

FRENCH *and* INDIAN Cruelty

Exemplified in the

L I F E

And various Vicissitudes of Fortune, of

PETER WILLIAMSON

THE LIFE AND CURIOUS ADVENTURES OF PETER WILLIAMSON

It may be proper to observe, that the author of the following treatise was born in Aberdeenshire, in the north of Scotland, and was carried off in his infancy from that city, by his own countrymen, and sold as a slave in America; after continuing in this state of slavery for many years, he was at last unfortunately taken captive by the savage Indians, in whose hands he remained for some years, and suffered, during their hunting expeditions, the most severe hardships. At the same time, he was eye-witness of many instances of the most diabolical cruelty, perpetrated by those savages on the persons of several of the inhabitants of the back-settlements, who met with still worse fates than the author.

After making his escape from these inhuman wretches, which he effected almost in a miraculous manner, he entered a volunteer in his Majesty's service, and was in several expeditions against the French and Indians in the late war, in which he endeavoured to revenge the cruel treatment he had met from the latter; but was, at last, taken prisoner at the siege of Oswego, and sent to England in a cartel ship. Soon after, receiving his discharge from the service, he published a book, entitled, *French and Indian Cruelty, &c.* in which he recites, in a concise, but distinct manner, a series of the most unexampled cruelty and barbarity, committed by these savages, to which they were excited in a great degree by the influence of French gold.

INTRODUCTION

Peter Williamson, or 'Indian Peter' as he became known, was one of the more colourful personalities of 18th century Scotland. He had a remarkable life of amazing adventure.

Peter was born in 1730, the son of a crofter, at Hirnley in the Parish of Aboyne, Aberdeenshire. His parents were 'reputable, though not rich' and they sent him, as a young boy, to live with an aunt in Aberdeen.

At this time, kidnapping was a flourishing business in Aberdeen. Children were regularly kidnapped for sale in American plantations and a number of the Aberdeen City Bailies, who were in partnership with the kidnapers, amassed fortunes from this 'hideous traffic in human merchandise'. Kidnapping developed as a sideline of a State approved method of dealing with criminals and undesirables by granting warrants to merchants and ship owners for the transportation of vagrants and criminals to the Colonies. It was a lucrative business as each able-bodied person delivered to the plantations in Barbados, Antigua and America, which were in desperate need of workers, could be sold as indentured servants at a substantial profit

At the age of 8, Peter was on the harbour at Aberdeen when he was 'taken notice of by two fellows employed by some worthy merchants of the town, in that villainous practice called kidnapping'. He was 'marked out by these monsters as their prey and taken forcibly on board a ship' where he was locked up below decks with around sixty other boys. Peter was then shipped across the Atlantic to America, where the ship ran aground on a sandbank in Delaware Bay, off Cape May and the crew abandoned ship, leaving Peter and his companions to a claustrophobic night with the constant fear of imminent drowning. However, next day, the ship was still intact and the crew returned for their live cargo.

Peter was then sold as a slave in Philadelphia for the 'handsome sum' of £16. He was indentured for a period of seven years to a fairly well off planter, Hugh Wilson, who had himself been kidnapped as a boy. Peter describes Wilson as a 'humane, honest and worthy man', and, contrary to the normal harsh conditions of slavery in America, he treated Peter kindly. Just as Peter's period of

indenture was about to end, Hugh Wilson died and bequeathed Peter '£120, his best horse, saddle and all his wearing apparel'.

At 24, Peter married the daughter of a wealthy planter. His father-in-law provided a dowry of 200 acres of land on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and Peter settled down to his new life. However, marauding Indians began to prove troublesome, instigated by the French who paid £15 for every British scalp taken. On the night of October 2nd 1754, Peter was in his house alone when Cherokee Indians surrounded it. He was captured, and his house was plundered and burned. The Indians used him as a pack-horse and he was force marched many miles, witnessing along the way the murder and scalping of numerous settlers. Peter somehow managed to survive, and made a daring escape from his captors. Despite his personal sufferings at the hands of the Indians, Peter had a great respect for them, laying the blame for their behaviour on the neglect and abuses of the British and the bribery and "political schemes of the French".

Peter was then called before the State Assembly in Philadelphia to pass on any information he had acquired during his captivity. Shortly after, he enlisted in one of the army regiments established to combat the French and Indians in the colonial war. For three years he served as a soldier, rising to the rank of lieutenant and was involved in many engagements, in one of which his hand was badly wounded. Peter paints a grim picture of the British campaign, supplies of food and arms were hopelessly inadequate and soldiers were on occasion mutinous through pay being badly in arrears. He was present at the Battle of Oswego, in 1756, where the British forces were compelled to surrender and was taken a prisoner of war by the French. After being marched to Quebec, Peter embarked as an exchange prisoner on a ship bound for Plymouth, where he arrived in November 1756. Some months later, Peter was discharged as being unfit for further service, due to a wound in his left hand. With only a small gratuity of six shillings, he set off to walk to his hometown of Aberdeen.

He arrived penniless in York, where he was fortunate enough to interest 'certain honourable and influential men' in his case. They assisted him in the publication of an account of his unusual adventures and experiences. The book was titled "*French and Indian Cruelty, exemplified in the Life and various Vicissitudes of Fortune of Peter Williamson, who was carried off from Aberdeen*".

in his Infancy, and sold as a slave in Pennsylvania.” It gave remarkably good value for money, made excellent reading and created quite a stir in York. A thousand copies were sold and Peter made a net profit of £30 with which to continue his journey to Scotland.

On his travels northwards, he made some additional money by selling copies of his book and giving displays of Indian life: ‘Armed to the teeth and painted like a Red Indian, he would enter a town, whooping and screeching until he had attracted a sufficiently large crowd. Then he would windmill his arms madly and give his impression of a war-dance.’ At the end of the show, he would take up a collection and sell copies of his book.

In June 1758, Peter finally arrived in Aberdeen, where his exhibition of American Indian culture attracted great crowds and his book sold well. The details of his kidnapping horrified the Aberdeen public. The merchants and magistrates of Aberdeen also took note of the book, particularly the part that accused them of being involved in the kidnapping business, and Peter was charged with offering for sale a ‘scurrilous and infamous libel upon the merchants and magistrates of the town’. The magistrates’ own tribunal heard his case, so it was not difficult to secure a conviction: the magistrates being the aggrieved party as well as the judges. Copies of the book were seized and burned at the market-cross by the common-hangman. Peter was imprisoned until he signed a declaration that the account of his kidnapping was false, then he was fined ten shillings and banished from Aberdeen as a vagrant.

Peter made his way to Edinburgh, and found the city and its people much to his liking. The large hall in which the Scottish Parliament had met was then a meeting place associated with the adjoining law courts, and here Peter established a coffee-house that became a favourite meeting place of lawyers and their clients. The coffee-house consisted of ‘three or four very small apartments, one within another; the partitions made of the thinnest materials; some of them even of brown paper’.

Robert Fergusson’s poem, the *Rising of the Session*, described the lawyers departing for their summer break and devotes a verse to Peter’s coffee-house:

*This vacance is a heavy doom
On Indian Peter's coffee-room,
For a' his china pigs are toom
Nor do we see
In wine the sucker bisket soom
As light's a flee.*

**Vacance, vacation; pigs, bottles; toom, empty; sucker bisket, sugar biscuit; soom, swim*

Peter sold copies of his book in the coffee-house and was encouraged by his lawyer customers to raise an action against the magistrates of Aberdeen. The case was heard in the Court of Session and the verdict was unanimous in Peter's favour. The Provost of Aberdeen, four Bailies and the Dean of Guild were ordered to pay a fine of £100 sterling, as compensation to Peter. His kidnapping was the best documented and, at the time, the most celebrated case of kidnapping. However, his enforced transportation and slavery were not exceptional as evidence of numerous other kidnappings emerged at the trial. The trade was at its briskest between 1740 and 1746, when more than 600 children from the Aberdeen area were transported to America. The evidence presented during the trial also detailed official corruption on an immense scale. Peter Williamson's final victory in court against the perpetrators of a practice that preyed on the poor and powerless was exceptional. Most victims being unable to return home, allowing the kidnapping trade to flourish for many years.

Peter then proceeded to raise an action for damages against the individual Bailies who had been personally responsible for his kidnapping. It was agreed that the matter should be decided by arbitration and the Sheriff-Substitute of Aberdeenshire, James Forbes, was appointed arbiter. James Forbes was best known for his convivial habits and, when he delayed his decision on the case until only 48 hours before the matter would return automatically to the jurisdiction of the Court of Session, both sides decided to speed up the process. The Sheriff-Substitute was bribed with vast amounts of food and drink at various taverns in Edinburgh over the following two days. He finally gave a verdict in favour of the kidnappers, after which he retired to bed 'very merry and jocose' and slept all the next day 'dead drunk and speechless'. The decree, which exonerated the kidnappers, was hurriedly drawn up and read aloud the following morning at the market-cross.

The circumstances of the decision were brought to the attention of the Court of Session and Peter was able to produce evidence of the involvement of the bailie and his companions in his kidnapping. The court reversed the earlier decision and in December 1763, Peter was awarded £200 damages with 100 guineas legal costs.

During these legal actions, Peter had also been busy in other areas. He had a lively and ingenious mind, and 'aided by the knowledge he had acquired in scenes more bustling than the Scottish Capital, he became a projector of schemes, locally new and unheard of, some of course visionary, but others practicable and likely to be generally useful'.

He became proprietor of a famous tavern in Edinburgh's Old Parliament Close and, as a result of his earlier adventures, the sign over the tavern read: PETER WILLIAMSON, VINTNER FROM THE OTHER WORLD. Peter is described as being a 'robust, stout, athletic man and a great wag, of very jocular manners' and was a popular landlord. His occasional exhibitions, when he dressed as a Delaware Indian were also an attraction of considerable interest. A wooden figure of him in Indian dress stood as a signpost outside the tavern. The Edinburgh magistrates assembled at Peter's tavern for the 'deid chack', the dinner they took after attending a hanging. His flamboyant character even extended to the manner in which he signed his name with a flourish -- "P. Wm. son" -- with "son" lower down the page than "Wm.".

In 1773, Peter compiled Edinburgh's first street directory. This pioneering work contained an 'alphabetical list of names and places of abode of the Members of the College of Justice, public and private gentlemen, merchants, and other eminent traders; mechanics, carriers, and all persons in public business. Where at one view, you have a plain direction, pointing out the streets, wynds, closes, lands, and other places of their residence in and about the metropolis'. The directory cost one shilling and Peter continued to publish it until 1796. His own directory places him in Edinburgh as follows:

1173- Printing House, Dunbar's Close.

1774- Printing House, Swan's Close, a little above the City Guard, north side.

1775- Entry to the Royal Exchange.

1778- At the sign of the Lanthorn, Luckenbooths, South Side.

1790- At his General Post Office, Luckenbooths.

The directory was a product of his new business venture, a printing-house in the Edinburgh's Luckenbooths. In 1769, he had brought a new portable printing press from London and taught himself the craft of printing. He also invented a portable printing press which was able to print two folio pages, 'with the greatest expedition and exactness', and he would travel with his press to country fairs giving 'exhibitions of the wonder of printing to the astonished rustics'. At the same time, he developed stamps and ink for marking linen and books 'which stands washing, boiling and bleaching, and is more regular and beautiful than any needlework.' Another of his inventions was an early example of a basket scythe which he described as 'being able to do more execution in a field of oats do in one day, and to better purpose, than it is the power of six shearers'.

In 1776, he launched a weekly periodical, *The Scots Spy or Critical Observer*, which ran for a total of ten months. It was published every Friday and consisted of a mixture of local gossip and articles.

During the time that Peter ran the coffee-house, he was frequently asked to arrange the delivery of letters and he employed a man to deliver them for a small charge. This gave Peter the idea for one of his most successful ventures – a regular postal service throughout the city.

The earliest information about this is an advertisement in the second edition of his *Edinburgh Directory* published in 1774: 'The Publisher takes this opportunity to acquaint the Public that he will always make it his study to dispatch all letters and parcels, not exceeding three pounds in weight, to any place within an English mile to the east, south and west of the cross of Edinburgh, and as far as South and North Leith, every hour through the day for one penny each letter and bundle.'

The main office for Peter's postal service was in the Luckenbooths and he appointed seventeen shopkeepers in different parts of the city as official receivers of letters. He employed four uniformed postmen, who wore on their hats the words Penny Post and were numbered 1, 4, 8 and 16, so that the business would seem much larger than it actually was. Peter's Penny Post was the

first in Britain and he ran it for thirty years. In 1793, the Williamson Penny Post was integrated into the General Post Office and he received a pension of £25 for the goodwill of the business.

In Robert Fergusson's poem, *Codicile to Robert Fergusson's Last Will*, he mentions Peter's Penny Post:

*To Williamson, and his reseters
Dispersing of the burial letters,
That they may pass with little cost
Fleet on the wings of penny-post.*

In his latter days, Peter returned to his old business and kept a tavern at Gavinloch's Land in Edinburgh's Lawnmarket, where it is thought that he ultimately became 'addicted to drink'.

He died on January 19th 1799, and was buried in an unmarked grave in the Old Calton Cemetery, about fifteen paces north-east of the Martyr's Monument. The *Scot's Magazine* wrote:

'At Edinburgh, Mr. Peter Williamson, well known for his various adventures through life. He was kidnapped when a boy at Aberdeen, and sent to America, for which he afterwards recovered damages. He passed a considerable time among the Cherokees, and on his return to Edinburgh amused the public with a description of their manners and customs, and his adventures among them, assuming the dress of one of their chiefs, imitating the war whoop, &c. He had the merit of first instituting a Penny-post in Edinburgh, for which, when it was assumed by Government, he received a pension. He also was the first who published a Directory, so essentially useful in a large city.'

Peter's adventures appeared in a number of different forms. The version transcribed here is an early edition originally published in York in 1758, which, in addition to describing the *Life and Curious Adventures of Peter Williamson*, also provided a *Discourse on Kidnapping*. Peter's narrative contains a number of misspellings of the names of people and places. An example is his reference to Captain Broadstreet who is given in other accounts of the period as Bradstreet. This is an obvious result of Peter's purely oral knowledge of these names.

J.K. GILLON (August 2000)

FRENCH *and* INDIAN Cruelty

Exemplified in the

L I F E

And various Vicissitudes of Fortune, of

PETER WILLIAMSON

A DISBANDED SOLDIER.

CONTAINING

A particular Account of the *Manners, Customs, and Dress*, of the SAVAGES; of their *scalping, burning* and other *Barbarities*, committed on the ENGLISH in NORTH AMERICA during his residence among them: Being at eight Years of Age, *Stolen* from his *Parents* and sent to PENNSYLVANIA, where he was sold as a SLAVE: Afterwards married and settled as *Planter*, 'till the *Indians* destroy'd his House and every Thing he had and carried him off as a Captive; from whom after several Months Captivity, he made his Escape, and serv'd as a *Volunteer* and *Soldier* in many Expeditions against them.

COMPREHENDING IN THE WHOLE,

A SUMMARY of the Transactions of the several Provinces of PENNSYLVANIA, (including PHILADELPHIA), NEW YORK, NEW ENGLAND, NEW JERSEY, &c, &c. From the Commencement of the War in these parts; particularly, those relative to the intended Attack on CROWN POINT and NIAGARA.

And, an accurate and succinct detail, of the operations of the FRENCH and ENGLISH Forces at the Siege of *OSWEGO*, where the AUTHOR was wounded and taken Prisoner; and being afterwards sent to ENGLAND, was on his Arrival at *Plymouth*, discharg'd as incapable of FURTHER Services.

Written by HIMSELF

YORK

Printed and Sold by J. Jackson, in Peter-gate: and by
all the Booksellers in Town, 1758.

(Price One Shilling)



Peter Williamson in the Dress of a Delaware Indian.

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FRENCH AND INDIAN CRUELTY

INTRODUCTION

The reader is not here to expect a large and useless detail of the transactions of later years, in that part of the world where, ever since my infancy, it has been my misfortune to have lived. Was it in my power, indeed, to set off with pompous diction, and embellish with artificial descriptions, what has so engrossed the attention of Europe, as well as the scenes of action for some years past, perhaps I might; but my poor pen being wholly unfit for such a task, and never otherwise employed than just for my own affairs and amusement, while I had the pleasure of living tranquil and undisturbed, I must beg leave to desist from such an attempt; and if such is expected from me, claim the indulgence of that pardon which is never refused to those incapacitated of performing what may be desired of them. And as a plain, impartial, and succinct narrative of my own life, and various vicissitudes of fortune, is all that I now shall aim at, I shall herein confine myself to plain simple truth, and, in the dictates resulting from an honest heart, give the reader no other entertainment than what shall be matter of fact; and of such things as have actually happened to me, or come to my own knowledge in the sphere of life in which it has been my lot to be placed. Not but I hope I may be allowed now and then, to carry on my narrative from the information I have received of such things as relate to my design, though they have not been done or transacted in my presence.

It being usual in narratives like this, to give a short account of the Author's birth, education, and juvenile exploits, the same being looked upon as necessary, or at least a satisfactory piece of information to the curious and inquisitive reader; I shall, without boasting of a family I am no way entitled to, or recounting adventures in my youth to which I was entirely a stranger, in a short manner gratify such curiosity; not expecting, as I said, to be admired for that elegance of style, and profusion of words, so universally made use of in details and histories of those adventurers who have of late years obliged the world with their anecdotes and memoirs, and which have had scarce any other existence than in the brains of a bookseller's or printer's Garreteer; who, from fewer incidents, and less surprising matter, than will be found in this short narrative, have been, and are

daily enabled to spin and work out their elaborate performances to three or four volumes. That I, like them, publish this for support, is true; but as I am too sensible, the major part of mankind will give much more to a bookseller, to be in the fashion, or satisfy their curiosity, in having or reading a new puffed up history or novel, than to a real object of distress, for an accurate and faithful account of a series of misfortunes, I have thought it more advisable to confine myself as to size and price, than by making a larger volume, miss that assistance and relief, of which I at present am in so great need.

THE AUTHOR'S BIRTH &c

Know, therefore, that I was born in Hirnlay, in the parish of Aboyne, and county of Aberdeen, North Britain, if not of rich, yet of reputable parents, who supported me in the best manner they could, as long as they had the happiness of having me under their inspection: but fatally for me, and to their great grief as it afterwards proved, I was sent to live with an aunt at Aberdeen; when, under the years of pupillarity, playing on the quay, with others of my companions, being of stout robust composition, I was taken notice of by two fellows belonging to a vessel in the harbour, employed (as the trade then was), by some of the worthy merchants in the town, in that villainous and execrable practice called Kidnapping; that is, stealing young children and selling them as slaves in the Plantations abroad. Being marked out by these monsters of impiety as their prey, I was cajoled on board the ship by them, when I was no sooner got, than they conducted me between the decks to some others they had kidnapped in the same manner. At that time, I had no sense of the fate that destined for me, and spent the time in childish amusements with my fellow sufferers in the steerage, being never suffered to go up on deck whilst the vessel lay in the harbour, which was until such a time as they had got in their loading, with a complement of unhappy youths for carrying on their wicked commerce.

