the Instructions from the King of
Great-Britain to General Braddock, the Original being de-
posited in the Secretary's-Office of the Governor-General of
New-France. Done at QUEBEC, the 30th of September
One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty five. Signed,

PERTHUIS.

WE, the Governor-General, and Intendant of New-
France, do certify, that M. Perthuis, one of the
Superior Council of Quebec, hath translated from English
into French, the King of Great-Britain's Instructions to
General Braddock, and that we have heard all the English
People who have been in this Town say, that M. Perthuis
could both speak and translate the English Tongue perfectly
well. Quebec, 30th of September, 1755.

Signed, VAUDREUIL and BIGOT.

ALET.

B.

(114)
A LETTER written by Colonel NAPIER, and sent
to General BRADDOCK, by Order of the Duke of CUM-
BERLAND.

SIR,

London, Novem. 25, 1754.

HIS Royal Highness the DUKE, in the several Audi-
ences he has given you, entered into a particular
Explanation of every Part of the Service you are about
to be employed in; and as a better Rule for the Execu-
tion of his Majesty's Instructions, he last Saturday com-
municated to you his own Sentiments of this Affair;
and, since you were desirous of forgetting no Part thereof,
he has ordered me to deliver them to you in Writing.
His Royal Highness has the Service very much at Heart,
as it is of the highest Importance to his Majesty's *Ame-
rican* Dominions, and to the Honour of his Troops em-
ployed in those Parts. His Royal Highness likewise
takes a particular Interest in it, as it concerns you, whom
he recommended to his Majesty, to be nominated to
the chief Command.

The Opinion of his Royal Highness is, That, im-
mediately after your Landing, you consider, what Ar-
tillery and other Implements of War, it will be necessary
to transport to *Willis's-Creek*, for your first Operation on
the *Ohio*, and that it may not fail you in the Service;
and that you form a second Field-Train, with good Of-
ficers and Soldiers, which shall be sent to *Albany*, and
be ready to march for the second Operation at *Niagara*.
You are to take under your Command, as many as you
think necessary, of the two Companies of Artillery that
are in *Nova-Scotia* and *Newfoundland*, as soon as the Sea-
son will allow; taking Care to leave enough to defend
the Island. Captain *Ord*, a very experienced Officer, of
whom his Royal Highness has a great Opinion, will join
you as soon as possible.

As soon as *Shirley's* and *Pepperell's* Regiments are near
compleat, his Royal Highness is of Opinion, you should
cause them to encamp, not only that they may the sooner
be disciplined, but also to draw the Attention of the

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French, and keep them in Suspence about the Place you really design to attack. His Royal Highness does not doubt that the Officers and Captains of the several Companies, will answer his Expectation, in Forming and disciplining their respective Troops.

The most strict Discipline is always necessary; but more particularly so, in the Service you are engaged in; wherefore his Royal Highness recommends to you, that it be constantly observed among the Troops under your Command, and to be *particularly careful*, that they be not thrown into a Pannic by the *Indians*, with whom they are yet unacquainted, whom the *French* will certainly employ to frighten them. His Royal Highness recommends to you, the visiting your Posts Night and Day; that your Colonels and other Officers be careful to do it; and that you yourself frequently set them the Example, and give all your Troops frequently to understand, that no Excuse will be admitted for any Surprise whatsoever.

Should the *Ohio* Expedition continue any considerable Time, and *Pepperell's* and *Shirley's* Regiments be found sufficient to undertake, in the mean while, the Reduction of *Niagara*, his Royal Highness would have you consider, whether you could go there in Person, leaving the Command of the Troops on the *Ohio*, to some Officer on whom you might depend, unless you shall think it better for the Service, to send to those Troops some Person whom you have designed to command on the *Ohio*; but this is a nice Affair, and claims your particular Attention, as Colonel *Shirley* is the next Commander after you; wherefore, if you should send such an Officer, he must conduct himself so, as to appear only in Quality of a Friend or Counsellor, in the Presence of Colonel *Shirley*; and his Royal Highness is of Opinion, that that Officer must not produce, or make mention of the Commission you give him for Command, except in such Case of absolute Necessity.

The ordering of these Matters may be depended on, if the Expedition at *Crown-Point* can take Place, at the same Time that *Niagara* is besieged. If

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If after the *Ohio* Expedition is ended, it should be necessary for you to go with your whole Force to *Niagara*, it is the Opinion of his Royal Highness, that you should carefully endeavour to find out a shorter Way from the *Ohio* thither, than that of the Lake; which, however, you are not to attempt under any Pretence whatsoever, without a moral Certainty of being supplied with Provisions, &c.

As to your Design of making yourself Master of *Niagara*, which is of the greatest Consequence, his Royal Highness recommends to you, to leave nothing to Chance, in the Prosecution of that Enterprize.

With Regard to the reducing of *Crown-Point*, the provincial Troops being best acquainted with the Country, will be of the most Service. After the taking of this Fort, his Royal Highness advises you to consult with the Governors of the neighbouring Provinces, where it will be most proper to build a Fort to cover the Frontiers of those Provinces.

As to the Forts which you think ought to be built (and of which they are perhaps too fond in that Country) his Royal Highness recommends the building of them in such a Manner, that they may not require a strong Garrison. He is of Opinion that you ought to build considerable Forts cas'd with Stone, before the Plans and Estimates thereof have been sent to *England*, and approved here by the Government. His Royal Highness thinks, that Stockaded Forts with Pallisadoes, and a good Ditch, capable of containing Two Hundred Men, 400 upon an Emergency, will be sufficient for the Present.

As Lieutenant-Colonel *Lawrence*, who commands at *Nova-Scotia*, hath long projected the taking of *Beau-sejour*, his Royal Highness advises you to consult with him, both with Regard to the Time, and the Manner of executing that Design. In this Enterprize, his Royal Highness foresees that his Majesty's Ships may be of great Service, as well by transporting the Troops and

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Warlike Implements, as intercepting the Stores and Succours that might be sent to the *French*, either by the *Bay Francoise*, or from *Cape-Breton*, to the *Bay Verte*, on the other Side of the *Isthmus*.

With Regard to your Winter Quarters, after the Operations of the Campaign are finished, his Royal Highness recommends it to you to examine whether the *French* will not endeavour to make some Attempts next Season, and in what Parts they will most probably make them. In this Case it will be most proper to canton your Troops on that Side at such Distances, that they may easily be assembled for the common Defence. But you will be determined in this Matter by Appearances, and the Intelligence which it hath been recommended to you to procure by every Method immediately after your Landing. It is unnecessary to put you in Mind, how careful you must be to prevent being surprized. His Royal Highness imagines that your greatest Difficulty will be, the Subsisting of your Troops: He therefore recommends it to you, to give your chief Attention to this Matter, and to take proper Measures relative thereto with the Governors, and with the Quarter-Masters and Commissaries. I hope that the extraordinary Supply put on board the Fleet, and the Thousand Barrels of Beef destined for your Use, will facilitate and secure the Supplying of your Troops with Provisions.

I think I have omitted nothing of all the Points wherein you desired to be informed; if there should yet be any intricate Point unthought of, I desire you would represent it to me now, or at any other Time; and I shall readily take it upon me to acquaint his Royal Highness thereof, and shall let you know his Opinion on the Subject.

I wish you much Success with all my Heart; and as this Success will infinitely rejoice all your Friends, I desire you would be fully persuaded that no Body will take greater Pleasure in acquainting them thereof, than him, who is, &c. Signed, ROBERT NAPIER.

I The

I The Subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, do certify that I have translated the above Letter, Word for Word, from English into French, the Original being deposited in the Secretary's-Office of the Governor-General of New-France. Done at Quebec, the Thirteenth of September, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-five.

Signed, PERTHUIS,

WE the Governor-General, and Intendant of New-France, do certify, that M. Perthuis, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, hath translated the above Letter, and that we have heard all the English People who have been in this Town say, that the said M. Perthuis could both speak and translate the English Tongue perfectly well. Done at Quebec, the Thirteenth of September, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-five.

Signed, VAUDREUIL and BIGOT.

NUMB. XIII.

The TRANSLATION of a Register of Letters written by General Braddock, to the several Ministers and English Lords.

LETTER I.

To Henry Fox, Esquire, Secretary of War.

Williamsburg, Feb. 24, 1755.

AFTER a Passage of seven Weeks, wherein I had Abundance of bad Weather, I arrived here, where I found every Thing in great Confusion, as I expected; a great deal of Money has already been spent here, though but very little done. Sir John St. Clair is just now come here; I refer you to his Letters, they will acquaint you of the bad State of the Independent Companies of New-York; as I am but lately come, I can give you no News thereof my self. The Governor of this Place is of Opinion, that the People of this Province are fully convinced of the Necessity there is for them to give all the Assistance in their Power, in an Affair which so nearly concerns them. Governor Dobbs

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is well enough pleased with the People of this Province; and hopes he will be more so hereafter. *Pennsylvania* will do nothing, and furnisheth the *French* with whatever they have Occasion for. - I shall execute your Orders punctually, and with as much Speed as possible. I was obliged to appoint a Commissary for about a Fortnight. I shall have Occasion to write to you, and shall acquaint you of those Particulars which I shall think most interesting. I am with the most profound Respect, Sir, &c.

L E T T E R II.

To Colonel Napier, *Aid-de-Camp.*

Williamsbouurg, Feb. 24, 1755.

AFTER having passed through all the Dangers of the Seas, from which I have escaped, I arrived here the 20th of this Month. The Governor assures me, that the People are more tractable, and that they see the Necessity there is of providing for me all the Succours which they must be obliged to furnish, in an Enterprize that particularly regard themselves.

So little Order or Union has reigned among them hitherto, that much Time has been spent to little Purpose. Sir *John St. Clair* is this Moment arrived. He is indefatigable, and has done all that could possibly be expected; you will see by his Letters (to which I refer you) the present State of Affairs, and the bad Condition of our Troops in this Country, particularly of the unworthy Independent Companies of *New-York*. *Pennsylvania*, the richest and most populous of all these Provinces will do nothing, and furnisheth the *French* with Provisions; the *Six-Nations* are at present attached to the *French*. I have as yet but four Twelve Pounders, which will not have a great Effect should I be obliged to make a Breach; but as I cannot do without them, I will endeavour to get some Cannon from on board the Men of War. We have made no Preparations as yet for the Transports. My most humble Respects and Duty to his Royal Highness.

I am, my Dear Colonel,

Your most humble. &c.

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L E T T E R III.

To Sir THOMAS ROBINSON, his Majesty's principle Secretary of State.

SIR, Williamsburg, March 18, 1755.

I Arrived here the 20th of February. The Gibraltar having sailed two Days after, I could not give you an Account by her, of the Preparations which are made in the Provinces, for the Service of our Expedition, nor of the Measures I must take for its Success.

Immediately after my Arrival, I wrote with all Diligence, to the different Governors of this Continent, to engage them to do their Utmost in their respective Provinces, to obtain Levies of Men and Money, agreeable to his Majesty's Instructions; recommending to them, to shut up their Ports, that no Provisions may be carried from us to the Enemy; which Governor Dinwiddie observed, and executed in this Province. I have also, by his Majesty's Orders, recommended the establishing a common Fund, with the Money granted by the different Colonies, which should serve as a capital Stock, to defray the Expence of the general Service of our Expedition, and which might be subject to my Orders, offering to be accountable to each of the Provinces, for what Purpose it should be employed, whether for securing the most effectual Means of facilitating the Service in which I am engaged, or for taking the Steps most conducive to its Success. The Jealousy of the People, and the Disunion of the Colonies, as well of all in general, as of each in particular, makes me almost despair. Indeed I am very sorry to tell you, that according to all Appearance, I shall have much Difficulty to obtain from these Colonies, the Succours his Majesty expects, and the common Interest requires.

The different Governors of the Provinces of this Continent, will inform you no Doubt, what each of them have already done towards this Expedition, and what they intend to do for the Time to come. All that I can

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tell you upon this Subject at present, is, that Governor *Dinwiddie* has already obtained from his Province, *Twenty Thousand Pounds* Currency, and hopes to obtain a greater Sum from the Assembly, which is prorogued for that Purpose to the first of *May* next. *North-Carolina* granted *Eight Thousand*; and *Maryland*, *Six Thousand Pounds*, each the Current Money of their respective Provinces. *Pennsylvania*, without Contradiction, the richest Province, and whose Interest is, above all, concerned in the Event of this Expedition, has yet granted nothing: Therefore I wrote a very sharp Letter to the Governor, which he is to communicate to the Assembly of that Province, if he thinks proper, to bring them to their Duty. A Copy of which I send you.

I do not doubt, but Governor *Shirley* has acquainted you of the Progress made in raising the *American* Regiments: By the Accounts given me of his, I believe it is almost compleated; but I can give no Account of Sir *William Pepperell's*. I have taken Measures with Mr. *Keppel*, for sending over Arms and Cloathing for each Regiment, with all possible Diligence. All the Transport Vessels are arrived, except the *Severn*, which has on board a Company of Sir *Peter Halket's*, and is daily expected. None of my Men have been yet sick. Instead of cantoning my Troops as I at first intended, according to the Account which Sir *John St. Clair* had given in *England* concerning them; the Wind being favourable, and not imagining any Danger, I have given Orders to the Transport Vessels to sail up the River *Potowmack*, to proceed to *Alexandria*, and land them, where I design to encamp.

All the Levies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are also to join me at *Alexandria*. I shall take the best Men to augment the *English* Regiments to 700 each, and employ the others as it was agreed with Governor *Dinwiddie*, which is in the following Manner, *viz.* To form two Companies of Carpenters, composed each of one Captain, two Subalterns, two Serjeants, and thirty Men;

the first of which will be absolutely necessary to make Roads, build Boats, and repair the Carriages, &c. I shall employ the Residue of the new-raised Men, to cover the main Body of the Army, and shelter it from all Manner of Surprize. Those Companies shall be paid by the Province, and be upon the same Terms with those of *Old-England*, the Difference only of the Money, which is about *Twenty-five per Cent.* I have also raised a Company of Guides, composed of one Captain, two Aid-de-Camps, and ten Men. I have fixed Posts, in order to go from the Head-Quarters to *Philadelphia*, to *Annapolis*, in *Maryland*, and to *Williamsburg*, as I think it necessary to keep a Correspondence with the Governors of these Provinces.

As soon as I can possibly assemble my Troops, lay up Forage, Provisions, and other Things necessary for a March, I shall proceed to work at the Reduction of the *French* Forts upon the *Ohio*. It is very uncertain, whether I shall find Grass beyond the *Alleghany Mountains* before the End of *April*, which is the Time I expect to go there. I cannot as yet give a just Account of the Number of Troops which I shall have with me. If I can compleat the *English* Regiments to a Thousand four Hundred Men, the Companies of Carpenters and Scouts to the Number above mentioned, with the very ineffective Independent Companies of *New-York*, and those of *Carolina*, I believe the whole will not exceed 2300 Men: I was proposing to augment them by Means of the provincial Troops, to the Number of 3000, but I have deferred that Augmentation, until my Interview with Governor *Shirley*, which I thought necessary, and therefore have ordered him to meet me at *Annapolis*, in *Maryland*, where I expect him in about three Weeks.

Governor *Dinwiddie* proposes to accompany me thither: I have ordered those of *New-York* and *Pennsylvania* to meet me there, if the Affairs of their Provinces will permit them. At this Interview, where also Commander *Keppel* is to meet me, I design to settle the Operations

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tions that shall be determined for the northern Parts, and concert the most useful Methods for recovering the *Indian* Frontiers adjoining the different Colonies, and for securing them to his Majesty, and at the same Time, to excite the Governors to use their utmost Credit for the King's Service, in this important Affair. I shall make use of the first Opportunity to let you know whatever shall be determined. I cannot easily tell you what Number of Forces the *French* have on the River *Ohio*; but if we might regard the different Accounts we have had of them, they are above 3000, the greatest Part of which are *Indians*. It is generally thought that all the *Iroquois* or *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, are in the *French* Interest, except the *Anies**: Governor *Dinwiddie* hopes that the latter will join us, together with the *Catawbas* (a warlike Nation, though few in Number) and some *Cherokees*; all the other Nations to the South, seem at present attached to the *French*; but as we ought to attribute their Attachment to the Successes they have lately had over us, we may flatter ourselves, that the Sight of our Army or the least Advantage we shall gain over them, may occasion a great Change in their Dispositions.

I send you inclosed, the Extract of a Letter from the Commanding Officer at *Chouaguen*, to Governor *Dinwiddie* §, which proves the monstrous Falshoods and Absurdities the *French* make use of, to impose upon the *Indians*, and bring them to their Interest.

Mr. *Delancey*, Lieutenant Governor of *New-York*, proposes to me in his Letters, to employ the Money which is to be raised in his Government (destined for the present Expedition) to build Forts for the particular Defence of his own Province; as this Proposal seems to me at present, altogether out of Season, I have observed to him, that all the Assistance which the Colonies can give, could not be better employed, than in the present Expedition.

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Governor

* These are the *MONAWKS*. § This Letter proves at large, that the Commandant of *Chouaguen* accuses the *French* of Falshood.

