A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

FROM THE DISCOVERY IN

1492, to 1792:

OR,

SKETCHES OF THE DIVINE AGENCY,

In their Settlement, Growth, and Protection; and especially in the late

MEMORABLE REVOLUTION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EXHIBITING

A General View of the Principal Events, from the Discovery of North America, to the Year

1765.

BY BENJAMIN TRUMBULL, D.D.

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District of Massachusetts: to wit,

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the thirtieth day of March, in the thirty fourth year of the Independence of the United States of America, FARRAND, MALLORY, & CO. of the said District, have deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the Right whereof they claim as Proprietors, in the Words following, *to wit:*

A General History of the United States of America, from the discovery in 1492, to 1792; or sketches of the divine agency, in their settlement, growth, and protection, and especially, in the late memorable revolution. In three volumes. Vol I. exhibiting a general view, of the principal events from the discovery of North America, to the year 1765. By Benjamin Trumbull, D. D

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WILLIAM S. SHAW,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

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PREFACE.

THE disposing of thousands of people to leave their native country, their easy circumstances, and pleasant seats, in Europe; their effecting a settlement in a vast wilderness, a land not sown, replete with savage beasts and more savage men; their preservation and rapid increase in this part of America, were considered by the fathers of New England, among the wonderful works of God. They rejoiced greatly in the happy fruits of their labours; in beholding a wilderness converted into gardens, orchards, and fruitful fields in the important service thus rendered to the parent country; in being made instruments of laying the foundations of new colonies, enlarging the British empire, and opening to it new sources of commerce, opulence and power: but still more in witnessing the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom by churches on principles truly evangelical, and in transmitting them to posterity, as a rich inheritance, liberty and pure religion. In contemplating the way, in which they had been led, and the salvations, which they had experienced, they were deeply impressed with a sense of the numerous interpositions of providence in their behalf, and were anxious, that they might be faithfully related, that the generations to come might know them for their good, and that the Supreme Ruler might be glorified.

This solicitude to have these events recorded for the honour of God has been noticed by the writers of their history, by the records of the United colonies of New England, by the records of particular colonies, and in other authentic documents. Especially, after the revolutionary war, it was the desire of many pious men, that the remarkable deliverances, which the United States of America had experienced, might be fully exhibited to the public, as a tribute of praise to their great Deliverer, and for the instruction of posterity.

For this purpose the General Association of the State of Connecticut, after the Peace with Great Britain in 1783, by their vote expressed their desire, that the author of the following work would write an history of the remarkable events of the war, tracing the footsteps of providence through the whole.

Though at first he declined the work, yet the Association having repeated their desire, he yielded to their wishes.

The first governor Trumbull, obtaining the knowledge of the design observed, that the all governing hand of providence had been no less conspicuous in the first settlement of the country, in its protection and population, than in the Revolutionary war, and in the establishment of the United States of America, as a sovereign, free, and independent nation, and expressed his desire, that the divine superintendency might be exhibited from the first discovery of America, and the commencement of its settlement down to that time.

In deference to his opinion, and in compliance with his wishes, the history commences with the discovery of America. It was considered, that this would more fully comport with the desire of the first planters of the country, would do more honour to the divine government, and render the history more complete, useful, and important.

The history has been written in compliance with the wishes of good men, and with a particular view to answer the pious purposes of that venerable body, the General Association of the State of Connecticut. Its object is to excite gratitude and praise in the hearts of all believers in a divine providence, to confirm their trust in Him, whose kingdom ruleth over all: and to be a perpetual testimony of his goodness and wonderful works, particularly toward his American Israel. Though few writers of profane history notice the greatness and government of the Almighty in the events, which they relate, yet these are by far the most important and useful part of history. The pious and celebrated Rollin, after mentioning a number of important

uses of history, says; "But another object of infinitely greater importance claims our attention; it proclaims universally the greatness of the Almighty, his power, his justice, and, above all, the admirable wisdom, with which his providence governs the universe." With these views it was thought, that an history of the United States of this kind, might be peculiarly useful. It was hoped also, that it might bring the inhabitants of our country into a more general acquaintance with each other, awaken their mutual sympathies, promote their union and general welfare. It was supposed, that a view of the hardships, sufferings, and anxious care of their ancestors, and of the vast labours and expense of blood and treasure, with which they acquired and handed down to their posterity so fair an inheritance; such an extensive country, such wise institutions, and such distinguishing privileges, civil and religious, might beget in them a just veneration for the fathers of the country, and tend to inspire them with the same spirit of true liberty, magnanimity, and pious zeal to perpetuate these invaluable blessings.

As authentic history in various ways is highly useful to the countries and people, whose affairs it relates, and as almost every man feels himself particularly interested in the settlement of his own country, in the lives and adventures of his ancestors; in their morals, jurisprudence, and heroism, and reads them with a kind of filial pleasure; the author could not but persuade himself, that such an history would be an acceptable work, and make some little addition to the American literature. Such are the leading motives, which induced him to undertake this work.

But as no general history of the country had been written, and scarcely any thing relative to some parts of it, and as the materials for such a work were widely scattered, the collection of them has been a work of time and great labour. Another material circumstance, which added greatly to the labour, was the connexion of the affairs of the colonies with the history of Great Britain, which rendered a constant study of the history of that

country, as well as of America, necessary to authenticate and eludicate the work. Much care and labour have been employed to avoid errors, and to make it conspicuous and correct.

As the writing of the history of the American church of every denomination, the time and place of their origin, their emigration into America, the period of it, the places of their settlement, and their increase in this country, was contemplated by the author, and considerable progress made in collecting materials for that purpose, and in compiling such an history, less notice has been taken in this work of the ecclesiastical affairs of the United States, than otherwise would have been done.

It was the author's design to comprise the history of the United States in three volumes, the first to close with the year 1764; the second with the capture of General Burgoyne and his army, Oct. 17th, 1777; and the third with 1792, the whole comprising a general history of three complete centuries.

The author had written the first volume and part of the second; but he had been so retarded, by writing the history of Connecticut, and a number of unforeseen events, that considering his advanced age, and the necessary labours still on hand, he judged that he should not be able to complete the work himself, and therefore some time since, committed his manuscript histories, so far as they had been written, and his whole collection of papers and documents relative to them, into the hands of a friend in whose ability and fidelity he places an entire confidence, that they will be completed, as early as the nature and magnitude of the work will admit, according to its original plan and design.

Dec. 20. 1810.

Note. This first volume of the work above described, was published nine months since, during the absence of the friend, to whom the Author entrusted his manuscripts. By an unfortunate mistake, it was published without the preface and the concluding chapter. In this imperfect state a number of copies have been sold, to subscribers and others. The only method of correcting this regretted mistake is adopted, and the concluding chapter, with the Preface are published, and will be added to all the copies, which remain unsold; and may be had in a pamphlet, by all who have purchased the imperfect volume, by applying at the bookstore of Messrs. Mallory and Co. the publishers Suffolk Buildings, corner of State and Congress Street, Boston.

A

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction. Sketches of the principal discoveries of North America; of the state of the country when discovered; of the character, manners, religion, government, language, probable numbers, and geographical situation of the natives.

VERY conspicuous have been the exertions of Providence in the discovery of the new world, in the settlement, growth, and protection of the states and churches of North America. These challenge a grateful acknowledgment and perpetuation. It is the design of these sketches to trace them through the various periods, from the first discovery of the continent, to the present era, and to transmit them to succeeding ages, as a tribute of honour to their great and beneficent AUTHOR.

In the prosecution of this design, it will be necessary to notice the first and progressive discovery of the country; its state, with respect to cultivation, inhabitants, natural fruits, and advantages, when it was first known to the Europeans. The charters, boundaries, settlement, and constitution of the colonies within the limits of the United States; the dangers, hardships, and magnanimity of the first colonists; the progress of settlement, cultivation, literature, and population; with the principal occurrences, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, will also be exhibited.

CHAP. I.

After that long period of ignorance and inactivity which succeeded the fall of the Roman empire, it was the will of Providence, in the fifteenth century, to awaken mankind to a more inquisitive, bold, and enterprising spirit, and to signalize this period by some of the greatest, most memorable, and happy events. Men now passed the limits within which they had been confined, in preceding ages, discovered new countries, and opened an immense field for the display of genius and courage. The Portuguese had the honour of leading in this career of usefulness and glory. Their discoveries roused the attention of Europe, and more and more fired its several nations with the spirit of discovery and enterprise. Christopher Columbus, a man of great and daring genius, highly skilled in geography and navigation, became strongly impressed with the idea of a westerly passage to the Indies and of unknown regions, which time, art, and enterprise would soon discover. With this impression, after a course of such persevering exertions and magnanimity, as rarely find a parallel in the history of man, he obtained the sole honour of descrying the western isles, and of communicating to Europe the intelligence of a new world.

Discovery of the new world, Oct. 12th, 1492.

The Cabots, John and Sebastian, stimulated by the success and glory of Columbus, made a successful application to king Henry VII. of England, for ships and powers for the purpose of further discovery. To them was reserved the honour of first exploring the great continent of North America. They ranged her coasts, from the fifty seventh degree of north latitude, to the Floridas. They discovered Canada, Nova Scotia, New-England and the southern states. They erected crosses along the coast, and took a formal possession of the country in behalf of the crown of England.* This, in the course of Providence, laid the foundation of the British claims and settlements in America. Progressive discove-

The Cabots discover the northern continent, 1497.

* Prince's Chron. p.80, and Smith's hist. New Jersey, p. 7,24,25.

ries were made by other adventurers; especially by captains Gosnold and Smith.

The Spaniards made early discoveries of some parts of the continent. In fifteen hundred and twelve, John Ponce de Leon discovered the continent in thirty degrees and eight minutes of north latitude and took possession of the country naming it Florida. Twenty seven years after, Ferdinand de Soto sailed from Cuba, with nine hundred men, for the conquest of Florida. Arriving at Spiritu Santo, he made a tour into the country, to the northward, four hundred leagues, and discovered the great river Missisippi.* Dying in the country, his successor, Alverado, about three years after, constructed a number of vessels and sailed down the river, making discoveries more than four hundred leagues.

Spanish discoveries 1512.

1539.

While the Spaniards were making discoveries in the southern parts of the continent, the French steered a more northerly course. Francis I. of France, an enterprising prince, willing to share part of the new world with his neighbours, despatched John Verazina, with several ships to make discoveries in America. He sailed along the coast from twenty eight to fifty degrees of north latitude. Ten years after James Cartier was sent on the same business. He first came to anchor at cape Bonavista, and thence ranged the coast, to fifty degrees of north latitude. He made a discovery of various commodious harbours; but found the climate so cold and the country so uninviting, that he sailed back to the gulf of St. Lawrence; where, in the name of the most christian king, he took possession of several parts of the country. He made a voyage, the next year, and sailed up the river to the great falls, which were supposed to be three hundred leagues from the mouth of St. Lawrence. He visited the island of Montreal, which, at that time, was the chief place of resort for all the Indians in Canada. It was then named Hochelaga. He

French discoveries, 1524.

1534.

1536.

* Prince's Chron. p. 92.

CHAP. I.

spent the winter in the country and explored the parts adjacent to the river.*

From these various discoveries, originated the opposite claims of the several courts of Britian, France, and Spain; and the wars, which, for so many ages, embroiled this country, and occasioned such an expense both of blood and treasure. For nearly a century, however, these claims lay dormant. In fifteen hundred and nine, Henry the VII. was no more. The affairs of divorce, matrimony, and the reformation, engrossed the whole attention of Henry VIII. and the business of discovery, claim, and settlement was entirely neglected by the English court. The riches of the South drew the attention of the Spaniards. The long and bloody wars between Charles the V. emperor of Germany, and Francis I. gave the court of France ample employment. Besides, no prince, or statesman, in Europe, appears to have foreseen the advantages of planting colonies in this northern continent. It presented no mines of gold or silver, nor were its mountains covered with spicery and balm. It was not conceivable, at that period, how numerous hardy colonies, could give such strength, opulence and grandeur to empires, as could never be derived from the gold and rich productions of the southern regions. Almost the only advantage arising from the discovery of North America was the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. This was begun, by individuals, early in the sixteenth century, but the advantages, at first, were small. Many years elapsed before it was ripened into a system and became a national emolument.

Discovery neglected.

Reasons of this neglect.

When the Europeans made the first discoveries of North America, it was a vast and dreary wilderness, replete with wild and savage beasts, and with men, little less wild and savage than they. Here the panther, the catamountain, the tyger, the black and white bear, the wild cat, the wolf, and other beasts of prey

State of the country when it was discovered.

* Prince's Chron. p. 89, 90. and Wynn's hist. vol. I. p. 267, 768.

poured out their alarming roar. The buffalo and the elk, the moose and the carabo rushed through her thickets, the stag and the fallow deer ranged her mountains and leaped over her plains. The wild animals lurking in her groves, the feathered tribes perching on her boughs, and the various species of fowls covering her waters, were too numerous to particularize in the present work. America hath her full proportion of animals. Of two hundred species, which is the whole number supposed to exist upon the globe, the one half are aboriginal of America.*

With respect to animals.

The surface of the earth, destitute of cultivation, was generally loaded with rank and exuberant vegetation. Hidden, for ages, by extensive forests, from the purifying influence of the sun, the air became stagnant. In many places, putrid exhalations rose from the waters and low grounds, engendering disease and death. By reason of the fall of timber, twigs, and foliage, little grass was to be found, except in the marshes, low grounds, and tracts partially cleared by the natives. However, the natural fruits and advantages of the country were many. On the shore of the sea, on the banks of the rivers, by the brooks, and in the low grounds was an abundance of vines and grapes. These were of various kinds. The grapes are described, by the discoverers, as lying on the green soil, on the plains, and sands, and as so hanging over the shore of the sea, that the tides overflowed them. They imagined, that in the whole world besides there was not the like abundance. Say they, "The woods are not such as you find in Bohemia, Muscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitless; but the highest and reddest cedars in the world, bettering them of the Azores, Indies, or Libanus: Pines, Cypress, Sassafras, the Lentisk bearing mastick, and many other of excellent smell."† In the southern parts were both the black and white mulberry, plumbs, crabs, melons, musk mellons, cucumbers,

Cultivation.

Fruits and natural advantages.

* Jefferson's notes, p. 60.

† Smith's hist. p. 2.

CHAP. I.

tobacco, corn, pease, beans, pumkins, squashes, potatoes, and various kinds of esculent roots in abundance.* Acorns, walnuts, chesnuts, groundnuts, wild cherries, currants, strawberries, whortle berries, and other wild fruits, almost innumerable, grew in all parts of the United States. The discoverers relate, that the sweet flavour of America met, and agreeably saluted them, even before her shores or high lands were presented to their view.†

The country abounded with rich intervals, extensive and fertile plains, adapted to all the purposes of husbandry, but none knew how to improve them. It had the finest groves and timber in the world, for building of every kind. It was interspersed with numerous rivers and lakes. Some of the latter were little inferior to the small seas of the old world, affording the most extensive inland navigation.‡ Its coasts were washed more than a thousand miles by the Atlantic ocean. Its riches, in skins and furs, were scarcely equalled by those of any other part of the globe. It possessed all natural advantages for building, trade, and navigation. But the Aborigines had made no improvements. They were in total ignorance of their advantages. Beyond the hollow trough, or canoe, burnt out with fire, and wrought with sharp stones and shells, or made with the bark of birch trees, with ribs, and pitched over with tar and turpentine, they had made no advances in navigation.

Not known to the natives.

The country yielded mines of copper, and abounded in iron ores; but they were so ignorant of arts and manufactures, that they were not the possessors even of a knife, nor of any instrument of iron.

* Smith's hist. p. 22, 26, 27, and Beverly's hist. p. 124, 125.

† Smith's hist. p. 2. Voyage of Amidas and Barlow.

‡ The several western lakes, are said, upon an accurate calculation, to contain the following number of acres.

Lake Superior - -	21,952,780.	Bay Puan - -	1,216,000.
Lake of the woods	1,333,800.	Lake Huron -	5,009,920.
Lake Rain - - -	165,200.	Lake Sinclair -	895,000.
Red Lake - -	551,000.	Lake Erie - -	2,622,800.
Lake Michigan .	10,368,000.	Lake Ontario	2,390,000.

No public roads, no regular towns nor villages, no gardens nor fields of inclosure, were to be found, in all the vast regions of this northern continent. Neither oxen, cows, horses, sheep, nor any of the domesticated animals of the European nations, had been ever seen in them. During the many ages, which must have elapsed since the peopling of North America, no active genius had appeared, among its numerous nations, to teach and encourage arts, industry, a civil and comfortable manner of living.

Fish and fowls.

The waters of America are not less prolific than the lands. Its seas, lakes, and various rivers were replete with an uncommon variety and plenty of excellent fish. The whale, grampus, sturgeon, cod, salmon, sole, plaice, herring, shad, perch, pickerel, breams, trout, and numerous other kinds of fish, sported in its waters. Lobsters, crabs, shrimps, muscles, oysters, clams, and other shell fish enriched its shores and sands.

An almost incredible number and variety of fowls covered its waters. Among these were geese, ducks of various kinds, widgeons, teale, and others suitable for the first table entertainments.

Description of the aborigines. Their stature.

The country was peopled with numerous tribes, or clans of Indians. They were generally tall, strait, well shaped men. There was not, indeed, in the southern, the same uniformity, in stature, as in the northern tribes. The Wighcocomicoes, and others bordering on them, were small. The Sasquesahanocks were uncommonly large. Smith saith, "such great and well proportioned men are seldom ever seen; for they seemed like giants to the English." Five of their *werowances*, or kings, made him a visit. Of the largest of them he gives this description. "The calf of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld."* The native in-

* Smith's hist. p. 24.

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habitants of the mountains, in North Carolina, were of a gigantick stature.* The Indians, whether great or small, have the best limbs, and a good proportion.

Complexion.

They are universally born white, but when grown, are of a copper brown. Their hair is strait, long, and very black. They have black eyes, a fine, white set of teeth, and tolerably good features. Their faces and noses are generally broader, and less prominent, than those of the English. They have commonly very thin beards, or none ; not so much from nature, as from a custom, which they have, of pulling them out by the roots, when they first make their appearance. They are healthful, firm, and vigorous ;

Constitution.

capable of uncommon fatigues and hardships. They are full of agility : travel and run with uncommon ease and speed.† Their women are strong and masculine ; more inured to exercise and labour than the men : consequently they are more firm and capable of hardship. They endure the pains of child bearing without a groan.‡ Sometimes, soon after labour, they take their children on their backs, and travel as before.

Genius.

With respect to the general character of the natives, they were quick of apprehension, ingenious, and, in many instances, nothing could exceed their courtesy and friendship. Gravity and eloquence distinguished them in council, bravery and address in war. In general, they were not more easily provoked, than the Europeans ; but when once they had received an injury it was never forgotten. In anger, they were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful. Nothing indeed, when they were exasperated, could exceed their revenge and cruelty. Their personal and passive fortitude was equal to their cruelty. They would defend themselves against an host of enemies, or be killed, rather than surrender even to those, who, they knew

* Lawson's hist. of North Carolina, p. 82.
† Hutch. vol. I. p. 465. ‡ Neal's hist. N. E. vol. I. p. 45.

would give them good treatment. When in the power of their enemies, they were never known to beg for life: on the contrary they court death.* Though they were gradually disjointed, or broken in pieces, though flayed or burnt alive, they neither groaned, nor exhibited any signs of timidity or sorrow.† They nevertheless had a keen sensibility: not only their women, but even their warriors, who wish to appear superior to human events, wept bitterly, for the loss of children and relatives.‡ Treachery, indolence, inconstancy and improvidence, were also conspicuous traits in their character.§ CHAP. I.

Their dress was various. In summer they were generally naked, except about the waist, which was covered with a piece of leather, with grass or leaves. In winter they clothed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, thrown about them like a mantle. Some clothed themselves with mantles of feathers, so curiously wrought, with threads, that the feathers only were discernible. These were both warm and beautiful. Their sachems and chief men, on days of festivity and show, clad themselves with large mantles of deer skins, embroidered with white beads, or copper; or they were painted in various forms. As signs of royalty, they wore chains of fish bones about their necks, the skin of a wild cat, or some other terrible creature on their arms, or about their bodies. On the legs, hands, breasts, and faces of the women, were the figures of various living creatures, curiously wrought, with black spots, into the skin and flesh. They wore pendants of bracelets, chains and copper in their ears; bracelets on their arms, and chains on their legs. The men wore pendants

Dress.

Ornaments.

* Jefferson's notes, p. 108, 109. † Smith's hist. p. 38.
‡ Jefferson's notes, p. 109.

§ Every part of this character might have been illustrated by particular examples, and they are omitted, only for the sake of brevity. They may be found in Smith's ancient history of Virginia, in Wood's Prospect of New-England, in Colden's history of Canada, in Hubbard's narrative, in Jefferson's notes on Virginia, and in other writers on the subject.

CHAP. of copper, of living and dead animals in their ears. On their heads they wore the feathers and wings of fowls, with the rattles of snakes: and, sometimes the whole skin of a hawk, or of some strange fowl stuffed, with the wings spread. Their faces and shoulders were painted in various forms, and he was esteemed the bravest man, who could make the most monstrous and horrible appearance.*

Habitations. The Indian houses, or wigwams, were at best, but poor smoky cells. They were constructed, like arbours, of small young trees, bent and twisted together, and so curiously covered with mats, or the bark of trees, that they were tolerably warm and dry. In the center was their fire; and an opening at the top emitted the smoke. For the convenience of wood and water, they were commonly erected in groves, and near some river, brook, or living spring. When the wood failed, the owners changed their quarters.

Utensils. Their household furniture was as poor as their dwellings. They had neither pot nor kettle; neither chair nor stool, table nor napkin, but sat, ate, and lodged on the ground. Their beds were mats, or skins, on which, in the cold seasons, they lodged, with their feet always to the fire. Their hatchet was a stone somewhat in the form of the English hatchet. Instead of an eye it had a neck, round which a withe was fastened for a handle. Their knives were sharp shells and the splinters of reeds. With these they scalped their enemies, flayed and disjointed their game, cut their hair, trimmed their feathers, shaped their shoes, buskins and mantles. They planted and dressed their corn with the shells of oysters and clams, or with a stone hoe, or with a stick, broad and sharpened at one end. Between their hands and knees the women readily spun an even thread or cord, of the bark of trees, of the Indian hemp, or of the sinews of moose and deer. With this

* Smith's hist. p. 30. 38.

they made their lines and nets, for fishing, and the strings of their bows. Their nets were small, but as formally wrought as those of the Europeans. Their fish hooks were made of bones, bent, or otherwise formed, much in the shape of the English fish hook.

Food. Their food was course and simple. Till the Europeans visited them, they had neither bread nor salt. They fed on the flesh and entrails of moose, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild beasts and birds; on fish, eels, and creeping things. They had good stomachs, and nothing came amiss. In the hunting and fowling seasons, they had venison, moose, buffaloes, and fat bears: fish, turkeys, geese, and the like. In the summer, they had green corn, beans, pease and the various fruits which the country naturally produced.* In the winter they subsisted on corn, beans, fish, nuts, groundnuts, and other esculent roots.

Cookery. Their only way of cooking flesh or fish, was by roasting them on a stick, or broiling them on the coals. In the winter, they most commonly ate their corn parched. Sometimes, after parching they pounded it into a kind of coarse meal. They termed this Nuichicke; which, saith Hutchinson, "Is well enough translated Nocake." With a small pouch of this they would support themselves, for several days, in their hunts and long marches, when destitute of other supplies. They had no set meals; but, like other wild creatures, ate when they were hungry. Sometimes they had little or nothing for a day or two. But, when they had provisions, they feasted: after fasting they indulged themselves freely, and made up, at one meal, all they had lost before.

War. The various tribes waged, with each other, fierce and implacable wars. They fought not for lands nor

* Pease and beans seem to have been natural productions of the country. Ibid. p.28. See also Lawson's history of North Carolina, p.76.

CHAP. I

riches; but for glory, women, and, principally, for revenge. Their personal valour was great; but they had little discipline. They had neither drum nor trumpet: their throats served them, on all occasions, where these were necessary. They had not only a surprising faculty of raising their voices, in wild and inarticulate sounds, but of making their words understood at a great distance. Singular was their address in ambushing, ensnaring, and surprising their enemies. They commenced their battles in a sudden, furious manner, with the war hoop, or Indian yell, than which nothing could be more savage and terrible. Whenever they gained a victory, their route was marked with promiscuous carnage and destruction. The women and royalties of a conquered sachem, were esteemed the property, and reserved for the use of the sachem, who made the conquest. The Indians, in general, scalped, cut off the heads, and mangled the dead bodies of their enemies.

Treatment of captives.

When they made captives, they offered them no mal-treatment; but would rather starve themselves, than suffer them to want. Whether they were to be kept alive, or to be tortured to death, they fed them as well as circumstances would permit: and, sometimes, feasted them previous to the most merciless torments. No instance is to be found of their having offered the least violence to the chastity of their female captives. Notwithstanding, their wretched prisoners underwent severe punishments, at their journey's end, before it was determined whether they should live or die: if it was determined that they should live, from that moment, they received the kindest treatment; but if the determination was otherwise, they died in torments, to satiate the cruelty and revenge of their captors.*

Arms.

Their arms were bows and arrows, a wooden sword, and a tomahawk. Their bows were constructed in the common form. Their arrows were

* Colden's vol. i. p. 9, 10.

made of straight sticks, reeds, or stalks of elder, headed with bone, or a hard, flinty stone, fastened with cords and glue.* They rarely missed their mark, and their arrows did execution. Their tomahawk was either a club with a knob at one end, a stone hatchet, or a stick with a piece of a deer's horn fixed at one end, like a pickaxe. The southern Indians used round targets made of bark.† The Mohawks covered themselves with the skin of the sea horse, for a defence against the arrows of their enemies.‡ CHAP. I.

The Indian men were indolent, and disdained to labour. They diverted themselves with hunting, fishing, fowling, shooting at marks, leaping, dancing, and the like exercises. At their dances, which were commonly performed round a great fire, they were painted and dressed in the most frightful manner; especially, in their war-dances. In these they sang their own, and their ancestors' heroic feats; representing the manner of their performance, and wrought themselves up to an inexpressible degree of martial rage and enthusiasm. Diversions.

They put all the labour upon their women. They builded their houses, planted, dressed and gathered in their corn. They gathered their wood, and bore it, on their shoulders to their wigwams. They bore home the venison, fish and fowl, or whatever game their husbands took in hunting or fishing. In journeying or marching, they carried their children and bore their burdens. Notwithstanding the churlishness and inhumanity of their haughty lords, they wrangled not with them, but were mild and obedient. They contented themselves, with their helpless condition, esteeming it the woman's portion. Abuse of the women.

When a young Indian wished for conjugal connexions, he presented the girl by whom he was enamoured with bracelets, belts, and chains of wampum; Courtship and marriage.

* They made glue of deer's horns and sinews, which Smith says, would not dissolve with cold water. Hist. Virginia, p. 31.

† Smith's hist. Virg. p. 31. ‡ Hutch. hist. vol. i. 464.

CHAP. I.

and if she received them they lived together, for a time on trial, enjoying the fruits of their love. If they pleased each other, they were joined in marriage; but, if after a few weeks, they were not suited, the man, leaving his presents, quitted the girl and sought another mistress; and she another *humble servant*. Thus they courted until two met, who were agreeable to each other. The accompanying of a suitor in this manner, detracted nothing from the honour of the girl. Before marriage, the consent of the sachem was obtained, and he, always, joined the hands of the young pair in wedlock.

Concubines.

Among the five nations polygamy was not customary;* but the Indians in general kept many concubines, and never thought they had too many women.† They chose them agreeably to fancy, and put them away at pleasure. When a sachem grew weary of any of his women, he bestowed them on some of his favourites, or chief men. But the Indians had one wife, who was the governess of the family, and whom they generally kept during life. In cases of adultery, the husband either put away the guilty wife, or satisfied himself by the infliction of some severe punishment. Husbands and wives, parents and children, lived in the same wigwam, without any apartments, and made no privacy of such actions, as even the chaster animals keep from public view.

Manner of burial.

The manner of burial, and mourning for the dead, seem to have been nearly the same, in all parts of the continent. The most common way of burial was to dig holes in the ground, with sharpened stakes; in the bottom of which sticks were laid across, and the corpse, wrapped in skins and mats, was laid upon them. The arms and treasures of the dead, their utensils, paint, and ornaments, were put into the same holes with themselves, and a mount of earth was raised upon them all. In some parts of New-

* Colden's hist. vol. i. p. 13. † Neal's hist. N. E. vol. i. p. 38.

England, and among the five nations, the dead were buried in a sitting posture, with their faces towards the east. Their women blacked their faces, with coal and oil, on these mournful occasions, and during the burial, the friends of the dead made the most doleful and hideous lamentations. Their mourning continued, night and morning for several days; in which all the relatives bore a part.

Burial of bones.

Some of the Indians had a custom, at certain periods, of collecting the bones of their dead and of burying them, in a sort of strata, or beds, one above another, under covers of stone and earth, till they raised a hillock eight, ten, or twelve feet in altitude. Jefferson, in his description of one of these barrows, as he terms them, says, "It was of a spheroidical form, of about forty feet diameter, at the base, and had been about twelve feet in altitude." Upon examination, he conjectured that it contained a thousand skeletons.* The bones lay in such promiscuous confusion, as excited the idea, that they were emptied from sacks or baskets, and buried in that state of disorder. From the state of the bones, in the several beds, it appeared that they were buried at different times. These repositories of bones are to be found all over Virginia.

Money.

The natives had a sort of money, called wampum. It consisted of small beads, very curiously wrought out of shells, perforated in the centre so that they might be strung on belts, in chains, and bracelets. These were of several sorts. The Indians in New-England made black, blue, and white wampum. Six of the white beads, and three of the black, or blue ones, passed for a penny. The five nations make another sort which are of a purple colour. The white ones are wrought out of the inside of the great conchs; and the purple, out of the inside of the muscle shell: These are now woven, or strung in broad belts;

* Notes on Virg. p. 173, 175.

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and in their treaties, are given as a confirmation of their speeches, and as the seals of friendship.*

Pipes and tobacco.

As tobacco was a natural production of the country, the natives were great smokers. Tobacco pouches hung at their backs, and pipes were their inseparable companions. These pipes were made of wood and stone. Some of them were wrought in a very curious manner, and on them were carved the figures of birds and various living creatures.

Religion.

The natives believed the existence of a GOD and a future state. They worshipped a great variety of deities; such as the fire, water, thunder, and lightning, and any thing, which they conceived to be superior to themselves, and capable of doing them an injury. They even worshipped the horses, great guns, and muskets of the Europeans, when they came first among them. They believed that there was one supreme GOD, the Preserver and Lord of the universe. But they payed their principal devotion to the evil spirit, whom they called Hobbamocko. They seem to have conceived, that the supreme GOD, whom they called Kichtan, was good, and that Hobbamocko was evil, and did them mischief; and so, from fear, they worshipped him, to keep him in good humour. They did not appear to have any notions of a sabbath, or to regard one day more than another. In times of great distress, on the account of famine, sickness, or fear of their enemies; and at times of triumph and of the ingathering of their fruits, the whole country, men, women, and children, came together to their solemnities. The manner of their devotion was to sing and dance round great fires, kindled in their houses or fields; sometimes, all shouting aloud together. They often continued these exercises incessantly, for four or five hours.† The Powhatans, in Virginia, and the Narragansets, in Rhode-Island, appear to have been the most superstitious of all the Indians, on the continent. Smith

Manner of devotion.

* Colden's hist. vol. i. p.3,4, and 71. † Smith's hist. Virg. p. 35,36.

represents, that nearly three parts of the year, the Virginia Indians observed times and seasons.* In every territory of a Werowance there was a temple filled with the images of their kings and of evil spirits. These temples were built arbour-wise, and nearly sixty feet in length. They were esteemed so sacred, that none but kings and priests might enter them. The god whom the Indians of New-England called Hobbamocko, the Virginia Indians called Okee. A common savage durst not pass one of his temples, even in boats, without solemnly casting pieces of copper, white beads, or pocones into the river, for fear he would be offended, and revenge the affront.

Priests.

Seven priests ministered in some of these temples. The chief priest was distinguished, from the other six, by his extraordinary head-dress. This was made of twelve or sixteen snake skins, with the skins of weasels and other vermin, the tails of which, meeting on the crown of the head, formed a large tassel. Round this was gathered a crown of feathers. The skins hung down over his neck and shoulders, and almost covered his face. The priests were all painted in the most deformed manner which could be devised; and every one held a rattle. The chief priest began their songs; sometimes he broke out into invocations, with starts and strange passions; and when he paused the rest would utter short groans.†

Altars and Sacrifices.

In Virginia, the Indians had altars, or large stones on which they offered blood, deer's suet, and tobacco. These were erected by their houses, in the woods and wilderness, where any thing extraordinary had happened: and they served them not only as altars, but as the best records of their antiquities. In great storms, when the waters in the sea and rivers were rough and tumultuous, they threw copper, tobacco, and the like articles into the waters, with a kind of

* Smith's hist. Virg. p. 29. † p. 35.

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infernal yell and invocation, to appease the incensed gods. They had also an annual sacrifice of male children. While the ceremony attending their dedication was performing, the women wept and cried out in the highest transports of female tenderness. They prepared mats, skins, moss, and other articles for the funerals of their children. Whether the children were all slain, or whether part of them were reserved for priests and conjurers, could not be determined.* So deluded were these unhappy men, as to believe that unless they made this barbarous sacrifice, their Okee, and the other gods, would not suffer them to have either harvests, venison, turkeys, or fish; but that they would make great destruction among them.

The Narrhagansetts, as well as the southern Indians, had their temples for devotion. These were shut against all but the powaws, unless at the times of their public solemnities. Then vast crowds flocked to them, and offered their best treasures; skins, hatchets, and utensils of all kinds, in sacrifice to their god. The priests took all their offerings, and cast them into a great fire, in which they were burned to ashes. Many of the devout Indians dedicated their children to the gods, to be educated for powaws, or priests.

Government.

The Indian government, in general, was absolute monarchy. The will of the sachem was his law. The lives of his subjects were all in his power. But in all important affairs, he consulted his counsellors; who, when they had given their opinions, referred the decision of every matter to him. Whatever his determinations were, they applauded his wisdom, and without hesitation carried his orders into execution. In council, the deportment of the sachems was grave and majestic, even to admiration. The conduct of their servants was equally respectful and submissive. The counsellors of the

Paniese, or counsellors.

* Smith's hist. p. 36.

sachem were not only the most wise and courageous, but, generally, the largest men, in his dominion. They were not only his counsellors, but the immediate guard of his person. The New-England Indians, termed these counsellors, the *paniese*. To keep up an order so honourable and important, as these were esteemed among them, the most promising boys were chosen, and with great care trained up in the observation of peculiar rites and customs. They were made to abstain from all curious meats, to drink the juice of bitter herbs; were beaten with sticks on their legs, and obliged to run through brambles and thorny bushes, to render them hardy, and more acceptable to Hobbamocko.* Though the natives had no written laws, yet they had customs, which, in some measure, obtained the force of law. According to these, an attempt upon the life of the sachem, a gross act of disobedience, or insult offered to his person, and murder, were capital crimes. The punishment of the former of these, was scalping, disjointing, and flaying them alive; or binding and roasting them alive, on heaps of burning coals.† The punishment of the latter was knocking the murderer on the head. Injustice was punished according to the number of times, in which the delinquent had been found guilty. For the first offence, he was, in the most disgraceful and humiliating manner, reproached for his knavery; for the second, he was cudgelled on the naked body; for the third, besides a sound drubbing, his nose was slit, that all for the future might know and avoid him. The sachem was generally both the judge and the executioner.‡

Punishments.

The five nations were distinguished, by their government, from all the other Indians on the continent. This was entirely republican. The authority of their rulers was gained and supported, by the opin-

Government of the five nations.

* Neal's hist. N. E. vol. i p. 39, 40. † Smith's hist. Virg. p. 38.
‡ Neal's hist. N. E. p. 42, 43.

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ion, which the nation had of their wisdom, courage, and integrity. Honour and esteem were their rewards; shame and contempt their punishments. They were confederate nations, joined in a perpetual league, in which all had equal authority and influence. Their union was so ancient, that its origin was unknown. Like the Romans, they always strengthened themselves, by the admission and incorporation of other nations among them. They imagine themselves, by nature, superior to the rest of mankind. They haughtily styled themselves *Ongue-honwe*, men surpassing all others. For time immemorial, they have been the terror of all the other Indians of North America. Since the settlement of New-England, if a single Mohawk was discovered in the country, the other Indians, from hill to hill, raised the cry, A Mohawk! A Mohawk! Whatever disparity there was in numbers, they fled, without the least resistance. Sometimes when they fled to the English houses for protection, the Mohawks entered with them, and knocked them on the head, in the presence of the family.* But they did no injury to the christians; and, if the doors were shut, they never made a forcible entry.

Esteem of themselves.

Indian eloquence.

The Indians, not only of the five nations, but generally, were much given to speech-making. With them, war and eloquence were the foundations of all consequence. To these acquirements, therefore, the whole force of their genius was directed. In council, their opinions were given in set speeches; and to persons whom they respected, at meeting and parting, they addressed their compliments in formal harangues. The Indians of the five nations used no labials; but thought it laughable indeed, for men to shut their mouths, that they might speak.

The Indian language was replete with gutturals and strong aspirations, which rendered it peculiarly bold and sonorous. Their speeches, like those of

* Colden's hist. vol. i. p. 1, 2, 3.

the eastern nations, abounded with metaphors, and some of them, perhaps, are equal to any recorded in ancient or modern history.* Their manner of speaking was with uncommon animation and vehemence. Great was the deference which they observed in their conversation, one with another, and in their public speeches; especially in their treaties between nations. In the former they were pleased with sallies of wit and humour, but in a public treaty, any thing of this nature gave disgust, and left the impression of a light and inconsiderate mind.