In about a month's time the ship set sail for America. The treatment we met with, and the trifling incidents which happened during the voyage, I hope I may be excused from relating, as not being at that time of an age sufficiently to remark any thing more than what must occur to every one on such an occasion. However, I cannot forget that, when we arrived on the coast we were destined for, a hard gale of wind sprung up from the S.E. and, to the captain's great surprise (he not thinking he was near land), although having been 11 weeks on the passage, about twelve o'clock at night the ship struck on a sand-bank off Cape May, near the Capes of Delaware, and to the great terror and affright of the ship's company, in a short time was full of water. The boat was then hoisted out, into which the captain, and his fellow villains, the crew, got with some difficulty, leaving me, and my deluded companions, to perish; as they then naturally concluded inevitable death to be our fate. Often, in my distresses and miseries since, have I wished that such had been the consequence, when in a state of innocence! But Providence thought proper to preserve me for future trials of its goodness. Thus abandoned and deserted, without the least prospect of relief, but threatened every

moment with death, did these villains leave us. The cries, the shrieks, and tears of a parcel of infants, had no effect on, or caused the least remorse in the breasts of these merciless wretches. Scarce can I say, to which to give the preference; whether to such as these who have had the opportunity of knowing the Christian religion; or to the savages herein after described, who profane not the gospel, or boast of humanity; and if they act in a brutal and butcherly manner, yet it is to their enemies, for the sake of plunder and rewards offered them, for their principles are alike; the love of sordid gain being both their motives-the ship being on a sandbank, which did not give way to let her deeper, we lay in the deplorable condition until morning, when , though we saw the land of Cape May, at about a mile's distance, we knew not what would be our fate.

The wind at length abated, and the captain (unwilling to lose all her cargo), about 10 o'clock, sent some of his crew in a boat to the ship's side to bring us on shore, where we lay in a sort of camp, made of the sails of the vessel, and such other things as we could get. The provisions lasted us until we were taken in by a vessel bound to Philadelphia, lying on this island, as well as I can recollect, near three weeks. Very little of the cargo was saved undamaged, and the vessel entirely lost.

When arrived and landed at Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, the captain had soon people enough that came to buy us. He making the most of his villainous loading, after his disaster, sold us at about £16 per head. What became of my unhappy companions, I never knew; but it was my lot to be sold to one of my countrymen, whose name was Hugh Wilson, a North Britain, for the term of seven years, who had in his youth undergone the same fate as myself, having been kidnapped from St. Johnstown, in Scotland. As I shall often have occasion to mention Philadelphia during the course of my adventures, I shall, in this place, give a short and concise description of the finest city in America, and one of the best laid out in the world.

DESCRIPTION OF PHILADELPHIA.

This city would have been a capital fit for an empire had it been built and inhabited according to the proprietor's plan. Considering its late foundation, it is a large city, and most commodiously situated between Delaware and Schuylkill, two navigable rivers. The former being 2 miles broad, and navigable 300 miles for small vessels. It extends in length 2 miles from the one river to the other.

There are eight long streets two miles in length, cut at right angles by 16 others of one mile in length, all straight and spacious. The houses are stately, very numerous (being nearly 3000), and still increasing, and all carried on regularly according to the first plan. It has two fronts to the water, one on the east side facing the Schuylkill, and that on the west facing the Delaware. The Schuylkill being navigable 800 miles above the falls, the eastern part is most populous, where the warehouses (some three stories high), and wharves are numerous and convenient. All the houses have large orchards and gardens belonging to them. The merchants that reside here are numerous and wealthy, many of them keeping their coaches, &c. In the centre of the city there is a space of 10 acres, whereon are built the state-house, market-house and school-house. The former is built of brick, and has a prison under it. The streets have their names from the several sorts of timber common in Pennsylvania; as Mulberry Street, Saffafras Street, Chestnut Street, Beech Street, and Cedar Street. The oldest church is Christ Church, and has a numerous congregation; but the major part of the inhabitants, being at first Quakers, still continue so, who have several meeting-houses, and may not improperly be called the church, as by law established, being the originals. The quay is beautiful and 200 feet square, to which a ship of 200 tons may lay her broadside. Near the town and on the spot which separates it from the Schuylkill, where the river falls into the Delaware, is found black earth of a great depth, and covered with vegetation; and which, it is evident, has been recently left by the water. It has all the character of land perfectly new, and as yet scarcely raised from the bed of the river. This land is used for meadows, and is in great estimation. It is acknowledged, however, to be extremely unhealthy. Between that and the Wilmington the quality of the stone is quartzose; ocher is also to be found in a perfect state. As the advantages this city may boast of, has rendered it one of the best trading towns outside the British empire; so in all probability it will increase in commerce and riches, if not prevented by party, faction, and religious feuds, which of late years have made it suffer considerably. The assemblies and courts of judicature are held here, as in all capitals. The French have no city like it in all America.

Happy was my lot in falling into my countryman's power, as he was, contrary to many others of his calling, a humane, worthy, honest man. Having no children of his own, and commiserating with my unhappy condition, he took great care of me until I was fit for business; and about the 12th year of my age set me about little trifles; in which state I continued until my 14th year, when I was more fit for harder work. During such my idle state, seeing my fellow-servants often reading and writing, it

incited in me an inclination to learn, which I intimated to my master, telling him, I should be very willing to serve a year longer than the contract by which I was bound, if he would indulge me in going to school; this he readily agreed to, saying that winter would be the best time. It being the summer, I waited with impatience for the other season; but to make some progress in my design, I got a Primer, and learned as much from my fellow servants as I could. At school, where I went every winter for five years, I made a tolerable proficiency, and have ever since been improving myself at leisure hours. With this good master I continued till I was 17 years old, when he died; and as a reward for my faithful service, he left me \$200 currency, which was then about £150 sterling, his best horse, saddle and all his wearing apparel.

Being now my own master, having money in my pocket and all other necessaries, I employed myself in jobbing about the country, working for anyone that would employ me, for nearly 7 years, when thinking I had money sufficient to follow some better way of life, I resolved to settle; but thought one step necessary thereto, was to be married; for which purpose I applied to the daughter of a substantial planter, and found my suit was not unacceptable to her or her father, so that matters were soon concluded upon, and we married. My father-in-law, in order to establish us in the world, in an easy, if not affluent manner, made me a deed of gift of a track of land, that lay (unhappily for me as it has since proved) on the frontiers of the province of Pennsylvania, near the forks of the Delaware, in Berks county, containing about 200 acres, 30 of which were well cleared, and fit for immediate use, whereon was a good house and barn. The place pleasing me well, I settled on it, though it cost me the major part of my money in buying stock, household furniture, and implements for out-door work; and happy as I was in a good wife, yet did my felicity last me not long; for about the year 1754, the Indians in the French interest, who had for a long time ravaged and destroyed other parts of America unmolested, I may very properly say, began to be very troublesome on the frontiers of our province, where they generally appeared in small skulking parties, with yellings, shoutings, and antic postures, instead of trumpets and drums, committing great devastations. The Pennsylvanians little imagined at first, that the Indians, guilty of such outrages and violence, were some of those who pretended to be in the English interest; which, alas! Proved to be too true for many of us: for like the French in Europe, without regard for faith or treaties, they suddenly break out into furious, rapid outrages and devastations, but soon retire precipitately, having no stores or provisions but what they meet with in their incursions; some indeed carry a bag with biscuit, or

Indian corn therein, but not unless they have a long march to their destined place of action. And those French, who were sent to dispossess us in that part of the world, being indefatigable in their duty, and continually contriving, and using all manner of ways and means to win the Indians to their interest, many of whom had been too negligent, and sometimes, I may say, cruelly treated by those who pretend to be their protectors and friends, found it no very difficult matter to get over to their interest, many who belonged to those nations in amity with us, especially as the rewards they gave them were so great, they paying for every scalp of an English person, £5 sterling.

Terrible and shocking to human nature were the barbarities daily committed by the savages, and are not to be paralleled in all the volumes of history! Scarce did a day pass but some unhappy family or other fell victims to French chicanery, and savage cruelty. Terrible indeed it proved to me as well as to many others; I that was now happy in an easy state of life, blessed with an affectionate and tender wife, who was possessed of all amiable qualities, to enable me to go through the world with that peace and serenity of mind which every Christian wishes to possess, became on a sudden one of the most unhappy and deplorable of mankind; scarce can I sustain the shock which for ever recoils in me, at thinking on the last time of seeing that good woman. The fatal 2nd of October 1754, she that day went from home to visit some of her relations; as I staid up later than usual, expecting her return, none being in the house besides myself, how great was my surprise, terror, and affright, when about 11 o' clock at night I heard the dismal war-cry, or war-whoops of the savages, which they make on such occasions, and may be expected, Wouch, woach, ha, ha, hach, woach, and to my inexpressible grief, soon found my house was attacked by them; I flew to the chamber-window, and perceived them to be about twelve in number, they making several attempts to get in, I asked them what they wanted? They gave me no answer, but continued beating, and trying to get the door open. Judge then the condition I must be in, knowing the cruelty and merciless disposition of those savages should I fall into their hands. To escape which dreadful misfortune, having my gun loaded in my hand, I threatened them with death, if they should not desist. But how vain and fruitless are the efforts of one man against the united force of so many! and of such merciless, undaunted, and bloodthirsty monsters as I had here to deal with one of them that could speak a little English, threatened me in return, 'That if I did not come out, they would burn me alive in the house'; telling me farther what I unhappily perceived. 'That they were no friends to the English, but that if I would come out and surrender myself prisoner, they would not kill me.' My terror and distraction at

hearing this is not to be expressed by words, nor easily imagined by any person, unless in the same condition. Little could I depend on the promises of such creatures; and yet if I did not, inevitable death, by being burnt alive, must be my lot. Distracted as I was in such deplorable circumstances, I chose to rely on the uncertainty of their fallacious promises, rather than meet with certain death by rejecting them; and accordingly went out of my house with my gun in my hand, not knowing what I did, or that I had it. Immediately on my approach, they rushed on me like so many tigers, and instantly disarmed me. Having me thus in their power, the merciless villains bound me to a tree near the door; they went into my house, and plundered and destroyed every thing there was in it; carrying off what moveables they could; the rest, together with the house, which they set fire to, was consumed before my eyes. The barbarians, not satisfied with this, set fire to my barn, stable, and out-houses, wherein were about 200 bushels of wheat, six cows, four horses, and five sheep, which underwent the same fate, being all entirely consumed to ashes. During the conflagration, to describe the thoughts, the fears, and misery that I felt, is utterly impossible, as it even now to mention what I feel at the remembrance thereof.

Having thus finished the execrable business about which they came, one of the monsters came to me with a *tomahawk* in his hand, threatening me with the worst of deaths, if I would not willingly go with them, and be contented with their way of living. This I seemingly agreed to, promising to do every thing for them that lay in my power; trusting to Providence for the time when I might be delivered out of their hands. Upon this they untied me, and gave me a great load to carry on my back, under which I travelled all that night with them, full of the most terrible apprehensions, and oppressed with the greatest anxiety of mind lest my unhappy wife should likewise have fallen a prey to these cruel monsters. At daybreak, my infernal masters ordered me to lay down my load, when, tying my hands again round a tree with a small cord, they then forced the blood out of my finger ends. They then kindled a fire near to the tree whereto I was bound, which filled me with the most dreadful agonies, concluding that I was going to be made a sacrifice to their barbarity.

Tomahawk is a kind of hatchet, made something like our plasterer's hammers, about two feet long, handle and all. To take up the hatchet (or tomahawk) among them, is to declare war. They generally use it after firing their guns, rushing on their enemies, and fracturing or cleaving their skulls with it, and very seldom fail of killing at their first blow.

This narrative, O reader! May seem dry and tedious to you: my miseries and misfortunes, great as they have been, may be considered only as what others have daily met with for years past; yet, on reflection, you cannot help indulging me in the recital of them: for to the unfortunate and distressed, recounting our miseries, is, in some sort, an alleviation of them.

Permit me therefore to proceed; not by recounting to you the deplorable condition I was then in, for that is more than can be described to you, by one who thought of nothing less than being immediately put to death in the most excruciating manner these devils could invent. The fire being thus made, they for some time danced round me after their manner, with various odd motions and antic gestures, whooping, holloeing, and crying in a frightful manner, as it is their custom. Having satisfied themselves in this sort of their mirth, they proceeded in a more tragical manner; taking the burning coals and sticks, flaming with fire at their ends, holding them near my face, head, hands, and feet, with a deal of monstrous pleasure and satisfaction; and at the same time threatening to burn me entirely, if I made the least noise, or cried out. Thus tortured as I was, almost to death, I suffered their brutal pleasure without being allowed to vent my inexpressible anguish, otherwise than by shedding silent tears; even which, when these inhuman tormentors observed, with a shocking pleasure and alacrity, they would take fresh coals, and apply near my eyes, telling me my face was wet, and that they would dry it for me, which indeed they cruelly did. How I underwent these tortures I have here faintly described, has been matter of wonder to me many times; but God enabled me to wait with more than common patience for a deliverance I daily prayed for.

Having at length satisfied their brutal pleasure, they sat down round the fire, and roasted their meat, of which they had robbed my dwelling. When they had prepared it, and satisfied their voracious appetites, they offered some to me; though it is easily imagined I had but little appetite to eat, after the tortures and miseries I had undergone; yet was I forced to seem pleased with what they offered me, lest, by refusing it, they had again re-assumed their hellish practices. What I could not eat, I contrived to get between the bark and the tree where I was fixed, they having unbound my hands till they imagined I had ate all they gave me; but then they again bound me as before; in which deplorable condition was I forced to continue all that day. When the sun was set, they put out the fire, and covered the ashes with leaves, as is their usual custom, that the white people might not discover any traces or signs of their having been there.

Thus had these barbarous wretches finished their last diabolical piece of work; and shocking as it may seem to the humane English heart, yet what I underwent was but trifling, in comparison to the torments and miseries which I was afterwards an eye-witness of being inflicted on others of my unhappy fellow creatures.

Going from thence along by the river Susquehana for the space of six miles, loaded as I was before, we arrived at a spot by the Appalachian mountains, or Blue Hills, where they hid their plunder under logs of wood. – And, oh, shocking to relate! From thence did these hellish monsters proceed to a neighbouring house, occupied by one Joseph Snider and his unhappy family, consisting of his wife, five children, and a young man his servant. They soon got admittance into the unfortunate man's house, where they immediately without the least remorse and with more than brutal cruelty, *scalped* the tender parents and the unhappy children: nor could the tears, the shrieks, or cries of these unhappy victims, prevent their horrid massacre; for having thus scalped them and plundered the house of every thing that was moveable, they set fire to the same, where the poor creatures met their final doom amidst the flames, the hellish miscreants standing at the door, or as near the house as the flames would permit them, rejoicing, and echoing back in their diabolical manner, the piercing cries, heart rending groans, and paternal and affectionate soothing, which issued from this most horrid sacrifice of an innocent family, Sacrifice ! I think I may properly call it, to the aggrandizing ambition of a king, who wrongly styles himself *Most Christian*. For, had these savages been never tempted with the alluring bait of all-powerful gold, myself as well as hundreds

Scalping is taking off the skin from the top of the head; which they perform with a long knife that they hang round their neck, and always carry with them. They cut the skin round as much of the head as they think proper, sometimes quite round from the neck and forehead, then take it in their fingers, and pluck it off, and often leave the unhappy creature, so served, to die in a most miserable manner. Some, who are not cut too deep in the temples or skull, live in horrid torments many hours and sometimes a day or two after. The scalps, or skins thus taken off, they preserve and carry home in triumph, where they receive, as is said before, a considerable sum for every one.

of others might still have lived most happily in our stations. If Christians countenance, nay hire, those wretches, to live in a continual repetition of plunder, rapine, murder, and conflagration, in vain are missionaries sent or sums expended, for the propagation of the gospel. But these sentiments with many others, must, before the end of this narrative, occur to every humane heart. Therefore to proceed; not contented with what these infernals had already done, they still continued their inordinate villainy, in making a general conflagration of the barn and stables, together with all the corn, horses, cows, and every thing on the place.

Thinking the young man belonging to this unhappy family would be of some service to them, in carrying part of their hellish acquired plunder, they spared his life, and loaded him and myself with what they had here got, and again marched to the Blue Hills, where they stowed their goods as before. My fellow-sufferer could not long bear the cruel treatment which we were both obliged to suffer, and complaining bitterly to me of his being unable to proceed any farther, I endeavoured to condole him as much as lay in my power, to bear up under his afflictions, and wait with patience till by the divine assistance, we should be delivered out of their cruel clutches; but all in vain, for he still continued his moans and tears, which one of the savages perceiving as we travelled on, instantly came up to us, and with his tomahawk gave him a blow on the head, which felled the unhappy youth to the ground, where they immediately scalped and left him. The suddenness of this murder shocked me to that degree, that I was in a manner like a statue, being quite motionless, expecting my fate would soon be the same: however, recovering my distracted thoughts, I dissembled the uneasiness and anguish which I felt, as well as I could from the barbarians; but still, such was the terror that I was under, that for some time I scarce knew the days of the week, or what I did; so that at this period, life indeed became a burden to me, and I regretted being saved from my first persecutors, the sailors.

The horrid fact being completed, they kept on their course near the mountains, where they lay skulking four or five days, rejoicing at the plunder and store they had got. When provisions became scarce, they made their way towards Susquehanna; where still, to add to the many barbarities they had already committed, passing near another house inhabited by an unhappy old man, whose name was John Adams, with his wife and four small children; and meeting with no resistance, they immediately scalped the unhappy wife and her four children, before the good old man's eyes.

Inhuman and horrid as this was; it did not satiate them; for when they had murdered the poor woman, they acted with her in such a brutal manner, as decency, or the remembrance of the crime, will not permit me to mention: and this even before the unhappy husband, who, not being able to avoid the sight, and incapable of affording her the least relief entreated them to put an end to his miserable being: but they were as deaf and regardless of the tears, prayers and entreaties of this venerable sufferer, as they had been to those of the others, and proceeded in their hellish purpose of burning and destroying his house, barn, cattle, hay, corn, and every thing the poor man a few hours before was master of. Having saved what they thought proper from the flames, they gave the old man, feeble, weak and in the miserable condition he then was, as well as myself, burdens to carry, and loading themselves likewise with bread and meat, pursued their journey on towards the Great Swamp, where, being arrived, they lay for 8 or 9 days, sometimes diverting themselves in exercising the atrocious and barbarous cruelties on their unhappy victim, the old man: sometimes they would strip him naked, and paint him all over with various sorts of colours, which they extracted, or made from herbs and roots: at other times they would pluck the white hairs from his venerable head, and tauntingly tell him, *he was a fool for living for so long, and that they would show him kindness in putting him out of the world*; to all which the poor creature could but vent his sighs, his tears, his moans, and entreaties, that, to my affrighted imagination, were enough to penetrate a heart of adamant, and soften the most obdurate savage. In vain, alas! Were all his tears, for daily did they tire themselves with the various means they tried to torment him; sometimes tying him to a tree, and whipping him; at others, scorching his furrowed cheeks with red-hot coals, and burning his legs, quite to the knees: but the good old man, instead of repining, or wickedly arraigning the divine justice, like many others in such cases, even in the greatest agonies, incessantly offered up his prayers to the Almighty, with the most fervent thanksgivings for his former mercies, and hoping the flames, then surrounding and burning his aged limbs, would soon send him to the blissful mansions of the just, to be a partaker of the blessings there. And, during such his pious ejaculations, his infernal plagues would come around him, mimicking his heart-rending groans and piteous wailings. One night after he had been thus tormented, whilst he and I were sitting together condoling each other at the misfortunes and miseries we daily suffered, twenty scalps and three prisoners were brought in by another party of Indians. They had unhappily fallen in their hands in Cannocojigge, a small town near the river Susquehanna, chiefly inhabited by the Irish. These prisoners gave us some shocking accounts of the murders and devastations committed

in their parts. The various and complicated actions of these barbarians would entirely fill a large volume, but what I have already written, with a few other instances which I shall select from their information, will enable the reader to guess at the horrid treatment the English, and Indians in their interest, suffered for many years past. I shall therefore only mention in a brief manner, those that suffered near the same time with myself. This party, who now joined us, had it not, I found, in their power to begin their wickedness as soon as those who visited my habitation, the first of their tragedies being on the 25th day of October 1754, when John Lewis, with his wife, and three small children, fell sacrifices to their cruelty, and were miserably scalped and murdered, his house, barns, and every thing he possessed, being burnt and destroyed. On the 28th, Jacob Miller, with his wife, and six of his family, together with every thing on his plantation, underwent the same fate. The 30th, the house, mill, barn, 20 head of cattle, 2 teams of horses, and every thing belonging to the unhappy George Folke, met with the like treatment: himself, wife, and all his miserable family, consisting of nine in number, being inhumanely scalped, then cut to pieces, and given to the swine, which devoured them. I shall give another instance of the numberless, and unheard of barbarities they related of these savages, and proceed to their own tragical end. In short, one of the substantial traders belonging to the province, having business that called him some miles up the country, fell into the hands of these devils, who not only scalped him, but immediately roasted him before he was dead; then, like cannibals for want of other food, ate his whole body, and of his head made what they called an Indian pudding.