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Governor *Dinwiddie* observes to me, that Mr. *Delancey*, has consented to a Neutrality between the Inhabitants of *Albany*, and the neighbouring *Indians*, who are in Alliance with the *French*. I don't see what Reason he had to suffer a Thing so extraordinary †; but that seems to be productive of such great Consequences, that I propose to tell him my Sentiments of it, in the strongest Terms: I find myself very happy, in being joined in the Service of his Majesty, by an Officer so capable, and so disposed to take all the Measures which may concur with the Success of this Enterprize, as Mr. *Keppel* is. As I have but four Pieces of Cannon, of Twelve Pounders, with the Train, and I thought it necessary to have a greater Number of them, I addressed myself to him, to get four more from on board his Ships, with necessary Ammunition, which he granted with the best Grace in the World, as well as a great many other Things which I wanted: He likewise gave me Thirty Sailors, with proper Officers to command them, to attend the Army in its March; they will be very serviceable for Building the Battoes, to help us in transporting Artillery, and other heavy Baggage: For their Subsistence, I have settled their Pay with the Commodore, at *Three Shillings and Six-pence per Day*, for the Officers; and *Six-pence* for the Sailors; for which I shall be obliged to draw upon the Quota furnished by the Provinces.

As I do not find that the Provisions granted by the Provinces, for the Subsistence of our Troops, will be sufficient, I shall be obliged to take a Thousand Barrels of Beef, and ten Casks of Butter, out of the Supply of Provisions sent from *England*. Sir, the Justice which I am obliged to do Governor *Dinwiddie*, will not permit me to finish this Letter, without acquainting you of the Zeal he has shown, and the Pains he has taken, upon all Occasions, for the Good of the Service of this Cause;

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† What it was then extraordinary that the Inhabitants of *Albany* could not believe that they were at War with the *French* and the *Indians* their Allies?

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When I consider the Faction that prevailed over him in his Government, I find he has succeeded beyond all Expectation.

I have Orders from his Majesty, to put all the *French* that shall be taken in this Expedition, on board *Commodore Keppel*, to be conducted to France; but as *Mr. Keppel* has had no Orders from the Admiralty upon that Subject, and it seems to him too delicate an Affair to act without Orders, I am obliged upon this Occasion, to request his Majesty for further Instructions, as soon as possible: The *Seyn* is just arrived. *I am, &c.*

L E T T E R I V.

Written to the Governor of PENNSYLVANIA.

SIR, *Alexandria, in Virginia, April 15, 1755.*

I Am informed, that there is a great Number of *Indians* in your Province, from the River *Ohio*, who have been driven from thence by the *French*. I desire you to let them know, that I am upon a March with a Body of the King's Troops, to take by Force, from the *French*, those Usurpations which they have made upon that River, there to reinstate the *Indians*, our Allies, and defend them against their Enemy. As these *Indians* must have a perfect Knowledge of that Country, and might be of very great Use during the whole Course of this Expedition, I pray you would engage them to come with their Chiefs, to join me at *Wills's-Creek*; and assure them, that they shall be kindly treated, and want nothing that shall be necessary for them. Pray acquaint me with what you have determined in this Affair, and also what Number of *Indians* will come to me from your Province: I hope your Province will take Care to maintain the Wives and Children of these People, until they return: They would be a great Incumbrance, if they should come to the Camp.

LET.

L E T T E R V.

To the Honourable THOMAS ROBINSON, one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State.

Alexandria, 19th of April, 1755.

I Have had the Honour to write to you from *Williamsburg*, the 18th of *March* last, by a Vessel which was to sail in eight Days after.

The 13th of this Month, Governor *Sbirley*, accompanied with the other Governors, of whom I made mention in my last, came to me here, along with Col. *Johnson*.

At this Interview, Mr. *Sbirley* laid before me a Plan, formed between him and Governor *Lawrance* (of which he told me he had acquainted you) for besieging the *French* Forts in *Acadia*: As I had given an entire Approbation to it, I sent Orders to Colonel *Monckson*, immediately to take upon him the Command, and go upon that Expedition without Delay.

I have also agreed with him upon a Plan for the Reduction of *Fort St. Frederick* †, which is to be executed only by the provincial Troops raised in the northern Colonies, about the Number of 4400, under the Command of Colonel *Johnson*, a Person recommended for the great Influence he has over the Minds and Humours of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, and for the Reputation he hath in all the northern Colonies.

As that of *Niagara* is the most important of all our Enterprizes, I have proposed to Mr. *Sbirley* to take that Commission upon himself; which he readily did. I therefore ordered him to take under his Command, his own Regiment, which must be compleated; and that of *Pepperell's*, such as it is, to prepare for that Expedition, with all possible Diligence. I formerly gave Orders for reinforcing the Garrison of *Chouaguen*, with two Companies of *Pepperell's*, and with the two independent Companies of *New-York*: This I thought a necessary Step, for putting the Works in such a Condition, as might preserve the Garrison, and secure a Retreat for our Troops.

† *Potau la Chevelure*.

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As Mr. Shirley is the Officer who is to command after me, and of whose Integrity and Zeal for his Majesty's Service, I have a very great Opinion, I gave him Authority, in Case there was no Treasury nominated in the North, to draw upon his Majesty's Treasury for the Account of Expences of the Service of his own District.

I have written to the Duke of Newcastle, to convince him of the Necessity of acting in this Manner; considering at what Distance we are, and Impossibility of being able to confer Notes upon this Subject. He writes, that Governor Shirley has proposed to him, to treat the two new-raised Regiments, as those of Old-England.

The Copy inclosed, will acquaint you, of the different Subjects that have been examined in Council, and what I brought upon the Carpet at this Interview, which I have had with the Governors. As I have been charged by his Majesty, to employ those Persons I should find most proper for bringing over the Six Indian Nations to his Interest; it appeared in Council, of the greatest Consequence, and to deserve a much greater Attention, than I at first imagined, that for some Years, their Conduct towards us, declared a Dissatisfaction on the Part of those Six Nations, and it appeared that they greatly failed in the Confidence they reposed in his Majesty's Arms. I proposed Colonel Johnson, as the properest Person for that Embassy; because of the great Credit he has among them. My Choice was unanimously approved of by the Council; I have therefore sent him a Speech which he is to make in my Name, with more extensive Power to treat with them; and he alone is charged with this Negotiation. For that End, I have advanced to him the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds; £. 800 of which is to be given them immediately, in Presents, and reimbursed by the Colonies; the Rest for Presents hereafter, and to pay whatever it may cost, to set them to work. I have in like Manner given him Power to draw upon Governor Shirley, for more considerable Sums, in Case of absolute Necessity, upon no other Proviso, than to keep an exact
Account

Account of the Use that shall be made thereof. The Emergency of the Service, and the Necessity I am under of depending on him, engage me to put that Confidence in him; and the Proofs he has given of his Probity, on every Occasion, assure me, that he will not abuse it.

You will be sufficiently informed, SIR, by the Minutes of the Council, which I send you, of the Impossibility of obtaining from several Colonies, the Establishment of a general Fund, agreeable to his Majesty's Instructions, and to the Letters you have directed to me for several Governors. Since the last Accounts I sent you, very little Money, and very few Men, have been furnished by these Provinces. The Sum of £. 20,000 Currency has been spent in Virginia, although that Money is not yet raised. The Provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, still refuse to contribute. The Province of New-York has raised the Sum of £. 5000 Currency, for the Troops of that Province, which I have destined for the particular Service of the Garrison of Chouaguen. There was further raised in that Province, the Sum of £. 4000, for the Fortifications of that Government; and, above all, of the Metropolis: I begged Mr. Delancey to send it over for the general Service of the Expedition; but I very much fear, there will be nothing of it.

Governor Shirley will acquaint you, SIR, of the Expence of New-England, upon the prodigious Levy of Men that has been made in these Governments, for the Enterprizes of the North*; the other Governors have done very little, or rather nothing. I cannot but take the Liberty to represent to you, the Necessity of laying a Tax upon all his Majesty's Dominions in America, agreeable to the Result of Council, for re-imbursing the great Sums that must

* The prodigious Levies made for the Enterprizes of the North! Let the Situation of Canada be considered, with Regard to the English Colonies, and the Design of these Enterprizes will be perceived by all Men, so much effectual Preparation, and such considerable Expences, could not certainly have been made for that only Object, that poor unfruitful Country, which extends from the Apalachian Mountains to the Ohio, which is scarce worth the Expence of arming one Vessel.

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must be advanced for the Service and Interest of the Colonies, in this important Crisis. I am obliged to tell you, that the Expence of the Service of *America*, will exceed the Quota of each Province, by much more than I was persuaded, and will go beyond what the Govern- ment imagined. Among other innumerable Reasons which may be mentioned, is, that there will be considerable Augmentation in the Service under my Direction. There are a Number of Horses, Waggon and Battoes, necessary for transporting the Artillery, Baggage, &c. Couriers also, and the excessive Price of daily Labourers. Although I am resolved, to use the greatest Economy. Whether that Sum be re-imbursed by the Provinces or not, I should be blamed by his Majesty, if by untimely Parsimony, seeing the Situation of Affairs, I should make the projected Operations miscarry. You will permit me, Sir, to refer you to the Minutes of the Council, for the Proposals I made to the Provinces, to which they have not answered particularly concerning the Battoes which should be built upon the Lakes: The Building of those upon *Lake Ontario*, to be directed by Governor *Shirley*, and the Expence to be paid by Commodore *Keppel*.

Since my Departure from *William* I have had the Honour to receive a Letter from you, with his Majesty's Orders, for augmenting the Regiments of this Continent, to a Thousand Men each, in Consequence whereof, I have employed such Officers along the Southern Coasts, as seemed to me most proper for recruiting, and dispatched a Courier to Mr. *Lawrence*, that he might execute his Majesty's Orders, upon that Subject, concerning what regards the Regiments of his Province, with all possible Diligence.

I have Orders from his Majesty, to make no new Officers in these Regiments; but this Augmentation of Troops, with the Number of little Detachments I am obliged to make, have already put me under the Necessity of nominating a Number of Subalterns, to assist those who have been recommended to me from *Old-England*,

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land, to serve without Pay, until Places are vacant; to each of these Detachments, there is to be an Officer who is to have the Charge of the Provisions and Cash; and also to mark out the Camps which must be formed every Night, for want of Villages, much more necessary in this Country, as the Woods are very close and thick; by that Means, the Officer will be better enabled to have his Troops before him, to prevent any Surprize from the Indian Parties, which is always very much to be feared, notwithstanding all the Precautions that can be taken: For that Reason, and many others, which I could describe to you, I cannot express to you, how much Difficulty I fear in the Service I am entrusted with in *North-America*, if the Number of Officers be not augmented, in Proportion to that of the Troops. As the little Dependence upon this Country, obliges me to fetch Provisions from several Colonies, far distant one from the other, I have been obliged to nominate two Commissary-Assistants, for Victualling, to whom I have assigned *Four Shillings* a Day. I have also named, a Quarter-Master General Assistant at the same Pay, because of the Necessity I am under, of employing *Sir John St. Clair*, at 300 Miles from me, occupied at present in making the Roads and Bridges, and providing Waggon, Horses, &c. for transporting the Ammunition, Provisions, and Artillery.

I have met with such Difficulties in getting Carriages, as would have been insurmountable, without the Zeal, and Activity of the Officers, and others, employed for that Purpose. The Want of Forage, is a Difficulty I see, without Remedy; to supply which, I shall be obliged to turn out the Horses to Grass upon the Mountains. I design to set out from here, for *Frederick*, To-morrow Morning, to take the Road for *Wills's-Creek*, where I should have been before, if I had not been stopped to wait for the Artillery, and am much afraid it will keep me here longer. I hope, by the Beginning of *May*, to be upon the Mountains, and some Time in *June*, to be able to dispatch an Express, which will acquaint you with

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with the Issue of our Operations on the River *Ohio*. Though I have done all in my Power, I have not been able to get a more exact Account of the Number of *French*, at present on the *Ohio*; but I expect to get more certain Intelligence, when I shall be at *Willis's-Creek*, and shall take my Measures accordingly.

I cannot sufficiently express the Satisfaction I have to be employed in his Majesty's Service in *America*, at a Time when it is in my Power to form and execute a Plan for attacking the *French*, in all their considerable Posts usurped upon his Majesty's Lands in *North-America*, even to the Southern Parts thereof. I see a great Appearance of Success in each of them. I perceive so strict a Connection between each of these Projects, that the Success of the one, will procure us that of the other. If then I succeed in the first, and most important of these Projects, I am persuaded that his Majesty will stop the Progress of the *French* in their new Settlements, and that it will serve to make his Subjects upon this Continent take Courage, and rouse them from the Carelessness and Negligence of their Duty, with which they have been a long Time reproached, with so much Justice.

I am, with the most profound Respect, &c.

I The Subscriber, of the Superior Council of *Quebec*, do certify, That I have translated from English into French, Word for Word, all the Letters contained in the present Record, of Major-General *Braddock*, the Original of which remains deposited in the Secretary's-Office, of the Governor-General of *New-France*. Done at *Quebec*, the 30th of September, 1755. Signed, PERTHUIS.

WE, the Governor-General, and Intendant of *New-France*, do certify, That *M. Perthuis*, one of the Superior Council of *Quebec*, hath translated from English into French, all the Letters contained in the present Register, and that we have heard the English that frequent this City, say, that the said *M. Perthuis* speaks English, and translates it perfectly. *Quebec*, September 30, 1755. Signed,

VAUDREUIL and BIGOT.

Other LETTERS of General Braddock, found in a Book
separated from the above Register.

To the Duke of NEWCASTLE.

My LORD, Williamsburg, March 20, 1755.

I TAKE the first Opportunity to satisfy your Grace's
Command, in acquainting you, with my Arrival
here, and that of the Vessels which have transported the
Troops under my Command; my Voyage has been very
fatiguing; but the Transport Ships have been better
treated, because there was not one sick on board of them.

I don't know as yet, what Effect his Majesty's Orders
will produce in the Minds of the People here *, concern-
ing the present Expedition. I cannot yet say, whether
the several Governors have altogether the Influence that
was expected. I labour, and shall always continue my
Endeavours, to excite them to defray the Expences of
this Expedition, through their Provinces: They are
obliged to grant it, to prove their Attachment to his
Majesty, and answer what their Interests require.

For that Purpose, I have commanded Governor *Shirley*
to come to me at *Annapolis*, in *Maryland*, and have desired
the Governors of *New-York* and *Pennsylvania* to come
with him, if the Business of their Governments would
permit. I will not make you a long Detail of all Things
wherein I am busy concerning the Service in which I am
engaged; as I wrote at large to the Secretary of State
about that Matter. I desire you would suffer me to refer
you to his Letter, for all Things you would desire to
know.

Shirley's Regiment will soon be entirely compleat (if
it be not so already) that of Sir *William Pepperell's* I ima-
gine is advancing very much, and when I see Mr. *Shirley*,
I shall concert with him about the Manner that will ap-
pear to me best, for the Employment of the Forces in the
North.

* It is then to the positive Orders from the Court of London, and
not to the ardent Desire of the Governors of the English Colonies, that
this Attempt of the English ought to be attributed.

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North. I am to march with those I have with me, to attempt the Reduction of the *French* Forts upon the *Ohio*, and I hope that I shall be by the End of *April*, on the other Side of the *Alleghany* Mountains. I have had all the Assistance possible from *Commodore Keppel*; and found in the Governor of this Province a Man who contributed with the best Grace, to the Necessities of the present Expedition: This Province through the Governor's Care, is disposed at present to supply whatever it will be able. Which I dare not hope from other Governments.

As small Money would be very necessary here for paying the Troops, I pray your Grace would order the Contractors *Mr. Hanbury* and *Mr. Thomlinson*, to send over as soon as possible (if they have not done it already) *Four* or *Five Thousand Pounds* in Dollars and half Dollars, the Treasurer of the Troops having only Gold at present. I am, with the most profound Respect, &c.

To the Earl of HALIFAX.

(Without Date.)

My LORD,

THE Interest which your Excellency has in all that concerns his Majesty's Dominions in *America*, and the Part you bear in the Administration of the Government of them, oblige me to give you an Account of my Situation: I hope it will not be displeasing to you. Your Excellency, without Doubt, has been informed of the favourable Success the Transports have met with here, and of the Measures I have taken at my Arrival, for carrying on with Success, his Majesty's Service under my Direction, which may tend to his Interests, and to that of his Subjects upon this Continent.

Some Time ago, I sent to the Secretary of State, an Account of the Succours that have been granted me by all these Colonies, upon the present Occasion. There is no Need of sending it to you in particular. I am very sorry, that I am obliged to say, that the Inhabitants of these Colonies in general, have all shewn much Negligence

gence for his Majesty's Service, and their own Interests. Nevertheless they have not all equally deserved this Censure, and particularly this Province, where I am, ought not to be put in Comparison with their Neighbours, and may seem not to have merited these Reproaches.