Deference in conversation.

The Indians have been represented by some writers, as the most sordid and contemptible part of the human species; as the very ruins and dregs of mankind. However, in justice to their character, it ought to be observed, that on the first arrival of the English, both in Virginia and New-England, they treated them with great kindness. In Virginia, they carried them on shore upon their backs, that they might not wet themselves in wading from their boats; they washed their clothes and even their feet; and feasted them in the best manner of which they were capable. The writers of those times say, "A more kind and loving people cannot be."† In New-England, they made them welcome to their cabins, by good treatment and the best provisions they could furnish. They taught them how to plant and cultivate the Indian corn: and, when any of them were lost in the woods, and otherwise must have perished, they fed, and conducted them safely to their quarters.‡ Faithless as they have been represented, Massasoiet, and his successors, kept good faith with the English for nearly half a century. The five nations have maintained their confederation, with each other, inviolate, for time immemorial. They maintained, with the utmost punctuality, their treaties with the Dutch of New-York

First treatment of the English.

* Witness the speech of Logan, published by Jefferson, and the speech of Garangula, published by Colden. Vol. i. p. 70, 73.

† Smith's Hist. Virg. p. 3, 4. ‡ Hutch. Vol. i. p. 468.

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and Albany, from their commencement, till the English became masters of the province, and the Dutch government ceased. With equal punctuality, did they afterwards keep them, with the English, until the late memorable revolution.

The little progress which they had made in arts and civilization, appears not to have been owing so much to want of genius, as to a combination of other circumstances. When their children have been put to English schools, they have appeared no less active, witty, and apt to learn, than the English boys. In writing they have often excelled them.

Numbers of the Aborigines.

With respect to the number of the natives, when the Europeans commenced an acquaintance with them, it is impossible to give an accurate account. Some of the accounts published have been rather romantic than judicious and accurate. Doctor Mather represents, and from him Mr. Neal, that there were millions of them. Indeed they represent the Mohawks as having destroyed more than two millions, at the westward, between New-England and the Missisippi.* But it is not probable, that there was one quarter of that number, in all that part of the country, east of said river. In the wild manner in which the natives lived, principally, by hunting, fishing, and the natural productions of the earth, a large tract was necessary for the support of a small number of inhabitants. Their settlements could not be thick and populous.

East of the Missisippi.

From the several lists of their numbers, made by Croghan, Bonquet, Hutchins, and Dodge, in 1759, 1764, 1768, and 1779, it appears, that the whole number, at that time, discovered within the limits, and west and north of the United States, amounted only to about eighty thousands. Full half this number inhabit within the boundaries of the United States.

In the United States.

Their numbers when the Europeans commenced their settlements are much more uncertain. There

* Magnalia and Neal's history of New England.

are, however, some data by which we may, perhaps, form a tolerable estimate. In Virginia they were, in part, numbered at an early period. In New England, the Carolinas, and some other parts of the country at certain periods, calculations were made of the number of their warriors. These will reflect light on the subject. According to captain Smith's account of Virginia, the country from the sea coast to the mountains, was inhabited by forty-three different tribes of Indians.* Thirty of these tribes spread over a tract of country, south of the Patowmac, between the falls of the rivers and the sea coast, containing about eight thousand square miles. These were united in a grand confederacy under Powhatan, the great werowance or sachem of the country. The same author informs us that within sixty miles of Jamestown, were five thousand people, and fifteen hundred warriors.† The whole number of inhabitants between the sea coast and the falls seems to have been about eight thousand, and the number of warriors about two thousand and four hundred. The proportion of warriors, to the whole number of inhabitants, was as three to ten. The Powhatan confederacy consisted of eight thousand inhabitants; about one to every square mile. This is about the twentieth part of the population of Virginia, in the same extent of territory, about the fiftieth part of the population of Connecticut, and a hundreth part of that of the British islands. On supposition that the population of the natives had been equal to one in every square mile throughout the whole territory of the United States, their numbers would have amounted to a million of people. But, that they were everywhere thus populous is not probable. Their principal settlements were evidently on the sea coasts, rivers, lakes, and tracts peculiarly adapted to hunting, fishing, and their wild manner of living. In many parts of the country there were few or no settlements.

Their population in Virginia.

* Smith's hist. Virginia, p. 23, 24, 25. † Hist. of Virginia, p. 26.

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Probably, their population far back in the country was not very different from what it is at present. Their diminution by strong drink, or any other supposable cause, in the unsettled parts of it, since the arrival of the Europeans, has not, perhaps greatly exceeded the accessions made to them, by those who have removed, or been driven back, from the sea coasts and various parts now settled by the Americans.

Probable numbers at the time of settlement.

Allowing their population in the New England States, and a hundred miles back from the sea coast into the country in all the others, to have been equal to that in Virginia, their numbers would have amounted to a hundred and twenty three thousand. In the New-England states are about forty-nine thousand square miles. The states south of them will measure, on a straight line, upon the sea coast, about seven hundred and forty miles. If we reckon them to extend back into the country a hundred miles, we shall make seventy four thousand square miles. These numbers added to each other will make the number mentioned. If we estimate them by the number of their warriors and some other circumstances of which we have tolerable information, their numbers will not appear very different from the above statement.

In Virginia, beside the Powhatan confederacy, there were two others; the confederacy of the Mannahoacks, and that of the Monacans. These two confederacies were united in one grand combination against the Powhatans. Against these they maintained implacable and perpetual wars. This confederacy consisted of thirteen tribes; eight under the Mannahoacks, and five under the Monacans. Though this confederacy consisted of a less number of tribes, than that of the Powhatans, yet it seems they were nearly equal in numbers and power. Exclusive of these there were the Nottoways, Meherricks, the Tutcloes and some other clans. Counting them all to be equal in number to the Powhatans, the Vir-

In Virginia.

ginia Indians may be estimated at sixteen thousands.

The Indians in the Carolinas and Georgia were more numerous than in Virginia. In 1768, the number of Indians in North Carolina, was four thousand seven hundred. The Tuscaroras only, amounted to three thousands. Among these were twelve hundred gun men. Two fifths of all these Indians were accounted to be warriors or gun men.*

In North Carolina.

In South Carolina the Indians were very numerous. In 1715, the warriors who rose against the colony were estimated at nearly seven thousands.† As late as 1671, the Cherokees only were estimated at six thousand bow men.‡ Besides these there were several other powerful tribes; as the Corees, Stonoes, Westoes, Serannas, Yamosees, Catawbaws, and Congarees. All these tribes, according to the accounts given of them, could not be less numerous than the Cherokees. The number of Indians in this colony, at the time of settlement, probably was not less than thirty five or six thousands. If all the other Indians were equal in numbers to the Cherokees, there would have been twelve thousand warriors. On an average we may not reckon more than one warrior to three inhabitants. This is a medium between the estimates which have been made.

In South Carolina.

The number of Indians in Georgia, perhaps was not very different from what it is at present. Great accessions were made to their numbers by the Yamosees and other Indians driven from Carolina. In 1732, the Creeks only amounted to about twenty five thousand souls.§ Besides these there are the Chickasaws, the Chacktaws, Alibamous, and Natchez. Galphin in his history of numbers, in 1768, makes them

In Georgia.

* Lawson's history of North Carolina, p. 235.

† Hist. S. Carolina, vol. i. p. 201—223. ‡ Ibid. p. 297.

§ Hist. S. Car. vol. ii. p. 20. These were always considered as in South Carolina, until after the year 1761. The treaty of peace between the Cherokees and the English was made by the governour of South Carolina, and his council in 1761. I shall therefore speak of them, as other historians have done, as being in South Carolina, until the proclamation of George III. in 1763, in consequence of which they are within the limits of Georgia.

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ten thousand two hundred and fifty. This seems to have been the number of their warriors. Morse in his Geography reckons them at ten thousand four hundred and seventy six fighting men, and at thirty one thousand one hundred and twenty eight souls. Some small clans are not in his reckoning. The Indians in Georgia, at the time, when the English settlements commenced, were not less than thirty four or five thousands. Thus there appears to have been about ninety thousand Indians in that tract of country lying upon and south of the Potowmac.

Whole number on, and south of Potowmac.

In the country north of the falls of Potowmac to the Kittatinney mountains, including the states of Delaware, and Pennsylvania, and that part of New-York below the highlands, the Indians were much less numerous. In a pamphlet entitled " A Description of New-Albion," thirty kings are mentioned as living within these limits. Particular mention is made of ten tribes and of their number of men extending along the sea coast and rivers two hundred miles. Their whole number amounted only to about nine hundred men. The two Rariton kings are distinguished from these, and are said to have twelve hundred. The Susquehanna Indians, when captain Smith discovered them, about forty years before, consisted of six hundred men; but at this period were reduced to about one hundred. They and the Indians in alliance with them amounted only to two hundred and fifty. The largest number of warriors mentioned by any author, in this tract, is two thousand. It is not therefore probable that the whole number of natives within this territory exceeded eight or ten thousands.* The five nations had, for a long time, terribly harrassed and depopulated this part of the country. These, with the other nations north of this territory, within the limits of the state of New-York, probably, amounted to ten thousands more.

In the tract between that and New-England.

* Maryland was originally of Virginia, and the Indians inhabiting in that territory are included in Virginia, or the tract under the description of New-Albion.

In Connecticut the Pequots and Mohegans had a thousand warriors. About the year 1670, the Indian warriors, within the limits of Windsor, were estimated at two thousands. Besides these there were other large bodies of Indians in the colony. Their numbers cannot be estimated at less than ten or twelve thousands.

In Connecticut.

The Narragansetts, in Rhode-Island, were a numerous tribe. About the time, that the English settled at Plymouth, their fighting men were computed at five thousands.* This account was doubtless exaggerated. From a more perfect knowledge of their territory and numbers afterwards, it appeared improbable that their numbers were ever so great. In 1675, when the English had obtained a more accurate knowledge of them they were estimated at two thousand warriors. About one half of this number had fire arms.† The Wampanoags, a considerable tribe, were partly within the limits of Rhode-Island. The number of Indians therefore originally within the limits of this state could not have been less than eight thousands.

In Rhode Island.

The Indians in the Massachusetts had been exceedingly wasted both by sickness and war; yet, in some parts of it, they were considerably numerous. It appears by governour Hinkley's account, in 1685, that there were more than four thousand Indians within the limits of the county of Plymouth. Exclusive of these, there were many other tribes and sachemdoms, within the limits of Massachusetts. It is probable that the whole number was ten or twelve thousands.

In Massachusetts.

The New-Hampshire Indians had been greatly diminished not only in wars with the Massachusett and other Indians, but by civil wars among themselves. Probably their numbers did not exceed four thousands. These computations make the whole number within the limits of the United States a hun-

In New-Hampshire.

Total amount.

* Prince's Chron. p. 116. † Hubbard's Narrative, p. 126.

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dred and forty six thousands. Accounting one third to be bow men, there were nearly fifty thousand warriors; twelve thousands in New-England, and nearly thirty eight in the middle and southern states. Supposing their original numbers were double to this, of which there is no probability, from the most accurate accounts given of them, they were indeed small, in comparison with the exaggerated accounts which some have published.

Reasons of their slow population.

A combination of circumstances prevented their population. The poverty of their living was extreme. To bread, butter, cheese, and every thing of the milky kind, they were entire strangers. They drank nothing more nutritious than the waters which flowed in the brook, or spouted from the spring. Not only in their parties of hunting and war, but even at home, they often lived upon the gleanings of the forest. At times they experienced famine some parts of the year. This enfeebled and rendered them less productive. A few fat pastures will produce more cattle, than a whole country of forests will of bears and buffaloes. The extreme hardships of the Indian women, their long and hungry marches and journies, rendered the bearing and nursing of children extremely inconvenient. The furious and perpetual wars of the natives among themselves also continually lessened their numbers. After the arrival of the Europeans, it was, in many instances, their wicked policy, to promote these wars, for their own advantage. They have been also exceedingly wasted in their wars with the colonies. The driving of them back from the sea coasts, and the great diminution of wild game, of all sorts, since the settlement of the country, has increased the poverty and wretchedness of their living, which has been a still further check upon their population. Above all, they are supposed to have been wasted, by the introduction of strong liquors among them. From an union of all these causes, they have been constantly diminishing, from the first settlement of the country to the

Of their diminution.

present period. Of the numerous nations which spread the islands and sea coasts very few have now an existence. Of the most of them there is not a vestige. CHAP. I.

Some notices of the geographical situation of the Indian nations may render the present history more perspicuous and agreeable.

The Powhatans were situated on James river about Henrico. The river was originally called Powhatan, from the great Werowance of the country and his Indians. The seat of his hereditary dominions was on the river about a mile below the falls. It was on an eminence upon the north side of the river facing two pleasant islands. From its extremely agreeable situation, the English seem to have called it None-such. He had another seat at Werowocomico. This was on the north side of York river in the county of Glocester, nearly opposite to the mouth of Queen's creek, about twenty-five miles below the fork of the river. Geographical situation. In Virginia.

Powhatan was a tall, well proportioned man. His constitution was exceedingly strong and hardy. His countenance was grave and sour, and he possessed great natural art and cunning. A guard of forty or fifty of the tallest men, which could be found among his warriors, constantly attended his savage majesty. A regular sentry was kept every night on the four quarters of his house. He kept as many women as he pleased. His concubines were about as numerous as his guards. When he slept one of his women always sat at his head and another at his feet. When he sat he had one at his right hand and another at his left. When he dined or supped, one brought him water to wash his hands, and another waited, with a bunch of feathers, to wipe them. At times of show he clothed himself with a robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle, seated himself on a bed of mats, with a pillow of leather embroidered with pearl and white beads. Besides the two women on his right and left, twenty others were ranged on each side the roy-

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al house.* Powhatan, Arrowwhattoc, Appamattoc, Pamunkey, Youghtanund, and Mattapoment were territories which descended to him from his ancestors. The other parts of his dominion were gained by conquest. He was so jealous of the English, and had so little pleasure in their neighbourhood, that soon after their settlement at James town, he removed to Orapakes, in the desert between Chickahominy and Youghtanund. He also increased his guard to two hundred men.

The Mannahoacks, with two other tribes in their confederacy, were settled between Rappahanoc and York rivers, in the counties of Spotsylvania and Orange. The other tribes in that confederacy spread over the counties of Faquier, Culpepper, and Orange, between Potowmac and Rappahanoc.

The Monocans were settled above the falls between York and James rivers; and their confederates were principally in the territories of Fluvanna, Bedford, Buckingham, and Cumberland.

In North Carolina.

In North Carolina, Lawson mentions thirteen tribes, but scarcely any of them are worthy of notice except the Tuscaroras. These were settled on Roanoke river, in Bertie and some other counties in the districts of Edenton and Halifax. The next tribe to the Tuscaroras, in number, was the Waccons, but these did not exceed a hundred and twenty fighting men. The other tribes, or clans had not more than fifty and some not more than thirty gun men. The Machapunga Indians were settled near the lake of that name, in Hyde county. The Meherrins were settled on Meherrin river, the Chawans, on Bennet's creek, in Chowan county. The Pasquotank Indians were settled on Pasquotank river, in the county of that name. The Poteskeits were on the north river in Currituck county. The Hatteras Indians were seated on the banks of Cape Hatteras. In the year 1700 these Indians gave information that among

* Lawson's history of North Carolina, p. 234, 235.

their ancestors were white people who could read. This account probably was true, as many of those Indians had grey eyes, by which they were distinguished from all other Indians on the continent. They valued themselves extremely on their affinity to the English, and were ready to do them every kind office.* Hence arises a probable conjecture that Sir Walter Raleigh's people, who were lost in Virginia, removed to the Cape and mingled with these Indians. The Neus and the Pamptico Indians were settled, the former on the river Neus and the latter on Pamptico sound. There were also the Jaupims settled on Jaupim river. Lawson represents that besides these original tribes there were five others consisting in the whole of nearly a thousand Indians, who had lately removed into the colony. Among these were the Saponas, settled on a creek of that name, in Nash county; the Keiauwees on the north fork of the Savannah; the Shoccories, on Shocco creek, in Warren county; and the Occonechos on Occonechee creek, near the town of Halifax. Of all these tribes there are now remaining in North Carolina sixty Indians only. These are the remains of the Tuscaroras, on the Roanoke in Bertie county. For many years they have been under legislative protection.†

In South Carolina were eight very considerable tribes. The Stonoes and Westoes, the Serrannas, Cherokees, Catawbaws, Corees, Yamosees, and Congarees. But at this period it is impossible, with certainty, to determine the geographical situation of the most of them. The Stonoes probably were settled on the Stono. The Westoes were a formidable tribe and peculiarly inimical to the English. They seem to have been in the vicinity of Charleston, and began very early to give the Carolinians much trouble. In their distress, providence interposed and gave them relief. About the year sixteen hundred and

In South Carolina.

* Lawson, p. 62.

† Letter of the Hon. Benjamin Hawkins member of Congress.

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seventy the Seraimas made war upon them, and it was managed with such implacable animosity and destruction, as terminated in the almost total extirpation of both nations. The Catawbaws were on Catawbaw river, a little south of the boundary line, between North and South Carolina. The Cherokees originally inhabited as far down as the Eutaw springs, but they have been driven between one and two hundred miles to the westward. Their present situation is in about ten degrees west longitude from Philadelphia, and in about thirty four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude.* The Congarees seem to have been seated on the river of that name. The Yamosees were south of Charleston not far north of Savannah.

In Georgia.

In Georgia were the upper and lower Creeks, the Chickasaws, Chacktaws, Natchez, and Alibamous. The Muscogee, or Creek Indians are seated about mid way, between Savannah and the Missisippi. Their principal towns lie in thirty two degrees of north latitude, and eleven degrees and twenty minutes west longitude from Philadelphia. Their country is hilly but not mountainous. The soil is in a high degree fruitful. The country abounds in creeks and rivulets, whence the inhabitants derived their name. They consist of three divisions, the upper and lower Creeks, and the Seminolas. The two former are nearly in the centre between the north and south line of the state. The Seminolas are seated south easterly from them on the Appalachicola and Flint rivers. Their country is flat, well watered, and fertile.

The Chacktaws inhabit a fine extensive tract of country, between the Missisippi and Alabama rivers. Their country is hilly, interspersed with large fertile plains. These from the shape of their heads, are sometimes called flat heads. This peculiar shape is not natural but artificial. As soon as the male chil-

* By a late divisional line between South Carolina and Georgia, their country now falls within the limits of Georgia.

dren are born, the nurse provides a wooden case, the top of which is made in the form of a brick. In this the child is laid on its back, with its head in the upper part. In this it is gently compressed, by a bag of sand on its forehead, until, from the temples upward, the head receives a form resembling that of a brick.*

The Chickasaws are settled on the head branches of the Tombeckbe, Mobile, and Yazoo rivers, in the north west extremity of the state. Their central town is in latitude thirty four degrees and twenty three minutes, and fourteen degrees thirty minutes west longitude.

The Alibamous are seated on the Alibama river, partly between the Creeks and Chacktaws.

The Natchez are near the banks of the Missisippi in the south western extremity. Charlevoix represents this to have been a great nation, once able to raise four thousand warriors. When he visited them in 1721, he says they were not able to send two thousand fighting men into the field.† In 1764, Bonquet estimates them at no more than one hundred and fifty. Charlevoix represents their country as most fertile and pleasant. He recommends it, as the best adapted of any place for the capital of Louisiana.‡ He intimates, that these Indians were afraid of their French neighbours, and that the haughtiness and cruelty of their chiefs, made them scatter and remove as far from them as they possibly could. When the chief died, all his guard must die also, and go with him to the world of spirits. Numbers of infants were sacrificed on the occasion, their little corpses thrown on the ground and trodden to pieces, while, in a horrible procession, the Indians carried their dead chief to their temple. Sometimes the death of one of these chiefs would occasion the death of a hundred other persons. So infatuated were this

* Bartram's Travels, p. 517. †Charlevoix's Letters, vol. ii. p. 260. ‡p. 253.

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people, that they thought it an honour to be put to death, that they might accompany their sachem to his paradise.*

Between Virginia and New-England.

The Indians inhabiting the tract of country north of Virginia, between that and New-England, and as far north as the Kittatinney mountains, seem to have called themselves by the general name of Lenopi. Charlevoix calls them Loups, in our language wolves. The English commonly called them Delawares. They consisted of five general divisions. The Chihohocki, Wenami, Munsey, Wabinga, or Mohickander Indians, and the Mohiccons, or Mahattans. The Chihohockies inhabited on the west of Delaware, which they called Chihohocki. The Wanamies inhabited the country of New-Jersey, from the Rariton to the sea. The Munsies dwelt on the upper streams of the Delaware, from the Kittatinney mountains down to the western branch of the Delaware. The Mohickanders, or Mahikanders, sometimes called river Indians, inhabited on Hudson's river between Albany and New York,† and between Hudson's river and the west branch of Delaware. On the south they bordered on the Rariton and Mahattan Indians. The Mohiccons, Mahattans, or Manhantans occupied York and Staten islands. Their chief seat was on York island, which was originally called Manhattans. This division of the Lenopies were closely connected with the Shawanese. This tribe was seated on the Susquehanna and spread over the country westward as far as the Allegany mountains. After the settlement of those parts, by the Dutch and English, most of those clans gradually moved off to the northward and westward. The Mohickanders removed into Canada, and some of them settled with the Abenaquies at St. Francis. Others of them appear to have settled at Scahkook, with the Indians driven from New-England. Some of the Mohiccons seem to have removed to the east branch of the Susque-

* Charl. L. p. 258, 261, 262, 263, 264. † Colden's hist. vol. i. p. 260

hanna. The Munsies settled at Diahago and other villages up the north branch of the same river. Part of the Delaware Indians are settled at the same places. Another part of them inhabit between Ohio and lake Erie, and the branches of Bever creek, Cayahoga, and Muskingum.

In the Province of Main.

The numerous Indian nations of New-England were distinguished by general names and divisions. The eastern Indians were known by the general name of Tarrenteens. These had their residence on Kenebeck and the other rivers in the province of Main, and the adjacent, eastern country. The subdivisions and names, which took rise from the several rivers and places of their residence, as the Penobscot, Amoriscoggin, Norridgewock, Sauco, and St. John's Indians, were not known till many years after the commencement of the English settlements.

The northern Indians, including those of New-Hampshire and Massachusetts, were termed Aberginians. Of these there were numerous subdivisions.

In New-Hampshire.

In New-Hampshire were the Newichewannocks, on the principal branch of Piscataqua river. On Merrimack river inhabited the Wainooset, Patucket, Amoskeag, and Penicook Indians. At Newbury falls was a noted clan. The Indian settlements extended from the mouth of the river nearly fifty miles up into the country. Indeed, it is not improbable that there were some scattering settlements as far up as the very head of the river.

In Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts, there was, near the mouth of Charles river, a general rendezvous of Indians. The original name of this river was Massachusett. From this the Indians and the country upon it derived their name. Massachusetts mount, in the town of Dorchester, was the seat of the great Massachusett sachem. His sachemdom spread not only over the whole circle which forms the harbour of Boston and Charlestown, round Malden, Chelsea, Nantasket, Hingham, Weymouth, Braintree, and Dorchester; but over Milton, Stoughton, and various other plac-

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es, on and about Charles river. At Agawam, which the English named Ipswich, was another sachem and tribe of considerable note. At Naumkeag and Saugus, comprehending the towns of Salem, Marblehead, and Lynn, was another division.

The Nipnets were an inland tribe, seated on several large ponds and small rivers in Oxford and the adjacent towns. Oxford was their chief seat.

Within the old colony of Plymouth were three principal sachemdoms. One comprehended the territory from Eell river, in Plymouth, to the south shore of the cape, and from Wood's hole on the west, to the eastern part of Barnstable. Within this were several petty sachems and divisions, of which Mashpee was the chief. On the eastern part of the cape, from Nobscusset, now Yarmouth, was another sachemdom. The capital of this was Nauset, since named Estham. These were called the Nauset Indians.

The Nantucket Indians were numerous. Both on this island, and at Martha's vineyard, were distinct tribes and sachems.

The situation of the Wampanoags, or Pokanockets, afterwards called Philip's Indians, was on the westermost line of Plymouth colony. Their principal seat was at Pokanocket, since named Bristol. Here their great sachem Massasoiet had his residence when the English came to Plymouth. His territory comprehended the towns of Bristol, Tiverton, Little Compton, Swanzey, and Barrington.* He had a seat at Namasket, Middleborough, as well as at Bristol. To him both the cape and Nipnet Indians were supposed to be tributary, or in some kind of subjection. Part of the territory of the Wampanoags, though the whole of it formerly was within the limits of Plymouth and Massachusetts, was, about the year 1741, by commissioners from New-York, adjudged to Rhode Island. Their adjudication was afterwards confirmed by his British majesty in council.

* Hutch. vol. i. p. 403.

The Tarrenteens waged perpetual war with the Massachusett Indians, and were not less terrible to them, than the Mohawks were to the other Indians in New-England.

Mortality among the Indians. 1617.

In the winter and spring of 1617, the plague, or some other mortal disease, broke out among the Indians, between the Narragansetts and Penobscot, and almost entirely depopulated that whole tract of country. So many thousands of them died that the living could not bury them. Their skulls and bones for several years after, were to be seen above ground at the principal places of their residence.* This so weakened them, that for the future they could make little or no resistance against their enemy. After the English settled in the country, they often fled to their houses for protection. They reported, that the Tarrenteens, when they had taken them, tied them to trees and ate the flesh off from their bones. Through the influence of French neighbourhood, they early imbibed prejudices against the English, which never could be eradicated. They were the first Indians, in America, who used fire arms. With these, and ammunition, they were supplied by the French. They were a sore scourge to the province of Main and New-Hampshire. Charlevoix calls them Abenaquies. The remains of them fled from the coasts of New-England and settled in Canada on the banks of St. Francis.†

The Indians on Long Island, and from the Wampanoags westward as far as the western line of Connecticut appear to have had the general name of the southern Indians. The principal tribes in this general division, were the Narragansetts, Pequots, Mohegans, the river Indians, and the Meilowacks, or Long Island Indians.

Their situation in Rhode Island.

The Narragansetts were situated along the sea coast, round point Judith, on Narragansett bay, and nearly, as far westward as Stonington. They consisted of

* Prince's Chron. part i. p. 46. † Charl. vol. i. p. 190, 191.

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six or seven principalities, under the great sachem Miantonomo. Wood represents them as the most numerous Indian nation in New-England. They were the most rich and industrious. They were the most curious operators of the Wampumpeage, and the general mart of all kinds of wild merchandize. The northern, eastern, and western Indians procured all their corn from those southern mint-masters.*

The principal seat of the Pequots was at New London and Groton. According to tradition, they were originally an inland tribe, but came down from the country, and by their prowess, seated themselves along the sea coast, over that fine tract of country, extending from about the western boundary of New London, to the eastern line of Connecticut. They were the most warlike Indians in New-England. They had extended their conquests over a great part of Connecticut. More than twenty Indian kings, were either their tributaries, or subject to their control.

In Connecticut.

The Mohegans lay north of the Pequots. Their chief seat was at Mohegan, between New-London and Norwich. These two tribes spread over the principal part of the country contained in the three counties of New London, Windham, and Tolland.

The river Indians were those settled on Connecticut river. Of these the Windsor Indians were the most numerous. Between thirty and forty years after the settlement of the town, the proportion between the Indians and white people was estimated at nineteen to one. At Hartford, Weathersfield, Middletown, and East-Haddam were considerable bodies of Indians. In the towns of Farmington and Symsbury they were numerous. In the county of New Haven were four considerable clans. There were not less in the county of Fairfield. In almost every town in Connecticut there were scattering settlements

* Wood's New-England's prospect, chap. iii. p. 72.

of the natives. Most of the towns in the state have deeds from the Aborigines by which their lands are holden.

The Indians west of Connecticut were generally termed by the people of New-England, the western Indians. Among the Indians of Connecticut they were termed Mohawks. Agreeably to Roger Williams, this name imports cannibals, and is derived from the Indian word *moho*, to eat. This seems to have been a general name, sometimes given to the five nations. They probably were thus named from the Mohawks, who formerly were the principal, and the most warlike tribe among them. They were exceedingly terrible and troublesome to the Indians in the western parts of Connecticut. They ran upon them with this dreadful yell, Hadree, hadree, succomce, succomce, We come, we come to suck your blood. Wood relates that they delighted in human flesh and sometimes ate their prisoners.* As these formidable enemies came from the westward it seems to have been a general name for all the western Indians.

The five nations were known among the English by the names of Mohawks, Oneydas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senekas. The French called them Iroquois. Each of these nations was subdivided into three tribes or families. They distinguished themselves, by three different ensigns, the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. Whenever the sachems, or any of the old men, signed any public paper, they put on it the mark of their family.

Situation of the Five Nations.

The country of the Mohawks was on the Mohawk river. One of their principal castles was about eighteen miles west of Schenectada. The Oneydas were settled on the east side of Oneida lake and head branches of Susquehanna. The situation of the Onondagoes was upon and eastward of the lake Onondago. The Cayugas were settled near the north branch of the Cayuga lake. The Senekas were sit-

* Colden's hist. p. 66, 67, 68, 69.

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uated on the southern banks of lake Ontario, on the Chenessee, and extended southward as far as the head waters of Susquehanna and the Ohio. They extended westward beyond the falls of Niagara.* The five nations took this situation before the commencement of the English settlements. Their original seat however, was on and about the island of Montreal. But the Adirondacks, who then inhabited nearly three hundred miles above the three rivers, gave them so much trouble, that about the beginning of the seventeenth century, they removed thence, and driving off the Satanas, settled on the ground which they have since occupied. The Satanas fled to the banks of Missisippi, and are the people whom the French call Shaovonons. The five nations conquered the Adarondacks and finally drove them from their country. They are called by the French Algonquins. They were one of the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian nations in North America; but were nearly extirpated by the five nations†. One part of the remains of them now inhabit near Trois Rivieres, and another part of them towards the heads of the Outawais river. The Hurons joined with the Adirondaks in the war with the five nations and suffered no less than the latter. The five nations conquered all the country west of lake Ontario as far as lake Huron. They carried their conquests as far southward as lake Erie. Charlevoix represents, that had it not been for the interposition of the French, the five nations would have not only destroyed those but all the other nations in Canada, who ventured to oppose them. He says they set all Canada on fire. He mentions the Abenaquies, as the only people to whose country they had not given disturbance.‡

Their conquests.

Within the limits of the United States, they conquered the whole territory of the Lenopies, obliged them to put themselves under their protection, de-

* Colden's map, in his history of the five nations, vol. i.
† Colden, vol. i. p. 23 and 29. ‡ Vol. i. p. 308, 309.

prived them of the power of making war, and confined them to raising corn, hunting, and fishing for subsistence. This the Indians termed reducing their enemies to the state of women. This was the state of those Indians when the English began the settlement of the Jersies and Pennsylvania. The five nations had spread their conquests over all the back parts of Virginia, and penetrated nearly as far down as the mouth of the Ohio. They had carried their conquests eastward nearly as far as Connecticut river. The Indians on Long island, Hudson's river, and in the western parts of Connecticut paid them an annual tribute.* Their limits were from the mouth of the Sorel, at the north end of lake Champlain to the south side of the lakes Erie and Ontario, and on both sides of the Ohio, till it falls into the Mississippi. On the north of those lakes they claimed the whole country south of the river Outawais, as far west as lake Huron; and even beyond the streights between that and lake Erie.† All this last mentioned extensive country, south of the river Outawais, the Five Nations ceded to king William, June 19th, seventeen hundred and one. By virtue of this cession, and the alliance of the five nations with Great Britain, the French settlements within this territory, or any part of their country were considered as encroachments on the English or their allies.

Cession to king William. 1701.

The war, in which the Five Nations made those conquests, was long and bloody. They seem to have continued it, with very little intermission, either with the Indian nations or with the French, and sometimes with both, for considerably more than half a century. They not only in a manner extirpated the nations round them, but greatly diminished themselves. Their enemies, sometimes, gave them terrible defeats. It was only by the policy of adopting their captives, whole clans, and sometimes whole na-

Long wars.

* Smith's hist. N. York, p. 134, 135. † Ibid, p. 135, 136, 137.

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tions of other Indians, that they, in any measure, preserved their numbers, and for so long a period, continued formidable to the whole country. Implacable was the animosity with which these savage nations fought. When once they were victorious, one scene of devastation encouraged and roused them to another. Like hungry lions, the taste of blood enkindled their rage and inflamed their thirst. The passion of revenge seemed to possess their whole souls, and hurry them on to mutual destruction.

Implacable spirit.

They often travelled, singly, or in very small parties, to the distance of three or four hundred miles, and lurked about the parties and villages of each other to shed blood, and revenge the deaths and wrongs of their respective friends and nations.*

Reflections.

How affecting is the portrait, which these savage nations exhibit of the natural blindness, turpitude, and misery of man? How striking is the evidence which they present of his need, both of human and divine instruction! Though, in his vanity, he would be wise, yet is he not born like the wild ass's colt? Who can contemplate the habitations of darkness and cruelty, but with a touching sense of the inestimable preciousness of the blessings of civilization and the gospel? How much greater happiness do mankind, in a very few years, enjoy, under their benign influence, than in whole ages, where their cheering and ennobling light have never shone? These only give the gentleman and the christian their superiority to the wild American. These recover the woman from slavery and abuse, to the original dignity and tenderness of treatment, due to that part of human nature, which was made of the flesh and bone of man. These rescue her offspring from neglect and cruelty; prevent them from falling a bloody sacrifice to evil spirits; provide for their tender nursing, their civil and christian education. The latter of these, only reveals the path of life, and

* Colden's hist. vol. i. p. 26, 27.

cheers the heart with the enlivening prospects of a blissful immortality. Where is the christian or the gentleman, who can look upon the savage, and contemplate who maketh him to differ, that no man hath any thing but what he hath received, and not feel his heart warm with gratitude to HIM, from whom is derived every good gift? Can Americans be innocent, if, while they enjoy an accumulation of blessings, possess the country, and witness the wretchedness of the Aborigines, they neglect any proper measures, or spare any pains, to communicate to them, the blessings of civilization, liberty, and christianity?

CHAPTER II.

Attempts of the French and Spaniards to make settlements in Carolina. Patent of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his attempts to plant a colony. Sketches of the patents, discovery, and settlement of Virginia, New-York, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Maryland, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island: and, of the principal occurrences attending their settlement.

THE first attempts, for permanent settlements, in any part of the United States, were made by the French. Jasper Coligni, one of the principal commanders of the protestant armies in France, apprehensive of the dangers in which he, and his adherents must be involved, should the cause in which he was embarked prove unsuccessful; projected the planting of a colony in America. Probably, he designed this as a retreat for himself and his friends whenever the extremity of their affairs should make it necessary. By his influence, it seems that Chattillon, admiral of France, despatched two ships, under the command of John Ribault, in prosecution of the design. He made a discovery of the river Albemarl,* and eight others in that vicinity. He sailed up one, which he named port Royal, many leagues, built a fort and

French attempt a settlement in Carolina.

1562.

* Named by the French the river May, from the circumstance of their entering it on the first day of that month.

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left a colony, under the command of capt. Albert. By his severity, he provoked the people to a mutiny, in which he was slain, and the colony ruined. Two years after, Chattillon despatched Rene Laudinier with three ships to the river Albemarl. On this he built a fort, and in honour to Charles IX. of France, named it Carolina. From this circumstance the Carolinas took their name.

1565. The next year Ribault arrived a second time in Carolina, with seven ships, to recruit their infant plantation, and make a more sure footing in the country. But, by this time, the Spaniards, who claimed it, by virtue of the discovery of Ponce de Leon, were alarmed and began to meditate vengeance on their rivals. Pedro Melendes arriving in the river, soon after massacred Ribault and his whole company. Laudinier, getting intelligence of the slaughter of his countrymen, made his escape to France. Melendes took possession of the country, erected three forts, and left twelve hundred men for their defence. About three years after, to revenge these injuries, the French despatched Dominique de Gourges to Carolina. He put most of the Spaniards to the sword, rased their forts and returned to France.* These disastrous events appear to have discouraged both nations from any further attempts to make settlements in Carolina. For a complete century, it remained a vast wilderness, reserved, in providence, to be planted with English protestants, and to form an extensive and important part of the American empire.

Are massacred by the Spaniards.

French retaliate. 1568.

Sir Walter Raleigh was the first Englishman, who attempted the plantation of a colony on the northern continent. In fifteen hundred eighty four, queen Elizabeth, by letters patent, granted to him all such lands as he should discover in North America, between thirty three and forty degrees of north latitude, to dispose of in fee simple, or otherwise to any of

Patent to Sir Walter Raleigh, March 25th, 1584.

* Prince's Chron. p. 99, 100 and 101. Hist. S. C. vol. i. p. 18, 19, 20

her majesty's subjects. The only reservation made to the crown, by the patent, was a fifth part of the gold and silver ore, which should be found in such countries, in lieu of all other services whatsoever. This was the general tenour of all the charters given to the colonies. CHAP. II.

He formed a society among his friends, by whose assistance he was enabled early in the spring to send out two ships, on discovery, commanded by the captains Amidas and Barlow. They arrived, the next July, at the island of Wokoken, on the coast of North Carolina, and taking possession of the country named it VIRGINIA, in honour of their virgin queen. From this circumstance, the name of Virginia, was for many years, given to the whole country of the United States. They made a successful voyage; importing into England, furs, skins, sassafras, cedar, pearls, and tobacco. The latter of these was a great curiosity, as it was the first ever seen in England. It was represented as a sovereign remedy for almost every disorder, and as a plant of inestimable value.

The success of this voyage, gave Sir Walter and his friends the idea, that the riches of the country were immense. Therefore the next spring they 1585.
fitted out a fleet of seven sail under the command of Sir Richard Greenville. In June, he arrived at Wokoken, and having explored the country, he fixed on the island of Roanoah, for a plantation. A colony of 108 men, was left on the island, under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane. In less than a year they were reduced to such forlorn circumstances, that Sir Francis Drake arriving on the coast, took them on board his fleet, and transported them to England. Soon after they sailed Sir Richard Greenville arrived: and, though he could not find the first, yet he ventured to leave a second colony. They consisted of fifty men, who were plentifully furnished with all kinds of provisions for two years.