From these few images of savage cruelty, the deplorable situation of the defenceless inhabitants, and what they hourly suffered in that part of the globe, must, strike the utmost horror to a human soul, and cause in every breast, the utmost detestation, not only against the authors of such tragic scenes, but against those who through perfidy, inattention or pusillanimous and erroneous principles, suffered these savages at first, unrepelled, or even unmolested, to commit such outrages and incredible depredations and murders; for no torments, no barbarities that can be exercised on the human sacrifices they get into their power, are left untried or omitted.

The three prisoners that were brought with these additional forces, constantly repining at their lot, and almost dead with their excessive hard treatment, contrived at last to make their escape; but being far from their own settlements, and not knowing the country, were soon after met by some

others of the tribes or nations at war with us, and brought back to their diabolical masters, who greatly rejoiced at having them again in their infernal power. The poor creatures, almost famished for want of sustenance, having had none during the time of their elopement, were no sooner in the clutches of the barbarians, than two of them were tied to a tree, and a great fire made round them, where they remained till they were terribly scorched and burnt; when one of the villains, with his scalping knife, ript open their bellies, took out their entrails, and burnt them before their eyes, whilst the others were cutting, piercing, and tearing the flesh from their breasts, hands, arms, and legs with red-hot irons, till they were dead. The third unhappy victim was reserved a few hours longer, to be if possible, sacrificed in a more cruel manner; his arms were tied close to his body, and a hole being dug deep enough for him to stand up in, he was put therein, and earth rammed and beat in all round his body, up to the neck, so that his head only appeared above the ground: they then scalped him, and there let him remain for three or four others in the greatest agonies; after which they made a small fire near his head, causing him to suffer the most excruciating torments imaginable, whilst the poor creature could only cry for mercy in killing him immediately, for his brains were boiling in his head: inexorable to all his complaints, they continued the fire, whilst, shocking to behold, his eyes gushed out of their sockets; and such agonizing torments did the unhappy creature suffer for near 2 hours till he was quite dead! Then they cut off his head, and buried it with the other bodies; my task being to dig the graves, which, feeble and terrified as I was, the dread of suffering the same fate, enabled me to do. I shall not here take up the reader's time, in vainly attempting to describe what I felt when such an occasion, but continue my narrative as a more equal to my abilities.

A great snow now falling, the barbarians were a little fearful lest the white people should, by their traces, find out their skulking retreats, which obliged them to make the best of their way to their winter quarters, about 200 miles farther from any plantations or inhabitants; where after a long and tedious journey, being almost starved, I arrived with this infernal crew. The place where we were to rest, in their tongue is called Alamingo. There were found a number of *wigwams* full of their

Wigwams are the names they give their houses, which are no more than little huts, made with three or four forked stakes drove into the ground, and covered with deer or other skin; or for want of them, with large leaves and earth.

women and children. Dancing, singing, and shouting were their general amusements; and in all their festivals and dances they relate what successes they have had, and what damages they have sustained in their expeditions; in which I became part of their theme. The severity of the cold increasing, they stripped me of my clothes for their own use, and gave me such as they usually wore themselves, being a piece of blanket, a pair of *mogganes*, or shoes, with a yard of coarse cloth to put round me instead of breeches. To describe their dress and manner of living may not be altogether unacceptable to some of my readers; but as the size of this book will not permit me to be so particular as I might otherwise be, I shall just observe.

That they in general wear a white blanket, which, in war time, they paint with various figures, but particularly the leaves of trees, in order to deceive their enemies when in the woods. Their *mogganes* are made of deer-skins, and the best sort have them bound round the edges with little beads and ribbands. On their legs they wear pieces of blue cloth for stockings, some like our soldiers spatter-dashes; they reach higher than their knees, but no lower than their ankles. They esteem them easy to run in. Breeches they never wear, but instead thereof, two pieces of linen, one before and one behind. The better sort have shirts of the finest linen they can get, and to these some wear ruffles; but these they never put on till they have painted them of various colours which they get from *Pecone* root, and bark of trees, and never pull them off to wash, but wear them till they fall to pieces. They are very proud, and take great delight in wearing trinkets; such as silver plates round their wrists and necks, with several strings of wampum (which is made of cotton, interwoven with pebbles, cockle-shells, &c.) down to their breasts; and from their ears and noses they have rings or beads which hang dangling an inch or two. The men have no beards, to prevent which they use certain instruments and tricks as soon as it begins to grow. The hair of their heads is managed differently, some pluck out and destroy all, except a lock hanging from the crown of the head, which they interweave with wampum and feathers of various colours. The women wear it very long twisted down their backs, with beads, feathers and wampum; and on their heads most of them wear little coronets of brass or copper; round their middle they wear a blanket instead of a petticoat. The females are very chaste and constant to their husbands; and if any young maiden should happen to have a child before marriage, she is never esteemed afterwards. As for their food they get it chiefly by hunting and shooting, and boil, or roast all the meat they eat. Their standing dish consists of Indian corn soaked, then bruised and boiled over a gentle fire for ten or twelve hours. Their bread is

likewise made of wild oats or sun-flower seeds. Set meals they never regard, but eat when they are hungry. Their gun, tomahawk, scalping knife, powder and shot, are all they have to carry with them in time of war, bows and arrows being seldom used by them. They generally in war decline open engagements; bush fighting or skulking is their discipline; and they are brave when engaged, having great fortitude in enduring tortures and death. No people have a greater love of liberty, or affection to their neighbours; but are the most implacably vindictive people upon the earth; for they revenge the death of any relation, or any great affront, whenever occasion presents, let the distance of time or place be ever so remote. To all which I may add, and which the reader has already observed, that they are inhumanely cruel. But some other nations might be more happy, if in some instances they copied them, and made *wise conduct, courage, and personal strength*, the *chief* recommendations for war captains, or *werowances*, as they call them. In times of peace, they visit the plantations inhabited by the whites, to whom they sell baskets, ladles, spoons, and other such trifles, which they are very expert in making. When night comes, if admitted into any house, they beg leave to lie down by the fire-side, choosing that place rather than any other, which is seldom refused them, if sober; for they are honest; but if drunk, are very dangerous and troublesome, if people enough are not in the house to quell them. Nor would they at any time be guilty of such barbarous depredations as they are, did not those calling themselves Christians entice them thereto with strong liquors, which they are vastly fond of; as well as by the pecuniary rewards which they gave for the scalps. If ambition cannot be gratified, or superiority obtained, otherwise than by the deaths of thousands, would it not be in those who seek such airy phantoms, and are so inordinately fond of their fellow creatures lives, savour a little more of humanity, to have them killed instantly, and, if they must have proofs of murder, scalped afterwards, than by allowing and encouraging such merciless treatment, render themselves as obnoxious, cruel and barbarous, to a humane mind, as the savages themselves? However, they sometimes suffer by their plots and chicanery laid for the destruction of others; it often happening that the traders or emissaries sent to allure them to the execution of their schemes, rightly fall victims themselves; for, as they always carry with them horse-loads of rum, which the Indians are fond of, they soon get drunk, quarrelsome, and wicked, and in their fury, often kill and destroy their tempters: a just reward for their wicked designs! Nay, it had such an effect on them, that when so intoxicated, they even burn and consume all their own effects, beating, wounding, and sometimes killing, their wives and children: but, in disputes among themselves, when sober, they are very tenacious of decorum, never allowing more than one to

speak at a time. Profane swearing they know not in their language how to express, but are very fond of the French and English oaths.

The old people, who are by age and infirmities rendered incapable of being serviceable to the community, they put out of the world in a barbarous and extraordinary manner; an instance of which I had whilst among them an opportunity of seeing practised on an old Indian. He being, through age, feeble and weak, and his eyes failing him, so that he was unable to get his living either by hunting or shooting, was summoned to appear before several of the leading ones, who were to be his judges. Before whom being come, and having nothing to say for himself (as how indeed could he prove himself to be young?) they very formally, and with a seeming degree of compassion, passed sentence on him to be put to death. This was soon after executed on him in the following manner: he was tied naked to a tree, and a boy, who was to be his executioner, stood ready with a tomahawk in his hands, to beat his brains out; but when the young monster came to inflict the sentence, he was so short of stature, that he could not lift the tomahawk high enough; upon which he was held up by some others, a great concourse being present; and then, though the young devil laid on him with all his strength, he was not for some time able to fracture the old man's skull, so that it was near an hour before he was dead. Thus are they from their youth inured to barbarity!

When they found no remains of life in him, they put him into a hole dug in the ground for that purpose, in which he stood upright. Into his left hand they put an old gun, and hung a small powder horn and shot bag about his shoulders, and a string of wampum round his neck; and into his right hand a little silk purse with a bit of money in it; then filled the hole round, and covered him with earth. This I found to be the usual manner of treating the old of both sexes; only that the women are killed by young girls, and put into the ground with nothing but a ladle in one hand, and a wooden dish in the other.

They are very strict in punishing offenders, especially such as commit crimes against any of the royal families. They never hang any; but those sentenced to death are generally bound to a stake, and a great fire made round them, but not so near as to burn them immediately; for they sometimes remain roasting in the middle of the flames for two or three days before they are dead.

After this long digression, it is time to return to the detail of my own affairs. - At Alamingo was I kept near two months, until the snow was off the ground. A long time to be amongst such creatures, and naked as I almost was! Whatever thoughts I might have of making my escape, to carry them into execution was impracticable, being so far from any plantations or white people, and the severe weather rendering my limbs in a manner quite stiff and motionless; however, I contrived to defend myself against the inclemency of the weather as well as I could, by making myself a little wigwam, with the bark of the trees, covering the same with earth, which made it a reasonable cave; and to prevent the ill effects of the cold which penetrated it, I was forced to keep a good fire always near the door.

Thus did I for near two months endure such hardships of cold and hunger as had hitherto been unknown to me. My liberty of going about was indeed more than I could have expected, but they well knew the impracticability of my eloping from them. Seeing me outwardly easy and submissive, they would sometimes give me a little meat, but my chief food was Indian corn, dressed as I have described. Notwithstanding such their civility, the time passed so tedious on, that I almost began to despair of ever regaining my liberty, or seeing my few relations again; which, with the anxiety and pain I suffered, on account of my dear wife, often gave me inexpressible concern.

At length the time arrived, when they were preparing themselves for another expedition against the planters and white people; but before they set out, they were joined by many other Indians from Fort De Quesne, well stored with powder and ball they had received from the French.

As soon as the snow was quite gone, and no traces of their vile footsteps could be perceived, they set forward on their journey toward the back parts of the province of Pennsylvania, leaving their wives and children behind in their wigwams. They were now a terrible and formidable body, amounting to near 150. My duty was to carry what they thought proper to load me with, but they never entrusted me with a gun. We marched on several days without anything particular occurring, almost famished for want of provisions; for my part I had nothing but a few stalks of Indian corn, which I was glad to eat dry; nor did the Indians themselves fare much better, for as we drew near

the plantations, they were afraid to kill any game, lest the noise of their guns should alarm the inhabitants.

When we arrived at the Blue Hills, about 30 miles from Cannocojigge, the Irish settlement before mentioned, we encamped for three days, though God knows we had neither tents, nor any thing else to defend us from the inclemency of the air, having nothing to lie on at night but the grass. Their usual method of lodging, pitching, or encamping by night, being in parcels of ten or twelve men to a fire, where they lie upon the grass or bushes, wrapt in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

During our stay here, a sort of council of war was held, when it was agreed to divide themselves into companies of about twenty men each; after which, every captain marched with his party where he thought proper. I still belonged to my old masters, but was left behind in the mountains with ten Indians, to stay until the rest should return, not thinking it proper to carry me nearer Cannocojigge, or the other plantations.

Here being left, I began to meditate on my escape, and though I knew the country round extremely well, having been often thereabouts with my companions, hunting deer and other beasts, yet was I very cautious of giving the least suspicion of such my intention. However, the third day after the grand-body left us, my companions or keepers thought proper to visit the mountains in search of game for their subsistence, leaving me bound in such a manner that I could not escape. At night, when they returned, having unbound me, we all sat down together to supper on two polecats, being what they killed, and soon after (being greatly fatigued with their day's excursion) they composed themselves to rest as usual. Observing them to be in that somniferous state, I tried various ways to see whether it was a scheme to prove my intentions or not; but after making a noise, and walking about, sometimes touching them with my feet, I found there was no fallacy. My heart then exulted with joy at seeing a time come that I might in all probability be delivered from my captivity, but this joy was soon damped by the dread of being discovered by them, or taken away by any straggling parties. To prevent which, I resolved, if possible, to get one of their guns, and if discovered, to die in my defence rather than be taken; for that purpose, I made various efforts to get one from under their heads (where they always secured them) but in vain. Frustrated in this my first essay towards regaining my liberty, I dreaded the thoughts of carrying my design into execution:

yet after a little consideration, and trusting myself to the divine protection, I set forward naked and defenceless as I was. A rash and dangerous enterprise! Such was my terror, however, that in going from them I halted and paused every four or five yards, looking fearfully towards the spot where I had left them, lest they should awake and miss me; but when I was about two hundred yards from them, I mended my pace, and made as much haste as I could to the foot of the mountains, when on a sudden I was struck with the greatest terror and amaze at hearing the wood-cry, as it is called, and may be expressed *Jo hau! Jo hau!* which the savages I had left were making, accompanied with the most hideous cries and howling they could utter. The bellowing of lions, the shrieks of hyenas, or the roaring of tigers, would have been music to my ears, in comparison to the sounds that then saluted them. They having now missed their charge, I concluded that they would soon separate themselves and be in quest of me. The more my terror increased, the faster did I push on, and scarce knowing where I trod, drove through the woods with the utmost precipitation, sometimes falling and bruising myself, cutting my feet and legs against the stones in a miserable manner; but though faint and maimed, I continued my flight until break of day, when without having anything to sustain nature but a little corn left, I crept into a hollow tree, in which I lay very snug, and returned my prayers and thanks to the Divine Being, that had thus far favoured my escape. But my repose was in a few hours destroyed at hearing the voices of the savages near the place where I was hid, threatening and talking how they would use me, if they got me again; that I was before too sensible of, to have the least rest either in body or mind since I had left them. However, they at last left the spot where I heard them, and I remained in my circular asylum all that day without further molestation.

At night I ventured forwards again, frightened and trembling at every bush I past, thinking each twig that touched me to be a savage. The third day I concealed myself in the like manner, and at night I travelled on in the same deplorable condition, keeping off the main road used by the Indians as much as possible, which made my journey many miles longer, and more painful and irksome than I can express. But how shall I describe the fear, terror and shock, that I felt on the fourth night, when by the rustling I made among the leaves, a party of Indians, that lay round a small fire, which I did not perceive, started from the grounds, and seizing their arms, ran from the fire amongst the woods. Whether to move forward, or to rest where I was, I knew not, so distracted was my imagination. In this melancholy state, revolving in my thoughts the now inevitable fate I thought

waited on me, to my great consternation and joy, I was relieved by a parcel of swine that made towards the place I guessed the savages to be; who, on seeing the hogs, conjectured that their alarm had been caused by them, and very merrily returned to the fire, and lay down to sleep as before. As soon as I perceived my enemies so disposed of, with more cautious step and silent tread, I pursued my course, sweating (though winter and severely cold) with the fear I had just been relieved from. Bruised, cut, mangled, and terrified as I was I still thro' the divine assistance, was enabled to pursue my journey until break of day, when thinking myself far off from those miscreants I so much dreaded, I lay down under a great log, and slept undisturbed till about noon, when getting up, I reached the summit of a great hill with some difficulty, and looking out if I could spy any inhabitants of white people, to my unutterable joy I saw some, which I guessed to be about ten miles distance.

This pleasure was in some measure abated, by my not being able to get among them that night; therefore, when evening approached, I again recommended myself to the Almighty, and composed my weary mangled limbs to rest. In the morning, as soon as I awoke, I continued my journey towards the nearest cleared lands I had seen the day before, and about 4 o' clock in the afternoon arrived at the house of John Bell, an old acquaintance, where, knocking at the door, his wife, who opened it, seeing me in such a frightful condition, flew from me like lightning, screaming into the house. This alarmed the whole family, who immediately fled to their arms, and I was soon accosted by the master with his gun in his hand. But on my assuring him of my innocence as to any wicked intention, and making myself known (for he before took me to be an Indian), he immediately caressed me, as did also his family, with a deal of friendship, at finding me alive; they having all been informed of my being murdered by the savages some months before. No longer now able to support my fatigue and worn out spirits, I fainted and fell to the ground. From which state having recovered me, and perceiving the weak and famished condition I then was in, they soon gave me some refreshment, but let me partake of it very sparingly, fearing the ill effects too much at once would have on me. They for two or three nights very affectionately supplied me with all the necessaries, and carefully attended to me until my spirits and limbs were pretty well recruited, and I thought myself able to ride, when I borrowed of these good people (whose kindness merits my most grateful return) a horse and some clothes, and set forward for my father-in-law's house in Chester county, about 140 miles from thence, where I arrived on the 4th day of January 1755; but

scarce one of the family could credit their eyes, believing, with the people I had lately left, that I had fallen a prey to the Indians.

Great was the joy and satisfaction wherewith I was received and embraced by the whole family; but oh, what was my anguish and trouble, when on enquiring for my dear wife, I found she had been dead near two months! This fatal news, as every humane reader must imagine, greatly lessened the joy and rapture I otherwise should have felt at my deliverance from the dreadful state of captivity I had been in.

The news of my happy arrival at my father-in-law's house, after so long and strange an absence, was soon spread around the neighbouring plantations, by the country people who continually visited me, being very desirous of hearing and eagerly enquiring an account of my treatment and manner of living among the Indians; in all which I satisfied them. Soon after this my arrival, I was sent for by his excellency Mr Morris, the governor, a worthy gentleman, who examined me very particularly as to all the incidents relating to my captivity, and especially in regard to the Indians, who had first taken me away, whether they were French or English parties. I assured his excellency that they were of those who professed themselves to be friends of the former; and informed him of the many barbarous and inhuman actions I had been witness to among them, on the frontiers of the province; and also that they were daily increasing, by others of our pretended friends joining them; that they were all well supplied by the French with arms and ammunition, and greatly encouraged by them in their continual excursions and barbarities, not only in having extraordinary premiums for such scalps as they should take and carry home with them at their return; but great presents of all kinds, besides rum, powder, ball, &c. before they sallied forth. Having satisfied his excellency in such particulars as he requested, the same being put into writing, I swore to the contents thereof, in the public papers of that time; as well in England as in Philadelphia. Having done with me, Mr Morris gave me three pounds, and sent the affidavit to the assembly, who were then sitting in the State-House at Philadelphia, concluding on proper measures to check the depredations of the savages, and put a stop to their barbarous hostilities on the distressed inhabitants, who daily suffered death in a most deplorable condition; besides being obliged to abscond their plantations, and the country being left desolate for several hundred miles on the frontiers, and the poor sufferers could have no relief, by reason of the disputes between the governor and the assembly. The former

was led by the instructions of the proprietor, which was entirely against the interest of the province, so that it caused great confusion among the people to see the country so destroyed, and no preparations making for its defence.