I am persuaded, that the Account your Lordship has received of the good Dispositions of the Northern Colonies, and particularly of that under the Command of Mr. Shirley, ought, very justly, to gain him the Goodwill of his Majesty. I cannot sufficiently express my Indignation against the Provinces of *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*, whose Interest being alike concerned in the Event of this Expedition, and much more so than any other in this Continent, refuse to contribute any Thing for sustaining the Project; and what they propose, is done upon no other Terms, than such as are altogether contrary to the King's Prerogatives, and to the Instructions he has sent to their Governors. You will perhaps be glad to know, that I have assembled the Governors of *New-England*, *New-York*, *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*, together, and have fixed the Plan which we are to follow in attacking the *French* all at once, in all their Encroachments upon *Nova-Scotia*, *Crown-Point* and *Niagara*, which must be executed with all the Resolution and Courage imaginable.

(He repeats all that he wrote to Sir *Thomas Robinson*, in his Letter dated *April* the 19th, which is the 5th in the above Register.)

I have given Colonel *Johnson* full Power to treat with the *Six Nations*, and their Allies, and with all the other *Indians* of the West, as far as he shall find it necessary; and have sent him Speeches, that he must make to them on my Behalf. I have also given him Money for Presents, and Power to draw upon Governor *Shirley*, if he finds it necessary on this Occasion.

Mr. *Poronall**, or *Pownall*, has laid before me, a Contract made in the Year 1701, by the *Six Nations*, whereby

* I believe you may read *Pownel*.

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whereby they give to his Majesty, all their Hunting-
 Lands. This Cession comprehends an Extent of Land,
 the Breadth of 60 Miles, along the Coasts of the Lakes
Ontario and *Erie*. I have given this Contract to Colonel
Johnson, with Orders to present it to them from me, and
 to assure them that I am come here upon no other Design,
 than to retake these Lands from the *French*, and preserve
 them for their Use ¶.

I will not recount, Word for Word, what has been
 propos'd in Council, about the Vessels which are to be
 built upon *Lake-Ontario*; Commodore *Keppel* and I, have
 agreed to give Mr. *Shirley* the Direction of that Affair,
 and thought proper to give him Liberty to determine the
 Size and Force of these Vessels, as he thought proper.

I propose to begin my March, in order to attack the
 Fort on the *Ohio*, with all possible Diligence: I thought
 to be by this Time upon the Mountains, but I have been
 detained by a Number of Difficulties, as well through
 the Inconveniency of the Climate, and State of the Coun-
 try, as the Want of a great Number of Horses, Wag-
 gons, and other Equipages, which have been sought long
 before they could be procured.

I set off To-morrow, for *Frederick*, which is on the
 Road to *Fort-Cumberland*, upon *Wills's-Creek*, and before
 the End of *June*, I hope I shall be able to give an exact
 Account of the Affair at the *Ohio*. I hope I shall have
 the Power to put in Execution, the Plan which I have
 formed, for forcing from the *French* the most conside-
 rable Usurpations that they have made upon his Ma-
 jesty's Frontiers of *North-America*. Should I succeed in
 the most important of these Operations, I am persuaded
 that it will be easy for his Majesty to stop the Projects
 of the *French*, which increase more and more upon this
 Continent. I am, with Respect, &c.

Another

¶ It is excellent enough, that notwithstanding this pretended Con-
 tract, of which they make a great Account of in *Europe*, they are obliged
 in *America*, to endeavour to persuade the *Indians* (a People who are
 not to be bubbled) that they are at War, for no other Reason than
 to reinstate them in their Possessions.

Another LETTER, *thought to be written to Sir Thomas Robinson, though the Person's Name, to whom it is directed, is not mentioned.*

Fort-Cumberland, at Wills's-Creek, June 5, 1755:

SIR,

I HAD the Honour to write to you from *Frederick*, the latter End of *April*.

I arrived here the 10th of *May*, and the 17th arrived the most of the Army, coming from *Alexandria*, after a March of Twenty-seven Days, having gone through many Difficulties and Obstacles, as well through the Badness of the Roads, as the Want of Forage, and the little Zeal in the People, for the Success of our Expedition.

I have at last assembled all the Troops destined for the Attack of *Fort du Quesne*, which amount to 2000 effective Men, of which there are 1100 furnished by the Southern Provinces, who have so little Courage and Disposition, that scarce any military Service can be expected from them, though I have employed the best Officers to form them.

When I arrived here, my Design was to stay only a few Days to rest my Troops; but the Difficulty of getting Horses and Waggons, in order to pass the Mountains, has obliged me to remain here almost one whole Month.

Before I left *Williamsburg*, the Quarter-Master-General told me, that I could depend upon 2500 Horses, and 200 Waggons from *Virginia*, and *Maryland*; but I had great Reason to doubt it, having experienced the false Dealings of all in this Country, with whom I have been concerned; wherefore, before my Departure from *Frederick*, I desired Mr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Post-Master, of *Pennsylvania*, who has great Credit in that Province, to hire 150 Waggons, and the Number of Horses necessary; which he did, with so much Goodness and Readiness, that it is almost the first Instance of Integrity, Address and Ability, that I have seen in all these Provinces. All these Waggons and Horses have joined

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joined me, in which I lay great Stress. The fine Promises of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, amounted to no more than the furnishing Twenty Waggon and 200 Horses: With this Number I shall be able to set off from here, though I must meet with infinite Difficulties, particularly marching with only a Part of the Ammunition I expected, and having been obliged to send a Detachment before me, to lay up and secure Provisions upon the Mountains of *Alleghany*, which are five Days March from here.

I should never finish, were I to give a Detail of the innumerable Instances of the Want of Integrity, I have found, both in general, and in particular, and of the most absolute Contempt of Truth, I have met with in the Course of this Service. I cannot help adding to what I have already told you, two or three Examples.

The Governor of *Virginia* sent me an Account of a Purchase he had made of 1100 Beeves, which were to be delivered in *June* and *August*, for the Subsistence of the Troops. This Purchase had been made upon the Credit of £. 20,000, of that Currency, granted by the Assembly, for the Service of his Majesty, in Favour of this Expedition: In Consequence of which, I regulated and ordered Affairs for the best; but a few Days after, the Contractor of the said Purchase came to tell me, that the Assembly had refused to fulfil the Governor's Engagements, and consequently the Purchase became void. As this Affair was of the greatest Consequence, I offered immediately to engage him the Payment, upon the Terms of the Purchase; but the Contractor rejected my Offers, and required one third of the Money in Hand, on Account of the Purchase, and would not engage to deliver me the Beeves before two Months, when they would be of little or no Use.

Another Example: The Agent of *Maryland*, employed to furnish the Troops with Provisions, had collected some, which at first Sight, were all judged to be spoil'd; and I saw myself under a Necessity of sending One Hundred Miles to collect others. This Disposition of the

People, not only puts back the Designs of his Majesty, but also doubles the Expences, occasioned by the Difficulty there is of the Carriage, in these Countries yet unhabited, unknown, and impracticable to the Inhabitants themselves, who live in the lowest Parts, finding every where a continued Chain of Mountains, so that the Charges would far exceed the principle Stock : I was therefore obliged to leave at *Alexandria*, a great deal of Ammunition, that would be of very great Use to me here. The Conduct of these Governments seems to be without a Parrallel. This Negligence is a little excusable in the lower Class of People, because they have not been satisfied for the Pains they have taken, being employed in the publick Service in the preceeding Occasions, their Payment has been neglected. We see by Experience, the bad Consequences that attend such like Proceedings.

As I have Orders from his Majesty, to use all possible Means for gaining the *Indians*, to our Interest, I have assembled some of them, from the Frontiers of *Pennsylvania*, and particularly of the *Six Nations*, with whom I have had already two or three Conferences ; I have made them handsome Presents : They are about Fifty in Number ; but I hope to draw a great many more. When I arrived in *America*, I was assured, that I might depend upon a great Number of *Indians* from the Southward ; but the bad Conduct of the Government of *Virginia*, has turned them entirely against us ; in Effect, they behaved to the *Indians* with so little Discretion, and so much unfair Dealing, that we must at present be at great Expence to regain their Confidence ; and there is no trusting even those who have embraced our Cause. The Situation of this Country is such, that the *French* cannot get any Intelligence, but by Means of the *Indians*, in whose Reports little Confidence can be put. I am informed, there are but a small Number of them in *Fort du Quesne*, but that they expect a great Reinforcement.

Designs of his Majesty, occasioned by the Difficulties of these Countries yet unhabited by the Inhabitants themselves, finding every where, so that the Charges of Stock: I was therefore great deal of Ammunition Use to me here. The seems to be without a little excusable in the they have not been taken, being employed in such Occasions, their We see by Experience, such like Proceedings. Majesty, to use all possible to our Interest, I have the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, with whom six Nations, with whom the Conferences; I have They are about Fifty w a great many more. as assured, that I might Indians from the South of the Government of y against us; in Effect, so little Discretion, and must at present be at confidence; and there is ve embraced our Cause. is such, that the French by Means of the Indians, nce can be put. I am ll Number of them in spect a great Reinforce-

I am informed, that 2000 Stand of Arms are arrived, which are destined to *New-England*, and that they are ordered to *Nova-Scotia*.

They labour at the Battoes designed to transport the Troops which are going to attack *Niagara* and *Crown-Point*; nevertheless, *New-York*, which was to furnish the greatest Part of them, does not shew upon this Occasion, so much Zeal as I could wish. (As I am certain that a Road through *Pennsylvania* would be more proper and safer, for settling a Communication after the Troops have passed the *Alleghany* Mountains, I desired Governor *Morris* to make one in that Province, from *Shippensburg* to the River *Yaughyoughane*. I am informed they are at Work on it with great Diligence, and that it will be finished in one Month: This Road will be of great Importance, as well for bringing me Provisions, as for securing me a Communication with the Northern Colonies. I wait but for my last Convoy, to begin my March, and if no Accidents happen, I hope I shall begin it in five Days, through the *Alleghany* Mountains: I expect to meet with a great many Obstacles by what I can hear. The Distance from hence to the Fort, is 110 Miles †. This Road cannot be travelled, without infinite Labour, as it is very mountainous, and has exceeding high Rocks, and in many Places, large Gutters and Rivers to wade. I shall embrace the first Opportunity to acquaint you with my Situation, after leaving this Place; and am, with the most profound Respect, &c.

I The Subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, do certify that I have translated, &c.

Two other Letters might be here annexed, one from General *Braddock*, to Commodore *Keppel*, dated *Williamsburg*, Feb. 27th: In this Letter he desires him to

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† The Distance from *Fort-Cumberland* to *Fort-du-Roisne*, is about 37 Leagues, at 20 to a Degree.

land with all Speed at *Alexandria*, the *Cohorns*, *Bombs*, and other *Machines* destined to throw *Fire* either in *Vessels* or *Entrenchments*. The Other is from *Mr. Robert Orm*, *Aid-de-Camp* to *Sir Peter Halket* : He gives him several *Orders*, and among the Rest, *His Excellency orders you to receive all Deserters, and provide them with whatever they ask ; and if they are willing to enlist, he desires you would take them without any Difficulty, and stand neither upon Terms nor Appearance, but pass them all for effective Men.*

A LETTER from *Charles Lawrence, Esquire, to General Braddock.*

SIR, *Halifax, May 10, 1755.*

I HAVE had the Honour to receive a Letter from you, dated at *Annapolis*, in *Maryland*, *April* the 7th, by a *Vessel* come two Days ago from *Philadelphia* : Permit me to assure you, that nothing could be a greater *Mortification* to me, than you should harbour the least *Thought* of my being slack in my *Duty* towards a Person to whom I am so much obliged. Till the very Moment I received your Letter, I had neither heard of your *Arrival* in *Virginia*, nor of the *Extent* of your *Commissions*. No sooner I knew it, but I improved the first *Opportunity*, of giving a general *Account* of the *Situation* of *Affairs* in this *Province*, as also an *Account* of the *Forces* and *Troops* his *Majesty* has here, together with *Remarks* upon every *Individual*. I flatter myself you have received them already, and that you will approve of them.

I acknowledge, *Sir*, that I have acquainted *Commodore Keppel* with the *Expedition* projected to stop the *Enterprizes* of the *French* at *Beau-sejour* and *St. John's River*, in the same *Manner* as he himself has informed you ; and which had been concerted between *Governor Shirley* and myself ; and the *Reason* of my acquainting him therewith, sprung from some printed *Orders* which *Captain Rous* had received from the *Admiralty*, to place him-

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himself under the Commodore's Orders ; that, with some other Advices, made me to conclude, that Commodore Keppel was in *Virginia* ; but I had not at that Time any Knowledge of your Arrival in *Virginia*, nor even any Certainty of your coming there, much less could I form any Judgment of the Nature and Extent of your Commissions. This, *Sir*, is the real Truth of the Matter : I hope you will do me that Justice to believe it.

Lieutenant Colonel *Monckton*, with the provincial Troops under his Orders, is at present very near, if not quite before, the Fort *Beau-sejour* ; and as I have cut off all Communication by Land, between that Place, and the Northern Parts of the Province, in order to deprive the *French* Inhabitants from knowing any Thing that might be prejudicial to our *Designs* ; therefore it is impossible for me to acquaint you with the Progress the Lieutenant Colonel has made. I shall have the Honour to let you know the Particulars of our Enterprize by the first Opportunity.

I shall give particular Attention to your Orders, for augmenting each of the three Regiments that are here, to a Thousand Men each ; and I should not delay one Moment, if I was informed on what Conditions these Men are to be raised and what Pay they are to have ; but as I have not as yet received any particular Orders from *England*, concerning the Augmentation, and that none of those Officers are yet come, whom I daily expect, I hope you will look upon it as a Thing impracticable for me to proceed therein.

According to the Advices I have received from *New-England*, on Account of the Men who have been raised there for the Regiments of Governor *Shirley*, and Sir *William Pepperell's*, and the Difficulties in raising the said Recruits, I fear, that if I am obliged to send there for the Number of Men we shall want, the Augmentation of our Troops will be long upon Hand, and composed of sorry Troops : But I hope to succeed better among the provincial Levies that are actually at *Beau-sejour*, who

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(if I am rightly informed) are composed of good Men, and may be inlisted with more Speed and less Expence, than those that might be raised on the Continent, after the great Number of Recruits that have been already raised there.

In my Letter of the 29th of *March*, I proposed to Governor *Shirley*, to make our Address to you, that either his Regiment, or that of Sir *William Pepperell*, might pass over here to protect the Province, in Case I should think it necessary; though I observed at the same Time, that I did not see great Need for such Proceedings, as I was upon the Point of receiving Two Thousand Two or Three Hundred Men, who are now at *Beau-sejour*, the only Passage by Land to come to this Province, and whereby we might dread the Insults of our Neighbours the *French*. I am, yet, Sir, of the same Mind, as there is not as yet any real Change of Affairs in *America*: Nevertheless, should there be a Rupture with the *French*, which, according to all Appearance, may happen, it would be extremely necessary to stand upon our Guard; and I think it my Duty to inform you, that in such a Case, the three Regiments compleated as they are to be, together with the Rangers, the Militia, and the Forces we can depend upon, would by no Means be proportionable to the Number of Posts we have to defend, if possible; particularly if we consider, that in the very Heart of the Province, we have a formidable Number of those who are called *Neutral French*, a People well experienced in the Use of Arms, and in Conjunction with the *French**; who, upon the least Attempt, *Canada* would make to invade us: I believe it is most probable, they would immediately join with them. As I look upon this Article to be of Importance, I thought it my Duty to submit it to your Reflection.

I *The Subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, do certify, That I have translated, &c.* Numb.

* The Motions of these *French* were only feared then in the Time of a Rupture, that is to say, an open War; this destroys the Accusations contained in the Memorials sent by Governor *CORNWALLIS*.

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NUMB. XIV.

SPEECHES made, and pronounced to the Indians, by Order, and under the Inspection of Colonel Johnson, with the Answers made to him.

FIRST SPEECH*.

To the Six Nations, from General Braddock.

My BRETHREN and Allies of the Six Nations,

I HAVE already called you several Times, to treat with you about different Affairs, which I knew nothing off, before I had been with you, and which are not yet come to the Knowledge of your Father the great King of England, of which I shall be careful to inform him, and to offer you, by his Orders, the Presents which are here before you, and which he gives you as a Testimony of his paternal Affection.

I have detained you, and your Wives and Children, for some Time, hoping in a few Days, to see your Brethren the *Delawares* †; but seeing it is uncertain that they have yet arrived, and as I know you love to be in Action, moreover as the Service of the King your Father requires your speedy Assistance, I propose to you to take up the Hatchet; and that you may the better exercise your warlike Dispositions, I promise you, to send your Wives and Children to *Pennsylvania*: I have recommended to the Governor of that Province, in the King's Name, to take particular and fraternal Care of them.

A fine Belt of Wampum.

My Brethren and Allies of the Six Nations,

I have a real Concern, to find how much you have suffered, by the Abuse and Deceit of your perfidious Neighbours

* This Speech is the first in General BRADDOCK's Register; but according to all Appearance, it was pronounced after the following Speech.