The next year, Sir Walter despatched a third com- 1587.
pany to Virginia, with a charter of incorporation, ap-

CHAP. II.

pointing Mr. John White governour, with twelve assistants. They were named the governour and assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia. The company consisted of 115 men, women, and children. On their arrival, they found that the second colony had been destroyed, yet they landed, determining to brave all dangers in making a permanent settlement in the country. These, however, were neglected and all perished. After these disasters, no further attempts were made to plant colonies on the continent until the succeeding reign.

The first Virginia patents, April 10th, 1606.

James I. in the fourth year of his reign, by letters patent, made a division of Virginia into two colonies. The southern, lying between 34 and 41 degrees of north latitude, which was called the first, he granted to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, Richard Hackluit, clerk, prebendary of Westminster, and others under the name of the London Company. The northern, termed the second colony, between 38 and 45 degrees, he granted to the company of Plymouth.

The London company fitted out three small ships, under the command of captain Christopher Newport, to make discoveries and plant a colony in south Virginia.

1607. Settlement of Jamestown.

The company arrived in the bay of Chesapeak, on the 26th of June, 1607. They sailed up the river Powhatan, erected a fort, and began a plantation, which, in honour to their prince, was named Jamestown. The company consisted of one hundred persons.* Their council were Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendal. Mr. Wingfield was elected president of the council. They brought over Mr. Robert Hunt for their minister. He was the first clergyman in the United States: and appears to have been a man of an excellent spirit, and singularly worthy character.

* Smith's hist. Virg. p. 43, 44.

He had great influence in healing the divisions, and promoting the peace and welfare of the company.

Before their arrival the Indians had been exasperated, by the imprudent and cruel treatment which they had received from the English. In 1585, Sir Richard Greenville burnt a whole Indian town, and destroyed their corn, merely to revenge their stealing a silver cup. Mr. Lane and his company slew one of their sachems, and killed and captivated several of their men.* They therefore made repeated attacks on the colony, and in a short time, killed and wounded nearly twenty. By the middle of July they were so distressed with the badness and scarcity of provision, with sickness, labour, and continual guarding against the enemy, that scarcely ten of the whole company could walk, or even stand alone. By the end of the month fifty of them were no more. Among the dead was that enterprizing gentleman captain Gosnold, the projector of the whole scheme of the plantation.

Distress of the colony

To increase their misfortunes the president embezzled the public stores, and attempted to run away with the company's bark, and to return to England.† It was therefore found necessary for the common safety, to displace him. Mr. Ratcliffe was elected to the presidency. But it very soon appeared, that his abilities were, by no means equal to the exigencies of the company. The weight of government fell therefore on captain John Smith, a gentleman singularly adapted to the management of their affairs. He was a man of quick discernment, superior judgment, undaunted courage, invincible industry and resolution. With his whole ability he addressed himself to build the town and retrieve their affairs He went first, and bore the largest share in labour, hardship, and danger. By his industry and enterprize before winter, lodgings were provided for the sick, and the whole company were tolerably housed.

* Smith's hist. p. 5, 6, 9 † P 46.

CHAP. II.

But such was the badness and want of provisions, that they were still feeble with hunger. While captain Smith was employing his utmost exertions and jeoparding his life, for the welfare of the colony, he was captivated by the warriors of Powhatan. After he had been carried, for some time, in triumph, from place to place, the savage prince determined upon his immediate death.

Smith taken captive.

Having placed himself and his court in all the majesty and terror, which savage state and magnificence could exhibit, two large stones were brought before him, and captain Smith was dragged forward and laid upon them, that his brains might be instantly beat out with clubs. In this critical moment providence wrought wonderfully, both for his own and the colony's preservation. In the very instant of execution, when no intreaties could avail, Pocahontas the emperor's darling daughter, with surprising tenderness, flying to his relief, clasped his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it, risking her life for his. Such an effect had this on the emperor, that he not only suffered him to live, but, with a trusty guard, sent him immediately back to Jamestown. He was careful to send back to the emperor, to his women and children, such presents as should give general satisfaction.

Saved by Pocahontas.

On his return he found the colony in the utmost distress and confusion. Hunger, discontent, and mutiny all united their influence to make them miserable. However, his authority and address, soon recovered them to a better state. His little preserver Pocahontas, with her wild train, once in four or five days made him a visit, and brought him such quantities of provision, as saved the lives of many, who otherwise must have perished with famine. Thus, by this humane savage, only about thirteen years

Distress of Jamestown.

of age, it pleased the SUPREME RULER to save this distressed people.* CHAP. II.

While these affairs were transacting in the colony, care was taken, by the company in London, to furnish it with all necessary supplies. Captains Newport and Nelson were despatched with provisions and men to recruit the plantation. Captain Newport arrived soon after the setting in of the winter, but Nelson was driven off the coast to the West Indies. The company supposed that he was lost.

The arrival of captain Newport gave great relief 1607. and joy to the plantation. Instead of famine they had a present supply of provisions. The care of the company in London to send them all necessary supplies, the addition made to their numbers, and the present apparent friendship of Powhatan and his confederates, gave new spirits to the colony. Before the arrival of captain Newport, their numbers were reduced to forty men. The new recruits were a great addition to their strength, and alleviated their fears. They had erected them a church, and their animosities, through the good offices of Mr. Hunt, had been so quieted, that the ordinances of the gospel were regularly administered, and the affairs of the colony wore a more favourable aspect than they had ever before done. But a variety of untoward circumstances united their influence to disappoint all these flattering prospects. Captain Newport's vanity and imprudence in visiting Powhatan in a kind of princely state, lavishing his bounties upon him, giving swords and almost every thing which he asked, made him much more self important and insolent, and had a mischievous influence on the Indians in general. Beside other ill effects, it raised their corn and all other commodities, which the colonists had occasion to purchase of them, to a price, ten or twelve times above what had before been us- Newport's vanity.

* Smith's hist. Virg. p. 49, 50, 51. See also his letter to queen Ann, consort of James I. in 1616, preserved in Smith's and Beverly's histories.

CHAP. II.

ual. So much time was wasted in this unhappy business, that the ship's crew consumed much of the provision, which they brought for the colony. They spent more weeks at Jamestown, than they ought to have tarried days. To these unlucky circumstances succeed a still greater misfortune. In the depth of winter, their store house, in which their provisions were chiefly lodged, took fire, and with their whole town, their fortifications, arms, apparel, bedding, and a great quantity of private goods, were consumed. The Rev. Mr. Hunt lost his whole library, and all his furniture excepting the clothes which he wore. Such however were his fortitude and patience, that it is remarked, he was never once heard to complain.

Jamestown burnt.

The company were now reduced to a small allowance of meal and water. The winter was uncommonly severe, and by the loss of the town, they were so exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and so pinched with famine, that by the spring more than one half of them were in their graves. The survivers, when the warm season advanced applied themselves to the rebuilding of the town, church, and fortifications. While they were thus employed, captain Nelson arrived from the West Indies, with the provisions and recruits which had been sent out, the last year, in company with captain Newport. The whole number of men, which came over in these ships to recruit the colony, were a hundred and twenty. Nothing could be more welcome or give greater joy to these famished pilgrims, than this unexpected and seasonable relief.

1608.

Remarkable was the divine conduct towards them. They suffered correction, but were not destroyed. When stripped of all external means of defence, enfeebled with famine, and thinned by the hand of death, they might have been swallowed up quickly; but the savage nations were restrained and touched them not. When naked and destitute, he who clothes the grass, and feeds the fowls, sent them supplies.

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In September captain Smith, who was indeed the life of the colony, was chosen president, and took on himself the administration of government. He discovered the principal rivers in the southern states with the countries adjacent.

He obtained numerous victories over the Indians, and made peace with their kings. He baffled all the crafty designs of Powhatan, and induced him to make peace with him and the colony, after he had tried every stratagem, which his imagination could devise for its extirpation. The planters travelled with safety into every part of the country. Under his administration the colony flourished, and became formidable to all the surrounding Indian nations. A plantation was begun at the falls, and another at Nansemund. He had a peculiar presence of mind on the most sudden and pressing emergencies; a quickness, penetration, and nobleness of thought peculiar to himself. He had high ideas of the honour of his country and of the public good.

Meanwhile the colony had its enemies both in Virginia and in England. A number of unprincipled, idle, factious men were constantly disturbing its internal peace; and gross misrepresentations were made of it to the company in London. They were possessed of a thousand golden dreams, and far more intent on immediate gain, than on making a permanent settlement in the country. Not receiving those profitable returns, which they idly expected, they were filled with vexation and resentment. Therefore, making interest with his British majesty, they obtained a new charter, entirely abrogating the authority and council in Virginia: and, appointing Sir Thomas West, lord Delaware, captain general, Sir Thomas Gates lieutenant, and Sir George Sommers admiral, with many other gentlemen, to various offices for life.

Old charter abrogated May 23, 1609.

They sailed from England the last of May, with a fleet of nine ships, on board of which were five hundred people. The admiral's ship, on board of which

1609.

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were the three noblemen and a hundred and fifty other persons, was cast away in a hurricane, on one of the Bermuda islands. A catch was lost at the same time. The other ships arrived safe at Virginia. Many of the company who came in them, were poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes, and libertines, much better calculated for the subversion, than for the establishment of a commonwealth. Headed by a number of seditious captains, they threw the colony into such a state of anarchy and confusion, that it was by the greatest feats of courage, and at the continual hazard of the president's life, that he was able to stem the torrent of faction and immorality, which they raised. In this state of affairs, he was exceedingly burnt, by the accidental firing of a bag of powder. Such were his wounds and agonies, that they incapaciiated him for those personal services which he had rendered the colony; and which, in its present exigencies, were highly necessary. He therefore went on board, and returned to England.

State of the colony Sept. 29.

He left the colony furnished with three ships, good fortifications, twenty four pieces of cannon, arms, ammunition, apparel, commodities for trading, and tools for all kinds of labour. At Jamestown there were nearly sixty houses. The settlers had begun to plant and to fortify, at five or six other places. The number of inhabitants was nearly five hundred. They had just gathered in their Indian harvest, and, besides, had considerable provision in their stores. They had between five and six hundred hogs, an equal number of fowls, some goats, and some sheep. They had also boats, nets, and good accommodations for fishing.* But such was the sedition, idleness, and dissipation of this mad people, that they were soon reduced to the most miserable circumstances. No sooner was captain Smith gone, than the savages, provoked by their dissolute practices, and encouraged by their want of government, revolted; hunted and

* Stvth's hist. p. 107. Smith's, p. 96.

slew them from place to place. Nansemund, the plantation at the falls, and all the out settlements were abandoned. In a short time nearly forty of the company were cut off by the enemy. Their time and provisions were consumed in riot, their utensils were stolen or destroyed, their hogs, sheep, and fowls killed and carried off by the Indians. The sword without, famine and sickness within, soon made among them surprising destruction. Within the term of six months, of their whole number, sixty only survived. These were the most poor famishing wretches, subsisting chiefly on herbs, acorns, and berries. Such was the famine, that they fed on the skins of their dead horses; nay, they boiled and ate the flesh of the dead.* Indeed they were reduced to such extremity, that had they not been relieved, in eight or ten days, the whole colony would have been extinct. Such are the dire effects of idleness, faction, and want of proper subordination.

1609 War, sickness, and famine.

1610.

Unhappy, indeed was it, that, during this whole period, captain Piercy, on whom the government devolved, was so very sick and weak, that he could do little or nothing, for the support of government or the relief of the plantation.

In this extremity Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers arrived, from the Bermudas, with a hundred and fifty people. But the colonists were so dispirited, that they entirely broke up; and, leaving the town and fortifications standing, embarked and set sail for England. In this crisis providence again interposed, to prevent the abandoning of this fine country, and to plant it with protestant churches. Before they were out of the bay, lord Delaware meeting them, by his authority and address, prevailed with them to return.

Colony breaks up.

Returns.

On the 10th of June 1610, his lordship went on shore, and after attending public worship, published his commission. He made an oration to the people,

* Stith's hist. p. 117. Smith's, p. 105, 106.

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pressing them to an immediate reformation, and assuring them, that unless it should be effected, he would cut off the delinquents by the sword of justice. He constituted all necessary officers, and appointed to every man his place and employment. By severe government and his lordship's influence the colony was reduced to a tolerable degree of industry, harmony, and subordination.

1610. A coincidence of events so remarkable, as conspired for the preservation of these distressed colonists, could be ascribed to nothing but the divine superintendence. Had Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers arrived but a few days later they would have all been famished. Had the town and fortifications been destroyed, at their embarkation, which was prevented only by the solicitations and influence of Sir Thomas Gates, it might have discouraged them and prevented their return. At least it would have subjected them to great labour and distress, as they would have had neither houses to cover, nor fortifications to defend them. Had they sailed sooner, or lord Delaware arrived later, probably, they would not have fallen in with each other. Had the town been deserted a longer time, the savages, doubtless, would have made the discovery, and set it on fire. After a combination of all these circumstances, had not his lordship brought with him a year's provision, their relanding would have been only to a second destruction.

1611. The next year they received a recruit of six hundred people, more than two hundred cattle, an equal number of hogs, and a great variety of necessaries for a new plantation.* Sir Thomas Dale began the settlement of the second town in Virginia, which he named Henrico, in honour to prince Henry, his majesty's eldest son. Another plantation was also begun

1612. at Bermuda. The next year there arrived eighty more to strengthen the colony and advance its set-

* Prince's Chron. part i. p. 33, 34, and Smith, p. 109, 110.

tlement. But the progress of settlement and cultivation was exceedingly slow. The natives were very inimical and troublesome. The supplies sent from England were by no means adequate to the numbers they were designed to support. This reduced the colonists to such straits, that too often they plundered the natives, or obliged them, by force of arms, to deliver them their provisions. These practices begat in them deep and lasting hatred, provoked them to retaliation, and bred continual animosities and alarms. Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the London company, and others, concerned in supplying and ordering the the colonists, sought their own private emolument, rather than the growth and prosperity of the colony. Too many of those who came over, were men unaccustomed to business, and instead of labouring themselves, were either idle, or else employed considerable numbers of the company merely in serving their whims and pleasures. It was observed by one of the planters, "That in Virginia, a plain soldier, that can use a pickaxe and spade is better than five knights." The planters were unexperienced in the business of planting new countries. As yet they had no farms, and did not consider themselves as labouring for their own advantage. Five or six men would not therefore accomplish more in a day, than a single man would have done in his own service. They were governed by a severe and bloody code of military laws, which were made still more severe and bloody, by the arbitrary manner in which they were executed. All these circumstances combined their influence to dispirit the colonists, beget discontent, and retard the progress of settlement and cultivation.

In 1613 a very lucky circumstance took place, which for a number of years, put a more favourable aspect on the affairs of Virginia. Mr. Rolfe, who was afterwards made secretary of the colony, a worthy gentleman, and Pocahontas, the Indian princess, who had once saved the colony, and at other times rendered it important services, fell deeply in love with each

April 1613.

CHAP II.

other. No sooner was it known to Sir Thomas Dale, than he set on foot a negociation of marriage. The emperor Powhatan gave his consent to the contract: and in April their hands were joined in wedlock. On this commenced an alliance of friendship and commerce between the English, Powhatan, and his subjects, which continued during his life.

Marriage of Pocahontas,

Great attention was given by Mr. Rolfe and the Rev. Mr. Whitaker to the instruction of Pocahontas, in the English language and christian religion.

Eager was her pursuit of knowledge, and her proficiency was equal to her engagedness. She soon renounced her paganism and embraced christianity. She was baptized by the name of Rebekah, and was afterwards generally known by the appellation of the lady Rebekah. She was the first convert from among the Aborigines of North America, to the christian protestant faith. About three years after her marriage, Mr. Rolfe made a visit with her to England. She was introduced to her majesty queen Anne, and treated with great respect by lord Delaware, his lady, and other persons of quality. The company in London gave order for the maintenance both of herself and her child. But, on this visit, she closed the scene of life with a calm, joyful hope in the divine mercy. She left a son, Thomas Rolfe, who had an honourable education in England. He came over to Virginia, where he lived and died, in affluence and honour. His descendants are among some of the most respectable families in Virginia.

Gives peace to Virginia.

1616.

The colony under the auspices of peace, and the judicious administration of Sir Thomas Dale, made some considerable advances, and its affairs were put into an easy and prosperous train. But as he had now been five years in the country, he had a great desire, and it became necessary to return to England, for the management of his own affairs. In April 1616, he therefore embarked, and the next June arrived safe at Plymouth.

Mr. George Yeardley was appointed deputy governour in his absence, but was soon superseded by captain Samuel Argall. This was effected by the lord Rich, an opulent and powerful member of the Virginia company Argall was a friend and relation of Sir Thomas Smith the treasurer, and lord Rich was one of the treasurer's peculiar favourites. He therefore not only procured for him an appointment to be deputy governour of Virginia, but also to be admiral of the country and seas adjoining. It was not sufficient, that the Virginians were already under martial law, but this was done to strengthen his arm with more absolute despotism, that not a Virginian might dare to move his tongue against him. Lord Rich, having concerted his measures, entered into partnership with captain Argall, and it appeared to be their united design, to enrich themselves by the government.

In May 1617, he arrived at the seat of government, in Virginia. He was a man of singular art and cunning; his avarice, cruelty, and despotism were equal to his subtilty. His whole art was employed for the purposes of gain. Such was his rapacity, that in the short term of about two years, he almost ruined the colony. At the close of his administration, the state of it, in some respects, was not so good, and but in few others much better, than it was, at the departure of captain Smith, nine years before. He had undone almost every thing which lord Delaware, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir Thomas Dale, had, with so much labour and expense, accomplished.* The company's lands he had depopulated and ruined. After expending eighty thousand pounds sterling, after twelve years labour and the loss of more than twelve hundred lives they had settled only six or seven towns. Sixteen hundred and seventy souls had been imported into the colony; and, at this period, the inhabitants amounted only to four hundred. The extreme

1617.

* Styth's history, and history of North America, published in the new American Magazine, from 1758 to 1760.

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sufferings of the people, by reason of sickness, famine, the plots and murders of the Indians, the oppression and rapacity of their governours, were almost incredible.

It was with an ardent and impatient desire, that the people waited for the return of lord Delaware, to the government. But he died on his passage, in 1618, near the mouth of Delaware bay. From this circumstance it is supposed to have derived its name.

Death of lord Delaware.

Early in the year 1619, Sir George Yeardley was appointed governour. About the beginning of May, he arrived at the seat of government. It is not easy to describe the joy which his arrival gave the Virginians. From that day they considered themselves as emancipated from slavery, and restored to the rights and happiness of English subjects. Affairs had taken an entirely new and happy turn for the colonists. Sir Edwin Sandys was elected governour and treasurer of the Virginia company, in London, instead of Sir Thomas Smith. Mr. John Fanar was chosen deputy treasurer. These were men of great abilities and influence; and their friendship to the colony, and zeal for its prosperity were not inferior to their powers and influence. An instrument was prepared, giving the ancient planters a full discharge from all services to the colony, excepting those which should be voluntary, or which, by the laws of nations, they were obliged to render. There was also granted to them a most ample confirmation of their estates, both real and personal.

1619. Governour Yeardley arrives.

The chief cause of granting these privileges was the rapines and personal impositions of captain Argall. Great complaints were exhibited against him, and governour Yeardley had orders to try him in the colony, where the evidence of his mal-administration could be exhibited.* But he got intelligence of it, before the arrival of his lordship, made his escape to England, and could never be brought to justice. A

* American Magazine, and Styth's history.

certain writer of his history observes, "He would have been hanged, had it been in any other reign than that of James the first." CHAP. II.

In this year there arrived in the colony 1216 persons; and four new towns were settled.* A plan was also set on foot for sending over an hundred or more young women for wives, to give greater contentment and plant families in the colony. In this and the next year about a hundred and forty were sent over, and had a tract allowed them called Maids town.

As the first planters of Virginia were generally single men, they had no sooner made provision for a comfortable subsistence, than they began to be sensible that the want of wives was a capital inconvenience. Any woman therefore, who could produce testimonials of her modesty and good qualities, however poor, might depend on a good match in Virginia. The men were so far from expecting a fortune with a woman, that it was not an uncommon business for them to buy a deserving wife, at the price of a hundred pounds. They flattered themselves that they had a good bargain.†

On the 24th of June the governour summoned 1619.
the first General Assembly ever convened in America. In this early period there was no county in Virginia. The representatives were chosen from towns, or boroughs. This gave the lower house of assembly the appellation of the House of Burgesses, a proper name for the representatives of boroughs. This name hath, from this circumstance, ever since obtained, though the representatives of counties are much more numerous than those of towns. From this time the colonists were liberated from trials by martial law, and restored to the rights of men, and of English subjects.

Some idea of their distresses, prior to this happy era, may be obtained from a declaration of the council

* Smith's hist. Virg. p. 127. † Beverley's hist. Virginia, p. 248.

CHAP. II.

and general assembly of Virginia, about five years after, addressed to his British majesty, James the first. In this they aver, "That in the twelve years of Sir Thomas Smith's government, the colony for the most part, remained in great want and misery, under most severe and bloody laws, contrary to the express letters of the king's most gracious charters; and as mercilessly executed here; oftentimes without trial or judgment: That the allowance for a man, in those times, was only eight ounces of meal and a pint of pease a day, both the one and the other being mouldy, rotten, and full of cobwebs and maggots, loathsome to man, and not fit for beasts; which forced many to fly to the savage enemy for relief, and afterwards being retaken were put to sundry kinds of death, as hanging, shooting, breaking upon the wheel, and the like: That others were forced, by famine, to filch for their bellies, of whom one, for stealing two or three pints of oat-meal, had a bodkin thrust through his tongue, and was chained to a tree till he starved:
1619. That if a man, through sickness, had not been able to work, he had no allowance at all, and so consequently perished: That many, to avoid cruel persecutions, dug holes in the earth, and there hid themselves till they famished: That their want was sometimes so excessive, that they were constrained to eat dogs, cats, rats, snakes, toadstools, horse hides, and what not: That many others fed on the corpses of dead men: That the towns were only James city, Henrico, Charles hundred, West and Shirley hundred, and Kickquotan; all which were ruined in those times, except ten or twelve houses in James town: That if through the aforesaid calamities many had not perished, there would, without doubt, have been a thousand people in the colony, whereas when Sir George Yeardley arrived governour, he found not above four hundred, most of them in want of corn, and utterly destitute of cattle, swine, poultry, and other necessary provisions." Such was the original of the ancient and respectable state of Virginia.

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Before this time his majesty had issued his letters, to the several bishops of his kingdom, instituting a collection for erecting a college in Virginia, for the education of the children of infidels in the knowledge of God. Fifteen hundred pounds had been contributed for this pious purpose, and there were expectations of a much larger sum. Ten thousand acres of land were appropriated to its support. In this and the succeeding year a hundred tenants were sent over to cultivate the lands. Half their profits were appropriated to the college, to erect buildings, maintain instructors and scholars. Mr. George Thorpe, of his majesty's privy chamber, and one of the council of the Virginia company in England, came over as the company's deputy and superintendant of the college. It was designed for the mutual benefit both of the English and Indians.

College instituted.

This year was remarkable for great plenty and great mortality. There died not less than three hundred inhabitants.

King James, in an arbitrary and unjust manner, obliged the company, at their own charge to transport a hundred convicts into Virginia. Thus early was the practice of transporting persons of dissolute and abandoned characters into Virginia, as a place of disgrace and punishment. Styth has this remark upon it, "That it has been a great hindrance to the growth of the colony, and laid one of the finest countries in British America, under the unjust scandal of being a hell upon earth, another Siberia, only fit for malefactors and the vilest of the people."

While this colony was making a firm settlement, the business of more particular discovery had been prosecuted in North Virginia, and preparations were making for the plantation of colonies, in that part of the continent.

In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in the service of the Dutch East India company, discovered Hudson's river and ranged along the coast from Cape Cod to thirty degrees of north latitude. This

Hudson's discovery 1609.

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gave rise to the Dutch claims in this part of America.

Grant of the States General 1614.

In 1614, the States General granted to certain Dutch merchants a patent for an exclusive trade on Hudson's river. For the convenience of trade they erected two forts on the river, one at Albany and another on the island of New-York. The court of England disowned their claim, and captain Argall making them a visit obliged them to submit to the government of Virginia. However, the States General in 1621 made a grant of the country to the West India company, who began to extend their settlements, increase the number and strength of their fortifications, and renounce all subjection to the government of England.

In 1614, captain John Smith, who had been president in Virginia, made particular discoveries of the coasts of North Virginia, drew maps of the country and named it New-England.

New-England patent, Nov. 3d, 1620.

King James I. by his letters patent, November 3d, 1620, incorporated the Duke of Lenox, the marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, with divers other persons, by the name of the Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New-England in America; and granted to them, their successors and assigns, all that part of America, lying from 40 degrees of north latitude, to the 48th degree inclusively; and in length of, and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands, from sea to sea. This is the civil basis of all the patents and plantations which divide the New-England states.

Settlement of Plymouth.

The settlement of New-England commenced the same year, at the place named Plymouth. A company of pious people, to the number of a hundred and one, arrived at Cape Cod on the 11th of November. They were a part of Mr. John Robinson's church and congregation, who, by the heat of persecution, had, some years before, been driven into

Holland. Their design was to make a settlement on Hudson's river, or in the adjacent country. For these parts they had obtained a patent. But the Dutch had determined to make a firm settlement on the river, and therefore bribed the master of the ship to carry them further to the northward. Finding themselves without the limits of their patent, by voluntary compact, they formed into a body politic, binding themselves, in the name of God, to submit to such laws and officers, as should be judged most subservient to the general good. They declared themselves the lawful subjects of king James: That they had undertaken the voyage, for the glory of God, the advancement of the christian faith, and the honour of their king and country. 1620.

Sad condition of the colony.

Doleful was the condition of these pious strangers! By the length and hardships of the voyage, they were reduced to an enfeebled and sickly state. They had been betrayed with respect to the place of settlement, were without a patent, or so much as a public promise that they should enjoy their liberties either civil or religious. In a distressing season they were cast on an unknown and barbarous coast, destitute of every accommodation for their comfort. There were no houses to cover them, no friends to entertain them, no civilized town or city, whence on any emergency they might derive succour: a vast wilderness, replete with savage beasts and men, spread itself horribly round them.

It was the middle of December before they arrived in the harbour which lies before the town. It was the 25th of the month when they began to erect the first house for a general store. The hardships they endured in building themselves huts and unlading their provisions scarcely admit of description. The harbour was so shallow, that their ship lay at more than a mile's distance from the town; and it was often so stormy for several days together, as to prevent all communication between them. They were often obliged, in this cold season, to wade and

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labour in the water to get their provisions and furniture on shore. In less than three months, the scurvy and other diseases, which their long voyage, the extremity of the weather, their excessive fatigues, the want of necessary provisions and habitations, brought upon them, reduced them to one half of their original numbers. So general was the sickness, at some times, that there were only six or seven well persons in the plantation. It was with great difficulty that they were able to tend the sick and bury the dead.*

Sickness and mortality.

A combination of circumstances, singularly providential, is observable in the settlement and preservation of these pious pilgrims in New-England. On
1621. Hudson's river, and its vicinity, the Indians were very numerous, and had they not been disappointed with respect to their original design, probably they would have fallen a prey to savage cruelty. In New-England providence had prepared the way for their settlement. The uncommon mortality in 1617, had in a manner depopulated that part of the country, in which they began their plantation. They found fields, which had been planted, without owners, and a fine country round them, in some measure cultivated, without an inhabitant. The scattering Indians, who survived, had been particularly exasperated at the villanous conduct of captain Hunt. About six years before, he had kidnapped twenty Indians at this place, and seven at Nauset, and sold them for slaves; yet such were the restraints laid upon them, that during the whole winter, not one of them came into the town, nor were they seen but at a distance. They meditated the extirpation of the colonists, met, in great numbers and held a Pawaw in a hideous swamp; where, for three days together, they deliberated on the subject, and in their diabolical manner poured out their execrations against them.† Had they known their circumstances, they might have

* Prince's Chron. part i. p. 103, 104. † Ibid. part i. p. 99

cut them off with the greatest facility; but of these they had no intelligence.

1621. The winter broke up sooner than usual, and as the warm season advanced the mortality began to abate, the sick and lame to recover, and the people to assume new life and courage.

March 16th. Samoset comes into the town. On the sixteenth of March an Indian came boldly into the town, and to their surprize gave them this friendly salutation, Welcome Englishmen! Welcome Englishmen! He was a petty sachem, whose name was Samoset, who had got a smattering of the English language from the fishermen on the eastern coast. They gave him a friendly reception, and on his part, he communicated to them important intelligence, respecting the country. The governour despatched him to Massasoiet to invite him to an interview with them at Plymouth. He proved a faithful messenger, and on the twenty second of the month he came to them in company with Squanto, the only surviving Indian of that place. He was one of the twenty, whom captain Hunt kidnapped and sold in Spain; but he had been brought back first to London, where after living some time, he returned to his native country. He was friendly and could speak English. They reported that Massasoiet, the greatest king of the Indians, was just at hand, with his brother, Quadequina and their suit. He soon approached the town with an armed train of sixty men. Governour Carver sent a message to him inviting him into the town. After exchanging hostages, Massasoiet with twenty men unarmed advanced to the brook, where he was met by a file of Musketeers, and conducted to a house, where, in state, they seated him, with his train, upon a green rug, and a number of cushions. Immediately came the governour with drum, trumpet, and another file of musketeers. Having passed friendly salutations and kissed each others hands, they sat: and after an entertainment prepared for the purpose, they entered into a perpetual league of friendship, commerce, and

Massasoiet visits the plantation.

Treaty of peace.

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mutual defence. Massasoiet was to give notice of the treaty to all his confederates, that they might not injure the plantation; but enjoy all the advantages of the alliance. The governour conducted the Indian prince to the brook, where he was received, and saluting each other they parted. Quadequina and his troop were then conducted into the town, and entertained in a manner highly pleasing to them and their prince. Having finished their business, the hostages were exchanged, and the royal train departed. The savage king was a tall portly man, in the best period of life, of a grave countenance and sparing of speech.* This treaty gave general peace to the country, and laid a foundation for an amicable correspondence with the original nations, not only highly beneficial to Plymouth, but to all the future settlements for many years.

March 22d.

Squanto stayed with the colonists, was their interpreter among the nations, instructed them in the manner of planting and dressing their corn, and with respect to the most advantageous places for their fishery. He was their guide to places unknown, their assistant in matters of treaty and commerce, and beyond all expectation, an instrument of great public good to the colony. He continued with them until his death.† Another Indian named Hobbamock, one of Massasoiet's pianese, a stout young man, and of much influence among the Indian nations, came and resided among them, and was not less faithful and beneficial to the plantation than Squanto. Thus, without their seeking, the Supreme Ruler, sent them interpreters and messengers of peace; and overruled an instance of villany, which had thrown all the In-
1621. dians. in New-England, into a state of hostility towards the English, for their advantage, and for the benefit of all the future plantations.

April, governour Carver dies.

Soon after the treaty with Massasoiet, the company sustained a sore loss and affliction, in the death of

* Prince's Chron. part i. p. 100—103. † New-England Memorial p. 27.

Mr. John Carver their governour. He was a gentleman of singular piety, condescension, fortitude, and public spirit. He had been agent for the company in England, and had spent the greatest part of a good fortune in the present enterprize. He had greatly endeared himself to the colony, not only by many important public services, but by his great humility, and numerous kind offices in private life. They gave him all the honours at his funeral which were in their power: and, under their afflictions exhibited an example of brotherly love, patience, submission, and fortitude, not less extraordinary than their sufferings.*

Mr. William Bradford was chosen to succeed him in the government, and Isaac Allerton was appointed his assistant.

Embassadors sent to Massasoiet.

Sensible of the importance of peace with the natives, the beginning of July the governour despatched messengers with presents to Massasoiet; more firmly to engage his friendship and establish the peace: to view the country and obtain a more perfect knowledge of its numbers and military strength. Among other things they presented their royal ally with a red cotton coat with lace trimmings, which very highly pleased his savage majesty. In return, he treated them with all the honours and civilities in his power. Mr. Winslow was lodged in the royal bed, which was constructed of a few planks, elevated about a foot from the ground. At one end of it lodged the king and queen, under a thin mat; and at the other, Mr. Hopkins the other embassador, with a number of Massasoiet's grandees. The Indians in the country, on their way, treated them with uncommon kindness; supplying them with provisions, carrying their baggage, and even conveying them on their backs over the rivers and deep waters.

In November, their agent Mr. Cushman arrived in the ship Fortune, with a recruit of thirty-five new

* N. Eng. Memorial, p. 33, 34.

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planters, unhappily she brought no provisions for the plantation, and was but poorly furnished for her own
1621. people. Her immediate return was necessary; but she could not sail, till she was victualled by this needy people, who were in want themselves. Such, however were their self-denial and exertions, that in about a month she was victualled, and laden with furs and other articles to a large amount.

By reason of the increase of their numbers, and the diminution of their stores, it now became necessary, to put all the planters on half allowance, for the term of six months. They had enjoyed a great degree of health during the summer and fall, and with exemplary harmony and diligence, had prosecuted the various business of the plantation. By the close of the year they had built seven dwelling houses, and four for public use. These small beginnings cost them not only many lives, but nearly two thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of all private expenses.

Early the next winter reports were spread that the Narragansets were meditating an attack on the plantation. It was therefore determined to empale the whole town, inclosing the top of the hill under which
March 1622. it was built. By the beginning of March the fortifications were completed, the people assigned to their respective posts, and every precaution was taken to prevent a surprise.

Meanwhile great accessions had been made to the colony in Virginia. Twenty-one ships had arrived, in which came over 1300 men, women, and children. This was effected principally by private adventurers. They considered the work as truly christian and glorious in itself, and of the highest consequence to the realm of England. Sir Francis Wyat had been appointed governour, and came over with special directions, that the colony should regard the service of Almighty God, and train up the people in the practice of religion and virtue. But while the affairs of the colony were assuming the most flattering aspect,

it was, all on a sudden, surprised, and came near a total destruction.

1622.

Most of its settlements had been made in a scattering manner, where the planters could find a rich vein of land, or an agreeable situation. The Indians had such constant familiarity with them, that they knew every hut, field, and corner, where they might be found. They were not insensible of the advantage, which these circumstances afforded them, to surprise and cut them all off at one fatal blow. They saw with pain the encroachments they were making on their lands, and though they kept up the fairest appearances, yet they had laid up, in their revengeful breasts, the remembrance of all the past injuries which they had received. Opechancanough, successor to Powhatan, was a haughty, politic, and bloody man, intent on the destruction of the English, whenever a fair opportunity should present. He therefore concerted the plan of a general massacre of the colony. So general was the combination, among all his confederates, and so deeply laid the plot, that they had warning through all their habitations; and every nation and party had their station and part assigned them.

Massacre in Virginia March 22d.

On the 22d of March, about noon, when the men were generally unarmed and at work, they rose upon them, and in one hour, nay, almost in the same instant, three hundred and forty seven men, women, and children fell by their bloody hands. So silent and sudden was the destruction, that few perceived the weapon by which they fell. In this general carnage six of their council were slain. The murderers slew all before them, without pity or remorse, without regard to age, sex, dignity, or friendship. This massacre would have been much more dreadful than it was, had it not been for a merciful interposition of providence. A christian Indian had been solicited, by his brother, the preceding evening, to kill one Mr. Pace, with whom he lived: and by this circumstance, became acquainted with the design which

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had been formed of extirpating the whole colony on the morrow. Instead of murdering Mr. Pace he immediately acquainted him with the plot. Intelligence of it was communicated to Jamestown and other places with all possible despatch. Wherever it came, and the people were on their guard, the savages ran off abandoning their attempt. Such, however, was the slaughter, as gave a grievous wound to this yet weak and infant colony. It spread such general consternation, that the small plantations were abandoned, and the people drawn together at five or six of the best and most defensible towns. In the hurry and confusion of moving, many cattle and a great quantity of goods were left, and afterwards destroyed by the Indians. They plundered and burned houses, mills, the iron works, and every thing which came in their way. Mr. Thorpe the superintendant of the college was slain, the college lands deserted, and that benevolent institution, which was designed for their benefit, was entirely defeated by their own hands.* Some of the inhabitants sustained such losses, that they were reduced to famine.

While the Virginians were mourning their losses, the people of New-Plymouth, who through the winter, had subsisted at half allowance, began to experience the distresses of famine. By the beginning of May, they had expended their provisions. With all the earnestness of a people, on the point of famishing, they looked for supplies ; but they looked in vain. The Fortune, which, with so much exertion and self denial, they had fitted for sea, and by the return of which they expected a supply, just as she arrived on the English coast, was taken, carried into France,and robbed of every thing valuable. But in this extremity, his liberal hand who supplies the wants of every living thing, made provision for their relief.

Great scarcity.

Captain Hudson, who came, that spring, on a fishing voyage into the eastern parts of New-England, sent to the governour an obliging letter, certifying him

* Styth's hist. from p. 208—213.

of the massacre of the Virginians; and expressing his wishes, that the plantation might derive caution and benefit, from the slaughter of their countrymen. 1622. The governour immediately despatched Mr. Winslow to represent to him the pitiable state of the colony; and, if possible, to obtain some assistance. Great was the humanity, with which the captain treated Mr. Winslow. He not only furnished him with what provisions he could spare, but used his influence with others on the coast, to excite the same benevolence. By these means, so much bread was obtained, as amounted to four ounces a day, for each person till the harvest. On the return of Mr. Winslow, he found the people indeed in a most miserable condition. Both their strength and their flesh failed, for want of bread. Some began to swell, and had it not been for the shell fish, which they caught along the shore, they must have perished.