However, on receiving this intelligence from his Excellency, they immediately sent for me. When I arrived, I was conducted into the lower house, where the assembly then sat, and was there interrogated by the speaker, very particularly, as to all I had before given the governor an account of. This my first examination lasted three hours. The next day I underwent a second for about an hour and a half, when I was courteously dismissed, with a promise that all proper methods should be taken, not only to accommodate and reimburse all those who had suffered by the savages, but to prevent them from committing the like hostilities for the future.

Now returned, and once more at liberty to pursue my own inclinations, I was persuaded by my father-in-law and friends to follow some employment or other; but the plantation from whence I was taken, though an exceedingly good one, could not tempt me to settle on it again. What my fate would have been if I had, may easily be conceived. And there being this time (as the assembly too late for many of us found) a necessity for raising men to check those barbarians in their raving depredations, I enlisted myself as one, with the greatest alacrity and most determined resolution, to exert the utmost of my power, in being revenged on the hellish authors of my ruin. General Shirley, governor of New England and commander in chief of his Majesty's land forces in North America, was pitched upon to direct the operations of the war in that part of the world.

Into a regiment immediately under the control of this general, was it my lot to be placed for three years. This regiment was intended for the frontiers, to destroy the forts erected by the French, as soon as it should be completely furnished with arms, &c. at Boston in New England, where it was ordered for that purpose. Being then very weak and infirm in body, though possessed of my resolution, it was thought advisable to leave me for two months in winter-quarters. At the end of which, being pretty well recruited in strength, I set out for Boston to join the regiment, with some others likewise left behind: and after crossing the Delaware, we arrived at New Jersey, and from thence proceeded through the same by New York, Middletown, Mendon in Connecticut, to Boston, and found the regiment ready to receive us.

Boston, being the capital of New England, and the largest city in America, except two or three, on the Spanish continent, I shall here subjoin a short account of it.

It is pleasantly situated, and about four miles in compass, at the bottom of Massachusetts's Bay, into which there is but one common and safe passage, and not very broad, there being scarce room for three ships to come in abreast; but once in, there is room for the anchorage of 500 sail. It is guarded by several rocks, and above a dozen islands; the most remarkable of these islands is Castle Island, which stands about a league from the town, and so situated that no ship of burden can approach the town, without the hazard of being shattered in pieces by its cannon. It is now called Fort William, and mounted with 100 pieces of ordnance; 200 more, which were given to the province by Queen Anne, are placed on a platform, so as to rake a ship fore and aft, before she can bring about her broadside to bear against the castle. Some of these cannon are 42 pounders; 500 able men are exempted from all military duty in time of war, to be ready at an hour's warning, to attend the service of the castle, upon a signal of the approach of an enemy, which there seems to be no great danger of at Boston; where in 24 hours time, 10,000 effective men, well armed, might be ready for their defence. According to a computation of the collectors of the light-house, it appeared that there were 24,000 tons of shipping cleared annually.

The pier is at the bottom of the bay, 2000 feet long, and runs so far into the bay, that ships of the greatest burden may unload without the help of boats or lighter. At the upper end of the chief street in the town, which comes down to the head of the pier, is the Town House, or Exchange, a fine building, containing, besides the walk for merchants, the Council Chamber, the House of Commons, and a spacious room for the Courts of Justice. The Exchange is surrounded with booksellers' shops that have a good trade – here being five printing houses, and the presses generally full of work, which is in a great measure owing to the colleges and schools in New England; and likewise at New York and Philadelphia, there are several printing-houses lately erected, and booksellers constantly employed, as well as at Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, Barbados, and the Sugar Islands.

The town lies in the form of a half-moon, round the harbour, and consisting of about 4000 houses, must make an agreeable prospect; the surrounding shore being high, the streets long, and the buildings beautiful. The pavement is kept in so good order, that to gallop a horse on it is 3s. 4d. forfeit. The number of inhabitants is computed at 24,000.

There are eight churches, the chief of which is called the Church of England church; besides the Baptist Meeting, and the Quaker's Meeting.

The conversation in this town is as polite as in most of the cities and towns in England. A gentleman of London would fancy himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their furniture, their tables, and dress, which perhaps is as splendid and showy as that of most tradesmen in England.

In this city, learning military discipline, and waiting for an opportunity of carrying our schemes into execution, we lay till the first of July; during all which time, great outrages and devastations were committed by the savages in the back part of the provinces. One instance of which, in particular, I shall relate, as being concerned in rewarding, according to desert, the wicked authors thereof.

Joseph Long, Esq. a gentleman of large fortune in these parts, who had in his time been a great warrior among the Indians, and frequently joined in expeditions with those in our interest, against the others. His many exploits and great influence among several of the nations were too well known to pass unrevengeed by the savages against whom he had exerted his abilities. Accordingly, in April 1756, a body of them came down on his plantation, about 30 miles from Boston, and skulking in the woods for some time, at last seized an opportunity to attack his house, in which, unhappily proving successful, they scalped, mangled, and cut to pieces the unfortunate gentleman, his wife, and nine servants; and then made a general conflagration of his houses, barns, cattle, and every thing he possessed, which, with the mangled bodies, were all consumed in one blaze. But his more unfortunate son and daughter were made prisoners, and carried off by them to be reserved for greater tortures. Alarmed and terrified at this inhuman butchery, the neighbourhood, as well as the people of Boston, quickly assembled themselves to think of proper measures to be revengeed on

these execrable monsters. Among the first of those who offered themselves to go against the savages, was James Crawford, Esq. who was then at Boston, and heard of this tragedy; he was a young gentleman who had for some years paid his addresses to Miss Long, and was in a very little time to have been married to her. Distracted, raving, and shocked as he was, he lost no time, but instantly raised a 100 resolute and bold young fellows, to go in quest of the villains. As I had been so long among them, and was pretty well acquainted with their manners and customs, and particularly their skulking places in the woods, I was recommended to him as one proper for his expedition; he immediately applied to my officers, and got liberty for me. Never did I go on any enterprise with half that alacrity and cheerfulness I now went with this party. My wrongs and sufferings were too recent in my memory to suffer me to hesitate a moment in taking an opportunity of being revenged to the utmost of my power.

Being quickly armed and provided, we hastened forward for Mr Long's plantation on the 20th, and after travelling the most remote and intricate paths through the woods, arrived there the 2nd of May, dubious of our success, and almost despairing of meeting with the savages, as we had heard or could discover nothing of them in our march. In the afternoon, some of our men being sent to the top of a hill to look out for them, soon perceived a great smoke in a part of the low grounds. This we immediately, and rightly conjectured, to proceed from a fire made by them. We accordingly put ourselves into regular order, and marched forwards, resolving, let their number have been what it might, to give them battle.

Arriving within a mile of the place, Captain Crawford, whose anxiety and pain made him quicker sighted than any of the rest, soon perceived them, and guessed their number to be about 50. Upon this we halted, and secreted ourselves as well as we could, till 12 o' clock at night. At which time, supposing them to be at rest, we divided our men into 2 divisions, 50 in each, and marched on; when coming within twenty yards of them, the captain fired with his gun, which was immediately followed by both divisions in succession, who instantly rushing on them with bayonets fixed, killed every man of them.

Great as our joy was, and flushed with success as we were at this sudden victory, no heart among us but was ready to burst at the sight of the unhappy young lady. What must the thoughts, torments,

and sensations of our brave captain, then be, if even we, who knew her not, were so sensibly affected. For, oh! What breast, though of the brutal savage race we had just destroyed, could, without feeling the most exquisite grief and pain, behold in such infernal power, a lady in the bloom of youth, blest with every female accomplishment that could set off the most exquisite beauty! Beauty, which rendered her the envy of her own sex and the delight of ours, enduring the severity of a windy, rainy night! Behold one nurtured in the most tender manner, and by the most indulgent parents, quite naked, and in the open woods, encircling with her alabaster arms and hands, a cold rough tree, whereto she was bound, with cords so straitly pulled, that the blood trickled from her finger ends! Her lovely tender body, and delicate limbs, cut, bruised, and torn with stones, and boughs of trees, as she had been dragged along, and all besmeared with blood! What heart can even now, unmoved, think of her distress, in such a deplorable condition; having no creature, with the least sensations of humanity, near to succour or relieve her, or even pity or regard her flowing tears, and lamentable wailings!

The very remembrance of the sight has, at this instant, such an effect upon me that I almost want words to go on. Such then was the condition in which we found this wretched fair, but faint and speechless with the shock our firing had given her tender frame. The captain, for a long time, could do nothing but gaze upon and clasp her to his bosom, crying, raving, and tearing his hair like one bereft of his senses; nor did he for some time perceive the lifeless condition she was in, until one of the men had untied her lovely mangled arms and she fell to the ground. Finding among the villains plunder, the unhappy lady's clothes, he gently put some of them about her; and after various trials, and much time spent, recovered her dissipated spirits, the repossession of which she first manifested by eagerly fixing her eyes on her dear deliverer, and smiling, with the utmost complacent joy, blessed the Almighty, and him, for her miraculous deliverance.

During this pleasing, painful interview, our men were busily employed in cutting, hacking, and scalping the dead Indians; and so desirous was every man to have a share in wreaking his revenge on them, that disputes happened among ourselves, who should be the instruments of further showing it on their lifeless trunks, there not being enough for every man to have one wherewith to satiate himself; the captain observing the animosity between us, on this occasion, ordered, that the two divisions should cast lots for this bloody, though agreeable piece of work; which being

accordingly done, the party whose lot it was to be excluded from this business, stood by with half-pleased countenances, looking on the rest; who, with the utmost cheerfulness and activity, pursued their revenge, in scalping, and otherwise treating their dead bodies as the most inveterate hatred and detestation could suggest.

The work being done, we thought of steering homewards triumphant with the 50 scalps; but how to get the lady forwards, who was in such a condition as rendered her incapable of walking further, gave us some pain, and retarded us a little, until we made a sort of carriage to seat her on; and then, with the greatest readiness, we took our turns, four at a time, and carried her along. This, in some measure made the captain cheerful, who all the way endeavoured to comfort and revive his desponding afflicted mistress: but, alas! in vain, for the miseries she had lately felt, and the terrible fate of her poor brother, of whom I doubt not but the tender-hearted reader is anxious to hear, rendered even her most pleasing thoughts, notwithstanding his soothing words, corroding and insufferable.

The account she gave of their disastrous fate and dire catastrophe, besides what I have already mentioned, was that the savages had no sooner seen all consumed but they hurried off with her and her brother, pushing and sometimes dragging them on, for four or five miles, when they stopped; and stripping her naked, treated her in a shocking manner, whilst others were stripping and cruelly whipping her unhappy brother. After which, they, in the same manner, pursued their journey, regardless of the tears, prayers, or entreaties of this wretched pair; but with the most infernal pleasure, laughed and rejoiced at the calamities and distresses they had brought them to; and saw them suffer, until they arrived at the place we found them; where they had that day butchered her beloved brother in the following execrable and cruel manner: they first scalped him alive, and after mocking his agonising groans and torments, for some hours, ripped open his belly, into which they put splinters and chips of pine trees, and set fire thereto; the same (on account of the turpentine wherewith these trees abound) burnt with great quickness and fury for a little time, during which he remained in a manner alive, as she could sometimes perceive him to move his head, and groan. They then piled a great quantity of wood all around his body, and consumed it to ashes.

Thus did these barbarians put an end to the being of this unhappy young gentleman, who was only 22 years of age when he met his calamitous fate. She continued her relation, by acquainting us that the next day was to have seen her perish in the like manner, after suffering worse than even such a terrible death, the satisfying these diabolical miscreants in their brutal lust. But as it pleased the Almighty to permit us to rescue her, and entirely to extirpate this crew of devils!

Marching easily on her account, we returned to the captain's plantation the 6th of May, where, as well as at Boston, we were joyfully received, and rewarded handsomely for the scalps of those savages we had brought with us. Mr Crawford and Miss Long were soon after married; and in gratitude to the services we had done them, the whole party was invited to the wedding, and nobly entertained; but no riotous or noisy mirth was allowed, the young lady we may well imagine being still under great affliction, and in a weak state of health.

Nothing further material, that I now remember, happened during my stay at Boston; to proceed, therefore, with the continuation of our intended expedition.

On the 1st of July, the regiment began their march for Oswego. The 21st we arrived at Albany, in New York, through Cambridge, Northampton and Hadfield, in New England. From thence, marching about 20 miles farther, we encamped near the mouth of the Mohawk River, by a town called Schenectady, not far from the Endless Mountains. Here did we lie some time, until batteaux (sort of flat-bottomed boats, very small, and sharp at both ends) could be got to carry our stores and provisions to Oswego; each of which could contain about six barrels of pork, or in proportion thereto. Two men belonged to every batteaux, who made use of strong scutting poles, with iron at the ends, to prevent their being too soon destroyed by the stones in the river (one of the sources of the Ohio), which abounded with many, and large ones, and in some places was so shallow, that the men were forced to wade and drag their batteaux after them. Which, together with some cataracts, or great falls of water, rendered their duty very hard and fatiguing, not being able to travel more than seven or eight English miles a day, until they came to the great carrying place, at Wood's Creek, where the provisions and batteaux were taken out, and carried about four miles to Alliganey, or Ohio great river, that runs quite to Oswego, to which place General Shirley got with part of the forces on the 8th August; but Colonel Mercer with the remainder, did not arrive until the 31st. Here

we found Colonel Schuyler with his regiment of New Jersey provincials, who had arrived there some time before. A short description of a place which has afforded so much occasion for animadversion, may not here be altogether disagreeable to those unacquainted with our settlements in that part of the world.

Oswego is situated N. lat. 43 deg. 20 min. near the mouth of the river Onondago, on the south side of the lake Ontario, or Cataraque. There was generally a fort and constant garrison of regular troops kept before our arrival. In the proper seasons, a fair for the Indian trade is kept here: Indians of about twenty different nations have been observed here at a time. The greatest part of the trade between Canada and the Indians of the Great lakes, and some parts of the Mississippi, pass near this fort; the nearest and safest way of carrying goods upon this lake being along the south side of it. The distance from Albany to Oswego fort is about 300 miles west; to render which march more comfortable, we met with many good farms and settlements by the way. The Outawaes, a great and powerful nation, living upon the Outawae river, which joins the Cataraque river (the outlet of the great lake), deal considerably with the New York trading houses here.

The different nations trading to Oswego are distinguishable by the variety and different fashions of their canoes; the very remote Indians are clothed in skins of various sorts, and have all fire-arms; some come so far north as Port Nelson in Hudson's Bay, N. lat. 57 deg. And some from the Cherokees west of South Carolina, in N. lat. 32 deg. This seems indeed to be a vast extent of inland water carriage, but it is only for canoes and the smallest of craft.

Nor will it in this place be improper to give some account of our friends in those parts, whom we call the Mohawks, viz. the Iroquois, commonly called the Mohawks, the Oneiades, the Onondagues, the Cayugaes, and the Senekaes. In all accounts they are lately called the six nations of the New York Friendly Indians: the Tuscararoes, stragglers from the old Tuscararoes of North Carolina, lately are reckoned as the sixth. I shall here reckon them as I have been informed they were formerly. —1. The Mohawks: they live upon the Mohawk's or Schenectady river, and head or lay north of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and some part of Virginia: having a castle or village, westward from Albany 40 miles, and another 65 miles west, and about 160 fencible men. —2. The Oneiades, about 30 miles from the Mohawks second village, consisting of about 200

fighting men. —3. The Onondagues, about 25 miles further, (the famous Oswego, a trading place on the lake Ontario, is in their country) consisting of about 250 men. —4. The Cayugaes, about 70 miles further, of about 130 men: and, 5. The Senekaes, who reach a great way down the river Susquehanna, consist of about 700 fighting men: so that the fighting men of the five or six nations of Mohawks may be reckoned at 1,500 men, and extend from Albany, west 400 miles, lying in about 30 tribes or governments. Besides these, there is settled above Montreal, which lies N.E. of Oswego, a tribe of scoundrels, runaways from the Mohawks; they are called Kahnuauges, consisting of about 80 men. This short account of these nations I think necessary to make the English reader acquainted with, as I may have occasion to mention things concerning some of them.

It may not be improper here also, to give a succinct detail of the education, manners, religion, &c. of the natives. The Indians are born tolerably white; but they make a great deal of pains to darken their complexion by anointing themselves with grease and lying in the sun. Their features are good, especially those of the women. Their limbs clean, straight, and well proportioned, and a crooked and deformed person is a great rarity amongst them. They are very ingenious in their way, being neither so ignorant nor so innocent as some people imagine: on the contrary, a very understanding generation are they, quick of apprehension, sudden in dispatch, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and in labour assiduous. The world has no better marksmen with guns, or bows and arrows, than the natives, who can kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and wild beats running; nay, with such prodigious force do they discharge their arrows, that one of them will shoot a man quite through, and nail both his arms to his body with the same arrow.

As to their religion, in order to reconcile the different accounts exhibited by travellers, we must suppose that different tribes may have different notions, and different rites; and though I do not think myself capable of determining the case with the precision and accuracy I could wish; yet, with what I have collected from my own observation when among them, and the information of my brother captives, who have been longer conversant with the Indians than I was, I shall readily give the public all the satisfaction I can.

Some assure us the Indians worship the images of some inferior deities whose anger they seem to dread; on which account, the generality of our travellers denominate the objects of their devotion

devils; though, at the same time, it is allowed, they pray to their inferior deities for success in all their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other necessaries of life. It appears too, that they acknowledge one Supreme Being; but him they adore not, because they believe he is too far exalted above them, and too happy in himself, to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They seem also to believe a future state; and that after death, they will be removed to their friends who have gone before them, to an Elysium or Paradise beyond the Western Mountains; others again, allow them either no religion at all, or at most, very faint ideas of a deity; but all agree that they are extravagantly superstitious, and exceedingly afraid of evil spirits. To these demons they make oblations every new moon, for the space of seven days; during which time they cast lots and sacrifice one of themselves, putting the person devoted to the most exquisite misery they can invent, in order to satisfy the devil for that moon; for they think, if they please but the evil spirit, God will do them no hurt.

Certain, however, it is, that these Indians, whom the French priests have had an opportunity of ministering unto, are induced to believe, "That the Son of God came into the world to save all mankind, and destroy all evil spirits that now trouble them; that the English have killed him; and that ever since, the evil spirits are permitted to walk on the earth: that if the English were all destroyed, the Son of Good Man, who is God, would come again, and banish all evil spirits from their lands, and then they would have nothing to fear or disturb them". Cajoled by these false but artful insinuations of the French Jesuits, the Indians from that time, have endeavoured to massacre all the English, in order that the Son of God might come again on the earth, and rid them from their slavish fears and terrible apprehensions, by exterminating the objects thereof.

Being now at Oswego, the principal object that gave at that time any concern to the Americans, I shall, before I continue my own account, give a short recital of what had been done in these parts, in regard to the defence and preservation of the fort and the colonies thereabouts, before I came, upon such authorities as I got from those who had been long at Oswego, and I can well depend on for truth.

General Shirley, in 1754, having erected two new forts on the river Onondaga, it seemed probable, that he intended to winter at Oswego with his army, that he might the more readily proceed to

action in the ensuing spring. What produced his inactivity afterwards, and how it was that fort Oswego was not taken by the French in the spring 1755, are things my penetration will not enable me to discuss. But Oswego is now lost, and, would have been so in the spring of 1755, if more important affairs had not made the French neglect it. At this time the garrison of Oswego consisted only of 100 men, under Captain King. The old fort being their only protection, which mounted only eight four pounders, was incapable of defence because it was commanded by an eminence directly across a narrow river, the banks of which were covered with thick wood.

In May 1755, Oswego being in this condition, and thus garrisoned, thirty French batteaux were seen to pass, and two days after, eleven more; each batteau (being much larger than ours) containing fifteen men; so this fleet consisted of near 600 men. A force, which with a single mortar, might soon have taken possession of the place.