† The Indians are likewise call'd the Wolves. They have quitted the English Party since the Assassination of M. de JUMONVILLE.

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CORNWALLIS.

Neighbours the *French* †, as well as by some of your Brethren the *English*: The *French* have insinuated unto you, that we who are your faithful Brothers, had designed to drive you out of all your Lands, of Hunting and Game, and to seize on them for our own proper Use. You have been much deceived, when you assisted the *French* to execute the horrid Design with which they have charged us, in putting them in the real Possession of these very Lands which we had designed to secure unto you, for your Use alone, and particular Interest. I declare unto you, in the Presence of your Chiefs and Warriors here assembled, and according to the Instructions I have received from the great King your Father, that if you will unanimously * *grant me your Assistance, I will put you again in Possession of your Lands*, of which you have been dispossessed by *French* Deceit, and cheating Tricks, and secure unto you a free open Trade in *America*, from the Rising unto the Setting of the Sun. It is very well known, that I have no particular Views, nor Design, but that of serving mutually the Interests of the King of *England*, your Father, and of the *Six Nations*, and their Allies; and I promise you, to be your *Friend and Brother* §, as long as the Sun and Moon shall last.

A grand Belt of Wampum.

I have been told, that as upon the foregoing Occasions, you had some Presents from us, some were idle enough to excite your young People to drink, and by

† Here they don't accuse the *French* so much of Violence towards the *Indians*, as of Artifice in gaining their Neighbours; how can these Discourses agree with those of Mr. *Washington*; who would persuade these same *Iroquois*, that he was come only at their Request and upon their repeated Complaints?

* The *Six Nations* have been expelled by the *French*. He would only put them in Possession of their Properties. These are they who pray'd the *English* to come; Nevertheless, he begs them unanimously to assist the *English*; the pretended Deliverers are here reduced to beg and pray for Assistance.

§ Whence came the Rights of the *English* upon the *Ohio*, if they possess not the Lands which it waters, no otherwise than as Sovereigns of the *Iroquois*.

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that Means made no Account of what they gave you. To prevent for the future, such like Proceedings, I have given Orders, by threatning with Death, all those that be found convicted of that Crime: I beg you will send me your Complaints against all such as will act in the like Manner, and as a Friend and Brother, I shall render you ample Justice.

I have no more to desire, but to see you receive with Pleasure, the Presents which are before you, and to see you divide them amongst you, according to your Custom and natural Equity. I hope they will be agreeable. You may depend upon great Rewards from Time to Time, for your Services. I have ordered Arms, Powder and Shot, to be delivered to such of your Warriors as want them.

My Brethren, I have been informed of the perfidious Conduct of the *French* towards our deceased Brother, the *Half King*; and to convince you how far I am sensible, as well as you, of his ill Treatment, in hopes that you would willingly join with me, to revenge him, I cover his Death with this B E L T.

*My Brethren; Delawares and Chauanons,**

You are to blame, for following the Counsel of the *French* last Autumn, to murder a Number of your Brethren the *English*, in their Habitations in *Carolina*. I am very well persuaded, that it did not happen from an Inclination natural to you, but only by the Instigation of the *French*; therefore, if you acknowledge your Fault, and that you are openly and voluntarily resolved to join with me, I shall freely forget this unhappy Transgression, and receive you still as Brethren. This I confirm unto you, in the Name, and as the Deputy of, the King your Father, with this String of Wampum. Signed,

The 15th of May, 1755. JOHNSON.
X SE-

* The deputed *Iroquois*, before whom Mr. *Johnson* spoke, could not answer him upon the Suggestions that he charges to the *French* in the eloquent Apostrophe which he makes here to the *Delawares* and *Chauanons*.

SECOND SPEECH.

The SPEECH of the Honourable WILLIAM JOHNSON, Esq; Superintendant of Indian Affairs, to the Warriors of the Upper and Lower Castle of the Iroquois Indians, in the Presence of Lieutenant Butler, of Rutherford's Company; of Captain Matthew Farral, of Lieutenant John Butler, of Messrs. Daniel Clause, Peter Wraxall, Secretaries for Indian Affairs; William Printu, Jacob Clement, Interpreters.

My Brethren of both Castles of the Anies,
I WIPE away all Tears from your Eyes, and clear your Throat, that you may hear and speak without Constraint. I rejoice to see you, and salute you with all my Heart.

Gives a String of Wampum.

I desire you to conform to what I demanded of you, in a Letter which I wrote to you from *New-York*, as soon as I returned from *Virginia*, wherein I prayed all your Chiefs and Warriors to wait my coming home, to hear News, and be informed of the Orders which I have received from his Excellency General *Braddock* (the great Warrior) whom the King our common Father, has sent to this Country, with a great Number of Troops, of great Guns, and other Implements of War, to protect you, as well as his Subjects upon this Continent, and defend you against all the Usurpations and Insults of the *French*.

I have been to wait upon this great Man, along with the Governors of *Boston*, *New-York*, *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*; we had also there, the Governor of *Virginia*, and another great Man, who, in this Part of the World, commands all the Men of War belonging to the King. In the Grand Council, many important Affairs have been deliberated, among which, the Interest and Safety of our Brethren the *Six Nations*, and their Allies, were considered with great Attention.

My Brethren, The Tree which you and the Rest of the *Six Nations*, have so often and earnestly desired, that

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it should be replanted, is grown, by such a mighty Hand, that its Roots penetrate into the Bottom of the Earth, and its Branches are a refreshing Shade, to cover you, and your Allies. As I am to acquaint you, that, agreeable to the Instructions which the King your Father, has given to General *Braddock*, I am nominated to be alone Superintendant over all the Affairs that shall concern you and your Allies, in this Part of the World, I invite you, and your Brethren, the *Six United Nations*, and your Allies, to assemble under this Tree, where you may freely open your Hearts, and heal your Wounds, and at the same Time I transport the Shade of that Fire which was in *Albany*, and rekindle the Fire of Council and Friendship, in this Place: I shall make it of such Wood, as shall produce the greatest Light, and greatest Heat: I hope it will be serviceable and comfortable to all those who shall come to light their Pipes at it; and that the sparkling, and flaming Coals thereof, will burn all those who are or shall be its Enemies.

I hope that you, and all your Brethren, would be glad to encrease the Lustre and Splendor of this Fire, in minding and keeping it always up; applying yourselves to it with that Diligence and Zeal as may derive a Blessing from it, not only upon you, but upon all your Posterity. To obtain and ascertain that salutary End, it is absolutely necessary that you extinguish all the Fires kindled by Means of Deceit and Fraud, and not natural, which light but to deceive and destroy you and yours. *ABELT.*

My Brethren,

By this Belt of Wampum, I cleanse the Council-Chamber, to the End that there be nothing offensive therein, and I hope that you will take care that no evil Spirit creep in among us, that nothing may interrupt our Harmony.

Gives a String of Wampum.

My Brethren,

I am concern'd to see at my Return, that many of the two Villages desire to go to *Canada*; I should be much surprized

surprized that you who have been our most faithful Friends and nearest Neighbours, would upon any Occasion shew your Desire to be deceived by the wicked Artifices of the *French*, who are so well known, and of whom you have had such fatal Experience, especially when that restless and perfidious Nation breaks the most solemn Treaties, and violates all the Obligations of Honour and Justice; this would be the most surprizing Thing in the World; but I hope that what I have been told upon that Subject, has no Foundation. I desire and insist that none of you upon any Pretence whatsoever, have any Correspondence with the *French*, nor receive none of their Emisseries, nor go to *Canada* without my Knowledge and Approbation.

Upon this Condition I give you a B E L T.

I intend immediately to call your other Brethren of the *Six-Nations*, to this present Fire: I hope that you'll come here along with them. I shall deliver a Speech of his Excellency General *Braddock*, accompanied with Presents for you, which the great King your Father sent by that Warrior.

After some Moments of Consultation between them, Abraham, one of the Chiefs of the Upper Village, got up, and spoke thus for the Two.

My Brother,

You have call'd us, to let us know the Tidings you have brought with you, and we have understood all that you have said; we defer until the *Six-Nations* are all assembled here, to give an exact Account of all Affairs.

Gives a String of Wampum.

My Brother, We Thank you for being so willing to wipe the Tears from our Eyes, and to cleanse our Throats and this Floor: We do as much, with this String of Wampum.

Gives a String of Wampum.

My Brother, To comply with your Request, we have here met together, and with great Attention, heard all that you have said; we thank you for your kind Information;

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mation ; we are charm'd to see you again once more, and greet you with this Sting of Wampum.

They give it.

My Brother, We have often represented to our Father the great King that the Tree advanced. We are very glad that our Father has comply'd with our Demand, and thank him for it most sincerely. We have had the greatest Satisfaction to hear all that you have said concerning that Tree. We sincerely wish that it may continue such as you described in your Speech, and we are very sensible of all you said upon the Subject.

My Brother, You have told us that the Tree which shaded us, is now replanted here ; you made it the Shade of *Albany*, and you have rekindled the Fire of Prudence and Friendship, which must be made of good everlasting Wood, so that it shall be always clear, and give comfortable and salutary Heat, to all that will approach it, as Friends, whilst it shall burn and inflame against its Enemies ; our first Fathers had kindled this Fire first at *Onontague*, and carried the small Coals of it to rekindle another at the Habitation of *Quider†*. This Fire never burnt clear, and was almost extinguished ; we are well satisfied to hear that you have rekindled it.

My Brother, You have invited us all, and our Brethren, the *Six United Nations*, and their Allies, to come and sit under that Tree you spoke of, there to light our Pipes, at the Fire of Prudence, and that we and they should endeavour to preserve it. We don't doubt but that they would be glad to see it planted here, having all desired to see it ; but we must delay, until all the Nations, be assembled here in a Body, for to answer that Article of your Speech.

My Brother, We thank you for having cleansed this Council Chamber, and for moving all that might be offensive therein ; you may assure yourself that we will do all we can to answer your Intention, and avoid all that might tend to trouble or disturb our mutual Harmony.

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† This is *Albany* in the *Indian* Language.

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My Brother, You have told us, that you had been informed, that some of us were going to the *French*, and you put us in Mind of their Conduct towards our Ancestors, whom we remember very well, for their Bones are yet to be seen : We know that the *French* are false and deceitful ; they have given us very fine Words, and their Letters were sweet, but their Hearts were full of Poyson for us. You know our Affairs, my Brethren, as well as we, and that the rest of the *Six-Nations* are jealous of us, because we used the Hatchet last War against the *French*. Shall we be now accounted false and deceitful ? No, you may be assured, that we will not go to *Canada* upon any Request of the *French*, because we are not so much in their Friendship ; also, my Brother, do not believe all the Reports that may be made to you upon that Subject.

My Brother, We thank you yet once more for all you have told us. We have already said that it was necessary the *Six-Nations* were assembled here, to give a positive Answer. We thank you for the Invitation you gave us to come here with the Rest of our Brethren. We will not fail to meet them here.

The Chief Mohawk (Anies) of the upper Village having required to have a Conference with Colonel Johnson, in the Presence of the Secretary for Indian Affairs, and the two Interpreters, Abraham spoke in the Name of the Chief, and said,

My Brethren,

When you were at *New-York*, you told us that our Chiefs and Warriors should rest on their Mats, and wait there until your Return ; which we have done :---- And why should we not, seeing we have at all Times appeared ready to oblige you ! and we are the more particularly dispos'd to obey you, since you tell us that you are a Tree replanted, in order to put us under your Shade, and we don't doubt but that our Brethren of the other *Five-Nations* are all dispos'd to obey you.

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My Brother,

It is very true, that we have been always obedient and obliging to you, and seeing you told us that you would have us rest in the Cabin, our young Men being ready to go a Hunting, being detain'd by your Orders, have nothing to subsist on; they have begg'd our Chiefs to represent their Condition to you, they want every Thing; not having been a Hunting, and to pray you to give them some Powder and Shot, to kill some Game for their Subsistence, as it will be some Time before the Arrival of the other *Five-Nations*, and all of us receive the Presents sent us by the King our Father; whilst we wait, we pray you to give us what is purely necessary for us.

My Brother,

As we foresee the hard Seasons are approaching, we renew the Prayers to you we often made to the Government, to build a Place for the Safety of our Wives and Children; we hope you will actually execute it.

Colonel JOHNSON'S Answer.

BRETHREN,

I AM perfectly well convinced of your good Dispositions for me, and of your Complaisance at all Times, to listen to my Words, and to do what I demand of you: It is that which has engaged me to take your Affairs in my Consideration. The fresh Proofs you give me of your Friendship, and Regard towards me, will enable me to serve your Interests effectually, and to my own Satisfaction. I am sensible I have done you great Hurt, as also to your young Men, for detaining them at this Time, upon their Mats; wherefore I readily grant you what you require of me, and will give you Powder and Bullets.

Before I left New-York, I represented before your Brother the Governor, the Necessity of Building a safe Retreat for your Families; and I have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that he hath given me a full Power to do it, and the Workmen shall go about it as soon as possible. Signed,

May 17th, 1755.

JOHNSON.

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My

A LETTER from Colonel Johnson, to Mr. Arent Stevens, the Indian Interpreter for the Province.

ACCORDING to the Instructions given to General Braddock, by his Majesty, he has been pleased to entrust me with the sole Direction and Management of Indian Affairs, to wit. for the Six United Nations and their Allies; you are therefore to give Attention, and follow the Orders you shall receive from me on that Head.

I send you this Letter by James Clement, with two Belts of Wampum, both for the Five Upper Nations, which you are to give them in my Name, and acquaint them, that the Troops who are now on their March, and those who may march hereafter for Chauaguen, are to reinforce that Garrison, and to protect it against any Act of Hostility from the French, who said, that it belonged neither to us, nor to the Six Nations, and that they would pull it down.

At my first Arrival, I sent a String of Wampum; but lest that should not be sufficient, I now send this Belt. If you find that the Indians are disquieted, and alarmed at the March of these Troops through their Country, should it proceed from their Jealousy, or the deceitful Insinuations of French Emis-saries, you shall assure them in my Name, that they are destined for the Safety and Advantage of the Six Nations, and their Allies. You shall exhort them to give no Heed to any Lies which the French might tell them on that Account, whose Aim and Desire is, to take both us and them, while we are asleep, to cut us off from the Face of the Earth; that they know very well, the only Means to obtain their Desire, is to trouble and destroy the brotherly Love and Confidence which have so long and so happily subsisted between us. You shall make use of Arguments to that Purpose, or such like, as Circumstances will require.

The other Belt which I send you, is to inform them of the Commission which the King their Father, has given me, granted at their repeated Instances; and that in Execution of General Braddock's Orders, by this Belt I invite and call the Six Nations to come to me, together with their Allies; that I have kindled at my House, a Fire of Council and Friend-

Johnson, to Mr. Arent
for the Province.

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m to give no Heed to any
them on that Account,
b us and them, while we
Face of the Earth; that
to obtain their Desire, is
love and Confidence which
between us. You shall
Purpose, or such like, as

is to inform them of the
ther, has given me, gran-
ad that in Execution of
is Belt I invite and call
gether with their Allies;
, a Fire of Council and
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Friendship, and replanted the shady Tree, which shall shelter
them, and all those who will come under it; that I have a
Present to make them, from the King their Father; much
good News to tell them, and a Council to hold, concerning
several Affairs of the greatest Consequence, relating to their
Happiness and Well-being. If you find that any French
Emissary has been tampering with them, in order to dissuade
them from coming to me; you shall employ your best and most
proper Arguments, to dissipate those Impressions, and shall
insist upon their Obedience, and upon the Condescension due
from them to us. If they say they are planting their
Corn, and should they come now, they would lose their Har-
vest, and want Provisions; you shall assure them, that I
will take Care of them, and will make good to them all their
Loss occasioned thereby: But be sure to act with Prudence
upon that Article, and promise with Precaution.

I have had a Conference at both the Mohawk Towns;
they were satisfied with the two Belts, and have promised
to join me here, whenever the other Nations come down;
wherefore urge them to it as much as you can.

I have sent you some Goods by Mr. Clement; make use
of them as you see Cause; and when you have brought the
Indians to the German Flats, you will find Provisions at
my House, of which I desire you to keep Account.

I am, Yours, &c.

Signed,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

A true Copy of what was done by the Honourable William
Johnson, Esq; and Peter Warpell †, Secretary for Indian
Affairs.

I THE Subscriber, of the Superior Council of Quebec,
do certify, That I have translated, &c.

Y

NUMB.

† Supposed to be Waxall.

NUMB. XV.

A LETTER written by Sir William Johnson, to different Governors, concerning the Plan of the Expedition against the Fort at Crown-Point.

New-York, May 5, 1755.