The Indians apprized of their weakness began to insult them, boasting, that, in a short time, they should be able to cut them off with ease. The disaster in Virginia, with these insults, so alarmed the colony, that, in addition to their other works, they built a strong and handsome fort, on the hill, which overlooked the whole town. On this, they mounted their cannon, and kept a constant guard. It was erected not only with a view to the common safety, but for the more secure and convenient celebration of the public worship.

Though the colonists had employed their utmost exertions in the cultivation of the earth, and in trade 1623. with the Indians, to furnish themselves with provisions, yet as they had no supplies from England, they had again the next year, the sad experience of famine. In the months of February and March, Want of provision. they were obliged to subsist chiefly on ground nuts, clams, muscles, and such miserable food as could be obtained from the gleanings of the forest and the sea shore. They therefore, this spring, determined, if possible, to take such effectual measures

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Exertions to prevent famine.

to obtain a plentiful harvest, as should prevent their languishing, in future, as they had before done with hunger and want. All the youth were ranged under particular families, and each family had the encouragement of enjoying the advantages of its own labours. This drew the whole strength of the colony into exertion. The very women and children went into the field. Such quantities of corn were planted, as much exceeded what had been done in any of the preceding years.

But by the time their planting was finished, their provisions were spent, and they had neither bread nor corn for three or four months. At night they knew not where they should find a morsel in the morning.* Some were appointed to hunt, and others to fish, and what could be obtained in these ways was amicably divided among them. Thus they subsisted on wild game and the natural fruits of the country till the harvest.

In addition to this, a new scene of distress presented. Notwithstanding the care, which the people had taken, for the securing of a plentiful harvest, yet, about mid-summer their expectations seemed to be wholly defeated. From the third week in May, till the middle of July, they were visited with uncommon drought and heat. Not only the blade, but the stalks of the corn withered, as though they had been entirely dead.† The ships and supplies, which had long been expected from England did not arrive and it was concluded that they were lost. The people therefore, seeing nothing but famine and certain destruction before them, sunk into great discouragement. They say, "The most courageous are now discouraged. Now are our hopes overthrown, our joy being turned into mourning." In these depths of affliction they repaired to Him, who could

Despondency of the colonists.

* Morton's Memorial, p. 49, 50. Prince's Chron. p. ii. p. 135.

† Page 137, 138, 139. Mr. Morton mistaking governour Bradford, has wrongly placed this drought in the preceding year. Several others have followed his mistake.

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furnish a table in the wilderness, and sought his merciful interposition. The morning of their fast, was hot and fair without a cloud; but before the public solemnities were concluded, the heavens were overcast. Soon the rain began to descend in gentle and plenteous showers which continued, by turns, for several days, till the earth was thoroughly soaked. The corn revived even to admiration, and promised a joyful harvest.

Soon after the long expected ships arrived. With them came a good vessel, built for the service of the plantation.

Friends arrive.

In these ships arrived sixty new planters, generally in good health. Some of them were the wives and children of those, who came first to Plymouth. Some others, Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Mr. George Morton, and Mr. John Jenny, were men of considerable character, and of singular importance and service to the colony.

Description of their meeting.

It is impossible to describe that strange composition of chagrin, sorrow, sympathy, and joy, which, at this meeting presented themselves in the most lively colours. The first planters had received no supplies of clothing since their arrival. They were therefore not only pale with famine, but they were miserably clothed. When the passengers came on shore and saw their extreme poverty, they were filled with sadness and dismay. Some burst into tears, and passionately wished themselves again in their native country. In the poverty and distress of this poor people, they imagined they foresaw their own future miseries. Some felt the lively exercises of sympathetic commiseration for the calamitous state of their friends. Others greatly rejoiced at the present interview. Parents and children, husbands and wives, brethren and sisters, embraced each other, with endearments peculiar to such relatives, after a long and painful separation.*

The best dish, with which the colony were able to furnish these welcome guests, was a lobster with-

* New-England Memorial, p. 54.

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out bread or any other article, excepting a cup of fair spring water. They made this remark on their manner of living. "The long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion, but God gives us health."* The welcome harvest came, and the face of affairs was changed. Plenty succeeded famine, and their hearts were filled with food and gladness.

Massacre revenged.

In the mean time the Virginians took an ample revenge for the slaughter of their fellow colonists. In the fall after the massacre, they burned several of the Indian towns, and took from them nearly 4,000 bushels of corn. In consequence of these depredations, the enemy the next winter were reduced to famine and great distress.

July 23d.

The next July, four or five different parties were detached to attack them, at the same time, in so many different places. They all falling upon them on the same day, made a very considerable slaughter. Some of their kings and war captains were slain, their corn and settlements destroyed. They were so weakened and broken, that the planters, in confidence of their inability to injure them, returned again to the towns and settlements which they had abandoned. The harvest was plenteous, and the state of the colony became easy and comfortable.

1624.

The next spring Mr. Winslow, agent for the colony of Plymouth, brought over a good supply of clothing and some neat cattle. These were the first imported into New-England. Goats, hogs, and poultry, had been transported into the country, and had increased exceedingly.

London company dissolved.

A quo warranto was this year issued, by his British majesty, against the great London company for planting Virginia. It consisted of more than a thousand adventurers. More than two hundred of them were earls, knights, and noblemen, of the first

* Prince's Chron. part ii. p. 140.

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rank and character in the nation. Many others were merchants and gentlemen of principal figure and fortunes. But on the 15th of July, they were wholly broken up, by the king and his ministers. Their records, books of account, and papers, were all seized and taken from them. They had paid the greatest attention to their business, and neglected their own private affairs, to promote the growth and prosperity of the colony. Beside all their time and trouble, they had expended more than a hundred thousand pounds of their own private property. Great sums were due to the company. Nearly a thousand pounds were due from Sir Thomas Smith, their first treasurer. But they never could recover their books, papers, nor debts. Neither could they ever obtain any compensation, for the damage done to them and the colony, by governour Argall.* Previous to the incorporation of this company Sir Walter Raleigh had expended, in his enterprises and attempts to make settlements, 40,000*l.* without the aid of a shilling from the crown. Nor had the government ever granted the least aid, nor been at the least expense for the colony, from its commencement to the then present time.† In the short period of about seventeen years king James granted, superseded, or vacated three successive charters. The first, to Sir Thomas Gates and others, was superseded, by his letters patent, May 3d, 1609, to the earl of Salisbury and others, incorporating them, by the name of The treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London, for the first colony in Virginia. This grant conveyed to them and their successors, all the lands in Virginia, two hundred miles north and south of point Comfort, along the sea coast: and this breadth, of four hundred miles, throughout all the main land from sea to sea. It also conveyed all the islands within one hundred miles of any part of it; with all the com-

Charters vacated.

* Styth's History, book V. † Jefferson's Notes, p. 194.

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modities, jurisdictions, royalties, franchises, and pre-eminences within, or appertaining to the same; in as ample a manner as had been before granted to any adventurer. This territory was to be holden in common soccage of the king and his successors, giving one fifth part of the gold and silver ore in lieu of all other services. The charter established a council in England for the direction of the enterprise. The members of it were to be chosen and displaced by the voice of a majority of the company and adventurers. They had also the nomination and revocation of governours, officers, and ministers, which they should judge necessary for the colony. They were vested with plenary powers of establishing laws, forms of government, and magistracy, obligatory not only in the colony, but on the seas, in passing from the respective countries. It also granted to the colonists all the rights of natural subjects, as if born and abiding in the realm of England. It contained a declaration, that, in all doubtful cases, these letters should be construed in such a manner as should be most for the benefit of the grantees. This second, was superseded by a third charter, March 12th, 1612, in which were included all islands in any part of the ocean, between the 30th and 41st degrees of latitude, and within three hundred leagues of any of the parts afore granted. The design of this was, to give the company and colony the Summer islands.*

Civil constitution of Virginia.

By virtue of the authorities given by these charters, the company, on the 24th of July, 1621, established a form of government under their common seal. This, for the future, ordained, that there should be two supreme councils in Virginia. One to be called the council of state; to be placed and displaced, by the treasurer, council in England, and company, from time to time, whose office was to give advice and assistance to the governour. The other, was to be called the general assembly, to be conven-

* Styth's History. In his appendix the charters may be seen at large

ed once annually by the governour, or oftener as circumstances might render it necessary. This was to consist of the council of state, and two burgesses out of every town, hundred, or plantation, to be respectively chosen by the inhabitants. In the assembly all matters were to be determined by a majority of the votes present. The governour had a negative voice. The assembly had the power of enacting laws for the government of the colony, of treating, consulting, and determining, on all emergencies, for the common safety and happiness. Their laws and government, were, as nearly as might be, to imitate the laws and policy of England. No laws were to have any validity till ratified in a general quarterly court of the company in England, and returned under their common seal. It was provided, nevertheless, that after the government of the colony should be well framed and settled, no orders of the council in England, should bind the colony, unless ratified in the said assembly. This was the ancient constitution of Virginia. The company transported more than 9,000 English subjects into Virginia, which cost them 150,000*l.* Besides this, and all private expenses, the settlement of the colony cost about 4,000 lives.* King James, on the dissolution of the company, took the colony into an immediate dependence on the crown, to be governed by mere prerogative.

At the close of this year the town of New-Plymouth contained thirty two dwelling houses, and one hundred and eighty inhabitants. Such had been their health, for the term of three years, that, among the first planters, there had not been an instance of death.

In November 1626 this small and indigent people came to a composition with the company in England. For the consideration of 1800*l.* sterling, they made a consignment of all their lands, stocks, shares, merchandizes, and chattels to the colony. The other

Nov. 1626.

* Stith's Hist. p. 306, compared with p. 311, 312.

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1626.

debts of the colony were not less than 600*l.* Yet, such was the harmony and industry of this people, that in a few years, they effected the payment of the whole debt. Such was their brotherly love, that they were not only at the expense of bringing over their brethren from Leyden gratis, but of furnishing them after their arrival with a year's provisions.* The expense of this was considerably more than the whole amount of their public debt.†

They obtained an ample patent, from the council for New-England, conveying to them a considerable territory, where they made their first settlements. This was chiefly within the limits of the county of Plymouth. It also conveyed another tract, under the description of "All that part of New-England between the utmost limits of Capersecont, or Camascecont, which adjoineth to the river Kennebeck, and the falls of Negumke, with the said river itself, and the space of fifteen miles on each side between the bounds above said." The council granted the colony, as ample powers of government, as had been granted to them by his British majesty's letters patent. They had no charter, or powers of government, from the king;‡ but in his letters to the colony their rights were as fully recognized as those of the other colonies. Their government was entirely by voluntary compact. On the 23d of March the governour and assistants were annually elected from among themselves. Till the year 1624, they had only a govern-

Constitution of New Plymouth.

* Prince's Chron. part ii. p. 166, 168, 169, 192.

† They were brought over at four different times, October 9th, 1621, 36 arrived; July, 1623, 60; August, 1629, 35 with their families; probably about a hundred and seventy persons. In May, 1630, about 60 more arrived; making in the whole 316. From accounts now before me, it appears, that the whole expense of their transportation amounted to 2690*l.* sterling. The whole number of Mr. Robinson's congregation, which came over, was about 417. The whole expense of transporting this colony, with their arms and effects may be estimated at 4,690*l.*

‡ They expended 500*l.* sterling to obtain a royal charter; his majesty consented, and the solicitor was ordered to draw it up, but the agents petitioning for an exemption from the customs for seven years inward and twenty one outward, the lord treasurer refused, and it never passed the seals.

our with one assistant. From this period five were annually chosen, and the governour had a double voice. The number of assistants was afterwards increased to seven. The governour and his assistants went under the general name of the associates of the colony of New-Plymouth. They were to all intents the representatives of the people. All laws were enacted and all government managed by them for almost twenty years. In 1639 the towns, for the first time sent deputies. Their first general assembly was convened the same year on the fourth of June. They had a few laws, which they termed general fundamentals; and some others adapted to their peculiar circumstances; but, in general, they were governed by the common law and statutes of England. Their fundamentals secured to them all the rights of free born English subjects. Agreeably to them, no acts, laws, nor ordinances could be imposed on them, but such as were enacted by the consent of the body of the freemen or associates, or their representatives legally assembled. No person could be endamaged with respect to life, limb, liberty, name, or estate, but by some express law of the general court, or by the laws of England. They secured to them the right of trial by jury; and made provision, that justice should neither be sold, denied, nor causelessly deferred; but impartially administred to all. Thus, after all preceding attempts to make settlements, in this part of the continent, though made by several noble personages, and at great expense had failed, this small and indigent people, at their sole expense, by their union and industry accomplished a firm settlement. They effected a general peace with the natives, and established a free and permanent government.

While the colony of New-Plymouth was rising into public credit and importance, large bodies of religious people in England were making preparations for more extensive settlements in New-England.

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1628. Massachusetts patent, March 19th, 1628.

On the 19th of March 1628, the council for New-England granted unto Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, knights, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphreys, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, their heirs, assigns, and associates for ever, all that part of New-England in America, which lies and extends between Merrimack river and Charles river in the bottom of Massachusetts-Bay, and three miles to the north and south of every part of Charles river, and three miles southward of the southermost part of said bay, and three miles north of every part of Merrimack river, and "all lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the limits aforesaid north and south, in latitude and in breadth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main lands there, from the Atlantic sea and ocean on the east part, to the south sea on the west part."*

Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, in England, was fixed in the design of making a settlement in New-England, for the purposes of religion; whither nonconformists might transport themselves, and enjoy the blessings of liberty in worship and discipline. Therefore effecting an acquaintance and association between Sir Richard Saltonstall, Matthew Cradock, and John Venn, Esquires, who were of the Dorchester grantees, and a number of religious gentlemen in London and its vicinity, he negotiated a treaty for the patent between them and the original patentees. These associates; having made a purchase of the patent, sent over Mr. John Endicot, one of the original patentees, with planters and whatever was necessary for the beginning of a new colony. In September he arrived at Naumkeak and settled the town of Salem. He was agent to transact all the affairs of the company till the arrival of the patentees themselves.

* Governour Hutchinson fixes this in 1627, but, according to the present manner of dating it was 1628. It was formerly customary not to begin the date of the new year, till nearly three months after the first of January.

The patent from the council of Plymouth conveyed a complete right to territory, but no powers of government. The associates therefore addressed king Charles I. for a charter of incorporation, which should confirm their patent and vest them with civil powers. This passed the seals March 4th, 1629. This ordained, that there should be a governour, deputy governour, and eighteen assistants annually chosen out of the freemen of the company; that they, and all who should be made free of the company, should be for ever a body corporate and politic, by the name of the governour and company of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY, in NEW-ENGLAND, and have perpetual succession. Matthew Cradock was appointed the first governour and Thomas Goff deputy governour. Both the governours and magistrates were zealously engaged to make a firm settlement in New-England, for the purposes of religion. Six ships were furnished by the company, and despatched to New-England. In them were brought over nearly 400 men, women, and children. About 140 neat cattle, a number of horses and goats, great quantities of provisions, arms, and ammunition were also transported into the colony. The expense of the transportation was 3,360*l.* sterling.*

1st charter of Massachusetts granted March 4th 1629.

About a hundred of these planters began a plantation at Mishawam, which they named CHARLESTOWN.

The other planters settled at Salem, where the number of inhabitants was now between three and four hundred. Here a church was formed, and Mr. Skelton was ordained pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher. This was the first completely organized church in New-England.

First church and ordination, Aug. 6th.

Meanwhile the Massachusetts company in England were making vigorous preparations for a much larger embarkation than had yet been made; and, for the better government of the colony and the encouragement

* Prince's Chron. p. 182, 183.

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of gentlemen of quality and religion, the company had resolved on the transportation of the patent and corporation itself from Old to New-England.

Early the next spring fourteen ships were ready to sail, furnished with all necessaries to plant a permanent colony. Three others were afterwards provided. Eleven of them arrived in New-England before the middle of July, and before the end of the year the whole seventeen arrived. In these ships came over more than fifteen hundred people.* Many of them were gentlemen of estate and figure, educated in the best towns and cities in England. Before the sailing of the ships from England, there had been a new election of governours and magistrates, of such gentlemen as were willing to transport themselves, and undertake the government of the colony. John Winthrop, Esq. was chosen governour, and Thomas Dudley, Esq. deputy governour. The governours arrived at Salem in the Arabella on the twelfth of June. Four of the magistrates, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson and his lady, William Coddington and Charles Fines, Esquires, arrived with them in the same ship. With the people came over four ministers, Messrs. Maverick, Warham, Wilson, and Philips; to illuminate the infant churches, and proclaim in the wilderness the glad tidings of salvation. Besides other cattle there were brought over nearly three hundred kine.

Governours arrive June 12th.

The governour on his arrival found the colony in very disagreeable circumstances. They had lost eighty of their numbers the preceding winter, and many of the survivors were in a miserably weak, and sickly condition. They had not corn enough to last them more than a fortnight, and their other provisions were very scanty. Such was the scarcity, that they had liberated all their servants, that they might shift for themselves. The whole number was a hundred and eighty. They had cost them sixteen and twen-

* Hutch. vol. i. p. 19.

ty pounds a head. So that they sustained a loss of more than three thousand pounds.

1630. Towns settled.

Sometime in July the governour with about 1500 people arrived at Charlestown.* Here and at Boston, a considerable number of the patentees fixed their abode, under the pastoral care of Mr. Wilson; Messrs. Warham and Maverick with their people settled at Dorchester. Sir Richard Saltonstall and his company planted themselves at Watertown. Mr. Philips was chosen their pastor. Mr. Pynchon with another company settled Roxbury. The famous Mr. Eliot and Mr. Weld, who came into New-England the next year, were elected their ministers.

Mortality.

As several of the ships had a long passage of seventeen or eighteen weeks, many of the people came on shore in a feeble and sickly condition; and for want of convenient food and lodgings, the sickness exceedingly increased. So great was the mortality, that before the close of the year two hundred of them were in their graves. Among these were some of their principal characters. With them was that excellent and pious lady, Arabella, who was celebrated for many virtues. Though she had been educated in a paradise of plenty and pleasure, in the family of the earl of Lincoln, yet she sacrificed ease, friends, and life itself, for the noble purposes of planting liberty and christianity in the wilds of America. Mr. Johnson her husband survived her but a few weeks. He died at Boston in September with great composure and triumph, rejoicing, that he had lived to see a church gathered in America. He was the second in the council, and had much the largest fortune of any, who, at that time, came into New-England. He was highly characterized for wisdom, piety, and benevolence. Mr. Rossiter, another of the council, died in October.

The whole number of planters who arrived in the colony, from the beginning, before the close of the year was about 2000; of these 100 returned to Eng-

* Prince's Chron. p. 240.

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land, 200 died, the remaining 1,700 settled eleven towns or villages, each consisting on an average, of 150 inhabitants, nearly thirty families.*

1631. Extreme cold.

By the 24th of December the weather became extremely severe. The rivers shut over, and many of the people froze. Such a Christmas as the succeeding day they had never before seen. From this time to the tenth of February it continued so extremely cold, that they had sufficient employment to keep themselves in any tolerable measure comfortable. The poorer sort of people, lying in tents, hovels, and miserable huts, suffered extremely indeed. Many of them died of the scurvy and other diseases. By spring they were generally reduced to a company of mourners. There was scarcely a family in which there had not been a death.† Beside the sickness and loss of friends, they were reduced to great distress for want of provisions. Several of the ships, which came the last year, neglected to bring their complement of provision; and much of that which had been brought was damaged. Many therefore, before the spring, were obliged to subsist upon clams, muscles, and other shell fish, with acorns and ground nuts instead of bread. So great and general was the scarcity, that even at the governour's house the last bread was in the oven. Such were the extremities, to which people of the best fortunes and characters were reduced, to plant churches in the wilderness, and transmit to posterity the invaluable enjoyments of liberty and undefiled religion.

Scarcity.

Captain Pierce had been despatched, late in the fall, to Ireland for provisions; but the people imagined he had been taken or cast away, and seeing no human prospect of relief they fell into great fear and despondency. A public fast had been appointed on the sixth of February, to seek the divine aid. He who delights to appear in the greatest extremities and to magnify his mercies by the seasonableness of them, gave this pious people sweet experience of the faithfulness of

* Prince's Chron. vol. ii. p. 31.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 6, 18, 20. Hutch. vol. i. p. 13.

his promise, "Before they call I will answer, and whiles they are yet speaking I will hear." The very day before the appointed fast, Captain Pierce arrived, in the ship Lyon, laden with provisions. She had a stormy passage; and, even after she got into the harbour, rode amidst drifts of ice; yet, in mercy to this famishing colony, came safe into port. On this joyful occasion, the governour appointed the twenty second of the month a day of thanksgiving throughout the plantations.* CHAP. II. 1631. Relief.

The company had lost on board their ships in their passage from England, and in the winter, more than half their cattle. A milch cow was valued from twenty five to thirty pounds sterling. Provisions, in England, were this year, excessively dear. Every bushel of wheat flour cost fourteen shillings sterling. Peas and Indian corn each bore the price of ten shillings by the bushel. The threats and hostile appearances of the Indians put the colony into almost continual fear and alarm. It was happy indeed, that, in their feeble state, they were only alarmed. On this account, however, they sustained no inconsiderable damage. It disconcerted their plans, retarded their building and settlements for several months. By a combination of these various circumstances the colony was exceedingly impoverished. The estates of the undertakers, in particular, received an essential injury. The stock, in which they were jointly engaged, to the amount of three or four thousand pounds, was reduced to so many hundreds.† Colony impoverished.

At a general court of election, May 18th, governour Winthrop and governour Dudley were re-elected to their respective offices, in which they continued for many years.

While plantations were increasing in New-England a plan had been concerted for the settlement of a new colony in the northeast part of Virginia. Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who had been secretary to

* Prince's Chron. vol. ii. p. 18. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 9, 10.

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1632. James I. having avowed his adherence to the Romish faith, for the more undisturbed enjoyment of his religion, made a voyage to Virginia. He was one of the original associates of the Virginia company, and a member of the corporation till its dissolution. In Virginia therefore, he hoped to find a peaceful retreat. But the Virginians were staunch churchmen, and would tolerate no profession but their own. His lordship received such ill treatment from them, as determined him upon another adventure. Finding that there were large tracts of land on the Chesapeak, accommodated with many fine rivers, without an English inhabitant, he conceived the idea of planting a colony for himself. That he might observe what would quadrate with his own inclinations, and more accurately fix the boundaries of the colony which he designed, he made a journey to the northward and explored the country on the bay. On application to Charles I. he made him a grant agreeable to his wishes.

April 15th But before the patent passed the seals, his lordship was no more. The patent therefore came out to his son Cecil, bearing date June 20th, 1632. This was a considerable defalcation of Virginia, originating entirely from the treatment of lord Baltimore. It probably paved the way for the more capital ones which succeeded.

Settlement of Maryland, 1633. The next year lord Baltimore appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Esq. governour; who came over with about two hundred planters, and began the settlement of the colony at Yamaco, an Indian town near the mouth of the Patowmac. They were generally Roman catholicks and gentlemen of good families. Some of the principal planters were the governour, his brother George Calvert, Jeremiah Hawley, Thomas Cornwallis, Richard Gerrard, Edward Winter, and Henry Wiseman, Esquires. These with several others seem to have been of the governour's council. Lord Baltimore gave his colony the name of Maryland, in honour to Henrietta Maria queen of King Charles I. It is said that the cost of its settlement, only for the two first years, in the transportation of

planters, provisions, other stores, utensils, &c. was not less than 40,000*l.* sterling.*

Various circumstances united their influence to advance the settlement of Maryland. The charter of incorporation was one of the most ample, which had been granted to any subject in the kingdom. It not only conveyed the lands in the fullest manner, but authorized a free assembly, without the least royal interference. Liberty of conscience was allowed to christians of all denominations. The country was inviting. Presents were made to the Indians to their satisfaction; so that the colony was in perfect peace. These circumstances, together with the rigid principles of the Virginians, and some of the other colonists, had influence to expedite the settlement. Remarkable it was, that under a Roman catholick proprietary, puritans were indulged that liberty of conscience, which was denied them by their fellow protestants. Emigrants flocked in such numbers into the colony, that it soon became populous and flourishing.

During the civil wars in England lord Baltimore was deprived of the jurisdiction of Maryland. After the restoration, his son Charles, Lord Baltimore, obtained a confirmation of the grant made in 1632, but as he was a Roman catholick, the crown retained jurisdiction and appointed all civil officers. The proprietor afterwards became a protestant, and enjoyed both property and jurisdiction.

The growing spirit of intolerance in England, made it more and more necessary for puritans to seek an asylum in America. In 1632 and the three succeeding years many worthy characters arrived in Massachusetts, and the settlements were greatly increased. The freemen became too numerous to meet in general court, once every three months. Besides it was by no means consistent with the safety of the colony, as it exposed the plantations to a surprise by the Indians. In 1634 the freemen therefore elected deputies, The first

* Douglas, vol. ii. p. 357, 358.

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1634. General Assembly in Massachusetts, May 1634.

in their respective towns, who, at the general court in May, met with the magistrates in a general assembly. It was the first ever convened in New-England. Till this time, both the legislative, as well as executive power, had been almost entirely in the hands of the governour and assistants. This was indeed agreeable to the charter. It did not authorize a general assembly. The freemen nevertheless concluded that it implied an assembly, as it vested them with the rights of Englishmen. At any rate they were determined to secure their just and natural rights. It was therefore resolved, that each plantation should choose, and send, two or three of their number to the general court: and that these deputies of the several towns should have the powers and voices of all the freemen in the commonwealth: that none but the general court had power to raise monies and taxes, to dispose of lands and confirm the propriety, to make laws and appoint officers civil and military. It was also resolved, that the general court should not be dissolved, without the consent of a majority of the court. Every freeman was to give his own voice in the election of governours and assistants, but in all other matters their deputies acted for them. It was soon found that four general courts in a year were inexpedient, and it was determined that there should be two only. The civil body, as thus settled, continued without any material alteration till the dissolution of their charter.*

Constitution of Massachusetts.

Soon after the commencement of settlements in the Massachusetts, a plan was conceived of planting a colony on Connecticut river and the adjacent country. On the 19th of March, 1631,† Robert, earl of Warwick, president of the council of Plymouth, granted unto the right honourable viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brook, &c. to the number of eleven, their heirs, assigns, and associates for ever, "all that part of New-England in America, which lies

Old patent of Connecticut, March 19th, 1631.

* Hutch. vol. i. p. 35,36,37. † March 19th, 1630, according to the old way of dating, was March 19th, 1631.

and extends itself from a river there, called Narragansett river, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line near the sea shore toward the southwest, west, and by south, or west as the coast lieth towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to the league, and all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the lands aforesaid, north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout all the mainlands there, from the western ocean to the south seas."

A number of capital characters, who had arrived in the Massachusetts, some in 1630, and others in 1633, determined, with their companies, to make settlements under this patent. Of this number were John Haynes and Roger Ludlow, Esquires, Messrs. Hooker, Warham, and Stone. In prosecution of their design, on the 15th of October, 1635, about sixty men, women, and children, from Dorchester, Cambridge, and Watertown commenced their journey,* through the wilderness to Connecticut river, and began the settlement of Windsor, Hartford, and Weathersfield. In November Mr. John Winthrop, agent for their lordships Say and Seal, Brook, &c. arrived in the mouth of the river, built a fort at Say-Brook, and took possession of the adjacent country.

Settlement of Connecticut.

The next June Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone with their people, Mr. Warham's from Dorchester, and a number from Watertown, removed to the river. About a hundred men, women, and children, with packs, cattle, &c. took their departure from Cambridge and travelled more than a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness, to their new settlements. These companies, with no other guide than the compass, made their way over mountains, through swamps and rivers, not passable, but with great difficulty. They had no covering but

* Governour Winthrop's manuscripts.

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the heavens, nor were their lodgings much preferable to Jacob's pillow. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey. This adventure was the more remarkable, as many in these companies, were persons of high life, who had formerly lived in England in honour, affluence, and delicacy.

Distresses of the winter.

Their sufferings the next winter were extreme. The vessel, on board of which were their principal stores, froze up in the mouth of the river. Numbers of them scattered down the river, if possible, to discover their provisions. Some ventured back into the Massachusetts, and others perished in the wilderness. Their distresses were greatly increased by the Pequot Indians, who, commencing hostilities, killed their cattle, burned their dwellings, attacked the fort at Say-Brook, slew and captivated their inhabitants. Though the planters had been invited by the natives to make settlements on the river, and had made fair purchases of their lands, yet the Pequots determined to extirpate them. With policy, which would have done honour to the greatest statesmen, they attempted to conciliate the Narragansetts, with whom they had been at war, and to unite them in the design of expelling the English from the country. They represented that they, who were merely foreigners, were overspreading the country, and depriving the original inhabitants of their ancient rights and possessions: That unless they were soon prevented, they would entirely dispossess the original proprietors: That by a general combination, they could either destroy or drive them from the country. To great advantage, they represented the facility and safety with which it might be effected: That there would be no need of coming to open battles: That by killing their cattle, firing their houses, laying ambushes on the roads, in the fields, and wherever they might surprise and destroy them, they might accomplish their wishes. They represented that if the English should destroy the Pequots, they would also soon

root out the Narragansetts.* So just and politic were these representations, that nothing but that thirst for revenge, which inflames the savage heart, could have prevented their effect.

Capt. Mason sent against the Pequots, May 10th.

The colony, sensible of the immediate necessity of the most vigorous measures with this enemy, despatched captain John Mason, with ninety Englishmen and about seventy river and Mohegan Indians, to attack the enemy in their fortifications. This was a small force indeed to employ against an enemy, who were the scourge and dread of almost every Indian nation in New-England. It consisted however of nearly half the fencible men in the colony. More could not have been spared, consistently with the safety of the infant plantations. Besides, such was the scarcity of provisions, that these were, with no small difficulty, supplied.

Surprises Mistic fort, May 26th.

On the 26th of May, 1637, towards the dawning of the day, captain Mason surprised Mistic one of the principal forts of the enemy. After a general fire of the musketeers, he entered the fort sword in hand. But notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, the blaze and thunder of their arms, the enemy made a manly resistance. After a severe conflict, in which many of the enemy fell, and a number of the English were sorely wounded, victory still hung in suspense. The enemy from within, and behind their wigwams, taking the advantage of every covert, maintained an obstinate defence. In this critical state of the action, the captain had recourse to a successful expedient. He put fire into the mats with which the wigwams were covered, and instantly retreating surrounded the fort. The fire spreading rapidly, before the wind, soon wrapped the houses in one general flame. The enemy were seized with astonishment. Some climbed the palisadoes and were instantly killed by the fire of the English. Others desperately sallying forth, from their burning cells,

* Hubbard's Narrative, p. 24, 25.

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were immediately shot, or cut in pieces by the sword. In about an hour the whole design was accomplished. In the fort were seventy wigwams; and it was supposed, between four and five hundred Indians.

The victory was complete, yet the victorious army was in distress. The men were greatly fatigued with watching, long marches, and the sharpness of the action. The morning was hot, and water hardly to be obtained. They had sustained the loss of two men slain, and sixteen wounded, nearly a quarter of the men in action. They had about eight miles to march, with their wounded men, to reach the shore, where they were to meet their vessels. Beside, they were in constant expectation of an attack, by a fresh and numerous enemy, from a neighbouring fortress. No sooner had they begun their march than they were attacked by the enemy; who hung upon their rear, five or six miles, sometimes shooting from rocks and trees, and at other times hazarding themselves in the open field. At length the enemy finding that they could gain no considerable advantage, and that wounds and death attended every attempt, they gave over the pursuit.

Soon after a detachment of nearly two hundred men from the Massachusetts and New Plymouth arrived, to assist Connecticut in prosecuting the war. On their way to Connecticut they obtained a victory over some hundreds of the enemy, killing and taking a considerable number.

Sassacus, the great Pequot sachem, and his warriors were so panic-struck, with the loss of Mistic, that, burning their wigwams and the royal fortress, they fled towards Hudson's river. The troops from the Massachusetts and New Plymouth, in conjunction with the Connecticut soldiers, under captain Mason, pursued them as far as a great swamp in Fairfield; where they had another action. In this the enemy were entirely vanquished. Many were killed and more captivated. In the whole, first and

last, it was supposed that about 700 were killed and taken. Others fled their country; some united with the Mohegans under Uncas, and some with other tribes. This conquest was of great importance to the colonies. It rendered the English terrible to all the Indian nations in New-England, so that they remained peaceable for many years.

In this expedition the English became acquainted with the rivers, harbours, and pleasant country west of Connecticut river. The report which was made of it gave birth to the scheme of settling a second colony under the old Connecticut patent.

New Haven settled, April 18th, 1638.

The next year therefore, Mr. John Davenport, Theophilus Eaton, Esq. Francis Newman and their company, generally Mr. Davenport's people from London, began the settlement of the town and government of New-Haven.

Guilford and Milford, 1639

Mr. Henry Whitfield, William Leet, Esq. and a large number of passengers from Surry and Kent were in company with Mr. Davenport, and the next year settled the town of Guilford. The same year another part of Mr. Davenport's company began a plantation at Milford. Of his company were Edward Hopkins and Thomas Gregson, Esquires. The former was afterwards governour of Connecticut, and the latter one of the magistrates of New-Haven. This is supposed to have been one of the most affluent companies, which ever came into New-England. Mr. Eaton had been governour of the East India company, and for his good services, had received ample rewards. He and Mr. Hopkins had been merchants in London, and had acquired very handsome fortunes. Mr. Gregson and others were in affluent circumstances. They laid out the town of New-Haven, in a number of squares, in the form of an elegant city.

Till the beginning of this year the colony of Connecticut had been governed chiefly by five or six of their principal characters, who met in court, and appear to have acted as magistrates, for the public

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weal. Roger Ludlow, Esq. a gentleman bred to the law, and one of the magistrates in Massachusetts, till his removal to Connecticut, was the first magistrate. In the important affair of the Pequot war, deputies from the respective towns were for the first time admitted to act in the general court. But as there was no fixed constitution of government, the freemen on the 14th of January, by voluntary compact, formed themselves into a distinct commonwealth.*

Constitution of Connecticut, Jan. 14th, 1639.

The constitution ordained, That there should be annually two general assemblies; one on the second Thursday in April, and the other on the second Thursday in September: That the first should be called the Court of Election, in which the governours, magistrates, and other public officers should be chosen. The governour and magistrates were to be chosen by the whole body of the freemen. It provided, That the towns should send deputies to the several assemblies: That in the general court, should consist the supreme power of the commonwealth: That they only should have power to make laws, grant levies, admit freemen, dispose of lands, and to transact all matters respecting the good of the commonwealth.

First general election, April.

At the general election in April, John Haynes, Esq. was chosen governour, and Roger Ludlow, Esq. deputy governour. Messrs. George Wyllys, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Wells, John Webster, and William Phelps were elected magistrates. The towns sent twelve deputies. Of these consisted the first general court or assembly in Connecticut.† The laws of the colony ordained, that no man's life should be taken away; no man's honour or good name be stained; no man's person arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor in any wise punished: That no man's wife, children, goods, or estate

* This, agreeably to the old way of dating, is set in the record January 14th, 1638, because the date of the new year was not begun till after the 25th of March.

† Records of Connecticut.

should be taken from him; nor in any wise endamaged under colour of law, or countenance of authority, unless by virtue of some express law of the colony warranting the same, established by the general court, and sufficiently published; or in case of the defect of such law, in any particular case, by some clear and plain rule of the word of God, in which the whole court should be agreed.* They also ordained, that law and justice should be administered to all without partiality or delay: That no person should be restrained or suffer imprisonment until sentenced to it by law, excepting in criminal cases, contempt in open court, and when sufficient bail was not obtainable.

Constitution of New Haven, June 4th.

On the 4th of June all the free planters of New Haven assembled for the purpose of forming a constitution of civil government. Mr. Davenport introduced the business by a sermon from those words of Solomon, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." After which it was unanimously agreed, That the Scriptures were a perfect rule, for the government of all men, in commonwealth, as well as in matters of the church: That in the choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of the like nature, they submitted themselves to the rules held forth in the Scripture: That church members only should be free burgesses, and that they only should choose magistrates and officers among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public, civil affairs of the plantation; of making and repealing laws, dividing inheritances, deciding differences that may arise, and doing all things and businesses of the like nature.

Twelve men were chosen, for trial, out of which they were to elect seven for the pillars of the church, to whom all the other church members, or free burgesses were to be gathered to complete the building.

* First Connecticut Law book.

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Having thus laid the foundations, they proceeded in October, to their first general election.

1639. First election at N. Haven, Oct. 25th.

Theophilus Eaton, Esq. was elected governour. Messrs. Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Nathaniel Turner, and Thomas Fugill, were chosen his assistants. It was agreed, that there should be a renewed choice of all officers at the general court to be holden annually on the last Wednesday in October. It was ordained, That the word of God shall be the only rule to be attended unto in ordering the affairs of government in the plantation.*

Two years after a deputy governour was chosen, and in the year 1643, all the towns in the plantation sent their deputies; which practice continued as long as the colony existed in a distinct capacity. This general court appointed that there should be holden two general courts annually; to consist of the governour, deputy governour, magistrates, and two deputies from every town in the jurisdiction. The general court was to meet on the first Wednesday in April and the last in October. The same constitution of government, for substance, was now adopted by New Haven, which had been established in Connecticut.†

The first planters of New Haven were men of letters and enterprise. They designed it for a great trading city. They planned and were about erecting an academy; but unhappily, their designs did not succeed. They made purchases and began settlements at Delaware bay, but the Dutch, to their great loss and damage, seized on their buildings, persons, and goods; and entirely broke up their plantations. At sea they lost a rich ship, and some of their principal men. These losses, with the great expense of settling a new country, so impoverished them, that they were obliged to leave the accomplishment of that to posterity, which they designed to have effected themselves.

* Records of New Haven, C. † Records N. H. Fol. vol. i. p. 73, 74, 75.