A resolution was now taken to make the fort larger, and erect some new ones; to build vessels upon the lake; to increase the garrison; and provide every thing necessary to annoy the enemy, so as they might render the place tenable. Captain Broadstreet arriving on the 27th of May at the fort, with two companies, some small swivel guns, and the first parcel of workmen, made some imagine that a stop would be put to the French in their carrying men in sight of the garrison; yet they still permitted eleven more French batteaux to pass by, though we were then superior to them in these boats, or at least in number. The reason our forces could not attack them was, because they were four miles in the offing, on board large vessels, in which the soldiers could stand to fire without being overset; and our batteaux in which we must have attacked them were so small, that they would contain only six men each, and so ticklish that the inadvertent motion of one man would overset them. No care, however, was taken to provide larger boats against another emergency of the same kind. At Oswego, indeed, it was impracticable for want of iron work; such being the provident forecast of those who had the management of affairs, that though there were smiths enow, yet there was, at this place, but one pair of bellows, so that the first accident that should happen to that necessary instrument, would stop all the operations of the forge at once.

The beginning of June, the ship carpenters arrived from Boston, and on the 28th of the same month, the first vessel we ever had on the lake Ontario was launched and fitted out. She was a schooner, 40

feet in the keel, had 14 oars, and 12 swivel guns. This vessel, and 320 men, was all the force we had at Oswego, the beginning of July, and was victualled at the expense of the province of New York. Happy indeed it was, that the colony provisions were there; for so little care had been taken to get the King's provisions sent up, that, when we arrived, we must have perished with famine, had not we found a supply which we had little reason to expect.

About the middle of July, an attack was again expected, when we (the forces under General Shirley) were still near 300 miles distant. And, if the attack had then been made, with the force the enemy was known to have had at hand, it must, for the reason I have just given, have fallen into their possession.

Such was the state of Oswego, when we arrived there; where we had been but a short time before provisions began to be very scarce; and the King's allowance being still delayed, the provincial stores were soon exhausted, and we were in danger of being soon famished, being on less than half allowance. The men being likewise worn out and fatigued with the long march they had suffered, and being without rum (or allowed none at least) and other proper nutriment, many fell sick of the flux, and died; so that our regiment was greatly reduced in six weeks time. A party that we left, at the important carrying place, at Wood's Creek, being absolutely obliged to desert it for want of necessaries.

Sickness, death and desertion, had at length so far reduced us, that we had scarce men enough to perform duty, and protect those that were daily at work. The Indians keeping a strict look-out, rendered every one who passed the outguards or sentinels, in danger of being scalped or murdered. To prevent consequences like these, a Captain's guard of sixty men, with two lieutenants, two sergeants, two corporals, and one drum, beside two flank guards of a sergeant, corporal, and twelve men in each, were daily mounted, and did duty as well as able. Scouting parties were likewise sent out every day; but the sickness still continuing, and having 300 men at work, we were obliged to lessen our guards, till General Pepperell's regiment joined us.

A little diligence being now made use of, about the middle of September, four other vessels were got ready, viz. a decked sloop of eight guns, four pounders, and 30 swivels: a decked schooner,

eight guns, four pounders, and twenty-eight swivels; one undecked schooner of fourteen swivels, and fourteen oars, and another of twelve swivels, and fourteen oars; about 150 tons each.

On the 24th of October, with this armament, and a considerable number of batteaux, which were too small to live upon the lake in moderate weather, we were preparing to attack Niagara; though (notwithstanding we had taken all the provisions we could find in Oswego and had left the garrison behind, with scarce enough for three days) the fleet had not provisions sufficient on board, to carry them within sight of the enemy, and supplies were not to be got, within 300 miles of the place we were going against. However, the impracticability of succeeding in an expedition, undertaken without victuals, was discovered time enough to prevent our march, or embarkation, or whatever it may be called; but not before nine batteaux, laden with officer's baggage, were sent forwards, four men in each batteau; in one of which it was my lot to be. The men being weak, and in low spirits, with continual harassing and low feeding, rendered our progress very tedious and difficult; add to this the places we had to pass and ascend; for, in many parts, the cataracts, or falls of water, which descended near the head of the river Onondaga (in some places near 100 feet, perpendicular), rendered it almost impossible for us to proceed; for the current running from the bottom, was so rapid, that the efforts of twenty or thirty men were sometimes required to drag the boats along, and especially to get them up the hills or cataracts, which we were forced to do with ropes; sometimes when, with great labour and difficulty, we had got them up, we carried them by land near a quarter of a mile, before we came to any water. In short, we found four men to a batteau were insufficient; for the men belonging to one batteau were so fatigued and worn out, that they could not manage her, so that she lay behind almost a league.

The captain that was with us, observing this, as soon as we had got the others over the most difficult falls, ordered two besides myself to go and help her forwards. Accordingly, I got into her, in order to steer her, whilst my two comrades and her own crew dragged her along. When we got into any cataracts, I remained in her to fasten the ropes, and keep all safe, whilst they hauled her up; but drawing her to the summit of the last cataract, the ropes gave way and down she fell into a very rapid and boisterous stream; where not being able by myself to work her, she stove to pieces on a small rock, on which some part of her remaining until morning, I miraculously saved myself. Never was my life in greater danger than in this situation, the nights being quite dark, and no assistance to

be obtained from any comrades, though many of them, as I afterwards learned, made diligent search for me; but the fall of water rendered the noise that they, as well as myself, made, to be heard by one another, quite ineffectual.

In the morning they, indeed, found me, but in a wretched condition, quite benumbed, and almost dead with cold, having nothing on but my shirt.

After various efforts, having with great difficulty got me up, they used all proper means to recover my worn out spirits; but the fire had a fatal effect to that they intended, for my flesh swelled all over my body and limbs, and caused such a deprivation of my sense, that I fainted, and was thought by all to be dead. However, after some time, they pretty well recovered my scattered senses, and fatigued body, and with proper care conducted me, with some others (who were weak and ill of the flux) to Albany, where the hospital received our poor debilitated bodies.

The rest, not able to proceed, or being countermanded, bent their course back again to Oswego; where, a friendly storm preventing an embarkation, when a stock of provisions was got together (sufficient to prevent them from eating one another, during the first twelve days), all thoughts of attacking Niagara were laid aside.

Thus ended this formidable campaign. The vessels that we had built (as I afterwards learned) were unrigged and laid up, without having been put to any use; while a French vessel was cruising on the Lake, and carrying supplies to Niagara, without interruption; five others, as large as ours, being almost ready to launch at Frontenac, which lies across the lake Ontario, north of Oswego.

The General, whatever appearance might have led others, as well as myself, to think otherwise, soon indicated his intention of not wintering at Oswego; for he left the place before the additional works were completed, and the garrison, by insensible degrees, decreased; the 1100 men still living in perpetual terror, on the brink of famine, and become mutinous for want of their pay; which, in the hurry of military business, during a year that was crowned with great events, had been forgotten; for, from my first enlisting to the time I was laid up at Albany, I never had received above six weeks pay.

A little, indeed, may be offered in vindication of the General, in regard to the numberless delays of this campaign: viz. That it took some time to raise the two regiments, which were in British pay, as the name of enlisting for life is somewhat forbidding to the Americans (a few of whom, as well as myself, made our agreement for three years; but after that time, I doubt, we must have been discharged, according to our contract, had it not fallen otherwise). The unusual dryness of the summer rendered the rivers down to Oswego in some places impassable, or very difficult for the batteaux to proceed; and it was whispered that a gentleman lately in an eminent station in New York, did all in his power to hinder the undertaking, from a pique to the General. By these disadvantages, he was detained at Albany till August; and even when he did reach Oswego, he found himself put to no little difficulty, to maintain his ground for want of provisions: and the men being so reduced, more than once, to short allowance, as you have seen, became troubled with the flux, and had not any thing necessary; not even rum sufficient for the common men, to prevent the fatal effects of that disorder.

In this manner the summer was spent on our side; and the reason why the French did not this year take Oswego, when they might with so little trouble, was, as many beside myself conjectured, that they thought it more their interest, to pursue their projects on the Ohio, and preserve the friendship of the confidential Indians; which an attack upon Oswego, at that time, would have destroyed.

How far they succeeded in such their projects, and the reason of their successes, a little animadversion on our own transactions will let us into the light of. For, as appearances on our side were very favourable in the spring; General Braddock's defeat greatly increased the gloom which sat on the countenances of the Americans.

Great things were expected from him, he arrived early in the spring at Virginia, with a considerable land force; and Fort du Quesne seemed to be ours, if we did but go and demand it. The attacks designed against Niagara, and Fort Frederick, at Crown Point, were planned in the winter, and the troops employed against the French in Nova Scotia, embarked at Boston in April. Let us view the events, besides those already mentioned. General Braddock was ready to march in April. But through ignorance and neglect, or a misunderstanding with the governor of Virginia, had neither

fresh provisions, horses, nor wagons provided; and so late as the latter end of May, it was necessary to apply to Pennsylvania, for the most part of those. This neglect created a most pernicious diffidence and discredit of the Americans, in the mind of the General, and prevented their usefulness, where their advice was wanted, and produced very bad effects. He was a man (as it is now too well known and believed) by no means of quick apprehension, and could not conceive that such a people could instruct him; and his young counsellors prejudiced him still more, so as to slight his officers, and what was worse, his enemy; as it was treated as an absurdity to suppose the Indians would ever attack the regulars; and, of course, no care was taken to instruct the men, to resist their peculiar manner of fighting. Had this circumstance been attended to, I am fully persuaded, 400 Indians, about the number that defeated him, would have given him very little annoyance; sure I am, 400 of our people, rightly managed, would have made no difficulty of driving before them four times that handful, to whom he owed his defeat and death.

The undertaking of the eastern provinces, to reduce the fort at Crown Point, met that fate which the jarring councils of a divided people commonly meet with; for though the plan was concerted in the winter of 1754; it was August before these petty governments could bring together their troops. In short, it must be owned by all that delays were the banes of our undertakings, except in the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia, where secrecy and expeditions were rewarded with success, and that province reduced.

The General continued inactive, from the time he left Oswego, to March 1756, when he was about to resume the execution of his scheme to attack Frontenac and Niagara. What would have been the issue of this project, neither myself, nor any other person, can now pretend to say, for, just at this crisis, he received orders from England to attempt nothing, till Lord Loudon should arrive, which was said should be early in the spring. However, his Lordship did not get there until the middle of July, so that by this delay, time was given to the Marquis de Montcalm (Major General Dieskau's successor) to arrive from France at Canada with 3000 regular forces and take the field before us.

But to return from this digression to other transactions. When I was pretty well recovered again, I embarked on board a vessel from Albany for New York; where, when I arrived, I found to my sorrow, Captain John Shirley, the General's son, had been dead for some time. He was a very

promising, worthy, young gentleman, and universally regretted. His company was given to Major James Kinnair, who ordered, that none of his men should go out on the recruiting parties, as was at first intended by his predecessor; but that the private men should either return to Oswego, or to duty in the fort at New York. Not liking my station here, I entreated the General, who was now arrived, for a furlough, to see my friends at Pennsylvania, which he, having then no great occasion for me at New York, granted for three months.

As I have here mentioned New York; and before given a short account of the cities of Philadelphia and Boston, it would be a disrespect shown to this elegant one not to take notice of it, as well as, in some measure, debarring the reader from such information as may not be disagreeable; but not being of that note or consequence with the others, I shall briefly observe, that:

New York is a very fine city; and the capital of the province of that name; it contains about 3000 houses, and near 9000 inhabitants. The houses are all well built, and the meanest of them said to be worth £100 sterling, which cannot be said of the city of the same name in England. Their conversation is polite, and their furniture, dress and manner of living, quiet elegant. In drinking and gallantry they exceed any city in America.

The great church is a very handsome edifice, and built in 1695. Here is also a Dutch church, a French church, and a Lutheran church. The inhabitants of Dutch extraction make a considerable part of the town, and most of them speak English.

Having obtained my furlough, I immediately set out for Pennsylvania, and arriving at Philadelphia found the consternation and terror of the inhabitants was greatly increased to what it was when I left them. They had several treaties of friendship with the Indians, who, when well supplied with arms, ammunition, clothes, and other necessaries, through the pacific measures, and defenseless state of the Philadelphians, soon revolted to the French, and committed great ravages on the back parts of the province, destroying and massacring men, women and children, and every thing that unhappily lay in their way.

A few instances of which, together with the behaviour of the Philadelphians on these occasions, I

shall here present the reader with, who, of whatever sect or profession, I am well assured, must condemn the pacific disposition, and private factions that then reigned; not only in the assembly, but among the magistrates themselves; who were a long time before they could agree on proper petitions, to rouse the assembly from the lethargic and inactive condition they absolutely remained in.

For, about the middle of October, a large body of Indians, chiefly Shawonoese, Delawares, &c. fell upon this province from several quarters, almost at the same instant, murdering, burning, and laying waste all wherever they came; so that in the five counties of Cumberland, York, Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton, which compose more than half the province, nothing but scenes of destruction and desolation were to be seen.

The damages which these counties had sustained by the desertion of plantations, is not to be reckoned up, nor are the miseries of the poor inhabitants to be described; many of whom, though escaping with life were, without a moment's warning, driven from these habitations, where they enjoyed every necessary of life, and were then exposed to all the severity of a hard winter, and obliged to solicit their very bread at the cold hand of charity, or perish with hunger, under the inclement air.

To these barbarities I have already mentioned, I cannot pass over the following, as introductory causes of the Philadelphians at last withstanding the outrages of the barbarians.

At Guadenhutzen, a small Moravian settlement in Northampton county, the poor unhappy sufferers were sitting around their peaceful supper, when the inhuman murderers, muffled in the shades of night, dark and horrid as the infernal purposes of their diabolical souls, stole upon them, butchered, scalped them, and consumed their bodies, together with their horses, stock, and upwards of sixty head of fat cattle (intended for the subsistence of the brethren at Bethlehem) all in one general flame; so that next morning furnished only a melancholy spectacle of their mangled ashes.

At the Great Cove in Cumberland, at Tulpehockin in Berks, and in several other places, their barbarities were still greater, if possible. Men, women, children, and brute beasts shared one

common destruction; and where they were not burnt to ashes, their mangled limbs were found promiscuously thrown upon the ground; those appertaining to the human form scarce distinguished from the brute!

But, of all the instances of the barbarities I heard of in these parts, I could not help being most affected with the following. One family, consisting of the husband, his wife, and a child only a few hours old, were all found murdered and scalped in this manner. The mother stretched on the bed, with her new-born child horribly mangled and put under her head for a pillow, while the husband lay on the ground hard by, with his belly ript up, and his bowels laid open.

In another place, a woman, with her sucking child, finding that she had fallen into the hands of the enemy, fell flat on her face, prompted by the strong call of nature, to cover and shelter her innocent child with her own body. The accursed savage rushed from his lurking place, struck her on the head with his tomahawk, tore off her scalp, and scoured back into the woods, without observing the child, being apprehensive that he was discovered. The child was found some time afterwards under the body of its mother and was then alive.

Many of their young women were carried by the savages into captivity, reserved perhaps for a worse fate than those who suffered death in all its horrid shapes; and no wonder, since they were reserved by savages, whose tender mercies might be counted more cruel than their very cruelty itself.

Yet even during all this time, this province (had things been properly ordered) need but, in comparison to her strength, have lifted her foot and crushed all the French force on their borders; but unused to such undertakings, and bound by non-resisting principles from exerting her strength, and involved in disputes with the proprietors, they stood still, vainly hoping the French would be so moderate as to be content with their victory over Braddock, or at least confine their attacks to Virginia; but they then saw and felt all this was delusion, and the barbarities of the Indian parties headed by French officers. Notwithstanding all which, they continued in domestic debates, without a soldier in pay, or a penny in the treasury. In short, if the enemy had then had but 1500 men at the

Ohio, and would have attempted it, no rashness could have been perceived in their marching down to the city of Philadelphia.

Thus stood our affairs on the Ohio, when an old captain of the warriors, in the interest of the Philadelphians, and their ever faithful friend, whose name was Scarooyada, alias Monokatoathy, on the first notice of these misfortunes, came hastening to Philadelphia, together with Colonel Weiser, the provincial interpreter, and two other Indian chiefs. Scarooyada immediately demanded an audience of the assembly, who were then sitting, to whom he spoke in a very affecting manner. His speeches being printed, and sold about Philadelphia, I procured one of them, which was as follows:

"Brethren, we are once more come among you, and sincerely condole with you on account of the late bloodshed, and the awful cloud that hangs over you and over us. Brethren, you may be undoubtedly assured, that these horrid actions were committed by none of those nations that have any fellowship with us, but by certain false-hearted and treacherous brethren. It grieves us more than all our other misfortunes, that any of our good friends the English should suspect us of having false hearts. Brethren, if you were not an infatuated people, we are 300 warriors firm to your interest; and if you are so unjust to us, as to retain any doubts of our sincerity, we offer to put our wives, our children; and all we have into your hands, to deal with them as seemeth good to you, if we are found in the least to swerve from you. But, brethren, you must support and assist us, for we are not able to fight alone against the powerful nations who are coming against you; and you must this moment resolve, and give us an explicit answer what you will do. For these nations have sent to desire us, as old friends, either to join them, or get out of their way, and shift for ourselves. Alas! Brethren, we are sorry to leave you! We remember the many tokens of your friendship to us. But what shall we do? We cannot stand alone, and you will not stand with us!"

" Brethren. The time is precious. While we are here consulting with you, we know not what may be the fate of our brethren at home. We do, therefore, once more invite and request you to act like men, and be no longer as women, pursuing weak measures that render your names despicable. If you will put the hatchet into your hands, and send out a number of your young men in conjunction with our warriors, and provide the necessary arms, ammunition, and provisions; and likewise build some strong houses for the protection of our old men, women, and children, while we are absent in

war, we shall soon wipe the tears from your eyes, and make these false-hearted brethren repent their treachery and baseness towards you and towards us."

" But we must at the same time solemnly assure you, that if you delay any longer to act in conjunction with us, or think to put us off, as usual, with uncertain hopes, you must not expect to see our faces under this roof any more. We must shift for our own safety, and leave you to the mercy of our enemies, as an infatuated people, upon whom we can have no longer dependence."

The tears stood in the old man's eyes while he delivered this last part; and no wonder since the very being of his nation depended upon their joining the enemy, or our enabling them immediately to make head against them.

It was some time, however, before the assembly could be brought to consent to any vigorous measures for their own defence. The back inhabitants lost all patience at their conduct. Until at length, the Governor exerted his utmost power, and procured the militia and money bills to pass. By virtue of the former, the freemen of the province were enabled to form themselves into companies, and each company by a majority of votes, by way of a ballot, to choose its own officers, viz. a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign; who, if approved of, were to be commissioned by the Governor. So that the Philadelphians were, at last, permitted to raise and arm themselves in their own defence. They accordingly formed themselves into companies: the Governor signing to all gentlemen qualified, who had been regularly balloted, commissions for that purpose.

Captain Davis was one of the first who had a company, and, being desirous of my service, in order to instruct the irregulars in their discipline, obtained from the Governor a certificate to indemnify me from any punishment which might be adjudged by the regiment to which I already belonged; for without that, I had not gone. Our company, which consisted of 100 men, was not completed until the 24th of December 1755; when losing no time, we next morning marched from Philadelphia in high spirits; resolving to show as little quarter to the savages as they had to many of us.

Colonel Armstrong had been more expeditious, for he had raised 280 provincial irregulars, and marched a little time before against the Ohio Moravians; but of him more hereafter.

We arrived the 26th of December at Bethlehem, in the forks of the Delaware, where kindly received by the Moravians, we loaded six wagons with provisions, and proceeded on to the Appalachian Mountains, or Blue Hills, to a town called Kennorton-head, which the Moravians had deserted on account of the Indians. Fifty of our men, of whom I made one, were ordered before the rest, to see whether the town was destroyed or not. Disposing them to the best advantage, we marched on till we came within five miles of the place, which we found standing entire.