AS I am nominated Commander in Chief of the Colonies Forces, with Regard to the Expedition proposed against Crown-Point, I think it my Duty, to endeavour all I can, to remove all the Obstacles that might come in the Way of the present Service, and prevent every Thing that might not tend to the Success of this Undertaking: As a Train of Artillery is essentially necessary, that nothing can be done without it, I don't doubt of your doing all in your Power to hasten all Things on that Head, that our March may not be delayed; and that we may not tarry longer at Albany than is necessary, which might confirm the Enemy in the Suspicion of an Attack, if they should unfortunately have Knowledge of it. I much fear, I shall want proper Persons to manage the Train of Artillery; wherefore, if you have in your Province, any Person capable of being an Engineer, or Bombardeer, or any other fit Person to manage the Train of Artillery, I desire you would engage them into the Service, according to the Knowledge you may have of their Capacity. You must know also, we want a great Number of Boats, for transporting the Troops, besides those that are necessary for the Train of Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage; every Battoe must carry five Men. We have already those which this Government was to provide us: As I imagine the other Colonies are to get those Battoes (which they are to furnish) built either here or in the Jerseys, I look upon it as a Thing impossible to build a sufficient Number in Time, unless they send us Workmen to help us. I am, &c.

Signed, WILLIAM JOHNSON.

I The Subscriber, one of the Superior Council of Quebec, do certify, That I have translated, &c.

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N U M B. XVI.

A PROCLAMATION directed by Order of Charles Lawrance, Esq; Governor of Acadia, to the French Inhabitants of the Neighbourhood of the Isthmus, and the Banks of the River St. John.

By the KING.

By Order of his Excellency Charles Lawrance, Esq; Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Province of Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

To the Inhabitants, and others, the Natives of Chignecto, Bay-Vert, Tintamar, Chipoudie, River St. John, and their Dependancies, and to all others who have not as yet submitted themselves.

FORASMUCH as the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the Places aforesaid, and others, *have not as yet submitted themselves to the King of Great-Britain* †, but on the contrary, have behaved themselves in a Manner contrary to all Order and Loyalty, with Regard to their own Sovereign.

These are therefore to order them, to repair immediately to my Camp, to submit themselves; bringing with them all their Arms, Muskets, Swords, Pistols, and every other Instrument of War; in Disobedience whereof, they shall be treated as Rebels.

GIVEN at our Camp at Chignecto, this 13th of May, 1755.

Signed, ROBERT MONCKTON.

End of the first P A R T.

† This is remarkable, how came it to pass, that ever since the Treaty of Utrecht, it never entered in the Mind to require this Submission?

Johnson, to the Expedition

May 5, 1755.

Chief of the Expedition my Duty, to Obstacles that Advice, and pre- the Success of ry is essentially out it, I don't to hasten all may not be de- at Albany than enemy in the Sus- tely have Know- per Persons to re, if you have f being an En- rson to manage d engage them ledge you may v allo, we want ng the Troops, ain of Artillery, must carry five is Government er Colonies are o furnish) built n it as a Thing n Time, unless am, &c.

AM JOHNSON. ncil of Quebec.

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A Collection of Papers, tending to vindicate the Conduct of the Court of France, in Answer to the Observations sent by the English Ministry, to the several Courts of Europe.

PART the SECOND.

N U M B. I.

A MEMORIAL delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix, to Sir Thomas Robinson, January the 15th, 1755.

AS an immediate Prevention of the Consequences which may arise from the unexpected Differences in the several Colonies of *North-America*, and the Hostilities which attended them, is a Matter of the utmost Importance, the King proposes to his *Britannick* Majesty, that, previous to an Enquiry into the Foundation and Circumstances of this Dispute, positive Orders should be sent to our respective Governors; to forbid their engaging from henceforth in any new Enterprize, or committing any Acts of Violence: On the Contrary, to enjoin them without Delay, to establish Matters in the same Situation with Respect to the Territory of *Ohio* or *La Belle-Riviere*, in which they were, or ought to have been, before the last War; and that the respective Pretension should be amicably submitted to the Commission appointed at *Paris*, to the End that the Differences between the two Courts may be terminated by a speedy Reconciliation.

The King is likewise desirous, in order to remove every uneasy Impression, and to make his Subjects perfectly happy in the Enjoyment of the inestimable Blessings of Peace, that his *Britannick* Majesty would be open and explicit with Regard to the Cause and Destination of the Armament last raised in *England*.

The King has too great a Confidence in the Uprightness of his *Britannick* Majesty's Intentions, not to expect that he will give his free and ready Concurrence to Propositions so conducive to the Establishment of Peace, to the Support of the publick Tranquility, and a good Harmony between our two Courts.

Sign'd, Duke de MIREPOIX.

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The ANSWER to the foregoing Memorial, delivered by Order of the English Court, to the Duke de Mirepoix, January 22d, 1755.

THE King has beheld with Concern the unexpected Differences in *North-America*, and the Hostilities with which they have been accompanied : His Majesty is equally desirous, with the most *Christian* King, to put an End to them ; demanding nothing but what is founded on Treaties, and is agreeable to the just Rights and Possessions of his Crown, and the Protection of his Subjects in that Part of the World.

The King is of Opinion, that the Proposal communicated by his Excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, is not express as to that Matter : Nevertheless, to manifest his Desire of maintaining the most perfect Peace, Union and Harmony, with his most *Christian* Majesty, and to the End that Matters may be re-established on an equitable Footing, his Majesty proposes, that the Possession of the Country along the *River Ohio* or *Belle-Riviere*, should be restored to the same Condition as it actually was in at the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and according to the Stipulations made in the same Treaty, as it has been renewed by that of *Aix-la-Chapelle* ; and moreover, that the other Possessions in *North-America*, be restored to the same Condition in which they were at the Conclusion of the said Treaty of *Utrecht*, and agreeable to the Cessions and Stipulations made by that Treaty. And then his Majesty will be able to treat of the Method of instructing the respective Governors, to restrain them from engaging henceforward in any new Enterprizes, or committing any Hostilities ; and the Pretensions on both Sides, may then be submitted to be speedily and finally discussed, and amicably adjusted between the two Courts.

Such are the Sentiments of his Majesty : The Defence of his Rights and Possessions, and the Protection of his Subjects, have been his sole Motives for sending an Armament

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de Mirepoix,
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Armament into *North-America*, which he professes to have done *without an Intention to injure any Power that exists, or to engage in any Thing that has a Tendency to violate the general Peace* †. To be convinced of this, the Nature and Extent of that Armament need only to be considered: And the King does not doubt but that his most *Christian Majesty*, according to the well known Uprightness of his Intentions, will be as open and explicit, with Respect to *his* great naval Preparations at *Brest* and *Toulon*.

Signed, T. ROBINSON.

N U M B. III.

REPLY to the MEMORIAL of Sir Thomas Robinson, sent by the Duke de Mirepoix, February 6th, 1755.

THE King is too well convinced of the sincere Disposition of the King of *Great-Britain*, to maintain a good Understanding between the two Crowns, as well as the public Tranquility, not to think, that his *Britannick Majesty*, views with Concern, the Dangers which threaten both the one and the other, through the unexpected Disputes in *North-America*, on the River *Ohio*.

It was the same good Disposition that induced his Majesty to propose, by his Ambassador at the Court of *London*, that, previous to an Examination of the Rise of this Dispute, and an Enquiry into the Means of bringing it to an amicable Conclusion, the two Kings should issue positive Orders to their respective Governors in that Part of *America*, to abstain from all Acts of Violence, and from engaging in any new Enterprize, and to put Things into the same Condition which they were, or ought to have been in, before the last War.

If his *Britannick Majesty* thought this Proposal, at first Sight, not sufficiently express, with Regard to the Matter in Dispute, between the two Courts; we are persuaded, that he will alter his Opinion, when he reflects, that *France* is entirely unacquainted with his Pretensions; that since the Year 1679, in which *La Bell-Riviere* was dis-

† This formal Declaration should be compared with the Instructions given by his *Britannick Majesty* to General BRADDOCK, and with the Plan of Operation contained in Col. NAPIER's Letter.

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discovered by the *French*, the *English* have had no Possession there either in Fact or Claim; and that the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Stipulations of which the *English* Court seem to insist upon, has not made even the least Mention of that Affair. The Proposals offered to his *Britannick* Majesty, are entirely consistent with the Engagements entered into at the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, with the Measures that have been taken since that Epocha, and especially with the Conditions required by the *English* themselves, in the Years 1750 and 1751, and readily granted by his Majesty, on Account of the Differences which arose at that Time concerning the Frontier Boundary of *Nova-Scotia* and *Canada*.

In Consequence of these Reasons and Engagements, his Majesty proposes:

1st, That the two Kings should give Orders to their respective Governors, to abstain from all Acts of Hostility and Invasion.

2^d, To establish Matters in the same Situation throughout *North-America*, in which they were, or ought to have been, before the last War, agreeable to the 9th Article of the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

3^d, That agreeable to the 18th Article of the same Treaty, his *Britannick* Majesty should make known his Pretensions, and the Foundation on which they are built, to the Commission appointed at Paris, and that the Ministers of the two Courts should be authorised to enter upon a Negotiation, in order to discover the Means of bringing the Dispute to an amicable Conclusion.

It is with a Confidence, which Conditions so just and reasonable, ought to raise in the King, that he proposes them to the King of *England*.

His Majesty has so much the more Reason to expect, that they will be accepted, as he is convinced that his *Britannick* Majesty is moved with the same Disposition, that he himself is to deliver his Subjects from the Trouble and Confusion, which, by the Opposition of Interests, the complex State of Affairs, and the Nature of Engagement

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ments and Treaties, may prove so dangerous to the Peace of the two Crowns, as well as that of *Europe*.

With Respect to the Armament which the King is providing, the Court of *England* is capable of seeing into the Occasion of it, as the Preparations which that Court has published to all *Europe*, and in Part executed; have rendered these Precautions necessary on the Side of *France*. But his Majesty expressly declares †; *That the Preparations which are making on his Side, have nothing offensive in View, but solely the Defence of his Possessions, and the Rights of his Crown.*

N U M B. IV.

SCHEME of a preliminary Convention, proposed by Order of his Most Christian Majesty, to the Court of London.

THE Differences which have arisen in *North-America* since the Peace signed at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the 18th of *October* 1748, between the Subjects of their Most Christian and *Britannick* Majesties, having occasioned Hostilities on both Sides, contrary to the Intention of their Majesties, the Consequences of which it is of the utmost Importance to suppress and prevent; their Majesties moved, by the same good Disposition, to restore Tranquility to that Part of the new World, and to strengthen more and more the Friendship and good Understanding which happily subsists between them, have resolved to take, in Concert, such Measures as are most effectual and expedient for the Attainment of the good Ends they have in View. In Consequence of this, they have authorised the Ministers whose Names are under written, having invested them with the full Powers necessary for that Purpose, to agree upon the preliminary and provisional Conditions contained in the following Articles.

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† The two Kings, we see, have made the same Declaration. It is left to *Europe* to judge which of the two is sincere.

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ARTICLE I.

THEIR Most Christian and Britannick Majesties oblige themselves to send, immediately after Exchanging the Ratification of the present Convention, especial Orders to their respective Governors in America, to suppress all Hostilities between the Two Nations; a Duplicate of which Order shall be delivered on both Sides, with the Ratifications of the present Convention, as well to the Ministers of his Most Christian Majesty, as to those of his Britannick Majesty.

II.

The Subjects of their Most Christian and Britannick Majesties shall evacuate all the Country situate between the River Ohio, and the Mountains which bound Virginia, and shall severally retire, viz. the French beyond the said River Ohio, and the English on this Side the said Mountains; so that all the Territory which lies between the said River and Mountains, shall be looked upon as neutral, during the Continuance of the present Convention; and all Grants, if any there be, which have been made by either of the Two Nations, on the said Territory, shall be considered as null and void.

III.

In order, the better to secure the Execution of the first Articles of the present Convention, and to prevent every Occasion of new Differences, the respective Subjects of their Most Christian and Britannick Majesties, shall not, during the Continuance of the present Convention, frequent the said Territory situate between the River Ohio and the said Mountains, under Pretext of Commerce, or Passage thro' the same; both which are equally prohibited to the Two Nations, during the same Space of Time.

IV.

Agreeable to the IXth Article of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all Things shall be restored to the same Condition in North-America, in which they were or ought to have been, since the Treaty of Utrecht: In Consequence of which, all Forts which have been built by either Na-

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tion since that *Era*, shall be destroyed, as well upon the said Territory of *Ohio*, as in every other Part of *North-America*, which is in Dispute between the *Two Nations*.

V.

The present preliminary Convention shall take Place but for two Years, to commence from the Day of the Exchange of these Ratifications: That Space of Time appearing sufficient to terminate, by an amicable Reconciliation, all the Disputes relating to *North-America*, which might hereafter occasion any new Broils between the Subjects of the two Powers.

VI.

Their Most Christian and *Britannick* Majesties engage to deliver, from Time to Time, as well to their respective Minister at *London*, as to their Commissaries at *Paris*, such Orders and Instructions as are necessary to enable them to terminate, in an amicable Manner, as soon as possible, and at least within the Space of two Years, all the Differences which have risen between the Subjects of the two Crowns, relative to their Possessions, Rights and Pretensions in *North-America*.

VII.

The present Convention shall be ratified by their Most Christian and *Britannick* Majesties, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged in due Form, in the City of *London*, within the Space of Fifteen Days, or sooner, if possible, to begin from the Day of signing the present Convention. In Testimony whereof, &c.

NUMB. V.

COUNTER-SCHEME of a preliminary Convention, in Answer to the preceeding Scheme, delivered to the Duke de MIREPOIX, *March 7th, 1755*.

THE Differences which have risen in *North-America*, since the Peace signed at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the 18th October, 1748, between the Subjects of their *Britannick* and Most Christian Majesties, having occasioned Hostilities on both Sides, contrary to the Intention of their Majesties, the Consequences whereof, it is of the utmost Importance to suppress

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ARTICLE I.

THEIR Britannic and Most Christian Majesties oblige themselves to send, immediately after exchanging the Ratifications of the present Convention, especial Orders to their respective Generals and Governors in America, to suppress and prevent all Hostilities between the Two Nations, a Duplicate of which Orders shall be delivered on both Sides, with the Ratifications of the present Convention, as well to the Ministers of his Britannick, as to those of his Most Christian Majesty.

II.

With Respect to the River *Ohio*, and Territories adjacent, it is agreed and resolved, that like Orders be sent at the same Time, with Copies of the present Convention, to the said Generals and Governors, to destroy within the Space of Six Months, to begin from the Date of the present Convention, or sooner, if possible, all Forts built upon the Peninsula in the *Lake Erie*, and upon the River *Aux Bœufs* and *Ohio*.

Their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties have likewise agreed, that a Line, beginning from the Eastern Side of the Bay of *Canagaboqui* upon the Southern Shore of *Lake Erie*, be drawn directly to the South, as far as the 40th Degree of North Latitude, and from thence continued to the South-West, till it touches the 87th Degree of the said Latitude.

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And also, that a Line, to begin from the Mouth of the River *Miams*, on the South Side of *Lake Erie*, be drawn to the South or South-West, as far as the Source of the River *Ouabache* or *Saint Jerome*, and from thence continued along the said River, to its Confluence with the *Ohio*, and from thence in a Strait Course as far as the above-mentioned 37th Degree of North Latitude.

All Forts, Fortresses, or Settlements, built or erected by either of the two Crowns, or their respective Subjects, on the said Territory, situate between the said Lines, shall be destroyed within the above-mentioned Space of Six Months, to begin from the Date of the present Convention, or sooner, if possible, and shall remain thus destroyed, till the present Disputes be amicably concluded between the two Courts: So that all the Country which lies between the above-said Lines, extending from North to South, shall remain and be considered during that Space of Time, as neutral, and shall only be made Use of to carry on a Commerce with the Natives, which shall be free and open to both Nations, without any Hindrance or Molestation whatever.

That the respective Generals and Governors of the two Crowns, shall, within the Space of Six Months, to be reckoned from the Date of the present Convention, or sooner, if possible, nominate skillful Persons to draw and mark out the said Lines, within the Space of three Months at farthest, to begin from the Day on which they shall be nominated for that Purpose.