Mr. Roger Williams, who had been expelled the Massachusetts, on the account of his religious sentiments, began the settlement of Providence in Rhode Island, the same year in which plantations were begun in Connecticut. 1638.

Settlement of Rhode Island.

In 1638, Mr. William Coddington, John Clarke, William Hutchinson, &c. to the number of eighteen, voluntarily incorporated themselves for the purposes of civil government. They elected Mr. Coddington their magistrate. By the advice and friendly offices of Mr. Williams, they made a purchase, and obtained a deed of the island Aquetneck, of the Indian sachems,* who were the original proprietors. They began a settlement at Pocasset, on the east end of the island. A considerable number of their friends followed them, the succeeding summer: so that by the next spring they had a sufficient number to begin a second plantation, on the west end of the island. The island was divided into two townships, Portsmouth and New-Port; and called Rhode Island.† Various circumstances conspired to give the colony a rapid settlement. The country was inviting, and the natives, through the influence of Mr. Williams, were entirely peaceable and friendly. He was a gentleman of benevolence, and those who repaired to him were sure of meeting with the kindest treatment. Whatever his errors were, he was, in one important point, more illuminated than his brethren; "That to punish a man for any matters of conscience is persecution." His followers imbibed the same sentiments. It was therefore a fundamental article with the Rhode Islanders, that "every man who submits peaceably to the civil authority, may peaceably worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation." While the Massachusetts, therefore, were excommunicating and banishing people, for their religious sentiments, here they found a welcome retreat.

*The deed bears date March 24th, 1638. †Callender's Century Sermon.

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1644. Patent of Rhode Island March 17th. Constitution.

As the plantation had no patent, Mr. Williams went to England, and obtained of the earl of Warwick, a free and absolute charter of incorporation of Providence and Rhode Island Plantations. The form of government was left to the free choice of the colony. It was determined that the supreme power should remain in the body of the people: That a court of commissioners, consisting of six persons, chosen by each of the four towns of Providence, Portsmouth, New-Port, and Warwick, should have legislative authority; whose acts were to bind the colonists unless repealed by the major part of the freemen. A president and four assistants were annually to be chosen, as conservators of the peace. They were the judges of the court of trials, with the assistance of the two justices of the particular town, in which, from time to time, the court should be holden. Each town had a committee of six persons elected to manage the affairs of the town, and to try small causes. From this there was an appeal to the supreme court of president and assistants. This was the constitution of Rhode-Island under their first patent. The first general assembly was convened on the 19th of May, 1647. This assembly enacted a body of laws and began a regular and permanent mode of government. In the first years of their settlement, they, like their neighbours, were greatly distressed for want of the necessaries of life.*

Observations.

Thus, in about thirty years, were all the old colonies settled, and those in New-England in less than twenty from the first arrival at Plymouth. In this short period a land which had not been sown, was turned into gardens, fruitful fields, and pleasant habitations. Colonies presented themselves along the coast nearly a thousand miles. A world, which for numerous ages, had been replete with the habitations

* January 22d, 1639, it was found that there were but 108 bushels of corn to 96 persons: which, at the proportion of one bushel and half a peck each, was not more than sufficient to supply them six weeks, and yet it was more than so many months to harvest. Callender's Sermon, p. 94, 95. Fish, fowl, and venison prevented their famishing.

of darkness and cruelty, became illuminated with the light of life, and peopled with the disciples of Jesus. His sanctuary was built like high places, and from the regions, where beasts of prey and savage men poured out their hideous roar, and devils had been worshipped instead of God, there ascended prayers and praises to his glorious name. There were his ordinances constantly celebrated. The wilderness and solitary place were glad, the desert rejoiced and blossomed as the rose.

In view of these settlements, and of the important revolution which they made in the new world, the conduct of providence appears very conspicuous and merits special attention. The time of the settlement of the colonies appears to have been very providential; and an important step towards the liberty and happiness of which they are now, as states, in possession. Had the settlement commenced directly after the discovery of America, or at any period before the reformation, the planters would have been Roman Catholicks. The ignorance, superstition, bigotry, and slavish principles of the Romish church, would have been transported into America; propagated, and, probably, fixed in the colonies. Had it bee deferred to a later period than that, in which it was accomplished, the French, probably, would have made the settlement and annexed the country to the crown of France.

On the time of settlement.

As early as 1613 they had built a fort at Mount Mansel, another at St. Croix, and fortified Port Royal: and though captain Argall the same year reduced them, and carried off their shipping, ordnance, provisions, and cattle to Virginia,* yet Biencourt and a small plantation of Frenchmen were at Port Royal when the English came first to Plymouth.† The French laid claim to Penobscot and the whole of Acadia. In 1631, Cardinal Richlieu ordered several companies to Nova Scotia. The next year they

* Prince's Chron. part i. p. 37. † Part ii. p. 94.

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sent a small vessel to Penobscot and robbed the English trading house.

The Dutch claimed a considerable part of Connecticut, and had not the English prevented them, they would, the very next year, have made settlements on the river. The Spaniards laid claim to the southern states, and built a fort at St. Augustine before the English made any permanent settlement in Virginia. There is a great probability, that had not the settlements commenced at the very period in which they were effected, the English would not have had the least possession on the continent of North America.

At no other period could the country have been planted with men of their noble spirit, and sentiments of liberty and religion: nor with those who with such care and pains, would have transmitted them to posterity.

To no other cause than a special divine agency, can that love of liberty and undefiled religion, that courage, self-denial, and spirit of enterprise be ascribed, which animated the first colonists. The difficulties of making settlements in new countries are hardly conceivable. Little circumstances and misfortunes, which in old countries would scarcely be noticed, in distant and uncultivated regions, produce consequences the most serious and alarming. Small damages, a little waste of provisions, disaster by fire or enemies; the loss, or too late arrival, of a single ship, drought or unfavourable seasons, by land or sea, might produce famine, pestilence, mortality, and such scenes of distress as admit of no description. It was making an uncommon sacrifice, and required an extraordinary share of magnaminity to leave their pleasant European seats and connexions; to commit their treasures, families, and lives to the mercy of a vast ocean, and to encounter the fatigues and dangers of making settlements in a wilderness, at the distance of three thousand miles from their native country. Immense labour and patience

On the difficulty of new settlements.

are necessary to convert a wilderness into fruitful fields and pleasant habitations. It is a work of time and requires great expense, to reduce an uncultivated country into profitable farms, to furnish them with cattle and proper utensils for husbandry. Till these could be accomplished, our venerable ancestors were obliged to deny themselves many of the necessaries, and almost all the delicacies of life. The only grain, which, at first, was generally raised, in the country, was Indian corn. This, when prepared in the best manner, makes but the coarsest and poorest sort of bread. Till mills could be erected it was only pounded in mortars, which rendered the bread still worse.* Of orchards, the pleasant fruits and liquors of Europe, for many years, they had little or no enjoyment. They planted themselves in a climate, where for more than one third of the year, winter reigns with a severity to which they had never been accustomed. Death in a few months despoiled them of half their numbers. By turns, for several years, they experienced the distresses of famine. A vast wilderness, the roaring of savage beasts and more savage men, presented scenes of horror of which it is impossible for men unacquainted with them to form any tolerable conception. Yet they were possessed of such magnanimity of spirit, such love to purity of conscience and religion, as enabled them to brave every danger, and rise superior to every discouragement. Under the greatest difficulties, they maintained a firm and pious resolution: and relying on the providence of the Universal Governour, they shrunk not back from the business which they had so nobly undertaken. So far were they from this, that they gloried in planting churches and propagating christianity in the wilderness. They esteemed themselves richly compensated in the enjoyment of liberty and undefiled relig-

* "The want of English grain, wheat, barley, and rye, proved a sore affliction to some stomachs, who could not live upon Indian bread and water, yet they were compelled to it."—Johnson.

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ion, and in the pleasing prospect of transmitting them inviolate to their posterity. Who, in contemplation of these facts, must not acknowledge a divine superintendence?

The same superintendence was equally visible in that remarkable coincidence of circumstances, by which the Indians were restrained, more than fifty years, from a general war with the New-England colonies. They were never in general well affected towards their English neighbours; but wished, and often concerted measures, to extirpate them from the country. A variety of circumstances prevented the execution of their designs. The Tarrenteens had surprised Bashaba, the sovereign prince of the eastern Indians, about the river Piscataqua, and slain him and all the Indians in his vicinity. The subordinate sachems, having lost their head, commenced war with each other and fought for pre-eminence. By this they suffered a further diminution both of their numbers and substance. In the year 1634, the small pox made great desolation among the Indians in the Massachusetts and New-Plymouth.* The Pequots had wasted and subjugated the Connecticut Indians. Sassacus was monarch of the country, and reigned over twenty Indian kings. He had maintained a long and successful war against Miantonimo, and was terrible to the Narraganset Indians. These mutual animosities, and their implacable spirit of revenge, prevented all union among themselves against the infant colonies. At the same time they furnished motives to persuade them to confederate with the colonists and court their favour and assistance. Miantonimo and the Narragansets wished for an alliance with them, that it might be a defence to them against their too powerful neighbours, the Pequots. The Massachusetts sought it for a defence against the Tarrenteens. All the New-England Indians hoped to profit by

* Morton's Mem. p. 100. Prince, part ii. p. 67.

it, as a security against the Mohawks, of whom they had the greatest imaginable dread. Besides, they derived to themselves many advantages from an amicable commerce with the colonies.

Another thing to be observed was the justice and faithfulness of the first colonists towards them. They generally made a fair purchase of their lands of the natives, the original lords of the soil. They were careful to pay them for all their commodities, and faithful to support them as allies. When they were injured by individuals, the colonists lent an ear to their complaints, and saw that justice was immediately done them.* Various instances of this may be seen on the public files. One is very remarkable. Upon their exhibiting evidence that one Moreton and his company had done them great and repeated injuries, the court of Massachusetts ordered that part of his goods should be taken, and his house burned before their eyes, to give them satisfaction.†

Such was their remembrance of past injuries, and such their thirst of revenge, as not only prevented an union among themselves, but influenced them to unite with the colonies against each other. While some nations were plotting a general destruction of the plantations, others revealed the mischief. In these ways did the Supreme Ruler give peace to his people, and cause them to dwell safely among the Heathen.

Very observable indeed was the divine agency in causing the cruelty and despotism of a persecuting prince, of a bigotted and furious prelate to be the means of the propagation and establishment of that civil and religious liberty, that purity in worship and divine administrations, which it was their design utterly to frustrate and abolish. What immense blessings, through the wisdom and goodness of the divine administration, have been derived to

* Prince's Chron. part ii. p. 21, 22. † Ibid. part i. p. 248.

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millions, from that despotic, intolerant spirit which drove our ancestors from their dear enjoyments in the land of their nativity?

That divine superintendency, which caused such a variety of circumstances to unite their influence in the settlement of protestant churches in America, is not less observable in the appointment of their habitation. By far the best part of America hath been given them for their inheritance. Though they were at first few in number, a feeble people, needing little extent of country, yet their patents and charters conveyed to them immense territories, sufficient for one of the greatest empires. This early circumstance laid the foundation for that extent of country ceded to the United States. It is a country so variegated with soil, climates, and seasons, and so liberal to the husbandman, that it hath never experienced famine or a general want of bread, from the commencement of any considerable cultivation to the present era. It is a country of health and plenty, abounding with the necessaries, and with many of the delicacies, of life. It is at a great remove from the nations of the old world, formed for independency, and happily adapted to the genius of the people to whom it was to be given for a possession. The States of America, though capable of independent subsistence, are yet in possession of advantages for extensive commerce, and a general intercourse with foreign kingdoms. Their coasts are washed with the Atlantic ocean more than a thousand miles. Their harbours are excellent: and their numerous extensive rivers and spacious lakes open an easy communication from the most distant parts to the sea, and thence back to the inland countries. Their forests in height and extent are equalled by few, and exceeded by none, in any of the European kingdoms. They abound with oak, pine, turpentine, and tar, and furnish materials for the most formidable navy. Whom shall we acknowledge in the enjoyment of such a country but

HIM, who not only made of one blood all nations, but determined the bounds of their habitation? CHAP. II.

Who can contemplate the piety and magnanimity of the fathers of the American republicks, and the important services they have rendered to posterity, without a high degree of veneration? How soon would an imitation of their selfdenial, industry, economy, and greatness of mind, extricate the United States from every embarrassment, and raise them to such an elevation of dignity, opulence, and power, as would demand respect from foreign nations, and make them formidable to the whole world? How should their expense of lives and treasures, their sufferings and labours, to transmit the blessings of undefiled religion, of civil and religious liberty, endear, and render them venerable to all posterity? Doth not gratitude to God and men oblige Americans to be sincerely pious, and inviolably to maintain and perpetuate this glorious inheritance?

CHAPTER III.

Oppression of the Virginians under the administration of Sir John Harvey. Another massacre by the Indians. War with them. Confederation of the New-England colonies. Their success in christianizing the natives. The Virginians refusing obedience to the Lord protector, he despatches an armament against them. They capitulate. His different treatment of different colonies. Reduction of New-York. Injury by the king's commissioners. The settlement of New-Jersey and the Carolinas. Indian war and depredations in New-England.

THE great Virginia company having been arbitrarily dissolved by king James, his successor Charles I. who was possessed of the same high ideas of prerogative which had so strongly marked the character and reign of his father, the May after his demise named a new governour and council for Virginia. Notwithstanding all charter grants and securities, he appears to have viewed the colonies in the light of conquered countries, to be governed only by the roya' pleasure. The governour and May, 1625.

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council were therefore invested with powers the most absolute and arbitrary. They were authorized to enact and execute laws, impose taxes, enforce payments, and even to transport the Virginians into England, to be tried for crimes committed in Virginia. They were bound by no law or rule of government. Neither the commission, nor instructions so much as mentioned or had an allusion to their charters, to an assembly, the laws of England, nor the acts of the colonial legislature.

1629. In 1629 Sir John Harvey was appointed governour of the colony; a man who possessed all the arbitrary principles of his monarch. He was haughty and inflexible in his councils, covetous and severe in his exactions, unjust, arbitrary, and oppressive, in every part of his administration. By his contrivance large tracts of land were conveyed away, not only with their quitrents, but even with the authorities and jurisdiction: not to adventurers, who designed to make settlements, but to those, who sought them only for lucrative purposes. Nay, he proceeded so far in those arbitrary grants, as to include the settlements, which had been made by former adventurers.

Oppression of governour Harvey.

For the purposes of his own emolument, he, with rigour, exacted the fines and penalties, which the unwary assemblies of those times, had given, chiefly, to their governours. By these unjust and cruel measures, he threw the colony into the utmost heat and confusion. Matters arose to such a height, that the council proceeded to arrest his person and send him prisoner to London. Two of their members went over to support allegations against him. But so far was king Charles from redressing their grievances, that he esteemed their conduct a presumptuous infraction on the royal prerogative; and instead of hearing their complaints, the king honoured him with a new commission, confirming his former powers, and sent him back to his government. But the dissatisfaction was so great and general, and the

clamours of the people so loud, that his majesty, on cooler reflection, was pleased to revoke his commission. The Virginians during the ten years of his administration were treated more like the vassals of an eastern despot, than like the subjects of a free government. CHAP. III. 1639. January.

The Indians jealous of their rights, and exasperated by the new and arbitrary grants of the governour, took every advantage to annoy the colony. Opechancanough, successor to Powhatan, a man of great courage and subtilty, observing the tumultuous state of the colony, laid the plan of another surprise and massacre. While the attention of the colonists was turned to their grievances, and they were consulting the means of relief, the Indians fell on them, and, at one stroke, cut off about 500 of the inhabitants. This destruction fell, chiefly, on the south side of James river, and on the heads of the other rivers, especially, of York river, where was the seat of this Indian prince.

In the beginning of 1639, Sir William Berkley was appointed to the government of Virginia. The change of affairs, at this time, in England, seems to have made a prodigious alteration in colonial policy. The governour was instructed to call a free assembly, to enact laws for the government of the colony, as nearly as might be conformable to the laws and polity of England: To cause justice, agreeably to the jurisprudence of the nation, to be immediately administered to all: and to restrain foreign trade. Once more were the Virginians restored to that system of freedom, to which, both by charter, and as English subjects, they had the clearest title. Sir William employed all means in his power for the increase, emolument, and happiness of the colony. However, the Indian war, which succeeded the massacre, employing all the men which could be spared, was a great obstruction to his benevolent attempts for its advancement. Though the war was finally successful, yet many years elapsed before the colony April.

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recovered from the unhappy consequences of the mal-administration of the preceding government.

1640.

During the oppression suffered by the Virginians, the New-England colonies enjoyed tolerable peace, and greatly extended their settlements. By the year 1640, there came over in the whole into New-England, about 21,200 souls, or 4,240 families. The cost of the transportation of the planters and their cattle, of their arms, artillery, and ammunition, provisions, and materials for building, amounted nearly to 200,000*l.* sterling.* With this number and its increase, which in this period, probably, did not much, if any thing, exceed the loss sustained by the mortality of the first years, the several New-England colonies had planted about forty towns. These were spread nearly through the whole extent of New-England. Each town, on an average, consisted of about 500 inhabitants or 100 families, and were able to muster 80 or 90 fencible men. The settlements, for the accommodation of different companies, had been much farther extended on the rivers and sea coast, and made in a more scattering manner, than was at first designed. They could not with any convenience unite under one government. Emigrations from England were now at an end. After this period more people returned, than came from thence into the colonies. Such were the civil dissensions in their native country, that no aid could be expected either from the king or parliament. The Dutch had so far extended their settlements, made such claims to the country, and in their conduct were so inimical, as gave a general alarm. The Narragansett Indians appeared hostile, and there were strong apprehensions of a general

* Mather in his Magnalia reckons the expense of transportation, and articles mentioned above, at 192,000 pounds, in which the expense of transporting the colony of New Plymouth, of their arms, artillery, provisions, and effects seems not to have been included; nor that of the transportation of the men, of the arms, artillery, and stores for the building of the fort at Saybrook. These expenditures added to the former, it is supposed, will make the whole amount 200,000 pounds.

combination among the natives to extirpate the plantations. In this critical state of affairs, the colonies judged it to be matter both of expediency and duty, as it is expressed, "As they came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, to advance the kingdom of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace," to confederate for mutual advice and assistance; and as they were one in nation and religion, so that they be and continue one in a "firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all just occasions, both for the preserving and propagating the truth and liberty of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

Union of the New-England colonies, May 19th, 1643.

After about three years had been spent in preparing and ripening the matter, the articles were signed, May 19th, 1643. By these the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven, with the plantations under their respective jurisdictions, became one, by the name of THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW-ENGLAND. By the articles there was reserved to each colony a distinct and entire jurisdiction. No two colonies might be united in one, nor any other colony be received into the confederacy, without the consent of the whole. Each colony was authorized to elect two commissioners to meet annually on the first Thursday in September. These commissioners were vested with plenary powers of determining "all affairs of war and peace, of leagues, aids, charges, and number of men for war," &c. They had not only the power of meeting annually, but on any emergency which might render it necessary. Six of the commissioners might determine any point respecting the confederacy, though the other two should dissent. Upon notice that any of the confederates were invaded, the rest were immediately to despatch assistance to the colony in danger. The number of men, quantity of provision, and charges of war, were to be

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1643.

proportioned to the number of male inhabitants in each colony between sixteen and sixty years of age. For the preservation of order a president was annually chosen. If either of the colonies should be guilty of an infraction of the articles of confederation, or injure one of the other colonies, the matter was to be determined by the commissioners of the other colonies.*

Effects of the union.

This union made the New-England colonies formidable both to the Dutch and Indians. It was happily adapted to promote a general harmony among themselves, to maintain the peace and vindicate the rights of the country. It subsisted more than forty years, until the charters of the colonies were injuriously vacated or suspended by James second, and his commissioners. The union was acknowledged from the beginning by the authority in England, and received countenance from it until the restoration. It was afterwards noticed in letters from king Charles the second, without any exception to the establishment. It was a happy event, by which providence gave protection and peace to the churches and colonies of New-England, when they were compassed with dangers, and there appeared no other means of safety.

Providence was also pleased to use it, as one of the most successful means of civilizing and christianizing the heathen. The society for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New-England, made the commissioners their correspondents and agents for dispensing their charitable donations. This correspondence commenced in 1650, and continued till the dissolution of the Union about the year 1686.

Conversion of the Indians.

Some time before, Mr. Mayhew and the famous Mr. Eliot had made considerable advances in civilizing the Indians, and in converting them to the christian faith. Before the commencement of the corres-

* Records of the United Colonies.

pondence of the society with the commissioners, both these gentlemen had learned the Indian language and preached to the Indians in their own tongue. In the Massachusetts there were two Indian towns collected, for the purposes of civilization and christianity. The Indians forsook their barbarous way of living, and dressed themselves modestly in the English manner. They were allowed a number of simple laws, and rulers among themselves to put them in execution. One of those towns Mr. Eliot called, Noonanetum, rejoicing; to express the joy of the conversion of the natives to the true God. Mr. Mayhew had been successful on Martha's Vineyard, in turning numbers from their heathenism to a prayerful and sober life. The Indians presented their children to be catechised and schooled. For these purposes money, clothing, and books were necessary. The news of these happy beginnings were reported in England, and on the 27th of July, 1649, a board of commissioners, or society for propagating the gospel among the Indians, was instituted by act of parliament. The next year the society sent over books, money, and other necessaries for the advancement of the work, to be distributed by the commissioners. Never were money and articles more faithfully, or more successfully applied. Great indeed was the opposition, which the Indians, almost universally, made to christianity. The sachems and powaws, or priests, were universally against the gospel, and used all their arts and influence to prevent its propagation among them. They threatened and insulted the missionaries. They banished those from their society, who became christians, or so much as favoured christianity. When they imagined they could do it with safety, they put them to death. Had it not been for their fear of the united colonies, it is supposed that they would have massacred all the new converts.* But notwithstand-

* Neal's hist. N. England, vol. i. p. 230 to 234.

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Indian churches.

ing these and other impediments, there were by the year 1660 ten towns of praying Indians. About the year 1687, there were more than twenty assemblies of Indians, who worshipped God. There were six Indian churches in which there was a regular administration of the sacraments and all gospel ordinances.* In 1685 there were in the colony of New-Plymouth 1439 praying Indians, exclusive of boys and girls under twelve years of age, who were supposed to be more than three times that number.† In 1695 there were not less than three thousand adult Indian converts in the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Much more was done to civilize and bring the original nations to the knowledge and practice of christianity, in about fifty years, by the commissioners and the New-England ministers, than has ever been since effected, by all the missionaries which have been employed and monies expended for that charitable purpose.

During the civil war in England, and the administration of the protector, the general government of New-England was managed by the commissioners; and its several colonies were indulged in the full and undisturbed enjoyment both of civil and religious liberty. They submitted, without difficulty to the government in England, whether in the hands of the parliament or the protector. But in Virginia and Maryland it was entirely the reverse. They refused all subjection and allegiance to the protector. A squadron of men of war was therefore despatched by Cromwell, under the command of captain Dennis, to reduce them to obedience. Sir William Berkley, the governour of Virginia, was a stanch royalist, and by his many good services had gained the esteem and confidence of the people; he, therefore, having obtained the assistance of several Dutch vessels, made a vigorous and brave defence. Captain Dennis however,

* Neal's Hist. p. 254.

† Governour Hinkley's Letter to the Corporation in England. See also the Magnalia, Book iii.

obliged him to capitulate on the terms of a general pardon. But the Virginians before they laid down their arms secured all their rights by an express and solemn convention. It was, among other things, stipulated, That the plantation of Virginia and all the inhabitants thereof shall be and remain in due subjection to the commonwealth of England: That the grand assembly, as formerly, should convene and transact the affairs of Virginia, in which nothing was to be done contrary to the government of the commonwealth of England: That there should be a full and total remission and indemnity of all acts, words, or writings, done or spoken against the parliament of England in relation to the same: That Virginia should enjoy the ancient bounds granted by the charters of the former kings: That all grants under the seal of the colony, by the former governours should remain in their full force: and, that the people of Virginia have as free trade as the people of England, and should enjoy all privileges equally with any English plantations in America. The articles were signed the 12th of March, 1651.

Though the Virginians by this convention, with arms in their hands, seemed to have secured their rights in the amplest manner, yet the conduct of the protector was entirely different towards them and Maryland, from what it was towards the New-England colonies. They paid dearly for their opposition. The preceding year, the protector had obtained an act of parliament, prohibiting the plantations from receiving or exporting any European commodities, except in ships built and navigated by Englishmen; and inhibiting all correspondence with any nation or colony, not subject to England. The New-England colonies, nevertheless, were allowed a free trade to all parts; and were indulged in the privilege of importing their goods and commodities into England, free from all the duties of which others were obliged to make payment. This excited the envy of the other colonies, and created dissat-

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isfaction among the merchants in England; yet the indulgence was continued till the restoration.* But care was taken, that in Virginia and Maryland the acts of parliament should be rigorously enforced. By these means they suffered no little distress and impoverishment. The protector, more effectually to accomplish his purposes, made a frequent change of governours, lest they should enter into the feelings of the people, and treat them with more lenity than he wished. In Virginia they had not less than three, Diggs, Bennet, and Matthews during the protectorship.†

Meanwhile, under the fostering hand of the protector, the New-England colonies made happy advances in the settlement and cultivation of the country, in population and commerce.

March 14, 1661. Connecticut having considerably extended her settlements, on the restoration, determined to petition king Charles II. for a charter of incorporation. Governour Winthrop went to England, as agent of

Charter of Connecticut, April 20th, 1662. the colony, to solicit the royal favour. Accordingly, on the 20th of April, 1662, his majesty issued his letters patent under the royal seals, ordaining that John Winthrop, John Mason, Samuel Wyllys, &c. with such as then were, or should afterwards be made free of the colony of Connecticut, should for ever after be one body corporate and politic in fact and name; by the name of Governour and Company of the English colony of Connecticut, in New-England in America. The charter ordained that there should be a governour, deputy governour, and twelve assistants. These were to be chosen annually, on the second Thursday in May, by the whole body of the freemen. The governour and deputy governour were to be chosen by a majority of the whole number present. The assistants were chosen not by a majority, but by the greatest number. The charter instituted two general assemblies annually. One

* Hut. vol. i. p. 195. † Hist. of N. America in the American Magazine.

on the second Thursday in May, the other on the second Thursday in October. The General Assembly consisted of the governour, deputy governour, the twelve assistants, and freemen of the colony. The freemen met by representation. From each town, they generally elected and sent two of their principal men. The assembly consisted of two houses. The governours and assistants composed the upper, and the freemen, the lower house of assembly.

In the General Assembly consisted the whole legislative power of the colony. This enacted all laws, appointed all inferior courts and executive officers. The charter, appointed the same governour, deputy governour, and assistants, which had been chosen by the freemen at the preceding election. The government under the charter was essentially the same with that, which the people had previously adopted by voluntary compact.

First Assembly under the charter, Oct. 9th. 1669.

In the first General Assembly, under the charter, October 9th, 1662, it was publicly read, and declared to belong to the freemen of the colony and their successors. This assembly established all former officers civil and military in their respective places and powers. It also established the former code of laws, and the same common seal, which had been in use before the charter.

The charter confirmed to the colony the whole tract of country granted in the old Connecticut patent, by the council of Plymouth to the earl of Warwick, and by him to lord Say and Seal, &c. from Narragansett bay to the South Sea. This included the whole colony of New-Haven; the planters of which, no less than those of Connecticut, were the patentees of lord Say and Seal, &c. It was therefore natural to include them in the same patent. This, at first, was not agreeable to New-Haven; yet, about two years after, the colonies amicably united. The freemen of New-Haven were declared to be free of the colony of Connecticut, and their officers civil and military were confirmed in office. It was also determined,

Union of Connecticut and New-Haven.

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by the general assembly of Connecticut, that the magistrates of New-Haven should stand in the nomination for the next election. A proper proportion of the magistrates of that colony were the next May, elected to the same office in the colony of Connecticut.

May, 1665. May 11th, 1665, the colonies met, by their magistrates and representatives, in General Assembly. The colony thus united consisted of nineteen taxable towns.* The number of representatives was twenty-five.

The colony of Rhode Island made application for charter privileges about the same time as Connecticut. Her application was equally successful. The charter of that colony bears date July 8th, 1662. It appoints an assembly, consisting of a governour, deputy governour, and ten assistants, with the representatives of the several towns, all chosen by the freemen. The first charter governour was Benedict Arnold, Esq. The deputy governour was William Brenton. The assembly was appointed to convene annually on the first Wednesday in May and the last Wednesday in October. Their first general assembly met March 1st, 1663.

While affairs were thus transacted in the colonies, the Dutch taking advantage of the distractions in England, and of the weak state of the English plantations, increased their settlements and set up their claims to very extensive territories. They not only claimed the whole country now included in the several states of New-York, New-Jersey, and Delaware; but a considerable part of Connecticut.† They did great injury both to the New-England and southern colonies. They furnished the Indians with arms and ammunition, and taught them the manner of English fighting. They attacked and plundered the settlement made by the colony of New-Haven on the Delaware, and took the inhabitants

* The grand list this year was 153,620*l.* 16*s* 5*d*. Records of the Colony.

† Smith's hist. of N. Jersey, p. 34.

captive.* The English court ever disavowed the Dutch claims; and as they were now become troublesome to the colonies, soon after the restoration an expedition was undertaken for their reduction. King Charles was well apprized of the ill consequences of having a Dutch colony in the heart of his American dominions; and having formed the resolution of dispossessing them, he made a grant of the whole country, which they claimed, with some other parts of North America, to his brother the duke of York and Albany. The territory described in the patent, is, "All that part of the main land of New-England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, near adjoining to New-Scotland, in America; and from thence extending along the sea coast, unto a certain place called Pemaquie or Pemaquid, and so up the river thereof, to the furthest head of the same, as it extendeth northward; and extending from thence to the river of Kimbequin, and so upwards by the shortest course, to the river Canada northwards; and also all that island or islands, commonly called by the several name or names of Matowaks or Long Island, situate and being towards the west of Cape Cod, and the narrow Higansetts, abutting upon the land between the two rivers, there called or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's river; together also with the said river, called Hudson's river; and all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay."

Patent to the duke of York, March, 1664.

The duke's concern for his property, and the aversion both of the duke and of his British majesty to the Dutch, made the expedition against them a matter of primary attention. Colonel Richard Nichols had the chief command, George Cartwright, Esq. Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, Esq. were appointed commissioners from his majesty to act with him, not only in the reduction of the Dutch

* Records of the United Colonies.

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plantations, and the settlement of government in them, but for visiting the New-England colonies; hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and for settling the peace and security of the country.

Colonel Nichols arrived at Boston with the armament under his command the 23d of July, 1664. After communicating his commission to the colonies, and his majesty's requisition of troops, to assist in the expedition against the Dutch plantations, he sailed for the Manhadoes: and on the 20th of August, made a demand of the town and forts on the island. In his majesty's name he gave assurance to all the inhabitants of the Dutch nation, That on their submission to his government, they should be secured with respect to property, life, and liberty; and enjoy all the privileges of English subjects. The Dutch governour, Stuyvesant, was a soldier, and had he been prepared, would doubtless have made a noble resistance; but, as the expedition was undertaken several months before the declaration of war against Holland, he was unprepared for defence against the royal armament. Troops were raised in the New-England colonies; and ready, if it should be found necessary to march at the shortest notice.

On the 27th of August,* governour Stuyvesant surrendered on terms of capitulation. The articles provided, That "the Dutch should enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and Dutch discipline." The Dutch governour and inhabitants became English subjects, enjoyed their estates and the privileges of Englishmen. Colonel Nichols marched up the country to fort Orange,† which surrendered without resistance. The ships under the command of Sir Robert Carr were sent into the Delaware to reduce the Dutch, in that quarter to his majesty's obedience. On the 1st of October, New-Amstel, now called New-Castle, with the inhabitants on the Delaware submitted to the English

* This was old style. † Albany.

government. In honour to the duke the two principal Dutch settlements were named New-York and Albany.

1664.

The duke on the 24th of June, 1664, made a grant of New-Jersey to lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. The tract of country described in the patent, is "All that tract of land adjacent to New-England, and lying and being to the westward of Long Island and Manhattas island; and bounded on the east part by the main sea, and part by Hudson's river; and hath upon the west Delaware bay or river, and extendeth southward to the main ocean as far as Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware bay; and to the northward as far as the northermost branch of the said bay or river of Delaware; which is in 41 degrees and forty minutes latitude, and crosseth over thence in a straight line to Hudson's river, in 41 degrees of north latitude." Sir George had been governour of Jersey: and, in 1649 held it for his majesty Charles the second. In honour to him the province was named New-Jersey.

Previously to the giving of this patent, large purchases had been made of the natives. People of various nations had also made settlements on the lands. The first settlement was made, about three or four years after the settlement of Plymouth, by the Dutch and Danes. They gave it the name of Bergen, after the capital of the province of Bergen in Norway. The inhabitants were considerably numerous at the time of the surrender of the province to the English government.

Soon after settlements were made on the Delaware. Such reports of the pleasantness and fertility of this fine country, had been made in Sweden, that Gustavus Adolphus, in 1626, influenced his subjects to form a company for the purpose of making settlements in those quarters. A company was instituted, by royal authority, called the West India company. The king himself, his lords, barons, knights, the principal officers of his army, his bish-

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ops, clergy, and many of the common people of Swedeland, Finland, and Liffland, contributed for the purpose. The next year the Swedes and Finns came over, and landing, at Cape Inlopen, they were so agreeably affected with the pleasant prospect it presented, that they named it Paradise point. They made purchases of the Indians, on both sides of the river Delaware from the cape to the falls. They called the river New Swedeland Stream; and the country New Swedeland. By presents and treaties, they satisfied the Indians and enjoyed peace. They made their first settlement at Christeen, on the west side of the Delaware. Here they laid out a handsome town. They made settlements at Lewistown, Tenecum, and Chester. It was apprehended from the claims of the Dutch, that they might attempt to dispossess them. Forts were therefore erected at Christeen, Lewistown, Chester, and on the island of Tenecum. The fortress on the latter was termed New-Gottemburg. This seems to have been the seat of their government. Here John Printz their governour, built him an elegant seat, which he named Printz's Hall. The principal gentlemen had their plantations also on this island. The English began a settlement at Elsingburgh on the east side of the river. Kieft, governour of the Dutch plantations, by the assistance of the Swedes, drove them off and ruined their settlements. He also hired the Swedes to keep them out of the river. The Swedish governour seized this fair opportunity, and built fort Elsingburgh, on the very ground, whence the English had been driven. This giving him the command of the river, he brought too, and examined, at pleasure, all vessels which passed, whether Dutch or of any other nation.*

The Dutch complained of this, and wishing for the entire possession of the river and the adjacent country they played the same game with them, which

* Smith's Hist. N Jersey, p. 21, 22, 23.

they had done some years before with the English. In 1655 Stuyvesant, the Dutch governour, attacking them with seven vessels and six or seven hundred men, made a complete conquest of all their forts and settlements. The Dutch destroyed New Gottemburg, with the houses without the fort. They plundered the inhabitants, killed their cattle, carried the Swedish officers and principal inhabitants captives to Holland. The common people, submitting to the Dutch government, were permitted to remain in the country.* The Dutch settled New-Castle, where they had a house for public worship. The Swedes had three; one at Tenecum, one at Wicoco, and another at Christeen. The English settlements, in the state of Delaware, were all made after the conquest of the Dutch in 1664. From this period the lower counties on the Delaware were under the government of New-York.

In 1664, before the knowledge of the patent, given to lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, John Bailey, Daniel Denton, and Luke Watson made a purchase of a considerable part of Elizabethtown, of certain Indian sachems, who were the original proprietors. The purchasers belonged to Jamaica on Long Island. Soon after the purchase, the inhabitants on the west end of Long Island, pretty generally moved into New-Jersey. There was also a considerable number of people, who removed into those parts from New-England: so that Elizabethtown, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury were soon well settled. There were numbers of other settlers from the neighbouring colonies, and a considerable accession from Scotland. The inhabitants of these towns and the circumjacent country in a few years became numerous.

Governour Carteret arrives, 1665.

Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret appointed Philip Carteret their governour of New-Jersey. Just at the close of the summer, in 1665, he arrived

* Smith's Hist. N. Jersey, p. 33, 34.

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at Elizabethtown; which he made the seat of his government. From this period New-Jersey commenced a jurisdiction distinct and separate from New-York. On his arrival he made purchases of the natives and administered government agreeably to the concessions and constitution, which had been adopted by the proprietors for the settlement of the province. This constituted a free assembly, consisting of the governour, council, and representatives chosen from each town or district in the province. The council was never to consist of less than six, nor more than twelve. All legislative power was vested in the assembly: the executive was in the governour and council. It was a fundamental article, that there should not be imposed "any tax, custom, subsidy, tallage, assessment, or any other duty whatsoever, upon any colour or pretence, upon said province and inhabitants thereof, other than shall be imposed by the authority of the general assembly."* Equal security of liberty of conscience, and of all civil rights and immunities was given to christians of all denominations. The governour despatched agents into New-England and other parts, to publish the constitution, or terms of settlement, and to invite planters into the province. In consequence of which many emigrated from New-England, as well as from other parts of the country. Some made settlements at Elizabethtown, others at Woodbridge, Newark, and Piscattaway. There were also annually arrivals of planters from England; so that the population of the province was very considerable, till the year 1673. At this period the Dutch repossessing themselves of the country gave it an almost entire interruption. This however was of short duration. By the pacification, at London, the next year, it was restored to the British crown. Population again revived and there was a great increase both of inhabitants and cultivation.

* Smith's Hist. of N. Jersey, from p. 512 to 518.