Having a very uneven, rugged road to it, and not above four men able to go abreast, we were on a sudden alarmed by the firing of the flank guards, which were a little in the rear of our van. The savages briskly returned their fire and killed the Ensign and ten of the men, and wounded several others.

Finding this, I being chief in command, (having acted as a Lieutenant, and received pay a such from my first entrance, for my trouble and duty in learning the company) ordered the men to march on with all expedition to the town, and all the way to keep a running fire on the enemy, as they had fallen on our rear.

We would have got there in very good order, had it not been for a river we had to cross, and the weather being so excessively cold, our clothes froze to our bodies as soon as we got out of the water. However, with great difficulty we reached the town, and got into the church, with the loss of 27 men. There we made as good preparations for our defence as possibly we could, making a great fire of the benches and seats, and what we could find therein, to dry our clothes; not esteeming it the least sacrilege or crime, upon such an emergency. The Indians soon followed us into the town, and surrounding us, tried all methods to burn the church, but our continual firing kept them off for about six hours, until our powder and ball were all expended. In the night they set several houses on fire; and we, dreading the consequences of being detained there, resolved to make one bold effort, and push ourselves through the savage forces, which was accordingly done with the most undaunted courage. The enemy fired continually on us during our retreat, and killed many of our men, but in their confusion many of themselves also; it being so very dark that we were not able to

discern our own party, so that only five of us kept together, and got into the woods; the rest, whom we left behind, I doubt, fell sacrifices to the savages.

The night being so excessively cold, and having but few clothes with us out of the church, two of my comrades froze to death, before we could reach any inhabited place. In short, we did not get any relief till four o' clock in the morning, when we arrived at a house that lay in the gap of the Blue Hills; where our Captain had arrived with the remainder of the men and wagons the day before.

The Captain enquiring our success, I gave him the melancholy detail of our unfortunate expedition; upon which, an express was immediately sent to the Governor with the account, who ordered 1000 men to march the next morning for the same place, under the command of General Franklin, not only to bury the dead, and build a fort there, but to extirpate the savages who infested these parts, and were too powerful for our small number under Captain Davis.

The remainder of our little party were now building a fort at the place where we lay for our defence, until more assistance should arrive; for we were under continual apprehensions of the Indians pursuing and attacking us again.

On the 9th January 1756, we were reinforced by General Franklin and his body, and the next day set out again for Kennerton-head; where, when we arrived, to our great consternation, we found little occasion to bury our unhappy comrades, the swine (which in that country are vastly numerous in the woods) having devoured their bodies, and nothing but bones strewed up and down were to be seen. We there built a fort in the place where the old church had stood, and gave it the name of Fort Allen; this was finished in six days, and in so good a manner, that 100 men would make great resistance against a much greater number of Indians.

On the 18th, 1400 of us were ordered about fifteen miles distant from thence, on the frontiers of the province, where we built another fort, called Fort Norris. In our way thither we found six men scalped and murdered in a most cruel manner. By what we could discern, they had made a vigorous defence, the barrels of their guns being broke to pieces and themselves cut and mangled in terrible manner.

From thence we were ordered to march towards a place called Minnisinks, but this journey proved longer than we were aware of the Indians committing great outrages in these parts, having burnt and destroyed all the houses, &c in our way. These tragic actions caused us to divide ourselves into several parties, who were ordered divers ways, to cut off as many of these savages as possible.

The day after this scheme was put into execution, we met with a small party which we put to the rout, killing fourteen of them. We then made all possible dispatch to save some of the houses we saw on fire, but on our nearer approach found our endeavour in vain: John Swisher and his family having been before scalped, and burnt to ashes in his own house. On the following night, the house of James Wallis underwent the same fate; himself, wife, seven children, and the rest of his family, being scalped, and burnt therein. The houses and families of Philip Green and Abraham Nairn suffered in the like manner. Nor did the cruelty of the barbarians stop here, but attacked the dwelling house of George Hunter, Esq. a gentleman of considerable wealth, and a justice of the peace, who made a brave resistance, and rather than fall into the hands of these miscreants, chose to meet death in the flames; which he, his wife, and all his household, consisting of sixteen in number, did with the utmost bravery, before any assistance could be received from our General, who had dispatched 500 of us for that purpose, on an express being sent to him that morning.

From thence we marched to the Minnisinks, and built Fort Norris. On the 9th March we set out with 1000 men to the head of the Minnisinks, and built another fort, which we named Franklin, in honour of our General. All which forts were garrisoned with as many men as we could possibly spare.

After this we were daily employed in scouring the woods from fort to fort, of these noxious creatures, the Indians, and in getting as much of the corn together as we could find, to prevent the savages from having any benefit therefrom.

Notwithstanding our vigilance, these villains, on the 15th, attacked the houses of James Graham, but by Providence he, with his wife, who had just lain in, and the young infant in her arms, (with nothing about her but her shift) made their escape to Fort Allen, about fifteen miles distant. The

child perished by the way, and it was matter of wonder to the whole garrison to find either of them alive; indeed, they were in a deplorable condition, and we imagined they would expire every moment. The wife, however, to our great astonishment recovered, but the husband did not survive above six hours after their arrival.

The house of Isaac Cook suffered by the flames; himself, his wife, and eight children being scalped and burnt in it.

Tedious and shocking would it be to enumerate half the murders, conflagrations, and outrages, committed by these hellish infidels; let it suffice therefore, that from the year 1753, when they first began their barbarities, they had murdered, burnt, scalped, and destroyed, above 3500; above 1000 whereof were unhappy inhabitants of the western part of Philadelphia. Men, women, and children, fell alike a prey to the savages: no regards being had by them to the tender entreaties of an affectionate parent for a beloved child, or the infant's prayers on behalf of his aged father and mother. Such are the miserable calamities attendant on schemes for gratifying the ambition of a tyrannic monarchy like France, or the weak contrivances and indolent measures of blundering ministers and negotiators.

The time of my furlough at length expiring, I prepared to set out for my regiment. Having a recommendatory letter from General Franklin to Major Kinnair, as to my services, I marched forward for New York; where, being arrived, I waited on the Major, he being a worthy gentleman, universally beloved by the whole regiment, and after giving him an account of all our transactions, and the hardship and labours we had gone through, I was dismissed.

After some stay there, I was ordered to proceed on my march for Oswego once more. But before I go further with my affairs, I shall just recount the result of these provincials, who went, as I mentioned before, to quell the savages, under the command of Colonel Armstrong.

He having under his command 280 provincials, destined against the Ohio Morians, against whom nothing had been attempted, notwithstanding their frequent incursions and murders, penetrated 140 miles through their woods from Fort Shirley on the Juniata river, to Kittanning an Indian town, on

the Ohio, about 250 miles above Fort du Quesne, belonging to the French. He soon joined the advanced party at the Beaver Dams; and on the fourth evening after, being within six miles of Kittanning, the scouts discovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or four Indians at it. At that time it was not thought proper to attempt surprising these Indians, lest if one should escape, the town might be alarmed: Lieutenant Hogg, therefore, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them until day-break; and our forces turned out of the path, to pass the fire, without disturbing them.

About three in the morning, having been guided by the whooping of the Indian warriors, at a dance in the town, they reached the river at about 100 perches below it. As soon as day appeared the attack began. Captain Jacobs, chief of the Indians, gave the war whoop, and defended his house bravely through the loopholes in the logs. The Indians generally refusing quarter, Colonel Armstrong ordered their houses to be set on fire, which was done by the officers and the soldiers with great alacrity. On this, some burst out of the houses and attempted to reach the river, but were instantly shot. Captain Jacobs, in getting out of a window, was shot and scalped, as were also his Squaw, and a lad they called the King's son. The Indians had a number of spare arms in their houses loaded, which went off in quick succession as the fire came to them; and quantities of gunpowder, which had been stored in every house, blew up from time to time, throwing their bodies into the air.

Eleven English prisoners were released, who informed the Colonel, that that very day two batteaux of Frenchmen, with a large party of Delaware and French Indians, were to have joined Captain Jacobs, to march and take Fort Shirley; and that twenty-four warriors had set out before them the preceding evening; which proved to be the party that had kindled the fire the preceding night; for our people returning found Lieutenant Hogg wounded in three places; and learned that he had attacked the supposed party of three or four at the fire, but found them too strong for him. He killed three of them, however, at the first fire, and fought them an hour; when, having lost three of his men, the rest, as he lay wounded, abandoned him and fled, the enemy pursuing. Lieutenant Hogg died soon afterwards of his wounds

Enough of these two expeditions has been said, nor can I tell which of the two was most successful, both losing more of their own men than they killed of the enemy.

A little retrospection again on the actions and behaviour of the Philadelphians, and the other provinces, and places in conjunction with them, may here be something necessary; for, when I arrived at Philadelphia, I found that however melancholy their situation had been of late, this good effect had been obtained, that the most prejudiced and ignorant individual was feelingly convinced of the necessity of vigorous measures; and, besides national and public views, the more prevailing ones of revenge and self-interest gave a spur to their counsels. They were accordingly raising men with the utmost expedition; and had, before the end of the summer, a considerable number, though not equal to what they could furnish, having at least 45,000 men in Pennsylvania able to fight.

And, pursuant to agreement some months before, the four governments of New England, in conjunction with New York (which last furnished 130) had now assembled 8000 men (for the attack of Fort Frederick) at Albany, 150 miles N. of New York, and about 130 from Crown Point, under the command of General Winslow. But many people dreading the cruelty of the French, were not so very eager to join them this year as the last; an impress therefore of part of the militia was ordered in New York government. To prevent which, subscriptions were set on foot to engage volunteers by high bounties; so loath were they, that some got nine or twelve pounds sterling to enlist.

The 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st regiments of Great Britain were destined for the campaign on the great lake Ontario, and mostly marched from Oswego, thence to be carried over in 200 great whale boats, which were then at the lake, and were built at Schenectady on the Mohawk's river, and were long, round, and light, as the batteaux, being flat-bottomed and small, would not answer the navigation of the lake, where the waves were often very high. They were then, at last, intended to attack Fort Frontenac, mentioned before, and the other French forts on the lake. Upwards of 2000 batteau-men were employed to navigate the batteaux, each a ton burden, laden with provisions and stores from Albany by the Mohawk River, then through Oneyda lake and river, down to Oswego. There were likewise 300 sailors hired and gone up from New York (as I found, when I arrived there) to navigate the four armed ships on the lake, built there, as I have before mentioned, the last year, for

the King's service, and two others were then building; smiths, carpenters, and other artificers, having gone there, for that purpose some weeks before. Such were the preparations and armaments for this campaign; but how fruitless to our disgrace, was soon known all over the world!

I shall not trouble the reader with a long account of a long march I had to take from New York to Oswego, to join my regiment; suffice it therefore, that I arrived there about the middle of July; but in my march thither with some recruits we joined Colonel Broadstreet at Albany, and on the 6th May, at the great carrying place, had a skirmish with the French and Indians wherein several were killed and wounded on both sides; of the latter I made one. Receiving a shot through my left hand, which entirely disabled my third and fourth fingers; and having no hospital, or any conveniences for the sick there, I was, after having my hand dressed in a wretched manner, sent with the next batteaux to Albany to get it cured.

As soon as I was well, I set forwards for Oswego, again. And, when I arrived there, I began to make what observations I could, as to the alterations that had been made since my departure in the month of October preceding. The works of Oswego, at this time, consisted of three forts, viz. the old Fort, built many years before, whose chief strength was a weak stone wall, about two feet thick, so ill cemented, that it could not resist the force of a four pound ball, and situated on the east side of the harbour; the two other forts, called Fort Ontario and Fort George, were each of them at the distance of about 450 yards from the old Fort, and situated on two eminences, which commanded it; both these, as I have already observed, were begun to be built last year upon plans which made them defensible against musketry, and cannon of three or four pound ball only, the time not allowing works of a stronger nature to be then undertaken.

For our defence against large cannon, we entirely depended on a superior naval force upon the lake, which might have put it in our power to prevent the French from bringing heavy artillery against the place, as that could only be done by water carriage, which is my opinion, as well as many others. If the naval force had but done their duty, Oswego might have been ours to this very day, and entirely cut off the communication of the French from Canada to the Ohio; but if I would insist on this as the particulars require, I perhaps should affront some, and injure myself, all to no purposes, or of any beneficial service to recall our former losses; for that reason, I shall defer

enlarging on the subject, altho' at the same time, I can give very good circumstances to maintain my argument if required.

A day or two after being at Oswego, the fort was alarmed by hearing firing; when on dispatching proper scouts, it was found to be the French and Indians engaging the batteau-men and sailors, conveying the provisions to Oswego from one river to another. On this, a detachment of 500 men were ordered out in pursuit of them, whereof I was one. We had narrow pass in the woods to go through, where we were attacked by a great number of Indians, when a desperate fight began on both sides, that lasted about two hours. However, at last we gained a complete victory, and put them entirely to the rout, killing fourteen of them, and wounding about forty. On our side we had but two men killed and six wounded. Many more would have been killed of both parties, had it not been for the thickness of the woods.

I cannot here omit recounting a most singular transaction, that happened during this my second time of being there, which, though scarce credible, is absolutely true, and can be testified by hundreds, who know and have often seen the man: in short, one Moglasky, of the 50th regiment, an Irishman, being placed as sentinel over the rum which had arrived, and being curious to know its goodness, pierced the cask, and drank till he was quite intoxicated; when, not knowing what he did, he rambled from his post, and fell sleep a good way from the garrison. An Indian skulking that way for prey (as is conjectured) found him, and made free with his scalp, which he plucked and carried off. The sergeant, in the morning, finding him prostrate on his face, and seeing his scalp off, imagined him to be dead; but on his nearer approach, and raising him from the ground, the fellow awaked from the sound sleep he had been in, and asked the sergeant what he wanted. The sergeant, quite surprised at the strange behaviour of the fellow, interrogated him, how he came there in that condition? He replied *he could not tell; but that he had got very drunk, and rambled he knew not whither*. The sergeant advised him to prepare for death, not having many hours to live, as he had lost his scalp. *Arrah, my dear now*, cries he, and *are you joking me?* For he really knew nothing of his being served in the manner he was, and would not believe any accident had happened him, until seeing his clothes bloody, he felt his head, and found it to be true, as well as having a cut from his mouth to his ear. He was immediately carried before the Governor, who asked him how he came to leave his post? He replied, *that being very thirsty, he had broached a cask of rum and drank a pint*

which made him drunk! But if his Honour would forgive him he'd never be guilty of the like again. The Governor told him it was very probable he never would, as he was now no better than a dead man. However, the surgeons dressed his head there, as well as they could, and then sent him in a batteau to Albany, where he was perfectly cured; and, to the great surprise of every body, was living when I left the country. This, though so extraordinary and unparalleled an affair, I aver to be true, having several times seen the man after this accident happened to him. How his life was preserved seems a miracle, as no instance of the like was ever known.

I had forgot to mention that before I left Albany, the last time, upon Colonel Broadstreet's arrival there, in his way to Oswego, with the provisions and forces, consisting of about 500 whale boats and batteaux, intended for the campaign on the great lake Ontario, mentioned before, I joined his corps, and proceeded on with the batteaux, &c.

Going up the river Onondago towards Oswego, the batteaux men were, on the 29th of June, attacked near the falls, about nine miles from Oswego, by 500 French and Indians, who killed and wounded 74 of our men, before we could get on shore, which as soon as we did, the French were routed, with the loss of 130 men killed and several wounded, whom we took prisoners.

Had we known of their lying in the bush, or of their intent to attack us, the victory would have been much more complete on our side, as the troops Colonel Broadstreet commanded were regular, well disciplined, and in tolerable health; whereas the French, by a long passage at sea, and living hard after their arrival at Canada, were much harassed and fatigued.

However, we got all safe to Oswego, with the batteaux and provisions, together with the rigging and stores for the large vessels, excepting twenty-four cannon, six pounders, that were then at the great carrying place, which Colonel Broadstreet was to bring with him, upon his next passage, from Schenectady: to which place, as soon as he had delivered to the Quarter-master all the stores under his care, he was ordered to return with the batteaux and men, to receive the orders of Major-general Abercrombie. In his return from Schenectady, it was expected that Halket's and Dunbar's regiment would have come with him, in order to take Fort Frontenac, and the other French forts on the lake Ontario. But alas! as schemes for building castles in the air always prove abortive, for want of

proper architecture and foundation, so did this scheme of ours, for want of a due knowledge of our own situation!

On the arrival of these forces, a new brigantine and sloop were fitted out; and, about the same time, a large snow was also launched and rigged, and only waited for her guns and some running rigging, which they expected every day by Colonel Broadstreet; and had he returned in time with the cannon and batteau-men under his command, the French would not have dared to have appeared on the lake; but Colonel Broadstreet happened to be detained with the batteaux at Schenectady for above a month, waiting for the 44th regiment to march with him. The dilatoriness of this embarkation at Schenectady cannot be imputed to Colonel Broadstreet, because General Shirley waited with impatience for the arrival of Lord Loudon Campbell from England; and when his Lordship landed at New York, he, in a few days after, proceeded to Albany, where his Lordship took the command of the army from General Shirley, and upon comparing, and considering how bad a situation his forces, and the different governments upon the continent were in, his Lordship, with the advice of several other experienced officers, thought himself not in a condition to proceed on any enterprize for that season, no further than to maintain our ground at Oswego; for which purpose, Colonel Broadstreet was immediately ordered off with the batteaux and provisions, as also the aforesaid regiments; but before Broadstreet arrived at the great carrying place, Oswego was taken, with all the ships of war, although our naval force was far superior to the French.

Before I relate the attack of Oswego, I shall review a little what the French were doing during these our dilatory, pompous proceedings.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant General of New France, whilst he provided for the security of the frontiers of Canada, was principally attentive to the lakes. Being informed that we were making vast preparations at Oswego for attacking Niagara and Frontenac, he took and razed, in the month of March, the fort where we had formed our principal magazine; and in June following, destroyed, on the river Chonenan or Oswego, some of our vessels, and made some prisoners. The success of these two expeditions encouraged him to act offensively, and to attack us

at Oswego. This settlement they pretended, and still insist on, to be an encroachment, or invasion, which we made in time of profound peace, and against which, they said, they had continually remonstrated, during our blundering negotiating Lawyer's residence at France. It was at first, say they, only a fortified magazine; but, in order to avail themselves of its advantageous situation in the centre almost of the French colonies, the English added, from time to time, several new works, and made it consist of three forts, as above described.

The troops designed for this expedition by the French amounted to near 5000 men, 1300 of which were regulars. To prevent his design being discovered, M. de Vaudreuil pretended, in order the better to deceive us, who had so long before been blind, that he was providing only for the security of Niagara and Frontenac. The Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded on this occasion, arrived the 29th of July at Fort Frontenac: and having given the necessary directions for securing his retreat, in case it should have been rendered inevitable, by a superior force, sent out two vessels, one of 12 and the other of 16 guns, to cruise off Oswego, and posted a chain of Canadians and Indians on the road between Oswego and Albany, to intercept our couriers. All the forces, and the vessels, with the artillery and stores, being arrived in the bay of Nixoure, the place of general rendezvous, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered his advanced guard to proceed to a creek called Anse aux Cabannes, three leagues from Oswego. But,

To carry on this account the more accurately and intelligibly to the reader, I shall recite the actions of the French and ourselves together, as a more clear and succinct manner of making those unacquainted with the art of war, more sensible of this important affair.

Colonel Mercer, who was then commanding officer of the garrison at Oswego, having on the 6th of August, intelligence of a large encampment of French and Indians, about 12 miles off, dispatched one of the schooners, with an account of it, to Captain Bradley, who was then on a cruise with the larger brigantine and two sloops; at the same time desired him to cruise as far to the eastwards as he could, and to endeavour to prevent the approach of the French on the lake: but meeting the next day with a small gale of wind, the large brigantine was drove on shore near Oswego, in attempting to get into the harbour—of which misfortune, the Indians immediately gave M. de Montcalm, the French General, notice, who took that opportunity of transporting his heavy cannon to about a mile

and a half of the fort, which he could not otherwise have done had not there been some neglect on our side.