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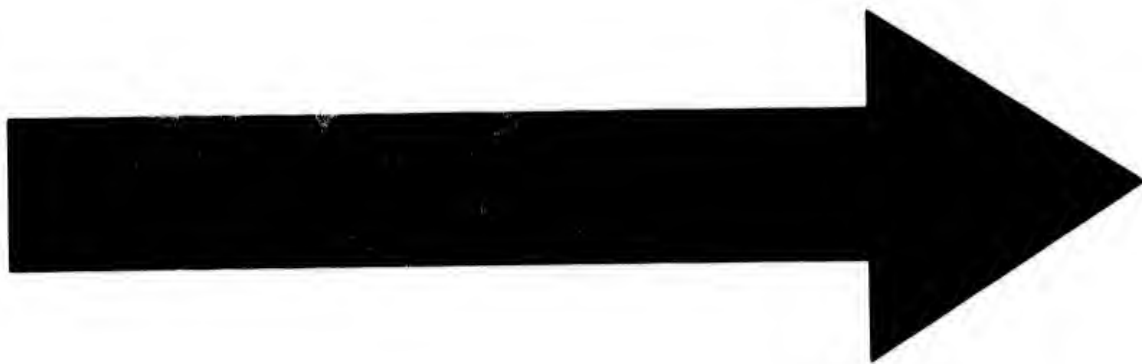
It is moreover agreed and resolved, that the two Forts upon the River *Niagara* and *Fort-Fredrick*, or *Crown-Point*, on *Lake-Champlain*, which have been built since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, renewed and confirmed by that of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, shall be destroyed within the Space of Six Months, to be reckoned from the Date of the present Convention; and that with respect to the said River *Niagara*, and the *Lakes Erie*, *Ontario*, and *Champlain*, the Subjects of the two Crowns shall have free Liberty

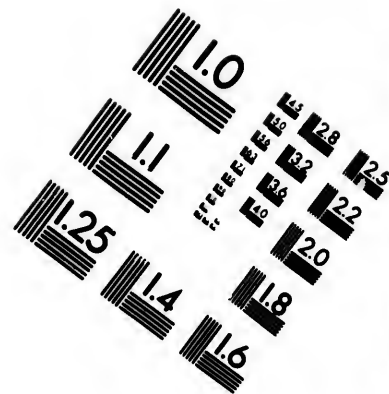
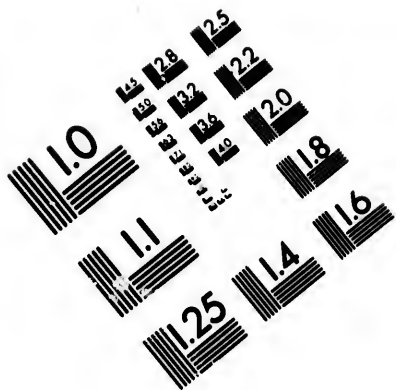
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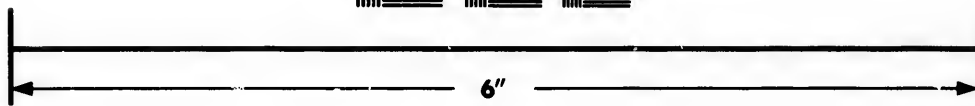
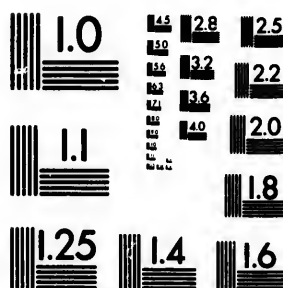
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to pass and repass them, with the utmost Security, and to carry on a Commerce without any Hindrance or Molestation, with the *Indians* who inhabit the Country situate around the *Great-Lakes*, as well these who are the Subjects and Allies of *Great-Britain*, as those who are the Subjects and Allies of *France*.

IV.

It is likewise agreed and resolved, that a Line be drawn from the Mouth of the *River Penobscot* or *Pentagoet*, as far as its Source, and from thence in a strait Course to the North, as far as the *River St. Lawrence*; and that, from a Point which lies at the Distance of 20 Leagues in a strait Course, from the Mouth of the said *River Penobscot* or *Pentagoet*, a Line be drawn across the Continent, to a Point which lies upon the Coast of the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, at the Distance of 20 Leagues from *Cape-Tourmentin*, in a strait Course.

That with respect to the Countries and Territories situate to the North, between the said Lines, as far as the *River St. Lawrence*, they shall not be settled nor possessed by the Subjects of either of the two Crowns, who shall only use them for the Benefit of Traffick and Commerce.

That all the *Peninsula*, *Isthmus*, and *Bay of Fundi*, or *Baie-francoise*, and in general all the Lands, Waters and Shores, situate to the South-East of the Line above-mentioned, to be drawn across the said Continent from the *River Penobscot* or *Pentagoet* to the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, be acknowledged and declared to belong, in full Sovereignty, and absolute Propriety, to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

It is moreover, agreed and resolved, that the respective Generals and Governors of the two Crowns, shall, within the Space of Six Months, to be reckoned from the Date of the present Convention, or sooner, if possible, nominate and appoint skilful Persons, to draw out and mark the said Lines, within three Months at farthest, to begin from the Day on which they shall be nominated for that Purpose.

V. Their

Their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties engage to deliver, without Delay, after the Ratification of the present Convention, such Orders and Instructions to their respective Ministers, as shall be necessary to enable them to terminate by a definitive Treaty in an amicable Manner, and as soon as possible, all the Differences which have risen between the Subjects of the two Crowns, relative their Possessions, Rights and Pretensions in America, which are not finally terminated by the present Convention.

VI.

The present Convention shall be ratified by their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged in due Form in the City of London, within the Space of 15 Days, or sooner, if possible, to begin from the Day of signing the present Convention. In Testimony whereof, &c.

N U M B. VI.

Extract of a Letter wrote by M. Rouille, to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 27th of March, 1755.

TO obtain an End so desirable as that of Peace, it will be necessary to consider the Nature and Circumstances of the Engagements we are about to contract, and to compare the Rights and Conveniences of both Sides. A Task of such Importance will require a great Deal of Time and Application. And, in the mean while, what is to be done with the Armaments that are prepared on both Sides? How will it be possible to reap any Benefit from a Negotiation, if Hostilities still continue in America, and even commence in the open Sea? Will not the Interests and Advantages of one Side or the other, be Motives to multiply their Pretensions and Difficulties, and raise fresh Obstacles to a Peace? This Inconvenience must therefore be prevented, and there is no other Method of doing it, but by sending uniform Orders to the respective Governors in America, and Commanders of Squadrons, to fix their Operations invariably, and simply on the Defensive, and absolutely to prohibit them from committing any offensive Act of Hostility, under any Pretence whatsoever.

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The King will make no Scruple of communicating to the King of England, Duplicates of the Orders and Instructions which his Majesty shall send to his Governors and Commanders, if his Britannick Majesty will, on his Part, act with the same Candour and Confidence, towards the King. What we propose in this Respect, is so consistent with all the Rules of Equity and Moderation, that we do not conceive it will, or can be rejected, if the Desire of Peace is as real and sincere at London, as it is at Versailles.

The Reputation of the two Courts demands also this Precaution, since they would expose themselves to the Suspicion of Treachery, or Double-dealing in their Proceedings, if while they are carrying on a Negotiation to accomplish a Peace, they should authorize, or even appear to tolerate, Hostilities, which are evidently contrary to the very Notion of a Reconciliation.

I have already, Sir, given you my Sentiments on this Subject, and as Truth is always the same, I shall constantly use the same Language, viz. That to be sincerely desirous of Peace, and not to suppress or prevent Hostilities, are Things quite incompatible.

N U M B. VII.

ANSWER delivered by the Court of London, to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 5th of April, 1755.

IT is with all the Eagerness imaginable, that the Court of London agrees to conclude a definitive Treaty, which may take in all the Parts of America in Dispute between the two Nations; this having been intimated by his Excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, to be the Disposition of his Court.

The Proposal made by the Court of France, in the Extract of M. Rouille's Letter, written the 27th of March, to his Excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, is the very same which was formerly made, and has no other End in View but a Cessation of Arms between the two Nations.

The Court of London finds the same Difficulties in this Proposal, which presented themselves at the Beginning of the Negotiation, and cannot think it by any Means favourable to a Reconciliation.

In the Counter-Scheme which the Court of *London* delivered, in Answer to the Plan of a Convention formerly proposed by *France*, nothing is set forth but what appeared to that Court to belong by Right and Treaty, to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

They think they have even given up that Right in several Respects, to testify their sincere Desire of Peace, and of cultivating the most perfect Amity with the Court of *France*: For this Reason, the Court of *London* have been induced to expect, that his Most Christian Majesty, according to his well-known Candor, would have instructed and authorised his Ambassador, to deliver in the particular Objections which the Court of *France* had to make to the Counter-Scheme, and to be amicably explicit, with Respect to the Demands of his Court. This appearing the most natural and most regular Method, as well as the most agreeable to the common Desires of the Courts of *London* and *Versailles*, of obtaining by a Negotiation already agreed upon †, a speedy and definitive Reconciliation, as to the Points contested in *America* between the two Nations.

I N U M B. VIII.

Extract of a Letter from M. Rouille, to the Duke de Mirepoix, dated April 13th, 1755, delivered to the English Ministry.

THE King, whom I have acquainted with the Desire which his *Britannick* Majesty has expressed to you, of receiving a speedy Answer to the Memorial, which was delivered to you by Sir *Thomas Robinson*, has ordered me to dispatch your Courier to you without Delay.

The King would be willing to carry his Complaisance much further; but the Proposals of the Court of *London*, give his Majesty no Room to expect a Conclusion of the Differences between the two Courts, by a just and agreeable Reconciliation.

According

† If the Negotiation was agreed upon, why did the English at that very Time give Orders to attack the French in *America*? And why did they refuse to command a Suspension of Hostilities in *Europe*.

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According to the Court of *London*, the Success of our
 Negotiation entirely depends upon the Cession demanded
 by the *English*, not only of the whole *Peninsula*, of which
Acadia is but a Part, but also of Twenty Leagues on the
 Coast of *Baie-francoise*, on the Side of *Canada*.

This Proposal, especially with Respect to 20 Leagues
 of Coast, is so diametrically opposite to our Rights, our
 Possession, and most essential Interest, that we cannot
 possibly admit of it.

Could a Cession of this Kind be necessary, or even
 useful to the *English*, either for their Trade with the
Indians, or their Communication with *Acadia*, or *New-*
England, we might attribute to one or other of these
 Motives, the Demand they have made of us, but their
 Pretension cannot be founded on any Reason or Pretence
 of Necessity or Utility.

The *Indians* have always had the Liberty of trading
 in the *English* Colonies, as well as the *French*; and 20
 Leagues more, could make no Change in the Situation
 of Affairs in that Respect.

As to the Communication between *Acadia* and *New-*
England, it is absolutely impracticable by Land, as well
 by Reason of the Length, as the extreme Difficulty of
 the Roads, and the Passage of Rivers, which can only
 be crossed near the Mouths; whereas on the contrary,
 that Communication is extremely short and easy by Sea.

It is for this Reason, that the King cannot, nor ought,
 to consent to this, because the Territory along *Baie-Fran-*
coise, on the Side of *Canada*, is indispensably necessary
 for us; since without it, *Quebeck* could have no Commu-
 nication during one Part of the Year, either with *Europe*,
 or the *Iles-Royale*, and *St. John*.

With Respect to that Part of *Canada* which lies above
Quebeck and *Montreal*, the Court of *London* proposes,
 that the River *St. Lawrence*, and the Lakes *Ontario* and
Erie, should serve as Limits between the *Two Nations*.

Upon the Determination of these Limits, the *English*
 Ministry pretend also to establish the Basis of a Negotia-
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Very far, Sir, from entering upon any Explication of this Article, the King will never consent, that his Sovereignty upon the South Side of the River *St. Lawrence*, and upon the Lakes *Ontario* and *Erie*, should be called in Question; and that those Parts, which have ever been looked upon as the Center of *Canada*, should become its Limits.

The Pretension of *England*, in Regard to this, would render the Preservation of that Part of *Canada*, which would be left to us, after such a Division, extremely difficult, and even impossible.

The Court of *London* does not seem inclined to consent, that we should erect Settlements between the Rivers *Ohio* and *Onabache*, unless perhaps, it be several Leagues on this Side the left Bank of the last River.

We have offered to evacuate the Lands between the Mountains of *Virginia*, and the *Ohio*, and to establish a Neutrality there; but we can agree to nothing further, without giving up at once our Communication between *Louisiana* and *Canada*.

We are too essentially different in our Interests and Views, as to these capital Points, which the *English* Ministry look upon as the necessary Basis of a Negotiation.

In the Memorial delivered to you by the Court of *London*, they say, that they hoped you would have been instructed and authorised, to give them the several Objections which the Court of *France* had to make against the Counter-Scheme, and to open your Mind to them, in an amicable Manner.

The Reasons which have determined the King not to answer in Writing, the Counter-Scheme in Question, subsist ever the same, since all that the *English* Ministry have said to you, since the Delivery of that Paper, differs scarcely in any Thing from what it contains.

Their last Proposals have only been of use, to unfold what was not expressed in so clear a Manner in the Counter-Scheme.

If the King of *England*, and his Ministry, are as sincerely desirous of Peace, as we are, they must formally desist from their Pretension to make us abandon,

1st, The Southern Shore of the River *St. Lawrence*, and the Lakes, whose Waters run into that River.

2^d, The Twenty Leagues of Country, which they demand on *Baie-francoise*.

3^d, The Territory between *Ohio* and *Ouabache*.

We are ready to enter upon a Negotiation, as to what remains, and even to sacrifice our own Interests to all the Conveniences of the *English*, which are consistent with the Dignity of the King, and the Security of his Possessions.

We shall be willing to take, in Concert with the *British* Ministry, the most effectual Methods to prevent the two Nations in *America*, from invading, or distressing each other.

In fine, we shall not be averse, even to join with them in such Regulations as may facilitate and improve their Commerce; but shall enter upon no Detail on this Particular, as long as the Court of *London* considers those three Articles, which we have absolutely determined to reject, as a necessary and preliminary Basis of the Negotiation.

The Territory of *Ohio*, was the sole Matter in Dispute, at first; and now their Pretensions take in all those Parts of *Canada*, which lie on the Southern Shore of the River *St. Lawrence*.

A provisional Accommodation was agreed to be observed, till a definitive Treaty could be accomplished. They were afterwards desirous of a provisional Convention, and purposed to terminate all at once.

We offered to issue Orders to our respective Governors, and Commanders of Squadrons, to suppress all further Hostilities. But this Proposal, equitable and moderate as it was, was rejected.

REMARK delivered by the Court of London, to the Duke de Mirepoix, the 24th of April, 1755.

THE Court of Great-Britain observes with Concern, that the amicable Answer delivered to his Excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, the 5th Instant, in Consequence of M. Rouille's Letter of the 27th of last Month, has not produced such Instructions from his Court, as would have enabled him immediately to enter upon a Negotiation on the different Points contained in the Counter-Scheme, which was delivered to him on the 7th of March; but, on the contrary, that M. Rouille declares, in the Extract of his Letter of the 13th Instant, which the French Ambassador has communicated to Sir Thomas Robinson, that France requires of the British Court, previous to any Negotiation, that they formally desist from their Pretensions of making the French abandon,

1st, The South-side of the River *St. Lawrence*, and the Lakes, whose Waters run into that River.

2^d, The Twenty Leagues of Country which they demand on *Baie-francoise*.

3^d, The Territory between the *Ohio* and *Ouababbe*.

As to the first of these Points, M. de Rouille has represented it in a Manner very compendious and different from that in which it was intended to have been understood in the Counter-Scheme above-mentioned*. But with Respect to this Point, as well as the other two, the British Court refer and adhere to what was there set forth, as being founded on Treaties, and appearing absolutely necessary for their Security.

They are, nevertheless, disposed to enter upon a Discussion of the Points in Dispute, in the Course of which it will be discovered, wherein consist the most essential

Differences

* We may here observe, how carefully the British Ministry pretend not to comprehend thoroughly the Ideas of the Court of France. All that the English were apprehensive of, was, that the Negotiation should be broke of, before the Execution of their Plan of Invasion,

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Differences between the two Courts, and their mutual Desire of Peace will lead them to find out the Methods of facilitating an Accommodation.

N U M B. X.

REMARK delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix, the 6th of May, 1755, in Answer to the preceding.

THE Court of France is inflexible in its Principles of Equity and Moderation. It is always most sincerely desirous of maintaining Peace and a perfect Harmony with the British Court. If the Duke de Mirepoix has not been authorized to enter upon a Negotiation on the three Points relating to, 1st, The South-side of the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes, whose Waters run into that River; 2d, The Twenty Leagues of Country along the Coast of Baie-francoise; and, 3d, The Territory between Ohio and Ouabache; it is only because a Compliance with the Demands of the British Court, on these three Points, has always been represented to the Court of France, as the necessary Basis and preliminary Conditions of the Negotiation.

It is in this Sense, that the Court of France has required, and continues to require, that the British Court desist from their Pretensions on these three Points; but the Court of France is disposed, as it always has been, to assist, agreeable to the 18th Article of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in an amicable Examination and Discussion of all the Points in Dispute; and to make such Dispositions, in Concert with the British Court, as shall be judged necessary to terminate all the Differences between the two Nations, and establish Matters upon such a Footing in America, as shall be conducive to the Quiet and Security of the respective Colonies, as well for the present, as future Times. The Court of France is far from being desirous to make any Demand, but what is founded on real Right and Treaties; and as the British Court declares that they are actuated by the same Sentiments, there is Reason to hope, that Dispositions so equitable and moderate on both Sides, will produce the whole some

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wholesome Effect, which to the two Courts ought to expect, for their common Tranquility, and the Happiness of the Public.

N U M B. XI.

REMARK delivered by the British Ministry, to the Duke de Mirepoix, May 9th, 1755.

THE Court of Great-Britain observes, with the highest Satisfaction, in the Answer which his Excellency the Duke de Mirepoix, has delivered to Sir Thomas Robinson, the 6th Instant, that the Court of France not only persist in their Resolution of maintaining Peace, but that their Dispositions are the same as those of England have been, and still are, to enter, without Delay, upon the Examination and amicable Discussion of all the Points in Dispute.