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The peace of the province, however, bore no proportion to its population. Between the proprietors and colonists there subsisted perpetual discord and animosities. The inhabitants of Elizabeth-town who had purchased the soil of the natives, previous to the proprietary government, with some others, refused all payment of the quitrents. The contest was carried to such a length, that the people assumed the government, and elected James Carteret their governour. His father, Philip Carteret, the proprietary governour, nominating Captain John Berry for his deputy, made a voyage to England to represent the state of the province. In 1674, he revisited his government and found the inhabitants in a more amicable state, than when he took his departure. He had obtained new concessions from the proprietors; on the publication of which the people were quieted and the proprietary government restored.*

1672.

Commissioners distress the colonies.

After the reduction of New-York the king's commissioners were an occasion of great alarm, perplexity, and expense to the New-England colonies. They received complaints against them, from the Indians and persons disaffected with the New-England government. They undertook the hearing of causes, which had been regularly heard and determined by courts authorized by law for that purpose. They interposed even in criminal matters, and granted warrants of protection to persons under criminal prosecution. They made the colonies to stand upon a level with criminals, on whom sentence had been passed according to law: and that before a court of which the constitution had no knowledge. Nay, they went so far as to demand, that persons should be admitted to the privileges of freemen, to church membership and full communion, contrary to the laws of the colonies and the established practice of the churches.† They admitted no juries in their courts; but conducted themselves as a court of oyer and ter-

* Douglass, vol. ii. p. 269, 271, 272.
† Hutch. Hist. vol. i. p. 234, 240, 241, 246, 251.

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miner. They appointed civil officers, claimed authority, and went into practices entirely incompatible with the rights of the colonies. After giving them unspeakable trouble they were recalled. Colonel Nichols by his cool and discreet conduct recommended himself to the good graces of the people. Carr and Cartwright were wholly unqualified for the trust reposed in them; and by their arbitrary and violent proceedings drew upon themselves universal abhorrence. Maverick was ever inimical to the colonies; and, governour Hutchinson observes, was added only to increase the number, and to be subservient to others. Carr and Cartwright, especially the latter, went home incensed against the colonies; but the former died at Bristol soon after his arrival; the latter was taken by the Dutch and lost all his papers. These were favourable circumstances for the colonies, and probably prevented a prosecution of them before his majesty. Another circumstance which contributed to their tranquillity, and the continuance of their privileges, was the disagreement which arose between the king and parliament. This, with the national distractions subsequent upon it, gave him such full employment that he could pay little attention to colonial administration. By these means, it pleased the SUPREME RULER to preserve both the civil and religious liberties of the colonies. Had not these circumstances prevented, nothing better could have been expected, from men of such characters as those of Charles and the duke of York, who were murdering the best men in the nation, and attempting the subversion of the civil and religious constitutions of three kingdoms, than a total subversion of the rights of the colonies.

Patents of Carolina in 1663 and 1665.

While the commissioners were spying out, and infringing the liberties of the united colonies, a plan was forming in England for the settlement of the Carolinas. On application to the crown, king Charles II. made a grant, in 1663, to Edward earl of Clarendon, George duke of Albemarle, William

lord Craven, John lord Berkley, Anthony lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colleton, of all the lands lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude. About two years after, he confirmed this grant, by a second charter, in which there was a great enlargement of their boundaries. This made a convey:nce of the whole territory from the 29th degree of north latitude, to 30 degrees and 30 minutes on the sea coast, and thence running in parallel lines from these points, due west to the Pacific ocean.* This included both the C··olinas, Georgia, and the Floridas. Of this vast territory the proprietors were made the absolute lords. His majesty only reserved to himself, heirs, and successors the sovereign dominion of the country. The lands were holden in free and common soccage. The proprietors held the patronage and advowson of all churches, and all the powers and privileges which the bishop of Durham holds in England. Liberty of conscience, however, was granted to all denominations of christians, provided they did not disturb the peace and order of the province.

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June 30th.

1664.

The famous Mr. Lock assisted the proprietors in the formation of a general system of fundamental laws. This consisted of a hundred and twenty articles, to the establishment and observation of which they bound themselves and their heirs for ever. These ordained that the eldest proprietor should always be the palatine; and that at his decease he should be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivers: that the palatine should sit as president of the palatine's court: and that the palatine and three other proprietors should constitute a quorum. This court was to stand in the stead of the king, and by their assent or dissent all the laws of the legislature of the province, were to be established or nullified. The palatine had the power of nominating and ap-

Constitution of Carolina.

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. i.

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pointing a governour, who, on the royal approbation, became his governour in Carolina. The upper house of the assembly or parliament was to consist of fourteen members; seven of which were to be the representatives of the seven oldest landgraves, and of seven others chosen by the assembly. The lower house consisted of the deputies chosen biennially by the freemen of the several towns. This was called the parliament. No act was valid unless ratified in open parliament during the same session. Even then it continued only till the next biennial parliament, unless in the mean time it should be ratified by the hands and seals of the palatine and three of the proprietors. This was the ancient constitution of the Carolinas, and continued about half a century.

Notwithstanding the express stipulation with the Virginians in 1651, that they should enjoy the ancient bounds granted by the charters of former kings, they were now by this recent grant deprived of nearly three quarters of their territory.

In 1669 two ships were sent to Carolina, with a number of adventurers to make a permanent settlement. They were furnished with provisions, and utensils for building and cultivation; with arms and ammunition for defence. They made their settlement on a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers. William Sayle, Esq. was the first governour. The settlement was made with loss and difficulty. The Indians gave them an unfriendly reception. The Stonoes and Westoes, two powerful nations, were particularly hostile. While one part of the planters were erecting buildings, and attending to the various businesses of the plantation, another was obliged to be constantly under arms, watching the motions of the enemy. Sickness very soon attacked them in that unhealthy climate and thinned their numbers. Among others the governour fell a sacrifice to the hardships of the enterprise and the unhealthfulness of the climate. Joseph West, Esq. succeeded him in the government. The

expenses of this first embarkation and settlement amounted to twelve thousand pounds.

Various were the circumstances, which contributed to the population of the colony. Two years before, a treaty had been concluded with Spain, in which, among other articles, it was stipulated, "That the king of Great Britian should always possess, in full right of sovereignty and property, all the countries, islands, and colonies, lying and situate in the West Indies, or any part of America, which he and his subjects then held and possessed, insomuch that they neither can, nor ought thereafter to be contested on any account whatsoever." This secured the colony against all future claims from the court of Spain. After the surrender of New-York many of the Dutch, uneasy with their situation, repairing thither contributed much to the population and cultivation of the colony.

On the restoration of king Charles, a total change of manners took place in the nation. From a state of purity, in point of morals, the people became profane, dissolute, and abandoned. The puritans, now treated by the royalists with contempt and revenge, ardently wished for some distant retreat where they might enjoy religion in its original purity, and take shelter from that storm of divine judgments, which they imagined just ready to burst on a profligate nation. From maxims of policy lord Clarendon and many others of the king's council, encouraged their emigration. From this quarter the colony received its earliest and most numerous acquisitions. A great majority of the adventurers were puritans. But their enemies also found motives for emigration. Many of the zealous loyalists had either been ruined or greatly reduced, by their attachment to his majesty, in the civil wars. They were willing to accept of lands and try their fortunes in America. The royal compassion exercised itself in giving them advantages and honours in the new world.

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The edict of Nantz and the violent proceedings against the protestants in France, brought great numbers of them into England. Some of them were men of wealth, and bringing their property with
1690. them made large purchases of the proprietors. Under the countenance of William and Mary, they emigrated to Carolina, and sat down under more advantageous and easy circumstances, than most of the English emigrants. Their settlements were principally in Craven county. They were a sober, industrious people, some of the best inhabitants in the colony. This combination of circumstances, in the settlement of Carolina, annually brought into it, men of the most opposite characters both in religion and politics. This laid the foundation for embroiling the colony, and produced those violent divisions and animosities, which, for many years, rendered it a scene of violence and misery.

Some of the first years, after the settlements commenced, the Carolinians experienced the complicated evils of poverty and famine. The hostility of the Indians augmented their miseries. While for their subsistence, they gathered nuts, shell fish, and whatever might afford them support, with one hand, they were obliged to bear arms in the other. Such were their distresses that they fell into mutiny, and pressed the governour to return with them to England. But supplies arriving they were relieved, and again reduced to some tolerable order.

Their first assembly or parliament was not holden until three or four years after the commencement of the settlement. Till this time they were under a kind of military government.*

Notwithstanding that union of circumstances which favoured the planting of Carolina, yet, for more than thirty years, the progress of settlement and population was exceedingly slow. The impolicy and cruelty of the proprietors, the bigotry and persecuting

* Hist. Carol. vol. i.

spirit of some of the palatines, with the haughtiness and vindictive spirit of some of king Charles' cavaliers, did as much to prevent the growth and happiness of the colony as all the other circumstances contributed to its emolument. In the beginning of the present century the whole number of white inhabitants did not exceed five or six thousands. In Charleston there were only two clergymen, an episcopalian, and a puritan. Among the people in the country there was no such thing as public worship, nor even schools for the education of children.* 1701.

In 1710 numbers of palatines, who had been harrassed and reduced to indigence, by the wars in Germany, came into America, and began settlements in North Carolina.† About twenty years after the Irish settled Williamsburg near the Santee. The Swedes nearly at the same time planted Purysburg. Not far from the middle of the present century large numbers more of the palatines came over and made settlements at Orangeburg, Congaree, and Wateree. However, the period of the greatest population, in the Carolinas was not till after the peace of Paris in 1763. In ten years from this time settlements were made a hundred and fifty miles to the westward, beyond all which had been effected in a whole century before.

Reasons of the Indian war in New-England.

While the Carolinians were suffering the hardships and dangers of new settlements the New-Englanders were not without their troubles. Scarcely were they delivered from the evils produced by the king's commissioners, before others arose which threatened their very existence. For several years the Indians had been forming a general conspiracy for the extirpation of the New-England colonies. They considered themselves as a people free and independent. Their sachems were men of high and jealous spirits; and viewed themselves in the light of sovereign and independent princes. They claimed to be the

* Hist. of Car. vol. i. † See the same history.

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original lords and proprietors of the country. While therefore they saw the English, in almost every quarter, extending their settlements over the dominions of their ancestors, they could not but kindle into resentment, and adopt counsels to prevent the loss both of their liberties and their country. Though they had entered into treaties with the colonies, and acknowledged themselves the subjects of the kings of England, yet it is by no means probable that they designed by any of these treaties to give up their independence, or any of their natural rights. They viewed themselves not as the subjects, but as the allies of England. To be called to an account, and to be thwarted in their designs, by the colonies; or to be held amenable to them for their conduct was a treatment which their haughty spirits would not brook. These were reasons which might make them generally wish for the destruction of their English neighbours. Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags, grandson and successor of Massasoiet, was the principal incendiary. Besides the general reasons mentioned, there were others which, with him, probably, had a still more immediate and powerful operation.. John Sausaman a christian Indian, had made a discovery of the mischiefs which he had been plotting against the colonies. Philip fired with revenge procured the murder of Sausaman. The murderers were detected and executed. Philip, conscious of his own guilt, enraged at the trial and punishment of his subjects by the English laws; and, probably, apprehensive for his personal safety, armed his own warriors, the Wampanoags, and such strangers as would join in his measures; and, with great appearances of hostility, marched up and down in the country. For several years, the colonies had been apprized of the designs forming against them: and, by treaties and such other measures as to them appeared wise and pacific, had been attempting to prevent the storm. However, in 1675, it burst upon them

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with uncommon fury. Its destruction was wide and dreadful.

Philip's numbers increasing, from various quarters, gave him fresh courage, and proportionally increased his insolence. On the 20th of June the Indians commenced hostilities upon Swanzey, a frontier town of New Plymouth, bordering on the territories of Philip. They insulted the inhabitants, killed their cattle, and rifled their houses. Four days after, on a day of fasting and prayer, some of the inhabitants were fired upon, as they returned from the public worship, and others while they were in quest of a surgeon. Three were killed and several others wounded. Six others were barbarously murdered.* The country was immediately alarmed. The troops of the colony flew to the defence of the town. In four days they were reinforced with several companies from Boston. On the 29th the body of the troops were drawn forth against the enemy, who immediately fled before them, for a mile or two, and took refuge in a swamp. The next day major Savage, who had arrived from Boston with more troops and a general command, marched into the Indian towns to give them battle, and surprise their head quarters. They found the Indian towns, and even the seat of Philip, deserted with marks of the greatest precipitation. The enemy as they fled, marked their route with the burning of buildings, the scalps, hands, and heads of the English, cut off and fixed up on poles by the way side.† The army, however, not finding them, returned to head quarters at Swanzey. The Narragansetts favoured Philip. To them he and his warriors had sent off their women and children. They were supposed only to wait for a convenient opportunity to declare for him. It was therefore determined that the Massachusetts forces should march into the Narragansett country, to treat with them sword in hand. Commissioners were sent

* Hubbard's Nar. p. 59. † Ibid. p. 62, 63.

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both from Boston and Connecticut, with powers to treat with them on terms of peace. On the 15th of July a treaty was concluded between the six Narragansett sachems, the sunk squaw, or old queen of the Narragansetts, and the united colonies. Perpetual peace was stipulated between the parties. It was agreed, that all stolen goods should be returned: That neither Philip, nor any of his subjects should be harboured by the Narragansetts; but, that upon their entering their lands, they should kill and destroy them, till a cessation of hostilities should be concluded between Philip and the colonies: That the commissioners should give the Narragansetts forty coats of cloth for Philip, delivered to them alive, and twenty for his head: That two coats should be given for every subject of Philip delivered alive, and one for his head. On the part of the sachems, hostages were given for the true performance of the treaty.*

This, at best, was but a forced business, the conditions were imposed by the army. On the 17th, the army returned to Taunton. Here intelligence was received, that Philip with his warriors was in a swamp at Pocasset. The Massachusetts and Plymouth troops making a junction, attacked them the next day in their dark and advantageous retreat. As the army entered the swamp, the enemy retired deeper and deeper into it; till the army were led into such a hideous thicket, that it was impossible for the men to keep their order. They were in danger from each other, firing at every bush which appeared to shake. The action was continued till night, when they were obliged to retreat. The attempt was very unfortunate. Sixteen men were killed, and the enemy encouraged. Shortly after there was a general rising of the Indians throughout New-England, for an extent of nearly three hundred miles. As they lived promiscuously with the Eng-

* Hubbard's Nar. p. 65, 66, 67.

lish, in all parts of the country, they were generally, as well acquainted with their dwellings, fields, times and places of worship, their roads and places of resort, as they were themselves. They were at hand to watch their motions, attack them at every difficult pass, and every unguarded moment. Excepting the thickest settlements and the centre of the towns, the country was a vast wilderness; this enabled the enemy, in large bodies, to make their approaches undiscovered to their towns; and, under the covert of the night, to creep into their barns and gardens, to conceal themselves under their fences, and lie in wait for them in their fields and on the roads. Sometimes they concealed themselves before their very doors. No sooner did they open them, in the morning, than they were instantly shot dead. From almost every quarter they were ready to rise upon them; at midnight, in the morning, or whenever they could obtain an advantage. While the English were hunting for them in one place, they were plundering, burning, and murdering in another. In a few hours they would plunder and burn a town, murder and captivate the inhabitants, and retire into swamps and fastnesses, where it was dangerous to pursue, difficult to discover, and impossible to attack them but at the greatest disadvantage.

Notwithstanding every exertion, which the colonies could make, they continued plundering, burning, killing, and captivating, in one place and another, and kept the whole country in perpetual fear and alarm. There was no safety to man, woman, nor child; to him who went out, nor to him who came in. Whether they were asleep or awake, whether they journied, laboured, or worshipped, they were in continual jeopardy.

Beside other damages, not so considerable, captain Hutchinson, who had been sent with a party of horse to treat with the Nipmuck Indians, was near Brookfield drawn into an ambush and mortally wounded. Sixteen of his company were slain. The

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enemy rushed in upon the town, burnt all the dwelling houses, except one which was defended by the garrison, with the barns and out houses.

In September, Hadley, Deerfield, and Northfield, on Connecticut river, were attacked and numbers of the inhabitants killed and wounded. Most of the buildings in Deerfield were burnt, and Northfield was soon after abandoned to the enemy. Captain Beers was surprised near Northfield by a large body of the enemy, and slain with twenty of his company.

The officers who commanded in this part of the country, finding that by sending out parties they sustained continual loss, and effected nothing of importance, determined to collect a magazine at Hadley and to garrison the towns. At Deerfield there were two or three thousand bushels of wheat, which they determined to bring down to the magazine at Hadley. While captain Lothrop, with a chosen body of young men, the flower of the county of Essex, was guarding the teams employed in this service, seven or eight hundred Indians attacked and cut him off, with his whole company. A number of the teamsters were slain. Not less than ninety or a hundred men were killed on the spot. Captain Mosely with his company, marched from Deerfield to reinforce captain Lothrop, but arrived too late for his rescue. He fought the whole body of the enemy several hours; till major Treat, with a hundred and sixty men came to his assistance, and put the enemy to flight. The fall of captain Lothrop and such a fine corps of young men, was a heavy blow to the country; especially to the county of Essex; which filled it with great and universal lamentation.

Sept. 18.

During the term of forty years the Indians about Springfield, had lived in the greatest amity with the English, and still made professions of entire friendship: yet they, about the same time, with three hundred of Philip's Indians, whom they had treacherously received into their fort the preceding even-

ing, made a sudden and furious attack upon that town. Major Treat from Westfield, and the soldiers from the neighbouring garrisons, marched with great despatch and repulsed the enemy. The town nevertheless sustained great damages. Thirty two dwelling houses besides barns were burned. Major Pynchon and Mr. Purchas sustained the loss of a thousand pounds sterling each.*

On the 19th of October seven or eight hundred Indians, with great fury, fell on the town of Hatfield. They made their assault, at the same time, on almost every part of the town. But they met with so warm a reception, that they were soon put to a total flight. This so disheartened them, that they soon withdrew from the towns on the river, and held their general rendezvous in the Narragansetts.

Soon after hostilities were commenced by Philip, the Tarrenteens began their depredations in New-Hampshire and the Province of Main. They robbed the boats, and plundered the English houses of their liquors, ammunition, and whatever they could carry off with facility. In September they began to murder and captivate the inhabitants, to burn their buildings and lay waste their settlements. They fell on Saco, Scarborough, and Kittery; killed between twenty and thirty of the inhabitants; burned their houses, barns, and mills, marking their route with a general carnage and desolation. Elated with these successes, they then advanced towards Piscataqua, doing the same mischiefs at Oyster river, Salmon Falls, Dover, and Exeter. Before winter the English in this quarter sustained the loss of more than sixty of their inhabitants, and nearly as many buildings, besides the loss of cattle and all other damages.

Reasons of the hostility of the eastern Indians.

The Indians in those parts had real grounds of complaint against the English, which they alleged as the reasons of their hostility. One Squando, sa-

* Hutch. vol. i. p. 295.

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chem of the Saco Indians, was the great incendiary in those parts. The rash and foolish conduct of a number of English seamen, gave him an affront which he never knew how to pardon. They had heard it reported, that the Indian children could swim as naturally as any other young creatures. To make the experiment, they either overset the canoe in which his squaw and child were, or cast the child into the river. The royal mother instantly dove to the bottom and brought up her babe unharmed. But sometime after it died, as it might have done had no such insult been offered. But the sachem seemed willing to impute its death to some injury which it then received: and, by all means in his power, sought an ample revenge. Beside this the Indians about Cape Sables had received an injury of a more criminal nature. A number of them had been enticed on board a vessel, carried off, and sold into slavery.* This fired them with just and universal resentment. The legislatures of the colonies utterly disapproved this conduct, and were not unwilling to redress their injuries. But the enemy immediately commenced hostilities, seeking redress by war, rather than by negotiation. At the same time, they were instigated and assisted by their French neighbours.

The Narragansetts, in direct violation of the treaty, had given a friendly reception to Philip's men, and other hostile Indians. It was believed, that during the late troubles they had been in actual hostility against the colonies. They were supposed to have two thousand warriors and nearly a thousand muskets. Should they all engage in open hostility, in the spring, and scatter, as they might, in all parts of the country, it was judged that all the forces which the colonies could bring into the field would not be able to match the united strength of the enemy. In the summer past, one company after another had wasted away. Future prospects were not more favourable.

* Hubbard's Narrative, p. 231, 232, 233.

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The commissioners of the united colonies, therefore, determined to march a thousand men, in the dead of winter, into the Narragansett country, and to attack the head quarters of the enemy. The Massachusetts furnished a corps of about five hundred and thirty men, consisting of six companies of foot and a troop of horse, commanded by major Appleton. Plymouth raised two companies under the command of major Bradford. The corps from Connecticut consisted of five companies, commanded by major Treat. The whole was commanded by governour Winslow of Plymouth. On the 18th of December, the troops made a junction, at Pettyquamscot, about sixteen miles from the enemy. The buildings had all been burned by the enemy a few days before their arrival. Though the evening and night were cold and stormy, yet the army were obliged to remain uncovered in the open field. The next morning at the dawn of day, they began their march toward the enemy, wading through the snow, in a severe season, till one o'clock, without halting, without fire to warm, or food to refresh them, excepting what was taken upon the march. By this time they had nearly reached the seat of the enemy. This was a rising ground in the centre of a large swamp, fortified with palisade and compassed with a hedge without, of nearly a rod's thickness. The only entrance which appeared to be practicable was over a long tree five or six feet high. This opening was commanded, in front by a log house, and by a flanker on the left. As the army entered the skirts of the swamp the enemy commenced a sudden fire on the advanced parties, retiring before them till they were led to the very entrance. The captains with great spirit led on their men, mounted the tree, and entered the fort. But they were so galled from the block house, and received such a furious and well directed fire, from almost every quarter, that they were obliged to retire without the fort. Captains Johnson and Davenport of the Massachusetts, who led the van, with ma-

Swamp fight, Dec. 19th.

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ny other brave men, were shot dead upon the tree. The Connecticut corps which formed in the rear, coming up fresh to the charge, entered the fort and drove the enemy from the log house and flanker.* This so checked their fire, on those who were advancing to support the front, that they came on with less danger. Such numbers soon poured in upon the enemy, that after a sharp and bloody action they were driven from the fort. As they retired the soldiers set fire to their wigwams. Five or six hundreds of which were instantly consumed. Their corn stores, old men, women, and children perished in the conflagration. The loss of the enemy was 300 warriors slain, 350 taken prisoners, and 300 women and children. It was nevertheless a dear bought victory. Six brave captains fell in the action. Not less than eighty were either killed or mortally wounded. About 150 were wounded, who afterwards recovered.† After this fatiguing march and sharp action, of three hours, the army, in the dusk of the evening, left the fort and carrying their dead and wounded, marched back to head quarters. The night was cold and snowy, and numbers of the wounded, who otherwise might have recovered, perished with cold and the inconveniencies of so long a march. After lying the preceding night in the open field, besides the exertions of this long and hard fought battle, the army in less than twenty four hours, marched through snow and a pathless wilderness, between thirty and forty miles. The courage exhibited and hardships endured are hardly credible, and rarely find a parallel in ancient or modern ages. The season was so severe that many of the men were frozen and their limbs much swollen. The Connecticut troops in their route to the army, and march homewards, killed and captivated more than forty of the enemy. The Massachusetts troops remained in the country most of the winter. They captivated a considerable num-

* Manuscripts of the Rev. Thomas Ruggles.
† Hubbard's Nar. p. 108; and Hutch. vol. i. p. 299 to 303.

ber of the enemy, brought in their corn, burned their wigwams and stores; but did nothing brilliant or decisive.

Meanwhile the enemy were not idle. The latter end of January they drove off from one man sixteen horses, fifty neat cattle, and two hundred sheep. The next month the Nipmuck and Narragansett Indians, Feb. 10th. fell upon Lancaster, plundered and burnt most of the town, and either killed or carried into captivity forty of the inhabitants. About twenty days after they made an assault on Medfield, slew twenty men, and laid nearly half the town in ashes. March was a month of still greater disasters. The towns of Northampton and Springfield, of Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough, in the Massachusetts, and of Warwick and Providence, in Rhode-Island, were assaulted: and some of them partly and others totally destroyed. Many of the inhabitants were killed and others led away into a miserable captivity. Captain Pierce, with fifty English and twenty friendly Indians, was drawn into an ambush and surrounded with a numerous body of the enemy, who slew every Englishman and the greatest part of March 26th. the Indians. Two days after the enemy made an attack on Rehoboth; burnt forty dwelling houses, besides barns and other buildings. In April, cap- April. tain Wadsworth, marching with fifty men, to the relief of Sudbury, was surrounded by the enemy and slain with his whole party. The success of the enemy was now at its height. Their affairs soon took a very different turn.

Captain George Dennison of Stonington, with a number of volunteers from Connecticut, and a party of friendly Indians, made several successful excursions into the Narragansett country, in which he killed and captivated a hundred and twenty of the enemy. This success was rendered much more important on account of the slaughter of a number of their chief captains, and the capture of Canonchet, the chief sachem of all the Narragansetts. He was the son of the great

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sachem Miantonimo, inheritor of all his pride, insolence, and hatred against the English.

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Major Talcot marching with the Connecticut troops, from Norwich to make a junction with the Massachusetts forces at Brookfield, killed and captivated sixty of the enemy. Eighty more were not long after killed or taken, by the Connecticut detachments, which had been left at Norwich and Stonington, for the defence of that part of the colony. The Massachusetts and Plymouth soldiers, in ranging the country after Philip, killed and took a hundred and fifty more. In a short time between four and five hundred of the enemy were killed and made prisoners. They were now hunted, distressed, and broken in every quarter. One chief was killed and taken after another. A complication of evils conspired to effect their destruction.

In the winter and spring, their corn, beans, provisions, and wigwams had been pretty generally destroyed. They had not been able to plant or fish, as usual, for their subsistence. By lying together in swamps, feeding on horse flesh and on groundnuts, which in the summer are soft and unhealthful, they began to be swept off by various diseases. So distressed were they with famine, so harrassed and broken by the English, who hunted them from swamp to swamp, and from one lurking place to another, that, in July and August, they came in sometimes two or three hundred in a week and surrendered themselves to the mercy of the conquerors. On the 12th of August Philip himself was killed by a party under captain Church, that famous partisan. This was a finishing stroke. Of the scattering parties which remained many were soon captivated, others surrendered themselves, and numbers fled to the French and to Indians of strange and distant nations. By the close of the year, the peace of the western and middle parts of New-England, was again tolerably well restored.

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At the eastward however the war was continued till the spring of 1678. The preceding summer captain Swett was defeated and slain. Sixty of his men were left with him on the field. The victorious enemy the same summer surprised and took about twenty fishing vessels, with their crews, and made them an easy prey. Their success continued until most of the settlements were swept away and the country was reduced to their dominion.* The English agreed to make the Indians a small acknowlment annually, for their lands. Thus peace was once more restored, and the inhabitants returned to their deserted settlements.

April 12th, 1678.

Very great indeed were the losses sustained by this predatory war. Nearly 600 of the inhabitants, the greatest part of whom were the flower of the country, either fell in battle, or were murdered by the savages. Many others were led away into a most miserable captivity. Most of the country was in deep mourning. There was scarcely a family or individual who had not lost some relative or friend. Twelve or thirteen towns were wholly destroyed, and others greatly damaged. About 600 buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were consumed with fire.† An almost insupportable debt was contracted by the colonies, at a time when their live stock and all oth-

Loss sustained by the war.

* Belknap's H. vol. i. p. 157, 159.

† This statement of the loss of lives and buildings is made out, by an accurate enumeration of the various numbers particularly mentioned, as lost, in the ancient histories of those times. But as there were, doubtless, many lives lost of which there is no particular account, so the loss of lives must have been greater than is here stated. The loss of buildings will still much more exceed the number specified. The ancient histories rarely mention the number of barns, stores, and out houses which were burned: and, sometimes they notice the burning of parts of towns and of the buildings in such and such a tract, without any specification of the numbers. The whole number of inhabitants, at this time, in New-England, probably, did not exceed 60,000. Estimating five to a family, and every fifth person to be a soldier, they amounted to 12,000 families; and to the same number of fencible men. Agreeably to this estimation nearly one family in twenty were burnt out; and the country sustained the loss of nearly a twentieth part of their fencible men. This war, probably was not less distressing or impoverishing to the United Colonies, than the late war has been to the United States.

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er resources had suffered a very great diminution. The whole of this loss and expense was borne solely by the colonies.

Various providential circumstances rendered this scourge of the heathens less terrible than otherwise it might have been. The christian and friendly Indians gave early notice of the plots and designs of the enemy. This probably preserved the New-England colonies from such massacres as were perpetrated on their southern neighbours. They had warning and time to put themselves into a state of defence. The Mohegans and Pequots, who had been suffered to incorporate with them, continued entirely friendly during the war. Large numbers of them served under the Connecticut officers and performed very essential services. Many of the christian Indians bore a faithful part in the war; and they all continued peaceable. The capture of the Narragansett fort, the destruction of the stores and dwellings of the enemy, in that severe season, was a blow from which they never recovered. In the height of the war the Mohawks fell upon Philip and slew about fifty of his warriors. When affairs began to turn against the enemy they fell into divisions and separated. Some to conciliate the English and obtain good terms for themselves betrayed their fellows, and took arms against them. By these means the war was brought to a speedy issue; and terminated in the total reduction and overthrow of the Indians in New-England. At the same time it opened a wide door to extensive settlement and population.

CHAPTER IV.

Customs imposed on the colonies by act of parliament. The administration of Major Andros. Both oppress, and create general uneasiness. Claims of the Major on Connecticut. The colony make opposition and protest against his conduct. The Virginians distressed by the acts of trade, and government at New-York; the people are thrown into tumult; Bacon excites rebellion. Its unhappy consequences. Andros' treatment of the Jerseys. Quowarrantos are issued against the New-England charters. The oppressive administration of Sir Edmund Andros. Sir Edmund seized by the people at Boston. Joy excited by the accession of William and Mary to the throne of Britain.

WHILE the united colonies were engaged in a bloody and arduous war for the possession of the soil and defence of every thing dear to men, they had other enemies to combat, who were sapping the very foundations of their government and liberties. All the colonies were soon sensibly injured by their influence, and the impolitic and arbitrary measures of the king and parliament. As early as 1672, customs were imposed on the colonists, to be collected by revenue officers resident among them for that purpose. By the act of 25th of Charles II. for the better securing of the plantation trade it was ordained, "That if any vessel which by law may trade in the plantations, shall take on board any enumerated commodities, and a bond shall not have been given with sufficient security to unlade them in England, there shall be rendered to his majesty, for sugars, tobacco, ginger, cocoa nut, indigo, logwood, fustic, cotton wool, the several duties mentioned in the law, to be paid in such places in the plantations, and to such officers as shall be appointed to collect the same: and for their better collection, it is enacted, that the whole business shall be managed and the imposts be levied by officers appointed by the commissioners of the customs in England." The colonists considered the act as injurious, impolitic, arbitrary, and cruel; and on various accounts

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were utterly opposed to its nature and influence. The colonies were poor and greatly in debt, on the account of their Indian wars. They needed encouragement and assistance. At such a time to be loaded with customs was oppressive and cruel. It was the more injurious, as duties were imposed on all the enumerated articles when exported only from one plantation to another, no less than when exported to foreign ports. The injury was still increased, in that the revenue arising from the act was not applied to the benefit of the plantation in which it was raised, but entirely conveyed away for the benefit of others. Indeed the act seemed to serve no other purposes than to burden trade, distress the colonies, and create a good income to the officers. For half of the duties went to the collector, and a quarter to the comptroller, the other fourth was sub-divided into salaries till it was swallowed in the vortex of office. At the same time, the colonies considered the act as a contravention of their charters; and, as they had no representation in parliament, inconsistent with their natural rights as Englishmen. Governour Nicholson of Maryland wrote to the board of trade, "I have observed that a great many people in all these provinces and colonies, especially in those under proprietaries, and the two others under Connecticut and Rhode Island, think that no law of England ought to be in force and binding to them without their own consent; for they foolishly say, they have no representatives sent from themselves to the parliament of England; and they look upon all laws made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships." On all these accounts the colonists were utterly opposed to the act, and were willing by all means to prevent its operation. For several years they paid very little attention to its requirements. As the commissioners increased their profits, in proportion to the sums they collected, they were zealous for enforcing the act. The evasion and obstinacy of the colonies,

awaking their resentments, they commenced spies and complainers, constantly acting against, and injuring them, in their most essential rights.

After the pacification with the Dutch, major Edmund Andros was appointed governour of New-York: and in October, 1674, the Dutch resigned the government to him. He was a man of arbitrary principles, and high notions of government, breathing the same spirit with the duke of York and his royal master. Therefore though New-York was regained, yet the inhabitants were nevertheless enslaved. He admitted them to no share in the legislature, but governed them by laws to which they never had given their assent. Such was the degree of servitude to which he degraded the colony, that it gave to persons of all denominations universal dissatisfaction. But New-York was not the only government, which felt the weight of his oppression and despotism. Connecticut and other colonies felt its mischievous influence.

About two years after king Charles had confirmed the ancient boundaries of Connecticut, granted in the old patent to lord Say and Seal, lord Brook, &c. by his royal letters patent, he made a grant of all the territory west of Connecticut river, as far as Delaware bay, to his brother the duke of York and Albany; together with all the islands, which had been so recently granted by him to the colony of Connecticut. In consequence of the possession which the Dutch afterwards had of the country, the validity of this grant was rendered doubtful. The duke therefore, after the pacification with the Dutch, took out a new grant of the same territory. By virtue of this, major Andros claimed jurisdiction over all that part of Connecticut west of the river; and coming into the river's mouth, with an armed force made a demand of the fort at Say-Brook.

Major Andros claims jurisdiction in Connecticut.

The governour and council having previous notice of his designs, despatched captain Bull with a number of bold men to Say-Brook, at all hazards to

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defend the fort and country against him. A special assembly was called on the 9th of July, 1675. The assembly unanimously protested against his claims and proceedings, and warned him at his peril to desist from his attempts against the colony. They declared that they would use their utmost exertions to defend the good people of the colony against his attempts. They prohibited all his majesty's subjects, of the colony of Connecticut, from attending, countenancing, or obeying the said major Andros, or any under him, in any order, instruction, or command contrary to the laws of the colony, as they should answer it at their peril.*

He demands the fort at Saybrook.

Captain Bull conducted the business of his commission with great address and resolution. Major Andros hoisted the British flag on board his ship, and drawing up before the fort, with all appearances of hostility, demanded, That it should be delivered to him as his majesty's governour. Captain Bull erected the British standard in the fort, and made proper dispositions for a vigorous defence. His men appeared with the best countenance, prompt and determined to execute their orders. Both parties, however, were unwilling to fire on his majesty's colours and subjects. The major finding, that an attempt to possess himself of the fort, by force, might be hazardous and bloody, had recourse to stratagem. He imagined that if he could obtain admittance on shore, and read his commission, it might prevent all further opposition. He therefore made propositions of an amicable interview on shore. Captain Bull apprehensive of his designs conducted the affair with such vigilance and firmness as entirely to defeat them. The major, though defeated in his attempts, could not but admire the man, who had executed his trust with such fidelity and heroism. It is therefore reported, that understanding his name to be Bull, he declared, That it was a pity, that his horns were not tipped with silver. The assembly

* Records of the colony of Connecticut.

of Connecticut considered this attempt of the major as a gross injury and insult. The spirit of the people on this occasion will appear in a proclamation issued under the great seal of the colony, which contained the following declaration: "Forasmuch as the good people of this, his majesty's colony of Connecticut have met with much trouble and molestation from major Edmund Andros, his challenge and attempts to surprise the main part of said colony, which they have so rightfully obtained, so long possessed and defended against all invasions of Dutch and Indians, to the great grievance of his majesty's good subjects in their settlements; and to despoil the happy government, by charter from his majesty granted to themselves, under which they have enjoyed many halcyon days of peace and tranquillity, to their great satisfaction, and the content of his majesty graciously expressed by letters to them, so greatly engaging their loyalty and thankfulness, as makes it intolerable to be put off from so long and just settlement under his majesty's government by charter."* Major Andros finding that the people of Connecticut were utterly opposed to his government, and determined to resist it to the last extremity, gave the matter up, and made no further attempts on the colony.

However the people of New-England had their enemies both on this and the other side of the water, who were busily employed in measures subversive of her governments and liberties. Complaints were exhibited against them in England, and inquiries set on foot by which they were continually harassed. Complaints were exhibited, by Gorges and Mason, against the Massachusetts, respecting the extent of their patent lines and government. Edward Randolph from year to year, exhibited complaints against the united colonies, for their opposition to his majesty's commissioners, and non-compliance with the

* Records of the colony of Connecticut.

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acts of trade. Notwithstanding the distresses and impoverishment of the war, his majesty required that agents should be sent over to England to answer to the matters alleged against them. He reprimanded the colonies for their non-compliance with the acts of trade. The colonies had indeed, for the reasons which have been mentioned, declined an observation of them. But on receiving express injunctions from his majesty, that the acts of trade and navigation should be punctually observed, acts were made providing for a punctual conformity to them.

These acts on the account of the tobacco trade very greatly injured Virginia and Maryland. The Virginians were the most stanch royalists of any subjects in the colonies. In 1642 the assembly by a formal act declared, "That they were born under monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births, by being subject to any other government." So highly agreeable was this act, that when it was presented to the king, he gave the colony the fullest assurances that they should always be immediately dependent upon the crown, and that their form of government should never be changed. They resisted the government of the parliament, and of the Lord protector, till by force they were reduced to obedience. After the death of the protector's governour, Matthews, they set up governour Berkley, and with one unanimous voice declared that they would venture their lives and fortunes for king Charles. Sir William Berkley assumed the government; and proclaimed Charles the second, king of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia. He caused every process to be issued in his majesty's name; so that he was king in Virginia before he was actually so in England.* Fortunately for the Virginians, the restoration soon followed; otherwise they would not have escaped a severe chastisement.

* History of North America, in the New American Mag. p.250,251.