For on the 10th the first division of the French being arrived at Anse aux Cabannes, at two o'clock in the morning, the vanguard proceeded, at four in the afternoon, by land, across woods, to another creek within half a league of Oswego, in order to favour the debarkation. At midnight their first division repaired to this creek, and there erected a battery on the lake Ontario.

Colonel Mercer, in the morning of the 10th, on some canoes being seen to the eastward, sent out the small schooner to make discovery of what they were; she was scarce half a mile from the fort, before she discovered a very large encampment, close under the opposite point, being the first division of the French troops above mentioned. On this, the two sloops (the large brigantine being still on shore) were sent out with orders, if possible, to annoy the enemy—but this was to no purpose; the enemy's cannon being large and well pointed, hulled the vessels almost every shot, while theirs, fell short of the shore.

This day and the next, the enemy were employed in making gabions, faucissons, and fascines, and in cutting a road across the woods, from the place of landing, to the place where the trenches were to be opened; and the second division of the enemy arriving on the 11th in the morning, with the artillery and provisions, the same immediately landed without any opposition. Though dispositions were made for opening the trenches on the 10th at night, which was rather a parallel of about 100 **toises** in front, and opened at the distance of about 60 toises from the fosse of Fort Ontario, in ground embarrassed with trunks of trees.

About five in the morning of the 11th, this parallel was finished, and the work men began to erect the batteries. Thus was the place invested by about 5000 men and 32 pieces of cannon, from 12 to 18 pounders, besides several large brass mortars and hoyets, among which artillery was part of General Braddock's. About noon they began the attack of Fort Ontario, with small arms, which was briskly returned. All this day, the garrison was employed on the west side of the river, in repairing the batteries on the south side of the old fort.

The next morning (the 12th) at day-break, a large number of French batteaux were discovered on the lake, in their way to join the enemy's camp: on which, Colonel Mercer ordered the two sloops to

A toise is a French measure, and contains, about two fathoms, or six feet, in length.

be again sent out, with directions to get between the batteaux and the camp; but before our vessels came up, the batteaux had secured themselves under the fire of their cannon.

In the evening, a detachment was made of 100 men of the 50th (General Pepperel's) regiment, and 126 of the New Jersey provincials, under the command of Colonel Schuyler, to take possession of the fort on the hill, to the westward of the old Fort, and under the direction of the engineer, Mr. McKneller, were to put it into the best state of defence they could; in which work they were employed all the following night.

The enemy at the east side continued their approaches to the fort Ontario, but, with their utmost efforts, for a long time they could not bring their cannon to bear on it. However, drawing their cannon with great expedition, next morning (the 13th) about ten o'clock, to a battery erected within sixty yards from it, they played them very hotly on the garrison, notwithstanding the constant fire kept on them, and the loss of their principal engineer, who was killed in the trenches. A council of war was immediately held, by the officers of General Pepperel's regiment, who, observing the mortars were beginning to play, concluded it most advisable to quit fort Ontario, and join Colonel

Schuyler's regiment at Fort George or Fort Rascal; and an account of this latter battery being sent to Colonel Mercer, by the commandant of the enemy, ordering him to evacuate the fort, they accordingly did, about three in the afternoon, destroying the cannon, ammunition, and provisions therein, and managed their retreat so as to pass the river, and join the troops at the west side, without the loss of a man. These troops, being about 370, were immediately ordered to join Colonel Schuyler, which they accordingly did, and were employed all the following night in completing the works of that fort.

M. Montcalm immediately took possession of Fort Ontario, and ordered the communications of the parallel to be continued to the banks of the river, where, in the beginning of the night, they began a grand battery placed in such a manner that it could not only batter Fort Oswego, and the way from thence to Fort George, but also the entrenchment of Oswego.

In the morning of the 13th, the large brigantine being off the rocks and repaired, a detachment of eighty men of the garrison was put on board of her and the two sloops, in order to go out immediately; but the wind continuing to blow directly into the harbour, rendered it impossible for them to get out before the place was surrendered. This night, as well as the night before, parties of

the enemy's irregulars made several attempts to surprise our advanced guards and sentinels, on the west side of the river, but did not succeed in any of them.

The enemy were employed this night in bringing up their cannon, and raising a battery. On our side, we kept a constant fire of cannon and shells from the old fort, and works about it. The cannon which most annoyed the enemy were four pieces, which we reversed on the platform of an earthen work, which surrounded the old fort, and which was entirely enfiladed by the enemy's battery on the opposite shore: in this situation, without the least cover, the train, assisted by a detachment of Shirley's regiment, behaved remarkably well.

At day-break, on the 14th, we renewed our fire on that part of the opposite shore, where we had the evening before observed the enemy at work, in raising the battery.

The enemy in three columns, consisting of 2500 Canadians and savages, crossed the river, some by swimming, and others by wading, with the water up to their middles, in order to invest and attack the old fort. This bold action, by which they entirely cut off the communications of the two forts; the celerity with which the works were carried on, in ground that we thought impracticable; a continual return of our fire from a battery of ten cannon, twelve pounders; and their preparing a battery of mortars and hoyets, made Colonel Mercer think it advisable (he not knowing their numbers) to order Colonel Schuyler, with 500 men, to oppose them; which would accordingly have been carried into execution, and, consequently, every man of the 500 cut off, had not Colonel Mercer been killed by a cannon ball, a few minutes after. The resolution of this valiant Colonel seemed to be determined to oppose the French to the last extremity, and to maintain his ground at Oswego, but his final doom came on so unexpectedly, that his loss was universally regretted.

About ten o'clock, the enemy's battery was ready to play; at which time, all our places of defence were enfiladed, or ruined by the constant fire of their cannon; Fort Rascal, or George, in particular, having at that time no guns, and scarce in a condition to defend itself against small arms; with 2500 irregulars on our backs, ready to storm us on that side, and 2000 of their regulars as ready to land in our front, under the fire of their cannon. Whereas,

Fort Rascal might have been made a very defensible fortress, lying on a hill, and the ascent to it is so steep, that had an enemy been ever so numerous, they must have suffered greatly in an attempt to storm it. Why it was not in a better state, it becomes not me to say, but matters were so.

And in this situation we were, when Colonel Littlehales, who succeeded Colonel Mercer in the command, called a council of war, who were, with the engineers, unanimously of the opinion, that the works were no longer tenable; and that it was by no means prudent to risk a storm with such unequal numbers.

The chamade was accordingly ordered to be beat, and the firing ceased on both sides; yet the French were not idle, but improved this opportunity to bring up more cannon and advanced the main body of their troops within musket-shot of the garrison, and prepared every thing for a storm. Two officers were sent to the French General, to know what terms he would give; the Marquis de Montcalm made answer, that they might expect whatever terms were consistent with the service of his Most Christian Majesty. He accordingly agreed to the following:

ARTICLE I.

"The garrison shall surrender prisoners of war, and shall be conducted from hence to Montreal, where they shall be treated with humanity, and every one shall have treatment agreeably to their respective ranks, according to the custom of war."

ARTICLE II.

"Officers, soldiers, and individuals, shall have their baggage and clothes; and they shall be allowed to carry them along with them."

ARTICLE III.

"They shall remain prisoners of war, until they are they are exchanged"

Given at the camp before Oswego,
August 14, 1756

MONTCALM.

By virtue of this capitulation, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and the French immediately took possession of Oswego and Fort George, which they entirely destroyed, agreeable to their orders, after removing the artillery, warlike stores, and provisions.

But to describe the plunder, havoc, and devastation, made by the French, as well as the savages, who rushed in by thousands, is impossible. For notwithstanding the Christian promise made by the General of his Most Christian Majesty, they all behaved more like infernal beings than creatures in human shapes. In short, not contented with surrendering upon the above terms, they scalped and killed all the sick and wounded in the hospitals; mangling, butchering, cutting, and chopping off their heads, arms, legs, &c. with spades, hatchets, and other such diabolical instruments; treating the whole with the utmost cruelty, notwithstanding the repeated intercession of the defenceless sick and wounded for mercy, which were indeed piteous enough to have softened any heart possessed of the minutest particle of humanity!

Here I cannot help observing, that notwithstanding what has been said of the behaviour of the officers of these (the 50th and 51st) regiments, I must, with the greatest truth, give them the characters of brave, but I wish I could say, experienced men; every one of them I had an opportunity of observing during the siege, behaving with the utmost courage and intrepidity. Nor, in this place, can I omit particularly naming Colonel James Campbell and Captain Archibald Hamilton, who assisted with the greatest spirit and alacrity the private men at the great guns. But for such an handful of men as our garrison then consisted of, and the works being of such a weak and defenceless nature, to have made a longer defence, or have caused the enemy to raise the siege, would have been such an instance as England for many years hath not experienced; and I am afraid will be many more before it will, for reasons that are too obvious.

The quantity of stores and ammunition we then had in the three forts is almost incredible. But of what avail are powder and balls if walls and ramparts are defenceless, and men sufficient to make use of them; in short the French by taking this place, made themselves masters of the following things, all which were immediately sent to Frontenac, viz. seven pieces of brass cannon, nineteen fourteen, and twelve pounders; forty-eight iron cannon, of nine, six, five, three, and two pounders; a brass mortar of nine inches four-twelfths, and thirteen others of six and three inches; forty-seven swivel guns; 23,000 lb of gun-powder; 80 lb. of lead and musket ball; two thousand nine hundred and fifty cannon balls; one hundred and fifty bombs of nine inches, and three hundred more of six inches diameter; one thousand four hundred and twenty six grenades, one thousand and seventy muskets; a vessel pierced for eighteen guns; the brigantine of sixteen, a goelette of ten, a batteau of

ten, (the sloops already mentioned) another of eight guns, a skiff of eighteen swivels, and another burnt upon the stocks; seven hundred four barrels of biscuit, one thousand three hundred and eighty six firkins of bacon and beef; seven hundred and twelve firkins of meal; thirty-two live oxen ; fifteen hogs, and a large sum of money in the military chest, amounting, as the French said, to eighteen thousand five hundred and ninety-four livres.

On the 16th, they began to remove us; the officers were first sent in batteaux, and two hundred soldiers a day afterwards, till the whole were gone, being carried first to Montreal, and from thence to Quebec. Our duty in the batteaux, till we reached the first place, was very hard and slavish: and during the time we were on the lake and river St. Laurence, it appeared very easy and feasible for Commodore Bradley, had he thought proper, to have destroyed all the enemy's batteaux, and have prevented them from ever landing their cannon within forty miles of the fort. But he knew his own reasons for omitting this piece of service best.

Our party arrived at Montreal in Canada on the 28th. We were that night secured in the fort, as were the rest as they came in. The French used various methods to win some of our troops over to their interest, or, at least, to do their work in the fields, which many refused, among whom was myself; who were then conducted on board a ship, and sent to Quebec, where, on arriving, the 5th of September, we were lodged in a gaol, and kept there for the space of one month.

During this our captivity, many of our men rather than lie in a prison, went out to work and assist the French in getting in their harvest; they having then scarce any people left in that country but old men, women, and children, so that the corn was continually falling into the stubble, for want of hands to reap it; but those who did go out, in two or three days, chose confinement again, rather than liberty on such terms, being almost starved, having nothing in the country to live on but dry bread, whereas we in prison were each of us allowed 2lbs of bread, and half a pound of meat a day, and otherwise treated with a good deal of humanity.

Eighteen soldiers were all the guard they had to place over us, who being greatly fatigued with hard duty, and dreading our rising on them (which had we had any arms we might easily have done, and ravaged the country round, as it was then entirely defenceless) and the town's people themselves

fearing the consequences of having such a number of men in a place where provisions were at that time very scarce and dear, they thought of sending us away, the most eligible way of keeping themselves from famine, and accordingly put 1500 of us on board a vessel for England.

But before I continue the account of our voyage home to our native country, I shall just make a short retrospection on the consequences that attended the loss of Oswego, as appeared to us and the rest of the people at Quebec, who knew that part of America, to which this important place was a safeguard.

As soon as Oswego was taken, our only communication from the Mohawk's river to the lake Oneida was stopt up, by filling the place at Wood's Creek with great logs and trees, for many miles together. A few days afterwards, the forts at the great carrying place, and then our most advanced post into the country of the Six Nations, which I have before given a short account of, (and where, there were at that time above three thousand men, including one thousand two hundred batteau-men and which still gave the Six Nations some hopes that we would defend their country against the French), were abandoned and destroyed, and the troops which were under the command of General Webb, retreated to Burnet's Field, and left the country and the Six Nations to the mercy of the enemy.

The French immediately after the taking of Oswego, demolished, as is said before, all the works there, and returned with their prisoners and booty to Ticonderago, to oppose our provincial army under the command of General Winslow, who had shamefully been kept, in expectation of the dilatory arrival of Lord Loudon, from attacking Crown Point, while the enemy were weak, and it was easily in our power to have beat them.

The consequences of the destruction of our forts at the great carrying place, and General Webb's retreating to Burnet's Field, is now, alas! too apparent to every one acquainted with American affairs. The Indians of the Six Nations undoubtedly looked upon it as abandoning them and their country to the French: for they plainly saw, that we had no strong hold near them, and that (by the place at Wood's Creek being stopped) we could not, if we would, afford them any assistance at Onondago, Cayuga, and in the Seneckea's country, which were their chief castles: that the forts

begun by us in those countries were left unfinished, and therefore could be of no use to them, and which, if we had kept the carrying place, we might have finished, and given them still hopes of our being able to defend.

But despairing of our being further serviceable to them, those Iroquois, who were before our friends, and some of the others, have indeed deserted us, and the consequence of such their junctions with the French, was soon after felt in the loss of Fort George on Lake Sacrament.

The fine country on the Mohawk's river down to Albany, was by this step left open to the ravages of the enemy, and an easy passage opened to the French and their Indians into the province of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by the way of Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, which were before covered by our settlements on the Mohawk's river, and the Six Nations.

I shall here give the best description of the Indians, their way of living, &c. in my power.

It is difficult to guess what may be the number of the Indians scattered up and down our back settlements; but if their own account be true; they amount to many thousands. Be this, however, as it will, they are not to be feared merely on account of their numbers; other circumstances conspire to make them formidable: the English inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over a vast tract of land, 500 leagues in length on the seashore and for the most part have fixed habitations, the easiest and shortest passages to which, the Indians, by constantly hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; and as their way of making war is by sudden attacks upon exposed places, as soon as they have done the mischief at one place they retire, and either go home by some different route, or go to some distant place to renew their attacks. If they are pursued, it is a chance if they do not ensnare their pursuers; or if that be not the case, as soon as they have gained the rivers, so dexterous are they in the use of their canoes, that they presently get out of reach. It is to no purpose to follow them to their settlements; for they can, without much disadvantage, quit their old habitations, and betake themselves to new ones: add to this, that they can be suddenly drawn together from any distance, as they can find their subsistence in travelling from their guns

No people on earth have a higher sense of liberty, or stronger affection for their relations: when offended, they are the most implacable vindictive enemies on earth; for no distance of place, or space of time, will abate their resentment: but they will watch every opportunity of revenge, and when such opportunity offers, they revenge themselves effectually.

They will sooner sacrifice their own lives for the sake of liberty, than humble themselves to the arbitrary control of any person whatsoever. In battle, they never submit, and will die rather than be taken prisoners.

Our late transactions in America testify, that the friendship of the Indians is to be desired, and the only way to maintain a friendly correspondence with them, is by making such propositions to them as will secure their liberties, and be agreeable to their expectations; and not only by keeping these propositions inviolable as well in time of peace as in time of war, but also renewing our treaties with them from time to time; for they are very jealous and tenacious of an affront or neglect. They are very proud, and love to be esteemed. In time of peace, they live upon what they get of the white people, for which they barter skins, furs, &c. Their clothing, and every thing else they want, such as arms, they get in the same manner. In war time, they live upon what they can procure by their gun, and, if that fails, upon roots, fruits, herbs, and other vegetables of the natural produce of the earth.

They have never the foresight to provide necessaries for themselves; they look only to the present moment, and leave to-morrow to provide for itself. They eat of every wild beast which they kill, without distinction. They always prefer game to vegetables; but when they cannot get venison, they live on roots, fruits, and herbs. They destroy a great deal of meat at a time, when they have it in their power, and when they leave any, be it ever such a great quantity, it is ten to one if any of them will take the trouble to carry a pound of it; but will rather leave it behind them; yet, notwithstanding this extravagance, such are their tempers, and they are so inured to hardships, that if they cannot conveniently get at food, they can and actually do fast sometimes for near a week together, and yet are as active as if they had lived regularly. All their spare time is taken up in contriving schemes to succeed in their intended expeditions. They can never be taken in a pursuit by any European. They will travel seventy miles a day, and continue for months together, as I have reason to know from experience: and they are sure to bring their pursuers into a snare, if they are not wary, and have

some Indians on their side to beat the bushes. When they are overtaken with sleep, they light a great fire: which prevents the wild beasts from falling upon them, for wild beasts have a natural aversion to fire; nor is it easy for an enemy to discover them in this condition; for the country is one continued tract of thick wood, overgrown with brushwood, so that you cannot see the fire till you be within a few yards of it. They having nothing covering them from the inclemency of the weather but a blanket put upon them, something in the shape of a Highlander's plaid.

And further, to prevent their being long observed by their pursuers, or to be seen too soon when they have a mind, to attack any plantation, they paint themselves of the same colour with the trees among which they hide themselves.

When they are to attack a plantation, they never come out till night, and then they rush instantly upon the farms, &c. and destroy every thing, men, women, and children, as beasts: then they fall to plunder, and return to their lurking holes till another opportunity of plunder happens, when they renew their attack in the same manner: so that if some method is not taken to draw them into our interest, our colonies will be in a continual alarm, and the country will soon become desolate: for nobody will venture their lives to settle on the back parts, unless the Indians are our friends.

The Indian manner of fighting is quite different from that of other nations. They industriously avoid all open engagements: and, besides, ambuscades, their principal way is bush-fighting, in the exercise of which they are very dexterous: for the back country being one continued wood, except some few spots cleared for the purpose of husbandry by our back settlers, the Indians squat themselves down behind the trees, and fire their muskets at the enemy; if the enemy advances, then they retreat behind other trees, and fire in the same manner; and as they are good marksmen, they never fire in vain, whereas their pursuers seldom hit.

Notwithstanding the political schemes of France are nearly brought to a period, yet, if the Indians are not satisfied with the conclusion of a peace between us and the French as to America, I mean, unless they are fairly dealt with, we shall gain but little by all our conquests; for it is the friendship of the Indians that will make Canada valuable to us. We have already more lands than we are able to manage; but the advantage, nay, the necessity of keeping Canada I have already shown, and there-

fore I shall go on with my account of the Indians.

When last in London, I remember to have heard some coffeehouse politicians, chagrined at the devastations they made on our back settlements, say, that it would be an easy matter to root out the savages by clearing the ground. I answer, that the task may seem easy to them, but the execution of such a scheme on such a track of land would be so difficult, that I doubt whether there are people enough in Great Britain and Ireland to accomplish it in a hundred years' time, were they to meet with no opposition; but where there is such a subtle enemy to deal with, I am afraid we should make but little progress in reducing the Indians, even allowing the country to be all cleared, as there are hills and other fastnesses to which the Indians can retire, and where they would greatly have the better of every attempt to dislodge them. The only way I would advise is, to keep friends with the Indians, and endeavour to prevail on them to settle in the same manner as the planters do, which they will be more easily brought to, if the French are excluded from Canada. For, notwithstanding their wandering way of life, I have the greatest reason to believe they have no dislike to an easy life. And as they will have no temptations to murder, as they had when stirred up by the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, they will soon become useful members of society.