In the whole Course of this Negotiation, the Court of Great-Britain have proceeded with so much CANDOR* and Confidence, that they have, without Hesitation, thought fit to set forth their Dispositions and Pretensions in a plain and natural Manner, hoping, by the Concurrence of the Court of France to the same Methods, they might with the greater Ease and Expedition obtain a Reconciliation so much desired on both Sides.

N U M B. XII.

MEMORIAL delivered by the Duke de Mirepoix, to the Ministry of London, May 14, 1755.

THE Differences between the Courts of France and England, concerning America, have four Objects in View: 1st, The Limits of Acadia; 2d, The Limits of Canada; 3d, The Course and Territory of Ohio; 4th, The Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago.

In order to discuss these four Points, no other general Principles of a Negotiation can be established, than those of Justice, the Security of the respective Colonies, and mutual Convenience.

† We are inclined to prize this Expression, after having read the Papers of the first Part of this Collection.

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To these Principles ought to be referred all particular Discussions of the four Points in Question, which we are about to handle in a succinct Manner, one after another.

ARTICLE I.

Concerning the Limits of Acadia.

IF we attend to what is right and just, we shall find, that Acadia comprehends but one Part of the Peninsula on which it is situate, which Part extends from Cape-Fourchu, or from Cape-Sable, as far as Cape-Canseau. This Point has been clearly settled by the Memorial of the Commissaries of France, dated October the 4th, 1751. Neither the Facts there contained, nor their Proofs, are destroyed by the Answer made to it, by the English Commissaries; so that this ought to be admitted as a Basis of the Negotiation, that Acadia comprehends but one Part of the Peninsula.

But the Court of France, through their Desire of Peace, would be very willing, after having discussed and established their Right, not to be rigorous in exacting it, and will be ready to examine what may concern the Security and mutual Convenience of both Nations, with Respect to the Matter in Hand. They are even resolved to cede the whole Peninsula to the English, but under certain Conditions and Restrictions, without which they neither can, nor ought to, consent to such a Cession. The Conditions are these:

1st, That Liberty be granted, during three Years, to the French who inhabit the Peninsula, to retire with their Effects, and that they be supplied with every Thing necessary for such a Removal; which the English will undoubtedly look upon as extremely advantageous to them.

2^d, That the Isthmus and Beau-Bassin, be reserved to the French, as they cannot absolutely abandon these, without giving up at the same Time, for a considerable Part of the Year at least, the Communication between Quebec and Isle Royale.

3^d, That a certain Extent of Country on the Peninsula, which shall be agreed upon, shall not be left uninhabited along the Coast which reaches to the Gulph of

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St. Lawrence. This Proposal is not less favourable to the *English* of *Acadia*, than to the *French* who inhabit the *Islands Royale*, and *St. John*, since a vast Thickness of Wood, and the Passage of several Defiles, will be equally an Obstacle to any Enterprizes, which either of the two Nations may be willing to form against the other.

4th, That the *English* desist from demanding Twenty Leagues of Country along *Baie-Francoise*, on the Coast of *Canada*. They have absolutely no Manner of Right to make this Demand, neither indeed could any real Advantage accrue to them from the Cession of this, as it is of no Service for their Commerce, and wholly unnecessary to them for a Communication between *Acadia* and *New-England*: Whereas this Country is indispensably necessary to the *French*, for their Communication with *Quebec*, when it is impracticable by the River *St. Lawrence*.

The Court of *France*, to make their Condescension to the *English* still more manifest, and to testify their Desire of maintaining a perfect Harmony with them, will even consent, provided they find the like Disposition in the Court of *London*, to give up to the *English* all the Country which lies between the Rivers *Sagabadoc*, and *Pentagoet*.

It is evident, from the very Titles of the *English*, and particularly from the Charter of *New-England*, dated *October 7, 1695*, that the Limits of that Province extend no farther than *Sagabadoc*. The Cession, therefore, of a considerable Territory, which lies between that River and *Pentagoet*, will more than satisfy all the reasonable Views that the *English* can propose to themselves.

From the whole results this Conclusion, that *France* offers, for the Sake of maintaining Peace, to sacrifice her Right, her actual Possession, and her evident and great Interest; but will extend this Sacrifice no farther than the Cession of the Peninsula, of *Acadia*, with the Conditions and Clauses above mentioned, and of that Part of the Coast on the Continent, which extends from *Sagabadoc* to *Pentagoet*.

ARTICLE

Concerning the Limits of CANADA.

THE Court of France has absolutely rejected, and ever will reject, the Proposal made by England, that the South-shore of the River *St. Lawrence*, & the Lakes *Ontario* and *Erie*, should serve as Limits between the two Nations.

With Respect to this Article, we must establish it as the Basis of the Negotiation, that the River *St. Lawrence* is the Center of *Canada*. This Truth is justified by all the Records that subsist on that Subject, by all the Authors that have wrote upon it, and by actual Possession.

All that *France* can admit, after having established this Principle, which cannot with any Colour of Reason, be contradicted, is, to examine, with Respect to this Point, if the mutual Convenience of the two Nations, requires any particular Measure to be taken, in order to settle invariably the respective Limits.

The sole Pretext which the *English* make Use of to cloak their Pretensions, is taken from the 15th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*; but from an attentive Examination of all the Expressions in that Article, it is manifest that nothing has a weaker Foundation, than those Inferences have, which the Court of *London* would in Effect draw from it.

1st, That Article mentions only the Persons of the *Indians*, and not their Country, or pretended Territory; as they have no determinate one, and know no Property but the actual Use they make of Land, which they occupy To-day, and perhaps cease to occupy To-morrow.

2^d, It would be absurd to pretend, that, where-ever an *Indian* Alley, or Subject of one of the two Crowns, should make a transient Residence, the Land which he had occupied, must belong to that Crown whose Subject or Alley he was.

3^d, The *Indians* in Question, are free and independent, and cannot be called the Subjects of either of the two Crowns; the Declaration of the Treaty of *Utrecht* in this Respect is wrong, and cannot change the Nature of Things. Certain it is, that no *Englishman* durst, without running the Risk of being massacred, tell the *Iroquois* (*Five Nations*) that they are the Subjects of *England*. The

Indian Nations have a Government of their own, and are as much, and more the Friends and Allies of *France*, than of *England*. Several *French Families* have even been adopted among the *Iroquois*, and lived with them at the last War, during which the *Five Nations* observ'd the strictest Neutrality.

4th, The 15th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, contains the same Stipulations in Favour of the *French*, as of the *English*, and these Stipulations are reciprocal. The *French* therefore can maintain, by a better Title than the *English* pretend to have to the *Iroquois*, that the *Abenacquas* and *Souriquois Nations*, otherwise called the *Micmas, Malicites, Cannibas, &c.* are the Subjects of *France*: And as some of the *Souriquois* inhabit the Extremity of the Peninsula, on the Coast of *Cape Forchu*, and *Cape Sable*; it will follow, that the *French* may have Pretensions to form Settlements there, with as much Right as the *English* did at *Oswego* or *Chouagen*, on the Banks of *Lake-Ontario*, in the Year 1726, or 1727, and consequently a long Time after the Peace of *Utrecht*; since which, *France* has never ceased complaining of that Enterprize, and expects that the Fort of *Chouagen* will be destroyed.

5th, 'Tis a Misinterpretation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to pretend that it authorizes the *French* and *English* to trade indiscriminately with all the *Indian Nations*, under Pretence of Subjection, Alliance, or Friendship: That Article well attended to, and explained, only secures the Liberty of Commerce which the *Indians* may have with them, or with the *European Nations*, and by no Means allows them to leave their Colonies, in order to trade with the *Indians*.

6th, In fine, this XVth Article admits, that it be respectively determined, what *American Nations* shall be deemed Subjects or Allies of the two Crowns. This Stipulation has not been performed, because it is indeed hardly possibly to perform it, as an *Indian Nation* who are your Allies To-Day, may, To-Morrow, be your Enemies; consequently their Actions would perpetually contradict such a Determination, as might be agreed upon.

All that has been set forth, clearly proves, that in examining the XVth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, according

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ording to the Rules of Justice and Equity, it will be easy to destroy the false Interpretations imposed on it. It will be no less easy to demonstrate, that the *English* ought not to be determined by any Motive of Interest, to insist upon the Pretensions they have formed. In the vast Regions of *America*, there is no Occasion to dispute about a little Ground, if one Side should happen to have more or less than the other. Security and Commerce are the two only Points on which the essential Interest terminates: And the Court of *France* will always be disposed, to take, in Concert with the Court of *London*, some standing and equitable Measures with Respect to these Points, as well for the present, as future Times.

ARTICLE III.

Concerning the Course and Territory of OHIO.

IT is evident, and incontestable from the Principles of Justice, mutual Convenience and Security, as well as from Titles and Records, that the *Ohio* ought to be a Part of the Possessions of *France*. The *English* have not any Settlements on that River; and when the *British* Ministry asserted, that the Heads of that River were full of ancient Settlements of their Nation, they too readily gave Credit to false Relations. The *French* have ever looked upon that River as belonging to *Canada*; and it is essentially necessary to them, for the Communication of *Canada* with *Louisiana*. They have frequented it at all Times, and with Forces: It was also by that River, that the Detachment of Troops passed, who were sent to *Louisiana* about the Year 1739, on Account of the War with the *Chicasaws*.

If there had been any *English* Settlements on the River at that Time, or if it had been a Part of the *British* Colonies, would the *French* have been permitted to go down the River's whole Length? Or would not the Court of *London*, at least, made some Complaints? But then there was as yet no Talk of the new Pretensions, which have since risen, without Proof, Title, or any Sort of Foundation.

It is true, that within these late Years, some *English* Traitors passed the Mountains of *Virginia*, and ventured to carry on a Fur Trade with the *Indians* on the *Ohio*.

The French Governors of Canada contented themselves at first with acquainting them, that they were within the Territory of France; and enjoined them not to return there, under Penalty of having their Effects seized, and being made Prisoners. The Traitors, however, returned; their Goods were confiscated, and sold, and they were personally arrested, taken to Quebec, and from thence to France, where they were thrown into Prison at Rochelle. No Reclaim- or Complaint was made by the Court of London; they were looked upon as Contraband Traders, whom their Avarice had exposed to the Hazards of an illicit Commerce.

After having thus firmly established the Right and Possession of the French, on the River and Territory of Ohio, it ought to be considered as a very convincing Proof of their Love of Peace, that they are most ready and willing to stipulate, that all the Territory between the Ohio and the Mountains, which bound Virginia, shall remain neutral; and that all Commerce in, or Passage thro' the same, shall be prohibited as well to the French as the English.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the Islands in Dispute.

THE Islands in Question, are those of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago. We are not afraid to assert, that the Commissaries of France have demonstrated to the last Degree of Evidence, that the Island of St. Lucia belongs to the King their Master; and that those of St. Vincent and Dominica ought to belong to the Indians or Caraihs, under the Protection of his Majesty.

These Commissaries have made no Memorial concerning the Island of Tobago; but it is no less easy to demonstrate the Legality of the French Claim to this Island. The Court of France therefore at the same Time that they offer to sacrifice in Favour of England, what is above-mentioned in this Memorial, must insist that their Right of Property in the Islands of St. Lucia and Tobago, be acknowledged; and that the Islands of St. Vincent and Dominica be left to the Indians or Caraihs, under the Protection of his Most Christian Majesty. Signed, DUKE DE MIREPOIX.

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MEMORIAL delivered the 7th of June, 1755, by the Ministry of London, in Answer to the preceeding, concerning the four Points in Question, relating to America.

1. The Limits of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia. 2. The Limits of Canada. 3. The Course of the Territory of Ohio. 4. The Islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago.

THE Court of Great-Britain establishes as the general Principles of the Negotiation, those of Right and Justice, but does not allow, that, properly speaking, Convenience is one; which can only be admitted through a Desire of Peace, and the Maintenance of a good Understanding so much wished for between the two Courts: Who ought, consequently to be equally disposed, to relinquish, in some Cases, what may appear to be an absolute Right, when it can be done with Security. The British Court are ready to testify their Inclination in this Respect, as far as Prudence and Security will permit them, expecting to find the same good Dispositions on the Side of France.

ARTICLE the first.

Concerning the Limits of Acadia.

WHatever Reason France may have, to think that Acadia ought to be bounded by that Part of the Peninsula, which extends from Cape Fourchu, or from Cape Sable, as far as Cape-Cansseau, founded upon what is asserted in the Memorial of their Commissaries, dated October 4th, 1755, it were to be wished that they had given better Attention to the Reply * made to that Memorial, and delivered by the English Commissaries two Years since.

France has, nevertheless, answered it no otherwise than by asserting, "that this Reply destroys neither the Facts nor their Proofs contained in the French Memorial; and that therefore it ought to be established as a Basis of the Negotiation, that Acadia comprehends but one Part of the Peninsula."

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* This Reply has been answered since by a Memorial which ought immediately to be made publick. The Proceedings of the English might indeed have made the Commissaries of his Majesty dispense with this Trouble. But it is the peculiar Glory of the French, that they are careful to exhibit to the View of the whole World, both the Justice of their Rights, and the Regularity of their Proceedings.

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Notwithstanding this, it appears to the Court of *Great-Britain*, to be clearly and substantially proved in this Reply, that the ancient Limits of *Acadia*, or *Nova-Scotia*, (for it is concerning its ancient Limits we are now disputing) extend on the West, towards *New-England*, by the River *Penobscot*, otherwise called *Pentagoet*; that is to say, beginning at its Mouth; and from thence, drawing a right Line on the North Side, as far as the River *St. Lawrence*, or the great River of *Canada*; that its northern Limits extend by the said River *St. Lawrence*, along its southern Shore as far as *Cape-Rosiers*, situate at its Entrance; that its Eastern Limits extend thro' the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, from the said *Cape-Rosiers*, on the South-East Side, by the Islands of *Baccalaos*, or *Cape-Breton*, leaving these Islands to the Right, and the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, and *Newfoundland*, with the Islands thereunto belonging, to the Left, as far as the Cape, or Promontory, called, *Cape-Breton*; and that its Southern Limits extend thro' the great Atlantic Ocean, drawing a Line on the South-West Side, from the said *Cape-Breton*, thro' *Cape-Sable*, comprehending the Island of the same Name, in the Entrance of the Bay of *Fundy*, which rises on the East Side, within the Country, as far as the Mouth of the said River *Penobscot*, or *Pentagoet*.

A Difference so essential, with Respect to the Limits claim'd by both Nations as their Right, has already disposed the Court of *Great-Britain*, for the Sake of Peace, not to be rigorous, in demanding what belongs to them; but to propose, that two Lines being drawn, one from the Mouth of the River *Penobscot*, or *Pentagoet*, as far as its Source, and from thence continued in a strait Course to the North, as far as the River *St. Lawrence*; the other from a certain Point on the said River *Pentagoet*, 20 Leagues distant from its Mouth, across the Continent, to a Point 20 Leagues distant from *Cape Tourmentin*, on the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, the whole Peninsula, Isthmus, Bay of *Fundy*, and in general all the Countries, Rivers, and Shores, situate to the South-East of the last Line above mentioned, shall belong in full Sovereignty, to the Crown

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of *Great-Britain*; and that, with Respect to the Country situate to the North-West, between the two Lines above mentioned, as far as the River *St. Lawrence*, it shall not be inhabited or possessed by the Subjects of either of the two Crowns.

The *British* Court imagine, that this Proposal will perfectly answer all the Ends of Security and mutual Convenience; but on the other Hand, they observe with Concern, that the Conditions and Restrictions under which *France* pretends to give up the Possession of the Peninsula to *Great-Britain*, are subject to such insurmountable Difficulties and Objections, as must render Possession of the Peninsula entirely useless.

1st, As to the Proposal of allowing the Space of three Years to all the *French* who inhabit the Peninsula to retire with their Effects, that would deprive *Great-Britain* of a very considerable Number of useful Subjects, if the same Privilege should be extended to the *French* who were settled there at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and to their Descendants.

By the Fourteenth Article of that Treaty, the Inhabitants had in Fact, the Liberty of removing themselves elsewhere, with all their moveable Effects, within the Space of one Year; but that Time being elapsed Forty Years since, there is not the least Reason why the same Right should still subsist; and it is not to be supposed*, but that those who voluntarily continued under the Dominion of *Great-Britain*, as also their Descendants, born in that Country, would, with the greatest Regret relinquish their Settlements, even if it were possible that the King of *Great-Britain* could consent to a Proposal so disadvantageous.

2^d, Whatever Desire *France* may have to possess the *Isthmus* and *Beau-Bassin*, as the only Communication during a considerable Part of the Year between *Quebec* and

* These Inhabitants would not remove at that Time, because they thought that the Country in which they dwelt was not comprehended in the Cession; and the *English* themselves must have been of the same Opinion, as they did not oblige them to acknowledge the King of *England* for their Sovereign.

and *Ile Royal*, *Great-Britain* can by no Means consent to it, without giving up their most essential Security for the Rest of the *Peninsula*. They may full as well abandon it entirely, as leave the Key to it in the Hands of another.