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Notwithstanding this singular attachment to royalty, no colony more severely felt the mischiefs of a despotic kingly government than Virginia. In direct contravention of their rights by charter, the colony was split into parts, and conveyed away in proprietary grants. These were not grants barely of uncultivated woodlands, but of plantations, which for many years had been improved under the countenance and encouragement of kings and charters. These grants began to be put in execution nearly at the same tim. with the acts of trade and navigation. The Virginians remonstrated against these grants. The assembly of Virginia drew up a humble address to his majesty complaining of them, as derogatory of the precious charters and privileges granted to that colony by his majesty and his royal progenitors. To defray the expense of prosecuting the affair before his majesty, a tax of fifty pounds of tobacco was laid on each poll during the term of two years. Amercements were also laid of thirty, fifty, and seventy pounds of tobacco, agreeably to the nature of the cause, on every law case tried in the colony. The low price of tobacco, these taxes and amercements all united their influence, with the duties imposed by the acts of trade and navigation, to distress the colony. The poor people were not able, by the effects of their industry, to feed and clothe their wives and children. After waiting under all these pressures, for a considerable time, there was no encouragement from their agents in England, that they should ever be eased of their heavy impositions. These created such great and general uneasiness, as rendered the people almost desperate.

Burdens of the Virginians.

Another unhappy circumstance served to augment their miseries. While the Dutch held New York the Virginians drove a very profitable trade with the Indians. But after the English became the possessors, and understood the advantages of the trade, they took measures to draw it off from Virginia to New York. They so disaffected the Indians towards the

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Virginians that instead of coming amicably among them, for trade, as had been usual, they began to rob and murder them.* So that an Indian war was added to their other calamities. Under this complication of evils the people became tumultuous, collected in large bodies, running from one plantation to another, without a leader or any proper arrangement.

Col. Bacon heads a rebellion.

At length one colonel Bacon, a bold active young man, of a good education, handsome presence, and powerful elocution, was chosen their general. He had been brought up at one of the inns of court in London; and on account of his extraordinary qualifications, had been chosen into the council, before he had been three years in the country; and was held in great honour and esteem among the people. He gave his followers the strongest assurances, that he would never lay down his arms, until he had avenged their sufferings, on the Indians, and obtained a redress of all their grievances. Among his followers, there was a perfect unanimity, and they were all at his devotion. His preparations were soon completed, and having despatched a messenger to governour Berkley, to send him a commission to go against the Indians, he began his march depending on the authority and influence of the people. But very contrary to his expectations, the governour instead of sending him a commission sent positive orders, that he should dismiss his men and come down to him in person, on pain of being declared a rebel. Bacon however, depending on his strength, and interest with the people, determined to prosecute his designs. Though he did not dismiss his men, yet taking about forty, on whom he could depend, he went down in a sloop to Jamestown to wait on the governour. He found him with his council. But the colonel's matters not succeeding agreeably to his wishes, he expressed himself so warmly that the governour suspended him from the

* Hist. N. America in the New American Magazine, p. 256, 257: and Beverley's hist. p. 64 to 68.

council. Upon this he went off, in a rage, with his sloop and men. The governour pursued him, and adopted such measures, that he was taken at Sandy Point and sent down to Jamestown. The governour had gone beyond his instructions in suspending him; he therefore now kindly received, and gladly admitted him again to his council. He hoped, that by this all matters might be quieted. But colonel Bacon still insisted upon a commission, to be general of the volunteers, and to go out against the Indians. In vain did the governour labour to dissuade him from his purpose. He had the fortune to be countenanced in his importunity by the news of fresh murders and depredations committed by the Indians. But as he could not carry his points by fair means, he got privately out of town, and putting himself at the head of six hundred volunteers, marched directly to Jamestown, where the assembly were then sitting. Drawing up his men before the house, in which the assembly were convened, he presented himself to the members, urged his preparations, and alleged that if the commission had not been so long delayed, the war against the Indians, might have been finished. In these circumstances the assembly judged it most expedient to grant his commission; and the governour, though with great reluctance, put his hand to the instrument, which constituted him general of the forces of Virginia. Colonel Bacon having gained his point, immediately marched off his men. But no sooner were they at such a distance, as that the assembly judged it safe to proceed against him, than they advised the governour to issue a proclamation of rebellion against him. A proclamation was issued commanding his followers to deliver him, and immediately disperse themselves. At the same time, orders were given for raising the militia of the country against him. But the people were so exasperated by their burdens, and general Bacon had such an entire dominion over their hearts, that they unanimously resolved, that an hair of his head should

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not be touched, and much more that they would not deliver him up as a rebel. They therefore kept their arms, and instead of proceeding against the Indians, marched back to Jamestown. Their fury was now directed against all, who were in opposition to their measures. The governour was obliged to flee over the bay to Accomack. Hither he hoped the infection of Bacon's rebellion had not spread. But even here the people, instead of receiving him with open arms, in remembrance of his former good services, began to make terms with him for the redress of their former grievances, and for freeing the trade from the burdens and embarrassments laid upon it by acts of parliament. Thus Sir William, who had been almost the idol of the people, was, by reason of their burdens and jealousy, in a great measure abandoned. For some time he could make no head against Bacon, who ranged through the country at

Aug. 3d.

pleasure. He first called a convention, and afterwards issued writs, signed by himself and four of his council, and convoked an assembly. By this time the governour had collected a small party, and furnished them with sloops, arms, and ammunition. The command was given to major Robert Beverly, who crossed the bay to oppose the malecontents. Thus civil war commenced, skirmish after skirmish happened, in which some were killed and others wounded. While the parties were thus laying waste their infant country, and destroying one another, it pleased the Supreme Ruler, to put an end to these mischiefs, by the natural death of general Bacon. The rebels, having lost their head, soon fell into confusion and began to disperse. Lieutenant general Ingram, and major general Walklate surrendered on condition of pardon for themselves and followers. The generals, though pardoned, were obliged to submit to the incapacity of never bearing office in the country for the future. The people returned to their habitations, and internal peace was again restored to the province.

Terrible were the effects of this civil dissension. Jamestown was burnt to the ground, by Richard Lawrence, one of Bacon's seditious captains. Great havock was made among the stocks of cattle; and, during the insurrection, there was an almost total neglect of husbandry; so that the people had the dreadful prospect of famine.*

The Indians taking advantage of the confusion into which the colony was thrown, so desolated the frontiers and murdered the inhabitants, that for nearly thirty years afterwards the improvements were extended but very little further than at the time of the rebellion. Nor did the unhappy consequences of the rebellion end here. The governour had written to England for a regiment of soldiers to be sent over to suppress the insurrection. After the colony was quieted, they came over, and were kept on foot in the country about three years. With them were sent commissioners, to inquire into the occasion and to take cognizance of the authors of the rebellion. Soon after their arrival Sir William Berkley made a voyage to England, where he died not long after his arrival.

About the year 1679 lord Culpepper was sent over governour, with certain laws, drawn up by the ministry in England, to be enacted by the assembly in Virginia. Miserable indeed was the dilemma to which the Virginians were now reduced. For though his lordship had instructions to pass an act of pardon for all who had been in the late rebellion, yet, it was on condition, that the assembly should first pass the laws, which he had brought over from the British ministry. On their refusal, he had commissioners ready to try and hang them as rebels; and a regiment of soldiers on the spot, to support him in these faithless and arbitrary proceedings. Having the lives of the planters in his hand, it was not difficult for him to effect his purposes. One of the laws brought

Lord Culpepper oppresses the Virginians.

* Beverley's hist. p. 69 to 75

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over, was an act, for raising a public revenue for the support of government. The act made the duties perpetual, to be at the sole direction of his majesty, for the support of government. When he had effected this, he obtained out of the duties a salary of two thousand pounds annually, instead of one thousand, which had been the usual allowance. He also obtained a hundred and sixty pounds annually for house rent. Besides, he demanded of every vessel under a hundred tons, twenty shillings, as a duty, and thirty shillings for all above that burden, to be paid to him, as a perquisite, by the captain of the vessel, for every voyage at port clearing. It had been customary for captains of vessels to make presents to the governour of liquors and other articles for house keeping, but he obtained a certain sum, and made it perpetual.*

He also oppressed the people by causing them to receive a light coin in payments, at the same rate with that which was full weight. This oppression he continued for his own emolument, till the people began to treat him in his own way, by paying the duties and his perquisites in the same light pieces. By this practice they caused the law, by which he had compassed this mischief, to operate against him, and in this way obtained its repeal.

While these matters were transacted in Virginia, important events were taking place in the Jerseys and in New-England. One half of the province of New-Jersey belonged to lord Berkeley. In 1674, he made a conveyance of this half to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Billinge and his assigns. The next year Fenwick came over with a number of families and servants and began the settlement of West Jersey, on a rich and pleasant tract, which he named SALEM. Some of the principal planters, who came with Fenwick, were Edward Champness, Edward and Samuel Wade, John Smith, Samuel Nichols, Richard

Settlement of West New Jersey, 1675.

* Hist. of N. America published in the Magazine, p. 257 to 262; and Beverley's hist. p. 76 and 79.

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1676.

Guy, Noble, and Hancock. Billinge agreed to present his interest, in the province of New Jersey, to his creditors, as he could make them no other satisfaction. William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, were appointed trustees, to dispose of the lands for that purpose. In 1676, they agreed upon a division with Sir George Carteret. The divisional line ran from the east side of Little Egg Harbour directly north, through the country, to the utmost branch of the river Delaware. All that part on the east of said line was New East Jersey, and all on the west of it was called New West Jersey.* There subsisted a difference between Fenwick and Billinge, which seems, for nearly two years, to have retarded the settlement. At length the trustees, by their good offices effected a composition. The West Jersey was divided into one hundred proprieties; ten of which were conveyed to John Fenwick, for his satisfaction, relative to the purchase which he had made of lord Berkeley. The ninety remaining parts, were sold for the benefit of the creditors of Billinge. Two companies of friends, one in Yorkshire, and the other in London, purchased considerable shares in West Jersey. In June 1677, about a hundred and thirty passengers, belonging to these companies, arrived at New-Castle. They landed at Rackoon creek, where the Swedes had made some scattering settlements. For want of houses they were obliged to stow away their beds and furniture in hovels, cowstalls, and the like miserable apartments. In these poor shelters they suffered many inconveniences. Commissioners were sent over by the proprietors to make purchases of the Indians, to inspect the rights of those who claimed property, and to direct the affairs of se' lement. They made three considerable purchases of the Indians; and after exploring the country, both companies agreed to settle a town on the island called Chygoes, which they named

Divisional line.

* Smith's hist. N. Jersey, p. 79, 80, and to 89.

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1680.

BURLINGTON. Many of them, at first, lived in wigwams built in the Indian manner. They subsisted chiefly on Indian corn and venison, with which they were supplied by the Indians.

Free constitution.

Their constitution of government secured to them, in the amplest manner, which words could well express, both civil and religious liberty. No tax, assessment, nor duty whatsoever, might on any pretence be imposed on the province or the inhabitants of it but what should be imposed by the general assembly.* But, besides all the hardships of settling a new country, the people of the Jerseys, soon very severely felt the dreadful effects of arbitrary power. Powers of government had been as fully granted by the duke of York to lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret as the soil, and they had made an ample grant of both to the proprietors. Neither the duke, nor his governour, had any colour of right either to soil or government. Yet major Andros, governour of New York, usurped government both in East and West Jersey. He obliged the commissioners for the settling and general government of the West Jersey, to receive a commission from him to act as magistrates in that jurisdiction. He threatened to defend the government against them, by the sword, before he would suffer them to govern by their own right. John Fenwick neglecting to take out a commission from him, with respect to the government of his tenth, was arrested and carried prisoner to New York.† Nay, Andros carried the matter so far, that in 1680 he disputed the commission of governour Carteret of East New Jersey, and sending an armed force siezed him, at Elizabeth Town, and carried him prisoner to New York.‡ Besides all these violences he imposed a duty of 10 per cent. on all goods imported at the Hoar-kill, and 5 per cent. on the settlers at their arrival, or afterwards, at the officer's pleasure. This duty was not upon

Andros usurps government in the Jerseys.

Imposes duties at the Hoar-kill.

* Smith's hist. N. Jersey, p. 528. † Ibid. p. 94. ‡ Ibid. p. 68.

the neat cost of the goods, but upon the foot of the invoice as shipped in England.* Nothing could be more illegal and arbitrary than this act. This conduct strongly marks the character of the duke of York, who was at the bottom of this business, as a covetous, designing knave and merciless tyrant. When complaints were made to him of this oppression and cruelty, he still put the matter off, referring it to commissioners, when he could not but know that he had made the fullest conveyance of all powers of government to the proprietors, who had made the purchase of the country. The proprietors were put to the trouble and expense of appearing before the commissioners. The sum of the arguments presented to the duke's commissioners against the customs were, That the king granted to the duke of York a tract of land in America, with such powers and authorities as were necessary to govern and preserve the territory when planted: That the duke, for a competent sum of money, had sold, and in as ample manner granted the country to the lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, as it had been granted by the king to the duke: That "in the conveyance made to them powers of government were expressly granted." They say, "That only could have induced us to buy it; and the reason is plain, because to all prudent men, the government of any place is more inviting than the soil; for what is good land without good laws; the better the worse: and if we could not assure people of an easy, and free, and safe government, both with respect to their spiritual and worldly property, that is, an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, by a just and wise government, a mere wilderness would be no encouragement: for it were a madness to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness; and there adventure many thousands of pounds, to give

Complaints respecting them.

Arguments against the imposition.

* Smith's hist. N. Jersey, p. 115.

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1680.

an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure." "Natural right and human prudence, oppose such doctrine all the world over; for what is it but to say that people free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in the plantations abroad." The king's grant to the duke of York is restrictive to the laws and government of England. Now we humbly conceive it is made a fundamental, in our constitution and government, that the king of England cannot justly take his subjects' goods without their consent. This needs no more to be proved than a principle; tis *jus indigene*, an home born right, declared to be law by diverse statutes, as in the great charter, ch. 29, and 34. Ed. III. ch. 2; again, 25 Ed. ch. 7. Upon this were many of the parliament's complaints grounded, particularly that of the same king's reign. To give up the power of making laws is to change the government, to sell or rather resign ourselves to the will of another; and that for nothing: for we buy nothing of the duke if not the right of colonizing, with no diminution, but expectation of some increase, of those freedoms and privileges enjoyed in our own country. We humbly say, that we have not lost any part of our liberty, by leaving our country, but we transplant to a place with express limitation to erect no polity contrary to the government (of England,) but as near as may be to it; and this variation is allowed, but for the sake of emergencies; and that latitude bounded with these words, *for the good of the planter or adventurer.*" They urged that custom, in all governments, was laid upon trade, not upon planting, not upon going to a man's habitation and carrying home families and property; not for hazarding in the improvement of a wilderness: and that the custom imposed on them was without precedent or parallel: That it was not to be found in the duke's conveyance, but was an after business: That, had they foreseen it, they would rather have taken up in any other plantation in America. Besides, they say, "there is no end of this

power; for since we are by this precedent assessed without any law, and thereby excluded our English right of common assent to taxes; what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for all our personal estates. This sort of conduct has destroyed government, but never raised one to any true greatness."*

These arguments and representations clearly demonstrate the sentiments of the first settlers of the country relative to taxation, and the rights of Englishmen in the colonies, as well as in Great Britain. In support of these arguments the authors of them quote not only *magna charta* and various acts of the ancient kings of England, but authorities from Bracton, Fortesque, and the Petition of Rights. The commissioners to whom the duke referred the matter, it seems, judged the customs illegal and oppressive. For they were immediately taken off, after the matter had a hearing before them. Edward Billinge was appointed governour. He appointed Samuel Jennings deputy governour; and as the West Jersey was by this time become populous, he summoned a general assembly, November 25th, 1681. This assembly enacted a number of laws, which were to be fundamental to themselves, and to their posterity. They were not to be violated by any person, nor upon any pretence. These ordained, that there should be annually a general, free assembly, chosen by the free people of the province: That the governour should not defer the signing and sealing of the acts of the assembly: That he should not, on any account raise war, or any military force within the province; nor prorogue, nor dissolve the assembly, nor enact any law, nor impose any custom, nor raise money without the consent and concurrence of the general assembly.† These also ordained, that no assembly should give to the governour of the province any tax or

The customs taken off.

First assembly in West New Jersey, 1681.

Fundamental laws.

* Smith's hist. N. Jersey, p. 117, 123. † Ibid p. 126, 128, 129.

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1681.

custom, for a longer time than one complete year: That all officers of trust should be nominated by the general assembly: and that no man should be condemned or hurt, without the judgment of twelve jurymen.

During these transactions in the southern and middle colonies, affairs were growing worse and worse in New-England, and rapidly advancing to an unhappy crisis. As early as the year 1678, Randolph, that busy tool of government, came over with powers from the commissioners of the customs, to make seizures and exhibit informations, for breaches of the acts of trade. In 1681, he obtained a commission from the crown, to be collector, surveyor, and searcher of the customs in New-England. His measures and complaints were highly injurious and distressing to the colonies. By reason of complaints exhibited by him and others, the province of Massachusetts had been at the expense of supporting two agents in England for nearly the term of three years. Connecticut had sent an agent who was taken by the Algerines. On the return of the agents of the Massachusetts they were required immediately to send over others. They excused themselves from sending a second time; pleading the dangers of the sea, the great losses which they had sustained by the Indian war; and that they were loaded with such a debt in consequence of it, as, in a manner, rendered them incapable of the expense. But, this year, they received a letter under his majesty's sign manual, intimating his displeasure that agents had not been sent over; and requiring that they should be sent within three months from the reception of his letter. Agreeably to his requisition, agents were appointed, and sailed in May, for England. A public fast was appointed, throughout the colony, to pray for the continuation of their charter and the success of their agency. The New-England colonies all addressed his majesty, in the most suppliant manner, for the continuation of their charters and privileges. But

addresses however suppliant, with him had no effect. He demanded a surrender of their charters, and a submission to the royal pleasure, with respect to such alterations in their mode of government, as should be necessary for his service. The agents of the Massachusetts represented the case of the colony as desperate, and left it with the court to determine whether it were most advisable to suffer a quo warranto to issue, or to submit to his majesty's pleasure. The city of London and Bermudas had refused, and quo warrantos had been issued against them. Many cities had submitted to the royal pleasure. It was not difficult to discover that his majesty was determined in violation of charters, compacts, the constitution, and rights of the people, to assume all government into his own hands. In this state of affairs, the agents, probably, thought that the Massachusetts would be able to determine what would be most expedient. Upon the intelligence which they had given, this became the great question, not only in the general court, but through the colony, whether they should submit, or not. The general determination was, not to die by their own hands. The agents were instructed "to make no concessions of any privileges, conferred upon the colony by charter." On the reception of this final resolution of the court, the agents found that their business was at once accomplished. There was an immediate determination, that a quo warranto should be issued against the charter. Randolph, who by all means in his power, had for several years been attempting the subversion of the New-England governments, was to be the messenger of death, and of his own triumphs.

Quo warranto against the charter of Massachusetts 1683.

The agents arrived at Boston the 23d of October, 1683. The same week Randolph arrived with the quo warranto, and a declaration from his majesty, that if the colony, before prosecution, would make full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would regulate the charter for his service and their

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1683. good, with no other alterations than should be necessary for the support of his government in the colony. The governour and major part of the assistants despairing of success in a suit with his majesty, voted humbly to lay themselves at his feet, in submission to his pleasure.* But the deputies adhered to their former resolutions, determining not to be their own executioners. A scire facias was received, by the colony, the next September; but the time of their appearance at Westminster, was elapsed before the reception of the writ: and judgment was entered against their charter.

1685. In 1685, the attorney general was directed, by an order in council, to bring writs of quo warranto against Connecticut and Rhode Island; which colonies, it seems, had been impeached of high misdemeanors. The next year the writs were served on both the colonies. Rhode Island resolved, in general assembly, not to stand suit with his majesty, but wholly to submit themselves and their charter to the royal pleasure.

Connecticut received intelligence of the writ issued against their charter before its arrival. A special assembly was convened, on the 6th of July, to consult what measures to adopt in this important crisis. A letter was addressed to his majesty couched in the most loyal and submissive language, beseeching his majesty to pardon their faults in government, and continue them a distinct colony, with the indulgence of their civil and religious privileges. They pleaded their charter, the indulgence of his royal brother, and his commendation of the colony. They besought his majesty to recal the writ which they heard had been issued against their charter.† Soon after the writ arrived and was served by Randolph. This occasioned another special assembly, on the 28th of the same month. The assembly appointed Mr. White their agent to appear for them

* Hutch. hist. vol. i. p. 336, 339.

† Records of the colony of Connecticut, vol. iii. p. 182, 183.

in the court of Britain, to certify his majesty of the quo warranto, to pray his majesty to stop all further proceedings in law against the colony, and pray to be continued distinct and entire. They instruct their agent to make a full representation of the great injury, which a division of the colony might be to the inhabitants. They pray that if they might not be continued a distinct colony, that there might be a continuation of their properties, houses, lands, and religious privileges. Their agent wrote them that if they would defend their charter at law, they must send over one or more of their own number for that purpose. The assembly voted against sending an agent, thanked Mr. White for his past services, and desired him to continue his good offices in favour of the colony. The assembly considered their case as June 15th. desperate. Affairs were managed in the court of king James in such a lawless, haughty, and despotic manner, that it was with reluctance, that agents made their appearance in it, to solicit favours, or even to defend the lawful and natural rights of the subject. Propositions had been made to Connecticut of annexing them either to New-York or the Massachusetts. In a letter, written with reference to the subject, they prayed for the continuance of their privileges; but if these might not be continued, to be annexed to the Massachusetts. This was judged a surrender of their charter.

As the colony of New Plymouth, had only a patent from the great Plymouth company, without powers of government from the king, their only support was his approbation. They acted therefore with great circumspection. They were in high favour with king Charles the second. After the conquest of Philip, he made a grant of mount Hope, the principal seat of the Wampanoags to them, their heirs and successors for ever. They prayed for charter privileges similar to those of Connecticut; and, from time to time, were amused with assurances, that his majesty would grant their petition. While his majesty

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1686.

was violently infringing the rights of the whole nation, and of the colonies in general, he was far enough from granting such immunities to New-Plymouth. All New-England was despoiled of her liberties and subjected to the despotic will of his majesty and his commissioners. After all the hardships and dangers they had endured in planting a wilderness, after all their expense of blood and treasure, they had no better security of life, liberty, or property, than the will of an unfeeling, bloody tyrant.

Sir Edmund Andros governour of N. England arrived Dec. 20th, 1686.

Sir Edmund Andros, by commission from king James, was appointed governour of New-England. Just at the close of the year 1676, he arrived at Boston and his commission was made public on the day of his arrival. At the beginning of his administration the prospects were flattering. He made high professions of his regard for the public good, and gave directions to the judges to administer justice according to the former customs. However, it is well observed by governour Hutchinson, That "Nero concealed his tyrannical disposition more years, than Sir Edmund and his creatures did months." Very soon a restraint was laid on the liberty of the press. One far more grievous still was laid on marriages. Marriage was prohibited, unless bonds were previously given, with sureties, to the governour; which were to be forfeited, in case there should afterwards appear to have been any lawful impediment. Magistrates only were suffered to join people in the bands of wedlock. The people were menaced, that their meeting houses should be taken from them, and that public worship in the congregational way should not be tolerated. Contrary to the wills of the proprietors, Sir Edmund used one of the meeting houses, in Boston, for the church service; and threatened, if he should be refused, to shut up the doors, and to punish any man who should give two pence towards the support of a non-conformist minister.* The fees of all officers

His oppression.

* Hutch. hist. vol. i. p. 355, 356.

under this new administration were exorbitant. The common fee for the probate of a will was fifty shillings. The widow and fatherless, how distant soever, were obliged to go to Boston to transact all business relative to the settlement of estates.* This was a grievous oppression of the widow and fatherless. But these were but the beginnings of oppression and sorrow. They soon had a wider spread and were greatly increased.

The October after his arrival at Boston, Sir Edmund made a visit to Connecticut, demanded the charter, and assumed the government. The charter was brought and laid on the table; but, all on a sudden, the lights were extinguished, the charter was carried off and secreted. The general assembly were sitting and closed their records in the manner following: "His excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, captain general and governour of his majesty's territories and dominions in New-England, by order from his majesty James the II. king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being by his majesty annexed to the Massachusetts and other colonies under his excellency's command."†

Assumes the government of Connecticut, Oct. 31, 1687.

Having thus grasped the whole government of New-England, it was soon given out, that as the charters had been vacated, all titles to estates were become invalid. Not the fairest purchases of the soil from the natives, no dangers, labours, nor disbursements, in subduing and cultivating a wilderness, and turning it into orchards, gardens, and pleasant fields, no grants by charter, nor declarations of preceding kings, promising them the quiet enjoyment of their houses and lands, no expense of blood and treasure, nor fifty years quiet possession, were pleas of any validity with Sir Edmund and his creatures. The original purchasers and culti-

* Hutch. hist. vol. i. p. 358. † Records of Connecticut, vol. iii.

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1688. His oppression grows more intolerable.

vators were obliged to make application to them, who had not the least title to the lands, for new patents. For these, in some instances, they required a fee of fifty pounds. Writs of intrusion were brought against persons of principal character, who refused an application for new patents. Governour Hutchinson observes with reference to the Massachusetts, that men's titles were not all questioned at once. Had this been the case, according to the computation then made, all the personal estate in the colony would not have paid the charge of the new patents.* At the same time, Sir Edmund, with four or five of his council only, imposed taxes on the people at pleasure. He and his courts also fined and imprisoned the inhabitants, in the most unjust and arbitrary manner. The selectmen of Ipswich for voting "That, inasmuch, as it is against the privileges of English subjects to have money raised without their consent, in an assembly or parliament, therefore they would petition the king for liberty of an assembly before they make any rates," were imprisoned and fined some twenty, some thirty, and some fifty pounds, as the judges, instructed by Sir Edmund, saw fit to determine.† Some of the principal men in the Massachusetts were imprisoned for remonstrating, in an address against the taxes as a public grievance. The people were also denied the benefit of the act of habeas corpus. Under these lawless and cruel proceedings the most humble and loyal petitions were addressed to his majesty, from the colonies, from towns and corporate bodies, that he would quiet them in the possession of all property, both in houses and lands; and, after praying for the privilege of assemblies until they found, that his majesty was determined that there should be no more assemblies in New-England, they supplicated him, that the council might consist of such persons as should be considerable proprietors of lands, and that there

Colonies petition the king.

* Hutch. hist. vol. i. p. 359. † Hutch. p. 365, 366.

might be one such in every county. As Sir Edmund paid no attention to the majority of his council, but imposed such laws and taxes as he, and Randolph, and three or four more of the same character judged most for their purposes, they also prayed, that no acts might pass for law, but such as should be voted by the majority of the council. One of the petitions closeth in this suppliant language: "Royal Sir, we are a poor people, and have no way to procure money to defend our cause in the law, nor know we of friends at court, and therefore unto your royal majesty, as the public father of all your subjects, do we make this our humble address for relief, beseeching your majesty graciously to pass your royal act for the confirmation of your majesty's subjects here, in our possessions to us derived from our late governour and company of this your majesty's colony. We now humbly cast ourselves and the distressed condition of our wives and children at your majesty's feet, and conclude with that saying of queen Esther, If we perish, we perish."

But in the reign of king James the second, neither the most reasonable and humble petitions from New, nor the warmest solicitations from Old England, were of any avail. Sir Edmund too well knew the disposition of his prince to fear any complaints or petitions, which might be exhibited against him. Matters were therefore carried with a high hand. Randolph, in his letters, made his boast, "that they were as arbitrary as the great Turk." Massachusetts was the principal seat of this despotism and suffering. The other colonies were less obnoxious. As Sir Edmund and his principal abettors had their residence chiefly at Boston, the other New-England colonies were much less under their inspection and influence. But there was in them all for more than two years, a total suppression of all charter government. Their state was indeed distressful. Their enemies triumphed, and all probable means of relief

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failed them. Their case appeared as hopeless as it was distressing. But in the midst of darkness light sprang up. While in vain they made their complaints and prayers to men, Providence wrought gloriously for their and the nation's salvation. On the 5th of November, 1688, the prince of Orange landed at Torbay, in England, and immediately published his declaration. A copy of it was received at Boston the April following. The fire which had been long kindling now burst forth into a violent flame.

The people fly to arms, take Sir Edmund into custody April 18th. 1689.

The people flew to arms, and possessed themselves of the castle, of the fortifications in Boston, and the Rose frigate of forty guns, in which Sir Edmund had arrived from England. Sir Edmund, Randolph, and such others of his council and abettors, as had made themselves most obnoxious, were taken into custody. The whole number consisted of fifty persons. The old magistrates were reinstated, while their haughty oppressors were committed to close confinement. When the people once more saw their former venerable governour Bradstreet among their rulers, they filled the air with their acclamations. The influence of the former magistrates was of absolute necessity to preserve the peace of the country. The people rushed into town in such heat and rage, as made all tremble for fear of the consequences. With difficulty it was, that the magistrates were able to satisfy the people without putting Sir Edmund in irons. But such was their veneration for those who had governed them in their better days, that through their influence no blood was shed, nor any considerable mischief done. Letters were immediately despatched to the other colonies acquainting them with the transactions at Boston.

Connecticut and Rhode Island assume their charters.

On the 9th of May the colony of Connecticut resumed their charter and government. About the same time Rhode Island also resumed their charter, and proceeded in their usual forms of government. In the Massachusetts the governour and magistrates

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who had been chosen in 1686, at the desire of the people, and for the conservation of their peace and safety, took on them the administration of government agreeable to the charter, till there should be an orderly settlement of the government in England.

King William and queen Mary were proclaimed in England the 13th of February, 1689. Advice of it was received at Boston on the 26th of the succeeding May. Never were more joyful news received in New-England. The bands of oppression were loosed, the fears of the people subsided, and hope and joy brightened every countenance. The quo warrantos were judged to be illegal, and a vote passed the house of commons for the restoration of the charters. By a letter from his majesty, to the colony of the Massachusetts they were authorized to exercise government according to their ancient charter until a new one should be granted. At the same time an order was received, that Sir Edmund Andros, Randolph, and others, who had been put under confinement, should be sent to England to answer for such misdemeanours as should be alleged against them.*

Thus while the glorious revolution, by William and Mary, saved three kingdoms from popery and despotism, it brought an equal salvation to America. It is ever to be considered as a grand event, in providence, by which the religion and liberties of the United States have been preserved. Its influence, doubtless has not been small in the late memorable revolution. Had James succeeded in his measures he would probably have established the religion of the Romish church and slavery, not only in England, but in the colonies. The colonists would have been reduced to such poverty and ignorance, and their spirits would have been so enslaved and broken, that they never would have enterprised the late revolution, nor have risen to their present importance

* Hutch. hist. vol. i, p. 388, 390, 391.

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and glory. It was an era which our fathers saw with great gladness and thanksgiving; and it will ever challenge the devout and grateful acknowledgements of their posterity.

CHAPTER V.

The first assembly in New York. King James' treatment of the colony. Leisler's usurpation. The settlement of New-Hampshire, and its separation from the Massachusetts. The settlement of Pennsylvania. The counties on the Delaware are become a distinct jurisdiction. Revolution in the Jerseys. Intrigue and corruption in the government of Carolina. Abuse of the French protestants. Establishment of episcopacy, and persecution of the dissenters.

Treatment of the people of New York.

DURING almost twenty years from the reduction of New York the people were allowed no part in legislation or government. In 1681, the dissatisfaction of the colony became so great and universal, that the council, the court of assizes, and the corporation of New York made a joint application to the duke for a participation in the government. The duke, notwithstanding his peculiar aversion to assemblies, the next year, gave encouragement that he would allow them an assembly. In 1682 colonel Dungan was appointed governour. He had instructions for the calling of an assembly. This was to consist of a council of ten, and of a house of representatives, chosen by the freemen, consisting of eighteen members. The assembly was empowered, to enact laws for the people, agreeable to the general jurisprudence of the realm of England. However, they were not to be of any force without the ratification of the proprietary. The views of the duke, in granting an assembly, were not for the advancement of public liberty and happiness; but for his own private ends. He was in expectation, that the inhabitants, by this measure, would be induced to raise money for the discharge of the public debts, and provide

such a fund in future as might be sufficient for the maintenance of the garrison and the government. On the arrival of governour Dungan, in 1683, an assembly was convoked. As the people, then inhabiting the province, consisted of various nations, this assembly, to give them equal privileges, passed an act of general naturalization. Two other acts were also passed: one declarative of the liberties of the people; and another for defraying, for a limited time, the necessary charges of government. The legislature was convened again the next year. These seem to have been the only assemblies convoked in New York before the revolution.

No sooner was the duke made king of England than he refused to confirm the privileges, to which he had agreed in a humbler station. He once more reduced the province to the deplorable condition of a conquered people. With her sister colonies she felt the iron yoke of a despotic administration.

Colonel Dungan, his governour, was a professed Roman catholic, and, under his countenance, papists began to settle in the colony. The collector of the revenues and several principal officers threw off the mask and openly avowed their attachments to the Romish faith. A Latin school was set up under a teacher suspected to be a jesuit. The whole colony began to tremble for the protestant cause. A general disaffection to the government prevailed among the people. Before the arrival of governour Dungan the inhabitants on Long Island, who were principally from Connecticut, and had enjoyed the mild government of that colony till the reduction of New York, had been so disgusted with the government of colonel Nichols, as to threaten the total subversion of the public tranquillity. To extinguish the fire of discontent, impatient to burst into a general flame, governour Dungan, on his first arrival, assured them, that no laws nor taxes should be imposed, for the future, but by a general assembly. But his sovereign soon after prohibiting as-

Their general alarm and uneasiness.

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semblies, they found their expectations disappointed, and they, with the people in general, became ripe for an immediate revolution.

The news of the seizure of Sir Edmund Andros, at Boston, gave a spring to the general disaffection, and roused the people to action. Several captains of the militia convened at New York, to concert measures in favour of the prince of Orange. Among these the most active was Jacob Leisler. He possessed a moderate fortune, and was in reputation among the people, but far from possessing those qualifications necessary for great and shining actions. Jacob Milborn, his son-in-law, directed all his counsels, while he held an absolute control over the officers. Their first plan was to seize the garrison. This was guarded every night by the militia, a circumstance entirely favourable to Leisler's designs. He entered it with about fifty men and determined to hold it for the prince till the whole militia should join him.

Leisler's usurpation.

Governour Dungan a little before this, had resigned the government to Francis Nicholson, the lieutenant governour, and was embarked in the bay for England. The lieutenant governour, council, and civil officers vigorously opposed Leisler. This opposition, from gentlemen of principal figure in the colony, at first, made many of his friends fearful of openly espousing his cause. But on the third of June, 1689, he was joined by six captains and four hundred men, in the city of New York, and by another company of seventy, from East Chester. These all signed a declaration, in which they mutually covenanted to hold the fort for the prince of Orange. Nicholson and his party, finding themselves, unable to contend with such an opposition, absconded, and Leisler took on him the supreme command.

June 1689.

No sooner did he receive the news of William and Mary's accession to the throne, than he sent home an address to their majesties, representing the grievances of the people, the measures which they had

taken for their own security, and recognizing their sovereignty over all the British dominions.

Leisler's investiture of supreme power, and the probability that his conduct would meet the approbation of his majesty, did not fail to excite the envy and jealousy of the council and magistrates, who refused to join in the glorious work of the revolution. Hence sprang up in them and all their party, a deep aversion to the man and all his measures. Colonel Bayard and the mayor of the city were at the head of the opposition. Finding it impossible to raise a party against him in New York, they soon retired to Albany and there employed all their influence to foment the opposition.

Leisler fearful of their influence, and to extinguish all jealousy in the people, judged it expedient to admit several trusty persons to a participation with him, in that government which the militia had committed solely to himself. These were called a committee of safety. In conjunction with them, he exercised the government, assuming to himself no more than the honour of president in their councils.

Convention at Albany, Oct. 26th.

Meanwhile the people at Albany determined to hold the garrison and city for king William independent of Leisler. On the 26th of October they formed themselves into a convention for that purpose. They wrote a copy of their resolution, to a number of the principal gentlemen in New York, assuring them of their determination to maintain the garrison for the king, and that they would not admit any men from Leisler to command either in the garrison or city. As the people both of New York and Albany had determined to hold their respective garrisons for king William, till his definitive orders should arrive, the great point was settled, and by whom they should be holden was of no considerable importance. To embroil the colony and sow the seeds of perpetual hatred and animosity, on so trifling a point was the height of madness. But such was the folly of

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both parties, that they were determined to dispute the point. This not only brought mischief on the parties, but entailed great and lasting evils on the province.

In December a letter arrived from the lords Carmarthen and Halifax, directed "To Francis Nicholson, Esquire, or in his absence, to such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws, in their majesties province of New York, in America." This letter bore date the 29th of July. It was accompanied with another, from lord Nottingham, which was written on the thirtieth. This vested Nicholson with the chief command, directing him to appoint as many of the principal freeholders and inhabitants for his assistants as he should judge expedient. It also required him "To do every thing appertaining to the office of lieutenant governour, according to the laws and customs of New York until further orders."*

As the lieutenant governour was absconded, when these letters came to hand, Leisler considered them as directed to himself, and from this time took on him the title and authority of lieutenant governour. At the advice of the committee of safety he swore in a number of gentlemen for his council.

All the southern part of the province, excepting the inhabitants of the eastern part of Long Island, now cheerfully submitted to his command. These inhabitants had no aversion to Leisler, nor were they in favour of any other party in the colony, but they wished for an incorporation with Connecticut, whence they had colonized, and the effects of whose free and happy government they had formerly experienced. While they were privately soliciting Connecticut to take them under her government, they gave Leisler such hopes of their submission as prevented his taking arms against them. As soon as they found that Connecticut declined a compliance

* Smith's hist. New York, p. 60.

with their wishes, they openly espoused the cause of Leisler.