When first the English arrived in the American colonies, they found the woods inhabited by a race of people uncultivated in their manners, but not quite devoid of humanity. They were strangers to literature, ignorant of the liberal arts, and destitute of almost every convenience of life.

But if they were unpractised in the arts of more civilized nations, they were also free from their vices. They seemed perfect in two parts of the ancient Persian education, namely, shooting with the bow, and speaking truth. In their dealings, they commonly exchange one commodity for another. Strangers themselves to fraud, they had an entire confidence in others. According to their abilities they were generous and hospitable. Happy, thrice happy had they been, if, still preserving their native innocence and simplicity, they had only been instructed in the knowledge of God, and the doctrines of Christianity! Had they been taught some of the more useful parts of life, and to lay aside what was wild and savage in their manners.

They received the English upon their first arrival with open arms, treated them kindly, and showed

earnest desire that they should settle and live with them. They freely parted with some of their lands to their new-come brethren, and cheerfully entered into a league of friendship with them. As the English were in immediate want of the assistance of the Indians, they, on their part, endeavoured to make their coming agreeable. Thus they lived for some years in the mutual exchange of friendly offices. Their houses were open to each other, they treated one another as brothers. But by their different way of living, the English soon acquired property, while the Indians continued in their former indigence; hence the former found they could easily live without the latter, and therefore became less anxious about preserving their friendship. This gave a check to that mutual hospitality that had hitherto subsisted between them; and this, together with the decrease of game for hunting, arising from the increase of the English settlements, induced the Indians to remove farther back into the woods.

From this time the natives began to be treated as a people of whom an advantage might be taken. As the trade with them was free and open, men of loose and abandoned characters engaged in it, and practised every fraud. Before the coming of the white people the Indians never tasted spirituous liquors, and, like most barbarians, having once tasted, became immoderately fond thereof, and had no longer any government of themselves. The traders availed themselves of this weakness; instead of carrying our clothes to cover the naked savages; they carried them rum, and thereby debauched their manners, weakened their constitutions, introduced disorders unknown to them before, and in short corrupted and ruined them.

The Indians, finding the ill effects of this trade, began to complain. Wherefore laws were made, prohibiting any from going to trade with them without a licence from the Governor, and it was also made lawful for the Indians to stave the casks, and spill what rum was brought among them -but this was to little purpose; the Indians had too little command themselves to do their duty, and were easily prevailed upon not to execute this law; and the design of the former was totally evaded, by men of some character taking out licenses to trade, and then employing under them persons of no honour or principle, generally servants and convicts transported hither from Britain and Ireland, whom they sent with goods into the Indian country to trade on their account. These getting beyond the reach of the law, executed unheard of villainies upon the poor natives, committing crimes which modesty forbids to name, and behaving in a manner too shocking to be related.

At every treaty which the Indians held with the English they complained of the abuses they suffered from the traders, and trade as then carried on. They requested that the traders might be recalled, but all to no purpose. They begged in the strongest terms that no rum might be suffered to come among them; but were only told they were at liberty to spill all rum brought into their country. At this time little or no pains was taken to civilize or instruct them in the Christian religion, till at length the conduct of traders, professing themselves of that religion gave the Indians an almost invincible prejudice against it. Besides, as these traders travelled among distant nations of the Indians, and were in some sort the representatives of the English nation, from them the Indians formed a very unfavourable opinion of our whole nation, and easily believed every misrepresentation made of us by our enemies. There are instances in history where the virtues and disinterested behaviour of one man has prejudiced whole nations of barbarians in favour of the people to whom he belonged; and is it then to be wondered at if the Indians conceived a rooted prejudice against us, when not one, but a whole set of men, namely, all of our nation that they had an opportunity of seeing or conversing with, were persons of loose and abandoned behaviour, insincere and faithless, without religion, virtue, or morality? No one will think I exaggerate these matters who has either known the traders themselves, or who has read the public treaties.

If to this be added, what I find in the late treaties, that they have been wronged in some of their lands, what room will there be any longer to wonder that we have so little interest with them; that their conduct towards us is of late so much changed, that, instead of being a security and protection to us, as they have been hitherto during the several wars between us and the French, they are now turned against us and become our enemies, principally on account of the fraudulent dealings and immoral conduct of those heretofore employed in our trade with them, who have brought dishonour upon our religion, and disgrace on our nation? It nearly concerns us, if possible, to wipe off these reproaches and to redeem our character, which can only be done by regulating the trade; and this the Indians, with whom the government of Philadelphia lately treated, demanded and expected of us.

At present, a favourable opportunity presents for doing it effectually. All those who were engaged in this trade are, by the present troubles, removed from it; and it is to be hoped that, the legislature

will fall upon such measures to prevent any such from ever being concerned in it again. This is only the foundation upon which we can expect a lasting peace with the natives. It is evident that a great deal depends upon the persons who are to be sent into the Indian country; from these alone the Indians will form judgement of us, our religion, and manners. If these then, who are to be our representatives among the Indians be men of virtue, sober in their conversation, honest in their dealings, and whose practice corresponds with their profession, the judgement formed of us will be favourable; if, on the contrary, they be loose and profane persons, men of wicked lives and profligate morals, we must expect that among the Indians our religion will pass for a jest, and we in general for a people faithless and despicable.

I might here add some observations respecting the commodities proper to be carried among the Indians, in kind as well as quality, with a method of carrying on the trade, so as to preserve the native innocence of the Indians, and at the same time confirm them immoveable in our interest; but these things, as well as some remarks I have in a course of years made upon the Indians, I shall leave for the subject of some future history.

I shall now proceed to give a concise account of the climates, produce, trade, &c. of North America. And first,

OF NEW ENGLAND

The province of New England appears to be vastly extensive, being about 400 miles in length, and near 300 in breadth, situated between 69 and 73 deg. W. long. and between 41 and 46 deg. N. lat. It was first settled by the Independents, a little before the commencement of the civil wars in England; they transported themselves thither, rather than they would communicate with the Church of England.

The lands next the sea in New England are generally low and the soil sandy; but further up the country it rises into hills, and on the north east it is rocky and mountainous. The winters are much severer here than in Old England, though it lies 9 or 10 degrees more south, but they have usually clearer sky and more settled weather both in winter and summer than in Old England; and though

their summers are shorter, the air is considerably hotter while it lasts. The winds are very boisterous in the winter season, and the north wind blowing over a long track of frozen and uncultivated countries, with several fresh water-lakes, makes it excessively cold. The rivers are sometimes congealed in a night's time. The climate is generally healthful and agreeable to English constitutions.

The fruits of Old England come to great perfection here, particularly peaches, which are planted trees; and we have commonly 1200 or 1400 fine peaches on such a tree at one time: nay, of the fruit of one single apple tree, in one season, nine barrels of cyder have been made. English wheat I find does not thrive here, within 40 or 50 miles of Boston; but farther up the country they have it in great plenty, and I think it comes to the same perfection as Britain. Now, why wheat should not grow near this city I confess I can assign no reason that will fully satisfy the reader's curiosity. The conjectures upon it are various; some venture to say that it was occasioned by the unjust persecution of the Quakers, the Independents having vented their spleen against them in a way the most rigorous, and in flat contradiction to the laws of Christianity. All other grain but wheat thrives in this place with great success; in particular Indian corn, one grain whereof frequently produces 200, and sometimes 2000 grains. This corn is of three different colours, viz. blue, white, and yellow.

OF NEW YORK.

The situation of this province is between 72 and 76 W. long. and between 41 and 44 N. lat. being about 200 miles in length, and 100 miles in breadth. The lands in the Jerseys and south part of New York are low and flat; but as you ascend twenty or thirty miles up the Hudson's river, the country is rocky and mountainous. The air is much milder here in winter than in New England, and in summer it is pretty much the same. The produce and trade of New York and the Jerseys consist in cattle, and a good breed of horses. They have plenty of wheat and other grain, such as Indian corn, buck-wheat, oats, barley, and rye. It abounds also with stores of fish. They supply the sugar islands with flour, salt beef, pork, salt fish, and timber planks, in return for the produce raised there.

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The extent of this colony is 200 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth. The soil is much better than in Jersey, chiefly consisting of a black mould; the country rises gradually, as in the adjacent provinces, having the Appalachian mountains on the west, and is divided into six counties. The air, it lying in the 40 deg. of N. lat, is near the same as in New York, and very healthy to English constitutions. The produce and merchandise of Pennsylvania consists in horses, pipe staves, beef, pork, salt fish, skins, furs, and all sorts of grain, viz. wheat, rye, pease, oats, barley, buck-wheat, Indian corn, Indian pease, beans, potashes, wax, &c. and in return for these commodities, they import from the Carribbee islands and other places, rum, sugar, molasses, silver, negroes, salt, and clothing of all sorts, hardware. &c. The nature of the soil in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and New York, is extremely proper to produce hemp, flax, &c.

If the government of Pennsylvania since the death of its first proprietor William Penn, had taken proper methods to oblige the traders to deal justly with the Indians, whose tempers, when exasperated with resentment, are more savage than the hungry lion, these disasters might have been in a good degree prevented.

I intend to conclude this argument in a few words, and shall endeavour to do justice on both sides by adhering strictly to truth. Know therefore, that within these late years, the Indians, being tolerably acquainted with the nature of our commerce, have detected the roguery of some of the traders, whereupon they lodged many and grievous complaints to Colonel Weiser, the interpreter between them and the English, of the injurious and fraudulent usage they had received for several years backwards from white people, who had cheated them out of their skins and furs, not giving them one quarter their value for them.

Likewise they remonstrated, that whereas hunting was the chief way or art they ever had to earn a livelihood by; game was now become very scarce, because the whites practiced it so much on their ground, destroying their prey. Colonel Weiser, their interpreter, advised them to bring down their skins and furs to Philadelphia themselves, promising that he would take proper care to see their goods vended to their advantage. Whereupon they did so, in pursuance of his instructions, and

finding it in their interest, resolved to continue in the way he had chalked out for them; for now they were supplied with every thing they wanted from the merchants' shops, at the cheapest rates. And thus it plainly appeared to the Indians that they had been long imposed on by the traders, and therefore they were determined to have no more dealings with them. This conduct and shyness of the Indians was very disagreeable to several gentlemen of the province, who were merely interested in that species of commerce.

Accordingly in the year 1753 and 1754, some of the traders had the assurance to renew their friendship with them, when, instead of remitting them clothes and other necessaries as had been usual and were most proper for them, they, with insidious purposes, carried them large quantities of rum in small casks, which they knew the natives were fond of, under the colour of giving it them gratis. In this manner were the savages inveigled into liquor by the whites, who took the opportunity, while they were intoxicated, of going off with their skins and furs; but the natives, recovering from the debauch, soon detected the villainy, and in revenge killed many of the traders, and went directly over to the French, who encouraged them to slay every English person they could meet with, and destroy their houses by fire, giving them orders to spare neither man, woman, nor child. Besides as a farther incitement to diligence in this bloody task, they promised the savages a reward of £15 sterling for every scalp they should take, on producing the same before any of his Most Christian Majesty's officers, civil or military.

Thus our perfidious enemies instigated those unreasonable barbarians to commence acts of depredation, violence, and murder, on the several inhabitants of North America in 1754, and more especially in Pennsylvania, as knowing it to be the most defenceless province on the continent. This consideration prompted the savage race to exhaust their malicious fury on it in particular.

OF MARYLAND.

This country extends about 150 miles in length and 137 miles in breadth. The lands are low and flat next the sea; towards the heads of rivers they rise into hills, and beyond lie the Appalachian mountains which are exceeding high. The air of this province is excessive hot some part of the summer, and equally cold in the winter, when the north-west wind blows; but the winters are not of

so long duration here as in some other colonies adjoining to it. In the spring of the year, they are infested with thick heavy fogs that rise from the low lands, which render the air more unhealthy for English constitutions; and hence it is that in the aforesaid season the people are constantly afflicted with agues.

The produce of this country is chiefly tobacco, planted and cultivated here with much application, and nearly the same success as in Virginia, and their principal trade with England is in that article. It also affords them most sorts of the grain and fruits of Europe and America.

OF VIRGINIA.

The extent of this province is computed to be 260 miles in length and 220 miles in breadth, being mostly flat land. For one hundred miles up the country there is scarce a hill or a stone to be seen. The air and seasons (it lying between 36 and 39 of north lat.) depend very much on the wind, as to heat and cold, dryness and moisture. The north and north-west winds are very nitrous and piercing cold, or else boisterous and stormy: the south and south-east winds, hazy and sultry hot. In winter they have a fine, clear air, which renders it very pleasant; the frosts are short, but sometimes so very sharp, that rivers are frozen over three miles broad. Snow often falls in large quantities; but seldom continues above two or three days at most.

The soil, though generally sandy and shallow, produces tobacco of the best quality, in great abundance. The people's usual food is Indian corn made into hommony, boiled to a pulp, and comes the nearest to buttered wheat of any thing I can compare it to. They have horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, in prodigious plenty, many of the last running wild in the woods. The regulation kept here is much the same as in New England; every man from sixteen to sixty years of age is enlisted into the militia, and mustered once a year at a general review, and four times a year by troops and companies. Their military complement, by computation, amounts to about 30,000 effective men; the collective number of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to 100,500, and, including servants and slaves, to twice that number.

OF CAROLINA.

This colony is computed to extend 660 miles in length; but its breadth is unknown. The lands are generally low and flat, and not a hill to be seen from St Augustine to Virginia, and a great way beyond. It is mostly covered with woods, where planters have not cleared it. About 100 miles west of the coast it shoots up into eminences, and continues to rise gradually all along to the Appalachian mountains, which are about 160 miles distant from the ocean. The north parts of Carolina are very uneven, but the ground is extremely proper for producing wheat; and all other sorts of grain that grow in Europe will come to great perfection here. The south parts of Carolina, if properly cultivated, might be made to produce silk, wine, and oil. This country yields large quantities of rice, of which they yearly ship off to other colonies about 80,000 barrels, each barrel containing 400 weight; besides they make abundance of tar, pitch and turpentine. They carry on also a great trade with deer skins and furs, to all places of Europe, which the English receive from the Indians in barter for guns, powder, knives, scissors, looking glasses, beads, rum, tobacco, coarse cloth, &c.

The English chapmen carry their pack horses five or 600 miles into the country, west of Charlestown; but most of the commerce is confined within the limits of the Creek and Cherokee nations, which do not lie above 350 miles from the coast. The air is very temperate and agreeable both summer and winter. Carolina is divided into two distinct provinces, viz. North and South Carolina.

OF NOVA SCOTIA.

This place extends about 600 miles in length, and 450 in breadth: the air is pretty much the same as in Old England: the soil is, for the most part, barren; but where it is cleared and cultivated it affords good corn and pasture. Here is fine timber, and fit for building, from whence pitch and tar may be extracted. Here also hemp and flax will grow, so that this country will be capable of furnishing all manner of naval stores. It abounds likewise with deer, wild fowl, and all sorts of game. On the coast is one of the finest cod-fisheries in the world. European cattle, viz. sheep, oxen, swine, horses, &c. they have in great abundance. The winters are very cold, their frosts sharp and of a long

duration: their summers are moderately hot; so that the climate, in the main, seems to be agreeable to English constitutions.

OF CANADA.

I shall close the description of the American colonies, with a short account of the soil and produce of the French Canada. Its extent is, according to their map, 1800 miles in length, and 1260 in breadth. The soil in the low lands near the river St Laurence, will indeed raise wheat; but withal, I found it so shallow, that it would not produce the grain above two years, unless it was properly manured. About 20 miles from the said river, so hilly and mountainous is the country, that nothing but Indians and wild ravenous beasts resort there. However, they have plenty of rye, Indian corn, buck weed, and oats; likewise of horses, cows, sheep, swine, &c. But I have observed, that fruits of any kind do not come to such perfection here as in some of the English settlements, which is owing to the long duration and excessive cold of their winters. The summer is short, and temperately hot. The climate, in general, is healthy and agreeable to European constitutions. And so much for the provinces in North America.

It is now high time to return to the embarkation at Quebec. Five hundred of us, being to be sent to England were put on board *La Renommee*, a French packet boat, Captain Dennis Vitree commander: we sailed under a flag of truce, and though the French behaved with a good deal of politeness, yet we were almost starved for want of provisions. One biscuit, and two ounces of pork a day, being all our allowance, and half dead with cold, having but few clothes, and the vessel being so small, that the major part of us were obliged to be upon deck in all weathers. After a passage of six weeks, we at last, to our great joy, arrived at Plymouth, on the sixth of November 1756. But these our troubles and hardships were not, as we expected, put to a period for some time; scruples arising to the Commissaries and Admiral there, about taking us on shore, as there was no cartel agreed on between the French and English, we were confined on board, until the determination of the Lords of the Admiralty should be known; lying there in a miserable condition seven or eight days before we received orders to disembark, which, when we were permitted to do, being ordered from thence, in different parties, to Totness, Kingsbridge, Newton Bushel, Newton Abbot in Devonshire, I was happy in being quartered in Kingsbridge, where I met with such civility and entertainment as I had for a long time been a stranger to.

In about four months we were again ordered to Plymouth dock, to be drafted into other regiments; where on being inspected, I was, on account of the wound I had received in my hand, discharged as incapable of further service; and was allowed the sum of six shillings to carry me home to Aberdeen, near the place of my nativity. But finding that sum insufficient to subsist me half the way, I was obliged to make my application to the honourable gentlemen of the city of York, who, on considering my necessity, and reviewing my manuscript on the transactions of the Indians, herein before mentioned, thought proper to have it printed for my own benefit, which they cheerfully subscribed unto. And after disposing of several of my books thro' the shire, I took the first opportunity of going in quest of my relations at Aberdeen, where I received very barbarous usage and ill treatment, occasioned by complaining against the illegal practice of kidnapping, in the beginning of the book.

End of French and Indian Cruelty

A particular Description of the INDIAN TOMAHAWK

The hatchet or axe, which the Indians call a Tomahawk, is used by them in many different employments. This instrument, in its present form, is said to have been the invention of the great William Penn, first proprietor of Pennsylvania. The tools used by the Indians, when he came among them, were made of stone; which were of little use in cutting wood. He procured a Tomahawk and scalping knife; and employed European smiths to make such after the Indian pattern; which was accordingly done. The Tomahawk was made like a plasterer's hammer, with a whistle in the handle, to give an alarm in case of danger; by this and such like inventions, the name of Penn became famous among them. The Indians he found much addicted to smoking tobacco; but for want of a better method they smoked through leaves twisted up into a kind of pipe. Seeing this he distributed several gross of English tobacco pipes among them, which pleased them for the instant; but unused to such brittle ware, the pipes would not stand their rough usage, but quickly broke; which lost Penn his credit among them, as they concluded themselves defrauded since pipes so easily broke they esteemed of no service. Father Penn, as they called him, was hereupon obliged to restore the Indian goods he had received in exchange for the pipes; and was glad to make speedy restitution to prevent bad consequences. He then caused the Tomahawk to be made to hold tobacco in the head of it, with a hole drilled through the handle of it to smoke by: an instrument of such beneficial service entirely regained him the confidence of the Indians; and was much more prized than the former, with the whistle at the end. It is now become useful in many branches of their business. In time of war to carry it with them, under their belts, and when victory inclines to their side, after firing their guns, they rush upon their enemies with it, fracturing and cleaving their skulls; very seldom failing with the first blow. They are also very dexterous in throwing it, and will strike an object at 50 yards distance. They also employ it in cutting wood, and in barking trees, at the season when they make their canoes. On the handle of the Tomahawk they record the occurrences of war. When the warriors are sent to fight, they cut as many notches on the handle of the hatchet, to know their number by. Their wounded are also marked down, with the number of prisoners they take from the enemy each in a different manner. So that at the close, they are enabled to form an estimate of the success of every expedition. Their Tomahawk is also the register of their time: the return of the moon, and remarkable events, are therein distinguished; as will appear upon conversing with any of their wise men, who will account for themselves for 6000 moons past.