3d, The same Difficulty presents itself with Respect to the Proposal of leaving a certain Extent of Country uninhabited on the *Peninsula*, along the Coast which reaches to the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*. It appears to *Great-Britain*, that a vast Thickness of Wood, and the Passage of several Defiles, would rather be a Cover, than an Obstacle, to any Designs which either of the *Two-Nations* might form against the other.

4th, In Consequence of these and the like Reflections, *Great-Britain* is obliged for its Security still to insist upon having a certain Border of Country, which may be agreed upon, along the North Side of the Bay of *Fundy*, as far as the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, without which the Possession of the *Peninsula*, and Bay of *Fundy*, will be altogether Precarious.

So that on which Side soever the Conditions and Restrictions proposed by *France*, are considered, *Great-Britain* cannot but look upon them as so many Seeds of new Dissentions. To leave the Bay of *Fundy* in common, would be the readiest Method of interrupting the good Harmony so much desired on both Sides. Nay, by the Confession of *France* itself, in the Memorial of *M. Torci* of the 10th of *June*, 1712, Experience has heretofore sufficiently demonstrated, that it is impossible to preserve such an Union, in Places possessed in common by the French and English; which Observation is equally true with Respect to a Bay so narrow as this in Question. *France* has hitherto been content with *Ile Royal* to secure their Entrance into the River *St. Lawrence*; and it was for the like Reasons, that the *English*, to whom the Possession of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, was fixed by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, abandoned their Pretensions to possess over and above these, the Island of *Cape-Breton*, in common with the *French*.

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ARTICLE II.

Concerning the Limits of Canada.

IT will be difficult to form an exact Idea of what is called in the Memorial, the Center of *Canada*, and much less can it be admitted as the Basis of the Negotiation, that the River *St. Lawrence* is the Center of that Province, which is asserted without Proof. It is impossible, that the Course of a River, of such an Extent, can form the Center of any Country, otherwise *Great-Britain* would not consent, that the Territory between the North Side of the Bay of *Fundy*, and the Southern Shore of the River *St. Lawrence* (which *Great-Britain* has already offered to leave neutral and uninhabitable by either of the *Two-Nations*, excepting the Border proposed to be taken off) ought to be, what it never has been, considered as a Part of *Canada*; as the contrary has been demonstrated by authentic Proofs.

Neither can *Great-Britain* admit, that *France* has any Right to the Lakes *Ontario* and *Erie*, and to the River *Niagara*, or to the exclusive Navigation of these Waters. Since it is evident from incontestable Facts, that the Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *France*, as well as the five *Iroquois Nations*, indiscriminately, make Use of the Navigation of these Lakes and that River, whenever Opportunity or Convenience require. But with Respect to a Portion of Country, situate on the North Side of the River *St. Lawrence*, exclusive of that which has been proposed to be left neutral, the Boundaries of which are in Dispute between the *Two-Nations*, or their Respective Colonies, the Court of *Great-Britain* is ready to enter upon a † *Discussion* of this Particular, and to determine the Limits by an amicable Negotiation; but still without injuring the Rights and Possessions of any of the *Five-Nations*.

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† What a perpetual Growth of Discussions and future Negotiations † And all the while they were carrying Fire and Sword into the *French* Settlements in *America*. They expected nothing in *London*, but to hear an Account of General *Braddock's* Exploits; and if the Orders given by his *Britannic Majesty* had been executed with all the desired Success, the *French* Prisoners would have now been in *Commodore Keppel's* Squadron returning to *France*.

As to the Exposition given in the *French Memorial* of the XVth Article of the *Treaty of Utrecht*, the Court of *Great-Britain* cannot conceive that it is authorized either by the Expressions, or Intention of that Article.

1st, The Court of *Great-Britain* cannot admit that this Article respects only the Persons of the *Indians*, and not their Country. The Words of the *Treaty* are clear and precise, viz. That the *Five-Nations* or Cantons of *Indians* are Subject to the Dominion of *Great-Britain*; which, according to the received Explanation of all *Treaties*, ought to respect the Country, as well as the Persons of the *Indians*. This *France* has acknowledged in the most solemn Manner. They considered well the Importance of this Acknowledgment, at the Time of signing the *Treaty*; and *Great-Britain* will never go back from it. The Country possessed by these *Indians* is very well known, and is not so indeterminate, as is pretended in the *Memorial*. They possess and transfer Property as other Proprietors generally do every where else.

2^d, *Great-Britain* never pretended that the Land where an *Indian* made but a transient Residence, should belong to the Crown of which he was a Subject or Alley.

3^d, However free and independent the *Indians* in Question may be (which is a Point the Court of *Great-Britain* will not undertake to discuss *) they ought to be looked upon as the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, and treated as such by the *French* in particular, as they are solemnly bound by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, renewed and confirmed in a better Manner by that of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to look upon them as such. The Nature of Things is not changed by † the *Treaty of Utrecht*. The same People, the same Country always exists: But the Acknowledgment made by *France* of the Subjection of the *Iroquois* to the *British* Nation, is a perpetual Proof of their Right in this Particular, which can never be disputed with them by *France*.

* And with good Reason, notwithstanding the Point is decisive. For, if the *Indians* are independent, they are not then the Subjects of *England*.
† They would undoubtedly have said since.

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4th, It is true the 15th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, contains the same Stipulations in Favour of the *French* as of the *English*, with Respect to such *Indian* Nations, as should be deemed by the Commissioners, after the Conclusion of the Treaty, subject to *Great-Britain* or *France*: But as to the *Iroquois* Cantons above mentioned, *France* has distinctly and specifically declared in the said 15th Article, that they are subject to *Great-Britain*, *Magna Britanniae Imperio subiecta*, and consequently this is a Point which can admit of no farther Dispute.

5th, In whatever Manner the Treaty of *Utrecht* is interpreted, with Respect to the Trade which the *English* and *French* shall be allowed to carry on with the *Indian* Nation indiscriminately, it is nevertheless very certain, that such a general Commerce is by no Means authorized by this Treaty. To trade with one's own Subjects *, Allies or Friends, is a common and natural Right; but, to enter by Force upon Lands belonging to the Subjects or Allies of another Crown, to erect Forts there, and deprive them of their Territories, and usurp them for themselves, this neither is, nor can be authorized by any Pretension, not even that most uncertain one of all, viz. Convenience: Yet notwithstanding this, such are the Forts *Frederick*, *Niagara*, that of the Peninsula, of the River *Aux-bauffs*, and all those which have been built on the *O- bio* and Territories adjacent.

Whatever Pretence *France* may urge, for considering these Countries as dependent on *Canada*, it is certainly true that they belonged, and (inasmuch as they have not been ceded or transferred to the *English*) still do belong to those *Indian* Nations, whom *France* has agreed, by the 15th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, not to molest, *Nulla in posterum Impedimento aut Molesta afficiant* †.

6th, *They are always begging the Question, by supposing continually, that the *Iroquois* are the Subjects of *England*. They are, in Fact, at this very Time their Enemies; and, in Justice they have always been free. See the Harangues of Mr. *Johnson*, and Mr. *Washington*, above.

† What do the *English* fight for the *Iroquois*, whose Heads they have set a Price upon, and whom at this Day they look upon as their Enemies! If these Lands always belonged to the *Indians*, why is all *Europe* now troubled to do these *Indians* a Service, which they do not require?

6th, It has been already proved, that *France* has, by the exprels Words of the said Treaty, fully and absolutely acknowledged the *Iroquois* to be the Subjects of *Great-Britain*. It would not have been so difficult as is pretended in the Memorial, to agree upon the Subjection of the other *Indians*, if among so many Commissions as have been issued to regulate this Point, there had been a mutual Disposition to come to a Conclusion. The Acts of these Commissions have sufficiently discovered the true Reasons which have obstructed the Execution of the 15th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, without having Recourse to such an imaginary Supposition, as, that the Treaty was not capable of being executed; a Supposition, which is manifestly destroyed by the Treaty itself with Respect to the *Iroquois* Nations.

ARTICLE III.

Concerning the Course and Territory of Ohio.

Notwithstanding all that is advanced upon this Article, the Court of *Great-Britain* cannot admit that *France* has the least Title to the *River Ohio*, and the Territory in Question; even that of Possession neither can nor ought to be alledged on this Point, since *France* cannot pretend to have had any before the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, nor since, unless it be that some Forts unjustly erected in the last Place, upon Lands which evidently belong to the *Five-Nations**, or which they have transferred to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, or its Subjects, which may be proved from *Treaties*†, and the most authentic *Acts*.

The Title which *France* seems most to insist upon, is the Use made of this for Communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*; but, in Fact, they have never made any Use of it, unless it was occasionally or secretly, and, as perhaps

require, nay, with which they are offended! Or may we not ask *England*, why do not you abandon the *Iroquois*, who have already abandoned you? Must the Blood of *M. Braddock* be spilt in the Service of such Friends? Certain it is that the *Indians* themselves do not look upon the friendly Zeal of the *English* as disinterested.

*The *English* all along plead nothing but the Interest and Right of the *Five-Nations*. † *England*, perhaps, will publish these *Treaties* as usual.

perhaps might have happened in so vast a Region, in such a Manner as not to be taken Notice of, which, however, cannot give them the least Shadow of Right.

The Rivers *Miamis* and *Ouabache* only have been used for some Years, as a Communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*, not that *Great-Britain* can admit that *France* has any Right to those Rivers, much less still to a Passage so near as they are to the River *Ohio*. As to the Use they made of this last River, on Account of the War with the *Cbickasaws*, the Allies and Friends of *Great-Britain*, when *Great-Britain* did not even make a formal Complaint of it; it will not follow, that a Violence committed at a certain nice and critical Conjunction, should serve as a Foundation for new Incroachments. This is much the same with the rash and inconsiderate Measures taken by a Governor of a remote Colony, who prohibited the *English* from passing the Mountains of *Virginia*, under the Penalty of having their Goods seized, and being made Prisoners. The Manner in which the Court of *Great-Britain* complains of such like Proceedings has been sufficiently manifested, in the Memorial * delivered by the late Earl of *Albemarle*, the 7th of *March*, 1752, to the Court of *France* itself. What the Court of *Great-Britain*, asserts, and insists upon, is, that the Five *Iroquois* Nations, acknowledged by *France* to be the Subjects of *Britain*, are either originally †, or by Right of Conquest, the lawful Proprietors of the Territory of *Ohio*, in Question. And as to that Part of the Territory, which those People have ceded and transferred to the *British* Nation (which must be acknowledged to be the most lawful and equitable Manner of acquiring it) they claim it as their Property; which they have not ceased to cultivate twenty Years and more, and upon several Parts of which they have formed Settlements, from the very Sources of *Ohio*, as far as *Pikbac-Villians*, which is the Center of the Territory situate between *Ohio* and *Ouabache*. But

* This Memorial never was delivered to the Court of *France*.

† Why do the *English* specify nothing more exactly? The *Iroquois*, if their Original is consider'd, will e'er long give the *English* an universal Title to all *America*.

But notwithstanding these Facts are so clear and evident, the Court of *Great-Britain*, for the Sake of Peace, and the Preservation of a good Understanding between the two Courts, have proposed, in order to prevent all future Disputes, to leave that Tract of Land in those Parts, neutral and uncultivated, which has already been declared to the Court of *France*, and *Great-Britain* is ready to adjust and limit the precise Extent of it, by an amicable Negotiation.

ARTICLE IV.

Concerning the Islands in Dispute.

THough the Court of *Great-Britain* cannot by any Means be satisfied with the Arguments alledged in the last Memorial of the Commissaries of *France*, with Respect to the Right of his *Most Christian Majesty* to the Island of *St. Lucia*; yet nevertheless they are of Opinion, that it will not be necessary to enter immediately upon such a particular Detail as that Matter requires, which indeed could not be comprized within the Bounds of an Answer to the last Memorial of the Court of *France*:

They were engaged in drawing up an ample Reply on this Head, as well as on the Dispute concerning the Islands of *St. Vincent*, *Dominica*, and *Tobago*: But the Court of *Great-Britain* are rather inclined to enter upon a Discussion of the Disputes concerning the four Islands in the Course of this Negotiation, being disposed to come to a reasonable and amicable Accommodation*, in full Assurance of meeting with the like Disposition in the Court of *France*.

Signed, T. ROBINSON.

NUMB. XIV.

ACCOUNT of the Engagement of the Ships *Alcide* and *Lys*, one commanded by M. *Hocquart*, the other by M. *de Lorgerie*, taken † by Admiral *Boscawen*'s Squadron, consisting of eleven Vessels.

By one of the Officers on board the *Alcide*.

IN the Latitude of 45: 27 North, and Longitude 53: 49 West, from the Meridian of Paris; on the 7th of June,

* See, in the following Paper, a Proof of this reasonable and amicable Accommodation. † We had so much the less Reason to apprehend an Event

at Six o'Clock in the Evening, we discovered eleven Sail of Vessels from our Top-masts, they continued E. N. E. at about six Leagues Distance. M. Hocquart ordered a Signal to be made to the Lys and the Dauphin-Royal to crowd Sail, and endeavour to reconnoitre this Squadron before Night, thinking that it might be our own, from which we had been separated several Days; the Wind suddenly abated, and a Calm instantly succeeding, we lay too.

The 8th, at Day-Break, we found ourselves to the Windward of this Squadron, about three Leagues distant. M. Hocquart ordered the Signals of Observation to be made. But these Ships setting full Sail, and not having answered our Signals, we likewise set full Sail. The Lys and the Dauphin-Royal soon found themselves at the Head of us; the English Vessels visibly gained upon us. M. Hocquart gave Orders to prepare for an Engagement. The Squadron being within one Gun Shot and a Half, we hoisted our Flag and Pendant, and fired a Gun without Shot, then the English Vessels hoisted theirs; when they were nearer to us, the General hoisted a red Flag at the Fore-top-mast Head.

Between Ten and Eleven in the Morning, the Dunkirk, of 60 Guns, appeared within bearing. M. Hocquart desired Messrs. de Roftaing, Colonel of Infantry, de Rigau, Governor of Trois-Rivieres in Canada, de Crance, Commissary of War, de Helincour, and de Somerville, to attend to what should be said, in order to give an Account of it. He ordered it to be proclaimed three Times in English, Are we at Peace, or War? It was answered, We don't hear. The same Question was repeated in French: The same Answer was returned. M. Hocquart himself then called out. The Captain answered twice, very distinctly, Peace, Peace. M. Hocquart asked, What is your Admiral's Name? Admiral Boscawen, replied the English. I know him, he is a Friend of mine. Upon which the English asked, And what is your Name, Sir? Hocquart. The Time of pronouncing

Event of this Nature, as the D. de Mirepoix, having been informed in the Month of May, 1755, that Adm. Boscawen had Orders to act upon the Offensive, acquainted the Lord Chancellor of England, the D. of Newcastle, the Earl of Granville, and Sir T. Robinson, with what he had heard, who positively assured him, it was absolutely false.

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inclined to enter upon
concerning the four Islands
being disposed to come
commodation*, in full
like Disposition in the
ned, T. ROBINSON.

XIV.

of the Ships Alcide and
Hocquart, the other by
Admiral Boscawen's Squa-
drons.

board the Alcide.

, and Longitude 53: 49
Paris; on the 7th of June,
at

of this reasonable and amica-
le's Reason to apprehend an
Event

nouncing these Words was the only Interval between the Word Peace, and the firing of a Broad-side, which informed us that it was War. We were then within Pistol-shot; the Cannon of the Enemy were charged with two Bullets, and Pieces of all Kinds of Metal. This joined to the Confidence which the Word Peace, pronounced by the Captain's Mouth, must give us, made us lose a great many People; notwithstanding which, our Fire was not retarded; we continued some Time with our Bowsprit lying across the Vessel, still keeping a very brisk Fire of Cannon and Small-Arms, which we pointed at four or five Vessels who drew towards us, among which were the Admiral and Rear-Admiral. But what could we expect in the Situation we were in? our Rigging was cut to Pieces, our Sails full of Holes, our Fore-top-mast ready to fall, our Main-mast pierced with two Bullets, our Sail-yards cut, the Mizzen-mast and Mizzen-top-sail injured, several Pieces of Cannon dismounted, twenty-four Men killed, wounded, or maimed on the Decks, among which were four Officers, Messrs. de Rostaing, de l'Aubepin, Monfermeil, and several Officers wounded. M. Hocquart at last concluded to surrender to the Admiral.

At Two in the Afternoon, the Ship Defiance, having made towards the Lys, the latter kept a running Fight, and being attacked by the Fougeux, she was put between two Fires, to which she could make but a weak Resistance, considering the few Cannon with which she was armed, which obliged M. de Lorgerie, after making all the Resistance possible, to strike the Royal Flag.

As to the Dauphin-Royal, the superior Swiftness of her Course gave M. de Montalais the Satisfaction of landing the Troops entrusted to him at Louisbourg, where he was informed of the Capture of our two Vessels, which has brought to Light the Designs of the English.

F I N I S.

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