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But as Albany held out against him, Milborn, his son-in-law was commissioned to reduce it to obedience. On his arrival at Albany, great numbers of its inhabitants armed themselves and repaired to the fort. This was commanded by Mr. Schuyler. After haranguing the people, and finding that he could make no impressions by the arts of persuasion, Milborn, with about fifty men, advanced towards the fort. Schuyler was supported not only by the inhabitants, but by the Mohawks, who were then in Albany, and devoted to his service. It was with great difficulty, that he prevented either from firing on Milborn and his party. Milborn, perceiving his critical situation, retreated and soon left Albany. 1690. But taking a more favourable opportunity, the next spring, when that part of the country were distressed, by an irruption of the French and Indians, he carried his point. No sooner was he master of the garrison, than most of the principal members of the convention absconded. Mr. Livingstone a principal agent for the convention retired into Connecticut, to solicit the aid of that colony for the protection of the frontiers against the French and Indians. The effects of the members of the convention were arbitrarily seized and confiscated. This so highly exasperated the sufferers, that their posterity can hardly speak of those troubles without the bitterest invectives against Leisler and all his adherents.

Govr. Sloughter arrives March 19th, 1691.

On the 19th of March, 1691, colonel Sloughter arrived at New York, in the capacity of the king's governour. Though he had been commissioned the preceding year, and Leisler had sufficient information of his appointment, yet such was his intoxication with the love of power, that instead of congratulating the governour on his arrival and conciliating his favours, he refused to surrender the fort to him, or to release the lieutenant governour Nicholson and colonel Bayard, whom he there held in imprison-

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ment. These imprudent measures at once ruined his influence. From this moment, the governour became his enemy and joined the party against him. He soon abandoned the fort and the governour immediately took possession. Nicholson and Bayard were released from their confinement and sworn of his privy council. Leisler, Milborn, and many of their adherents were apprehended. A commission of oyer and terminer issued to Sir Thomas Robinson, colonel Smith, and others for their trials.

Trial of Leisler and Milborn.

In vain did they plead the merit of their zeal and services for king William, after they had been mad enough to oppose his governour. In vain did Leisler plead, that the letters he had received authorized him to act in the quality of lieutenant governour. Something very singular appears both in his trial and execution. The judges were so far from giving their opinion on that part of his defence, which respected the letters received from their lordships, that they referred it to the governour and council, Whether the letter from lord Nottingham, "or any other letters or papers, in the packet from White-Hall" could "be understood, or interpreted, to be and contain, any power, or direction to captain Leisler, to take the government of this province upon himself, or that the administration thereupon be holden good in law?" This was putting the prisoners, at once, into the power of their implacable enemies, heated with resentment for recent injuries. The answer was in the negative. Leisler and his son were condemned to death for high treason. Even this did not satisfy the enemies of these unhappy men. They felt themselves so deeply interested in their destruction, that they pressed the governour to order their immediate execution. The governour fearful of the consequences of such violent measures against men, who had so vigorously appeared for the king and so signally contributed to the revolution, chose rather to defer their execution. When therefore they found that the governour, by fair means,

Their condemnation for high treason.

could not be persuaded into a compliance with their wishes, they, on design, invited him to a sumptuous feast; and, when his reason was drowned in his cups, prevailed with him to sign their death warrant. Before he recovered his senses, the prisoners were executed.* These violent measures, drove many of the warm friends of the revolution, into the neighbouring colonies. This was so detrimental to the province, that it was found necessary, soon after, to pass an act of general indemnity. The province nevertheless was thrown into violent parties, which for many years, greatly injured its general peace and prosperity.

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Execution.

The revolution however restored to them, in common with their fellow subjects the natural rights of Englishmen. Governour Sloughter convoked an assembly which met on the 9th of April, 1691. This among other acts formed a constitution, or declaration of rights, which began their provincial code. The principal articles were for substance, That the kings of England only are invested with the right of ruling this colony; and that none can exercise any authority over this province, but by the king's immediate authority under the broad seal of the realm of England: That the supreme legislative power and authority, under the king, shall be in the governour, council, and representatives of the people in general assembly:† That the exercise and administration of the government shall be in the governour and council, with the consent, at least, of five of the council; to govern according to the laws of the province, or in defect of them, by the laws of England: That every year an assembly should be holden: That during the sessions the representatives may adjourn themselves and purge their own house. It was also declared, that the laws of the assembly should continue in force, till disallowed by his majesty, or till

Constitution of New York. April, 1691.

* Smith's hist. New York, p. 72.

† Before this time it had been matter of dispute whether the colony had any right to an assembly.

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the time of their expiration. All trials were to be by the verdict of twelve men of the neighbourhood, and every man to be judged by his peers. No tax or imposition might be laid, but by the general assembly. No freeman, tavern-keepers excepted, might be compelled to entertain any soldier or mariner, unless in times of actual war. All lands in the province were to be accounted as freehold, and inheritance in free and common soccage, according to the tenure of East Greenwich in England. All christians, Roman Catholics excepted, behaving peaceably, were to enjoy a free toleration.*

While the old colonies had been deprived of their natural and charter rights, and were grievously suffering under the heavy hand of despotism, New-Hampshire was made a distinct jurisdiction. The settlement of some parts of it was almost as early as the settlement of New-Plymouth. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and captain John Mason, who were both members of the great council of Plymouth, men of singular activity and enterprise, obtained several patents of part, or of the whole of New-Hampshire. As early as 1621, captain Mason obtained a grant, from the council of Plymouth, of all the land from the river Naumkeag, since called Salem, round Cape Ann to the river Merrimack; thence up each of those rivers to the furthest head of it; thence running from the head of the one to the head of the other; with all the islands within three miles of the coast. The next year a grant was made to Gorges and Mason jointly, of all the lands between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadehock, running back to the great lakes and river of Canada. Under the authority of this latter grant, the grantees, in conjunction with several London, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and other merchants, attempted the establishment of a fishery and colony on the river Piscataqua. In the spring of 1623, David Thompson, Edward and William Hilton, with num-

Grants of New-Hampshire.

Its settlement 1623.

* Douglass, vol. ii. p. 251, 252. King William about six years after repealed this law or declaration.

bers of other people, furnished with all necessaries for a plantation, were sent over to accomplish the design. They consisted of two companies and made two different settlements. One company landed on the southern shore, at the river's mouth, erected salt works and the house termed Mason-Hall. The Hiltons, with their company, planted themselves eight miles above, on a neck of land since named Dover.

May 17th. 1629.

Sometime after a number of scattered planters in the Massachusetts desirous of making a plantation, within the limits of the former grants, made a purchase of the Indians of "all that part of the main land bounded by the river Piscataqua and the river Merrimack, to begin at Newickwannock falls, in Piscataqua river aforesaid, and down said river to the sea, and all along the sea-shore to Merrimack river; and up said river to the falls at Pantucket; and from thence upon a north west line twenty English miles into the woods: and from thence upon a straight line north east, till it meet with the main rivers that run down to Pantucket falls, and Newickwannock falls aforesaid; the said rivers to be the bounds from the thwart or head line to the aforesaid falls, and from thence the main channel of each river to the sea to be the side bounds; together with all the islands within the said bounds; as also the isles of Shoals so called." The Indian conveyance was made to the Reverend John Whelewrith, Augustin Storer, Thomas Wight, William Wentworth, and Thomas Leavit. Whelewrith was obliged by the conditions, within ten years to begin a plantation at Squamscot falls.

The same year Mason obtained a new patent, under the common seal of the council of Plymouth, of the land "from the middle of Piscataqua river, and up the same to the farthest head thereof, and from thence north westward until sixty miles from the mouth of the harbour were finished, also through Merrimack river to the farthest head thereof, and so forward up into the land westward, until sixty miles

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were finished; and from thence to cross over land to the end of sixty miles accounted from Piscataqua river; together with all islands within five leagues of the coast." This tract comprehended the whole of Whelewrith's purchase, and was called New Hampshire.*

The same lands, and much more, had been conveyed, in prior grants, to Mason and Gorges. The only reason therefore of this grant, seems to have been, either to frustrate Whelewrith, or because the other grants, either having not been witnessed or not sealed, were considered as having no validity in law.†

In 1638 Mr. Whelewrith, who had been banished from the Massachusetts, on account of his antinomian tenets, with his adherents, began the settlement of Exeter. By voluntary compact they formed themselves into a body politic, chose their rulers and exercised government among themselves. The same year Hampton was settled, principally by people from Norfolk in England. They were nearly sixty in number, and had for their ministers Messrs. Stephen Belcher and Timothy Dalton.

Governments formed by voluntary compact.

1640. Two years after, the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth, after the example of Exeter, formed themselves into a body politic, binding themselves to submit to the laws of England and such others as a majority of their number should enact. Another voluntary government was formed at Kittery on the north side of the river. But these governments were but of short duration. The people were so divided in opinion, so factious, and the government was so weak, that they were soon convinced that it afforded no prospect of permanent utility. The most discerning among them therefore wished to be under the protection and government of the Massachusetts. A treaty was concluded by which the partners of the two patents resigned the jurisdiction of

* Belknap's hist. p. 12, 13, 14. † Hutch. Hist. vol. i. p. 113.

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the whole to the Massachusetts. Their junction with the Massachusetts was the more agreeable to that colony, by reason of a certain construction put upon their charter limits, by which New Hampshire was included in them. A line drawn from east to west at the distance of "three miles to the northward of Merrimack river and of any and every part thereof" will comprehend the whole of New Hampshire and most of the province of Maine. But in 1679 the four towns of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, were adjudged by his majesty in council to be within captain Mason's claim.

Dissolve and unite with the Massachusetts, April 14th, 1641.

The same year a commission was issued by his majesty constituting New Hampshire a distinct government. The commission appointed John Cut, Esquire, the first president of the province. The first assembly in New Hampshire was in March 1680. The assembly consisted of the president and council, appointed by the crown, and of eleven representatives from the four towns. By the commission the president might nominate his deputy and have the assistance of nine counsellors. The continuance of an assembly was during his majesty's pleasure, till, by inconvenience arising from it, he or his heirs should see cause to make an alteration. All laws were to be approved by the president and council, and then to be in force till disapproved by his majesty, who had the prerogative of disannulling them at pleasure.*

Separation from the Massachusetts and first assembly, March 16th, 1680.

Constitution.

The president and council all belonged to the province, and were gentlemen of principal figure and influence among the people; but the separation from the Massachusetts was notwithstanding disagreeable to themselves and to the people in general. Under the government of the Massachusetts, for almost forty years, they had enjoyed the privilege of choosing their own rulers, and great harmony and satisfaction, in an impartial and faithful government;

The separation not agreeable.

* Belknap's hist. vol. i. p. 170, 172.

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and they wished to continue in the enjoyment of the same privileges, possessed by the other colonies in New-England. The president and council were men of too much discernment not to discover, that their appointment was not from any respect to them, or favourable designs to the people, but only to give a more facile introduction to a new mode of government. This they knew was to serve particular purposes, and would be a source of embarrassment and distress. It was therefore, with great reluctance, that they received and acted under their new commissions. They found themselves under an unavoidable necessity of acting under them, to prevent the appointment of others to the government, who were entirely inimical to the province and to the country in general. It was to a small, discontented party, only, that the change of government was any real gratification.

On the meeting of the assembly they took care to express their sentiments relative to the change of government, to assert their just rights, and form a good system of laws. A letter was addressed to the general court of the Massachusetts, with acknowledgments of the kindness of that colony, in the protection and good government which they had experienced under their jurisdiction. It assured them, that their compliance with the present separation, was so far from being agreeable to their own wishes, that it was merely in submission to divine Providence and his majesty's commands. The first law which the assembly enacted evinces, that it possessed the same idea of the rights of freemen, which had been generally entertained by all the assemblies in the sister colonies. It appeared not only to possess sentiments worthy of freemen, but courage, even in the reign of Charles the second, to make an explicit declaration of them. The law was, "That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be made or imposed upon them, but such as should be made by the assembly and approved by the president and coun-

cil." But neither this nor any other law, could secure the liberties of the people under an arbitrary prince, and the government of men of the same unjust and arbitrary spirit. In about two years the government was entirely changed. By the artifice of Mason, and to serve his purposes, Edward Cranfield was appointed lieutenant governour and commander in chief of New Hampshire. To effect this Mason surrendered to the king one fifth of the quitrents which should become due on his lands, which he secured to his majesty by a deed enrolled in the court of chancery. These quitrents, with the fines and forfeitures, which had arisen to the crown, since the establishment of the province, and which might afterward arise, were appropriated to the support of the governour. As they were sensible this was but a precarious foundation, Mason mortgaged the whole province to Cranfield for twenty one years, as a security for the payment of one hundred and fifty pounds annually for the term of seven years.

1682. Change of government.

Jan. 25th.

Cranfield's commission, which bore date the 9th of May, vested him with powers of calling, adjourning, proroguing, and dissolving general courts; of negativing all acts of government, of suspending any of his council, of appointing a deputy governour, judges, and all officers, by his sole authority. He had also the powers of vice admiralty.* Mason was appointed one of the council. Most of the former council were appointed with him. The sole design of these novel powers was to facilitate the entry of Mason upon the lands, which others held by virtue of grants from the same authority, by which he claimed; who had made fair purchases of the original Indian proprietors, had at their sole labour and expense subdued a wilderness, defended their families and estates against a savage enemy, and maintained their possession more than half a century. His majesty seems, in effect, to have received a

Design of this change.

* Belknap's hist. p. 188—191.

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bribe in favour of Mason. The governour's support depended on putting Mason in possession of the province, at the expense of justice, mercy, and all the designs of good government. If he failed in this grand object he lost his support, and his majesty the quitrents of one fifth of the lands. He was clothed with powers for such an extraordinary purpose; and he made no secret of his design, to enrich himself by accepting the government. Within six days after his arrival he suspended two of the old counsellors. Not long after he suspended a third and dissolved the assembly, because they did not comply with his wishes. In a short time others were suspended and the whole council modelled according to his pleasure.*

Cranfield's oppression.

February 14th.

The governour, by advertisement, called upon the inhabitants to take out leases from Mason, or he should certify the refusal to his majesty. Having filled the judicial courts with officers, who would favour his designs, suits were then instituted against all the principal landholders in the province. As the jurors were all interested persons, and as the cause ought to have been determined by his majesty, and not by a jury, they universally declined to make any defence. Judgment was as universally given against them. Cranfield did not stop here, but taxed the people without their consent, and assumed legislative powers. He kept back the salaries of the ministry: not only such as were due after, but even before, he came into the government. He threatened them with six months imprisonment for not administering the sacrament according to the liturgy. He required Mr. Moody minister of Portsmouth to administer the sacrament to himself and some others according to the liturgy: and on his refusal he ordered a prosecution against him. By undue influence with the judges he obtained a sentence against him of six months imprisonment, without bail or

Cruelty to Mr. Moody, 1684.

* Belknap's hist. vol. i. p. 190, 193.

mainprize.* By said judgment his benefice was declared to be forfeited to the crown. Nothing could have been a more direct violation of liberty, of conscience, of law, or reason. Mr. Moody was not episcopally ordained, and therefore could not, without an open violation of law, administer the sacrament according to that mode. He received no maintenance by virtue of the statutes of England: and besides, the king's commission granted liberty of conscience to all protestants, and the governour, by his commission, was obliged to protect them in its undisturbed enjoyment. Besides these violences, Cranfield imprisoned the inhabitants without law, or any just cause; exacted exorbitant charges, and even ventured to alter the value of silver money. 1684.

Under these grievous oppressions, the people despatched an agent, with complaints against him, to his majesty. On a hearing before the lords of trade, March 10th, 1685, their lordships reported to his majesty, "That Cranfield had not pursued his instructions with regard to Mason's controversy; but instead thereof had caused courts to be held and titles to be decided with exorbitant costs; and that he had exceeded his power in regulating the value of coins." He had the year before suspended Mason's suits till the question respecting the legality of the courts should be decided. By the report of the lords of trade, these were determined not to be agreeable to his instructions. His majesty excepted the report. The great controversy therefore, between Mason and the inhabitants of the province, remained in the same state of suspense and uncertainty, in which it was, when Cranfield was appointed to the government. After all his artifice and oppression, he was baffled in all his prospects, and totally disappointed with respect to the gains which he expected. After he was certified of the determination of his 1685.

* Belknap's Hist. vol. i. p. 205, 208.

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majesty he embarked privately for the West Indies.

1684. The next year Sir Edmund Andros arrived and began his administration of government, under whose rapacious conduct New Hampshire had her share of sufferings with her sister colonies.

Nearly at the same time that the four towns of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, and Hampton were adjudged to be within captain Mason's claim, the province of Maine, by an adjudication of the king in council, was confirmed, both as to soil and jurisdiction, to the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. For the silencing of future disputes and the gratification of the inhabitants of the province, the Massachusetts employed John Usher to purchase the right of the said heirs. He effected the purchase for twelve hundred pounds sterling, and made a consignment of it to the governour and company.* In the charter of William and Mary, granted 1691, it was confirmed to the Massachusetts. By the same charter, the colony of New Plymouth was also incorporated with that province. Dr. Increase Mather, who was agent for the Massachusetts, and indefatigable in his labours for the welfare of New-England, finding that it was put into a charter then preparing for New-York, by his influence, procured the erasement of it from that, and its annexation to the Massachusetts. Thus, this ancient colony, after planting herself by such exertions, industry, harmony, and fortitude, as rarely find a parallel in the history of man, after an exhibition of the most striking example of piety and brotherly love, and after she had by mere voluntary compact, for more than seventy years, maintained an orderly and effective government, became only a county in the province of the Massachusetts.

The province of Maine and New Plymouth incorporated with Massachusetts.

While a new province had made its appearance in the northern extremities of New-England, another was forming in a more central situation. Mr. Will-

* Hutch. vol. i. p. 312.

iam Penn who had been employed in the purchase and settlement of West New Jersey, while negotiating those matters, became accurately acquainted with the country west of the Delaware, and conceived the plan of settling the province of Pennsylvania. In 1680, he preferred a petition to king Charles II. representing, that he was son to admiral Penn, and that there was a large debt due to him when the exchequer was closed: That he should, in time, be able to settle a province, which might repay his claims, and serve the national interests: and, for these purposes, humbly praying for a patent. This passed the seals March 4th, 1681. It bore a near resemblance to the charter of Maryland, and made a conveyance of both ample territories and privileges. This conveyance greatly encroached on the patent both of Maryland and Connecticut. Both these patents were older, by half a century, than Mr. Penn's, and on each of the territories which they conveyed there had been made very considerable settlements. As the patents were construed, that of Mr. Penn encroached on the territory granted to lord Baltimore one whole degree, or sixty nine English miles and a half. It granted a tract of country on the northern part about 290 miles across the whole territory conveyed in the ancient patent, fifty years before to Connecticut. These encroachments occasioned long and expensive disputes between these colonies with respect to boundaries. Two other conveyances were made to Mr. Penn by the duke of York. One was a bill of sale of New Castle, and a territory of twelve miles round it, August 24th, 1683. The other was a bill of the same date granting to Mr. Penn a tract south of the former as far as Cape Henlopen. These two deeds made a grant of the whole state of Delaware. The territory conveyed by these and the charter extends from Cape Henlopen to the 43d degree of north latitude, about 160 miles in breadth; and west, from the Delaware, 5 degrees, 288 miles in length. As the lines have since

Penn's patent March 4th, 1681.

Grant of the Counties on Delaware, 1683.

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been settled, they comprise a territory of 44,900 square miles. The reasons of this ample grant to Mr. Penn are represented in the charter. It is said to be given with regard to the memory and merits of his father, Sir William Penn, in divers services; particularly, in his courage and conduct, under the Duke of York, in the sea fight against the Dutch in 1665. That it was for the enlargement and benefit of the English empire, and by gentle and just manners to reduce the savage natives to the love of civil society and the christian religion.*

The patent made provision for the preservation of the king's sovereignty, and for the observation of the acts of parliament respecting commerce, navigation, and customs. It vested the proprietary and governour with powers for assembling the freemen, or their delegates, in such manner as he should judge most convenient: for the levying of monies and enacting of all such laws, as should be for the benefit of the province, not repugnant to the laws of England nor the rights of the kingdom. There were two remarkable differences between Mr. Penn's and all the other colonial patents. It subjected the colony to parliamentary taxation, and contained no express stipulation that the inhabitants should be considered as English subjects, born within the realm of England. It is said, that the lawyers judged that such stipulations were inferred by law, and consequently were nugatory. It seems therefore, that, in their opinion, the right of parliamentary taxation in the colonies, could not have been inferred by law, otherwise the making of express provision for that would have been also equally nugatory. In May, 1681, the proprietary despatched one Markham, with a small number of emigrants to take possession of his country and make preparations for a more numerous settlement. For the encouragement and security of those who were willing to emigrate, the proprietary

Difference between Penn's and the other patents.

* Colden's Hist. vol. ii. p. 164.

made various concessions relative to the location of their lands and the laying out of high ways, towns, and cities. These also secured to the purchasers the waters, woods, quarries, and mines within their respective purchases. It was stipulated, that the laws respecting "slanders, drunkenness, cursing, pride in apparel, trespasses, distresses, replevins, weights and measures shall be the same as in England, till altered by law in this province." That within three years after the grant of it every thousand acres should settle one family. In this instrument, provision was also made for the peace of the settlers by a just and amicable treatment of the natives. It was agreed that all commerce with them should be in a public market: That no abuse or wrong should be done to them: That whoever should injure one of them, should suffer the same penalty, as if the injury had been done to a fellow planter: and that all differences between them and the planters shall be decided by twelve men, six of whom were to be planters and the other six natives.*

But the proprietary found something more than mere concessions necessary, that even friends might be induced to emigrate with him to the new world. They insisted on charter rights and privileges. He therefore published a charter, or frame of government, providing, that the government should be in a provincial general assembly, consisting of the governour, a provincial council and general assembly. The provincial council were to consist of seventy two counsellors, chosen by the freemen, twelve out of each county. The general assembly was to consist of delegates, chosen by the freemen, not exceeding two hundred. By this provincial council and assembly all laws were to be enacted, officers appointed, and public affairs transacted. The proprietary and governour, or his deputy was always to preside, and to have a treble voice.

Frame of government April 25th, 1682.

* Colden's Hist. vol. ii. p. 207—212.

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All bills were to be prepared and deliberated upon, courts erected, and officers appointed by the provincial council. This was also vested with the whole executive power. The general assembly, or two hundred deputies had the power of passing or negativing the bills prepared by the council.* The enacting style was, "By the governour, with the assent and approbation of the freemen in provincial council and general assembly."†

Fundamental laws of Pennsylvania, May 5th, 1682.

Besides certain fundamental laws were made and agreed upon, in London, between the proprietary and the freemen, of which there was to be no alteration without the consent of the governour, his heirs or assigns, and six parts of seven of the freemen, met in provincial council and general assembly. These confirmed the charter given to the freemen by Mr. Penn. They ordained, that all who should pay scot and lot to the government, profess faith in Christ, and were not of ill fame, should be freemen and capable of sustaining all offices in the province: That all persons in the province, who should acknowledge one Almighty Eternal God, Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and hold themselves obliged, in conscience, to live peaceably and justly in society, should in no ways be molested, or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor be compelled, at any time, to frequent, or maintain any religious worship, place, or minister whatsoever: that every first day of the week people shall abstain from their common labours: "That no money or goods be raised upon, or paid by any of the people of this province, by way of public tax or contribution, but by a law for that purpose made; and whosoever shall levy, collect, or pay, any money or goods contrary thereto shall be held a public enemy to the province, and a betrayer of the

* See the frame of government at large in Colden's History, vol. ii. p. 187, 197, 204.

† Douglass, vol. ii. p. 300.

liberties thereof:" That all courts shall be open, and justice shall neither be sold, denied, nor delayed. They made provision for trials by a jury of the vicinage, and that all fees and fines should be moderate: That all prisoners, except in capital cases, should be bailable on sufficient sureties: That all persons wrongfully imprisoned, or prosecuted at law, shall have double damages against the informer or prosecutor: That no person shall enjoy more than one public office at the same time: That seven years quiet possession shall give an unquestionable right, except in cases of infants, lunatics, married women, and persons beyond sea. To promote chastity and population, they ordained, that all marriages not prohibited by the divine law should be encouraged: That before the solemnization the parties should be published, and that the solemnization should be before credible witnesses. For the prevention of idleness, the support of individuals, and the public emolument, they required, that all children should have some useful trade or skill.*

These fundamental laws do honour to the compilers, as statesmen, christians, and friends to the liberties and happiness of mankind.

The proprietary having given these encouragements and securities, a large body of friends, with some people of other denominations, engaged in making an immediate settlement of his province. On the 24th of October, he arrived on the banks of the Delaware, with about two thousand planters. These were principally quakers. On his arrival he found three thousand inhabitants on the river, consisting of Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English. These, in distinction from the parts of the province included in the charter, were termed the territories. Immediately on his arrival he entered into a treaty, and settled an amicable correspondence with the natives. Such purchases were made of them as he judged

* Colden's Hist. vol. ii. p. 207, 212.

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1682. Act of settlement at Chester.

necessary for his purpose. He began his principal settlement at Philadelphia, the capital of the province. He convened his first assembly at Chester, the December following. By an instrument termed, An act of settlement, made at Chester, 1682, a considerable alteration was made, in the frame of government, agreed upon by Mr. Penn. Seventy two members only, were returned from the province and territories; twelve for each county into which they had been divided. The freemen and sheriffs represented, That the fewness of the people, their inability in estate, and unskilfulness in government, would not permit them to serve in so large a council and assembly, as by charter was expressed. They therefore prayed that out of the twelve deputies, chosen for each county, three might serve for the provincial council, and nine for the general assembly; and that these numbers might be allowed and taken, to all intents and purposes, for the provincial council and general assembly of the province. This was granted, and the charter, with the alterations made by the act of settlement, was declared to be thankfully received, and the council and assembly bound themselves to an observance of its principles. Mr. Penn, however was not pleased with his own scheme of government. He altered it the very next year. Though it was so modelled, as that the governour with one third of the council residing with him, should, from time to time, have the care and management of all public affairs relating to the peace, justice, and improvement of the province and territories, yet, with the freemen, it obtained an easy reception. It promised more in appearance than it really gave. Like the famous Mr. Locke's it was found by experience too complex and perplexing either for utility or convenience. Great discontent, and heavy complaints and charges against the proprietary, warm contests, and animosities between the council and the assembly arose under it, which were of long continuance. In less than twenty

years it was given up, and a new plan of government introduced.

1682. Reasons of settlement and population.

A variety of circumstances combined their influence to give this province a rapid population and settlement. The fertility of the soil, the goodness of the climate, its central situation in the colonies, the civil and religious liberties, which the charter and fundamental laws held out to men of all religious denominations, the persecution of protestants in Europe, the civil and religious tyranny which distracted the nation in the reign of Charles the second, and especially of James, his successor, all united their influence to cause men of all nations, and of all denominations of christians, to flow into Pennsylvania. There was sometimes, in a single year, an importation into the province of five or six thousands of people of various nations.* The intolerance and divisions of some of the sister colonies also contributed to the numbers, cultivation, and opulence of this flourishing province. These circumstances have brought together such a collection of different nations and sectaries in Pennsylvania, as, perhaps, cannot be found in any other part of America. At the same time they have made Philadelphia, in point of numbers, wealth, and improvement the capital of the United States.

Singularities in the history of Pennsylvania.

There are some singularities in the history of this province. Though it was strongly enforced, yet there was never a communication of the fundamental laws, frame of government, nor of any other of the laws of the province to his majesty for his approbation. Such were the attachments of the proprietary to James the II. and so warm were the contests between the council and the assembly, that neither seem to have paid any attention to the revolution, which transferred their allegiance and the government to William and Mary. The laws and government of the province were administered in the name

* Douglass, vol. ii. p. 326.

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of the abdicating monarch, long after their accession to the throne, and after a formal proclamation of it in the other colonies. In consequence of these attachments to king James, Mr. Penn fell under the imputation of being a Roman catholic and jesuit, under the mask of a quaker. William and Mary viewed him as an inveterate enemy to the protestant succession, excepted him from their acts of grace, and suspended him from the privilege of appointing a deputy for Pennsylvania. By the same commission colonel Fletcher was appointed governour both of New York and Pennsylvania.* In his commission no regard seems to have been had to the original constitution of the province. The assembly were not constitutionally convoked by the governour, but considerably curtailed with respect to their numbers. No sooner therefore were they convened, than they unanimously resolved, "That the laws of this province, which were in force and practice, before the arrival of this present governour are still in force: and that the assembly have a right humbly to move the governour for a continuation or confirmation of the same." So inflexible were the determinations of this and subsequent assemblies, for the security of their rights, that no arts nor influence of governours could effect an alteration.

1692.

1696.

Mr. Penn had the address to vindicate his character, and to conduct his affairs to such advantage in the court of William and Mary, that, in 1696, he obtained a restoration of his former privileges. In 1699 he came a second time into America. On his arrival he found that there was great complaint and disaffection under his government. The assembly insisted on better security both with respect to property and privileges. His answers were evasive and gave the colonists no satisfaction. They therefore pressed him for a new charter of ampler rights and better securities. This produced his third charter,

* Douglass, vol. ii. p. 343.

October 28th, 1701. This differed materially from the former. It made provision, that on the first of October annually an assembly should be chosen, consisting of four persons out of each county, or of a greater number, as the governour and assembly should agree. The assembly was always to convene on the 14th of the month at Philadelphia. The governour had the nomination of his own council, a negative on the assembly, and the whole executive power. The council had no negative. They were only assistants of the governour. The assembly possessed the right of originating, amending, and rejecting all laws and bills; of impeaching criminals and redressing grievances, and all other privileges of an assembly according to the rights of the free born subjects of England, and the customs observed in any of the king's plantations in America.* This continued to be the constitution of Pennsylvania till the late revolution. But it was far from giving satisfaction. The territories rejected it, and dividing from the province, became a distinct jurisdiction. No measures could be adopted to effect a reconciliation. From this time they held a distinct assembly, consisting of eighteen members; six from each county, elected annually on the first day of October. Their sessions always commenced on the fourteenth. Though they enjoyed a colonial jurisdiction, yet they had the same governour with Pennsylvania. He exercised the same power in the assembly of Delaware as in that of Pennsylvania. Notwithstanding the separation the proprietary stipulated, That the inhabitants both of the province and of the territories should enjoy separately all liberties, privileges, and benefits granted to them jointly by the charter.† Though they became separate jurisdictions yet their government was nearly the same.

Penn's third charter, Oct. 28th, 1701.

Delaware becomes a distinct jurisdiction.

Notwithstanding the assembly of Pennsylvania voted their thankful reception of this third charter,

* Colden's Hist. vol. ii. p. 246 † Ibid, vol. ii. p. 250.

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1701. Uneasiness of the province under the third charter.

from their proprietary and governour, yet the same violent disputes and animosities, which had before embroiled the province, were continued with equal heat and virulence. The proprietaries notwithstanding their ample territories were poor. The whole province of Pennsylvania was once mortgaged by the proprietary to one Mr. Gee and others for 6,600*l.* sterling.* Poverty was naturally an inducement strongly operating on them, to extend their power, and accumulate property, by obtaining grants from the people, by exempting their lands from taxation, and by other lucrative measures. Attempts of this nature created constant jealousies and struggles between the proprietary and the assembly. The assembly opposed them with an unshaken firmness and perseverance, and thus preserved the rights of the province. Even the Friends manifested, that they had the feelings of other men, and that sometimes they were neither peaceable nor friendly.

The assembly remonstrate against the proprietary, 1704.

About the year 1704, the assembly of the province brought heavy charges against the proprietary, complaining, with great grief, That he had undermined his own foundations; and by a subtle contrivance, laid deeper than the capacities of some could fathom, found a way to lay aside the act of settlement, and dissolve his second charter: That he had extorted great sums of money from the province: That they were abused by surveyors, clerks of the court, and justices of the peace, who, they said, were all put in by the proprietary; so that he became his own judge in his own cause. They charged him with oppression, and with falsifying his word with the provincials in almost every respect.† These with several other matters were the substance of ten resolutions unanimously passed in the assembly, and transmitted in the form of a remonstrance to the proprietary in England. Whatever may have been the

* Douglass, vol. ii. p. 306.

† Gordon's Hist. vol. i. p. 81, from Chalmer, and the Modern Universal History.

designs of the proprietary, or the complaints of the people, it doth not appear, but that the government had been generally mild, and the burdens of it very tolerable.

In 1713, Mr. Penn, by a certain agreement made over all his rights in Pennsylvania to the crown, for the consideration of 12,000*l.* sterling: but before the instrument of surrender was executed, he was no more.* In consequence of this circumstance, the propriety of Pennsylvania continued in the family of the Penns till after the revolution in America.

Proprietary government was never agreeable to any of the American colonists. It was particularly disagreeable to the inhabitants both of East and West Jersey. As early as the year 1672 titles from the natives, the original possessors of the soil, were set up against the proprietors, and many of the inhabitants were utterly opposed to the payment of the quitrents. The proprietors, by reason of the sale of small parts of their respective shares, and by the division of them among the children of the several families to which they descended, became so numerous, and the shares were so subdivided among them, that it created great difficulty and confusion in the management of the general proprietors; and with respect to the appointment of governours. Some of the proprietors had not more than one fortieth part of a forty eighth part of a twenty fourth share. The inhabitants, from one cause and another, were so uneasy and inclined to mutiny, gave the proprietors so much trouble, and appeared to be so rapidly advancing to a dangerous crisis, that they determined to surrender the government to the crown. Accordingly, their agents, Sir Thomas Lane for West, and Mr. William Dockwra for East Jersey, on the 17th of April, 1702, made a public surrender of it to her majesty queen Anne. She accepted the surrender,

* Douglass, vol. ii. p. 306.

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and appointed lord viscount Cornbury governour of New Jersey. He was grandson of the great chancellor Clarendon. By his commission East and West Jersey were united in one government. From this time the government of the province became regal. The governour and council were appointed by the crown, and the house of representatives were chosen by the freemen. The council consisted of twelve, and the house of representatives of twenty four members.

Divisions in Carolina.

In the Carolinas proprietary government was more disagreeable than in the Jerseys. It was unjust, oppressive, cruel, and persecuting. It bred among the people discontent, hatred, violent struggles, and divisions, which terminated in a revolution. At an early period two parties were formed in the colony. One party insisted, that the laws and regulations of the proprietors, in England, respecting government, ought to be implicitly and punctually obeyed. The other maintained, that respect ought to be had to local circumstances; and that the freemen were under no obligations to obey them, any further than they were consistent with the interest of individuals, and the general happiness of the community. Both parties were warm and determined. In this unhappy state of the colony, it was difficult for any ruler, long to support his power and influence. James Colleton, one of the proprietors, was governour; but in this heat of affairs he entirely lost his influence, and the people were so exasperated against him, that nothing but his banishment could appease them.

Seth Sothel was chosen his successor. It was soon found, that he was destitute of every sentiment either of integrity or honour. His avarice was unsatiable. He took bribes from felons and traitors, and broke over all restraints of decency and common justice, till the people, distracted with his extortion and mal-administration, compelled him for ever to abjure his government and country. Till this time

the community had been little else than a scene of continual animosity and misery.

1690. In this state of affairs, Philip Ludwell, a Virginian, was appointed governour. He was a gentleman of so much humanity, knowledge, and experience, that, for a short time, he had the good fortune to allay the ferment among the people, and effect a temporary reconciliation between them and the proprietors. But no sooner had their affairs assumed this favourable aspect, than there sprang up a new source of discontent and animosity. The French protestants, who had settled in the county of Craven, were a large body of industrious, pious people. Some of them had made large purchases and were men of principal estates in the colony. They had a number of pious ministers for whom they had the greatest veneration. Under their influence they conducted themselves in a peaceable and exemplary manner. With the English they had mutually shared in the hardships, dangers, and expense of clearing and cultivating a hideous wilderness. The governours received and treated these exiles from their native country, with civility and tenderness. The proprietors judged it reasonable, that they should enjoy the same privileges with the English colonists. Accordingly, the governour was instructed to give them their proportion of representatives, in the parliament or general assembly. But the English, instead of treating them with compassion and generosity, as christian brethren, who had fled from the iron hand of oppression, and sought an asylum in the wilderness, became envious against them; revived the odious distinctions and antipathies of the two nations, and treated them as aliens and enemies. While every feeling of compassion, every tie of humanity, interest, and religion bound them to give them a cordial welcome, they began rigorously to execute upon them the laws of England against foreigners. Abusive as this treatment was, this mad party proceeded still further in their violence. They insisted that the laws of Eng-

Abusive treatment of the French refugees.

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land allowed no foreigner to purchase lands in any part of the empire, and that no authority, but that of the parliament, could incorporate aliens and vest them with the rights of Englishmen. That, as their clergymen had not obtained episcopal ordination, their marriages were illegal and their children bastards. They averred, that these aliens could not be allowed a voice in their elections, or a seat in their parliament, nor be returned to serve on any jury for the trial of issues between subject and subject. When the election for the assembly came on they were not allowed a single representative in the county of Craven.* Greatly were these pious strangers alarmed and discouraged, not knowing for whom they were labouring, nor to whom their estates would finally descend. Meanwhile, under the countenance of the governour, who gave them fair promises and kind treatment, they prosecuted their settlement with diligence, and remained peaceable and inoffensive. In the favour of the governour, they found a partial relief. At the same time, a constant struggle was kept up between the people and the proprietors and their officers. Notwithstanding all the wisdom and exertions of successive governours, the colony continued in such a state of division and turbulence, that it was determined, that nothing but the appointment of one of the proprietors, with full powers to redress all grievances, and compose all difficulties, could restore union and tran-

1695. quillity to the colonists. Therefore, in 1695, John Archdale, one of the proprietors, was sent over with plenary powers for these purposes. With his extensive powers, singular wisdom and address, he was so happy as to settle all matters of general concern, excepting the liberties of the French refugees, to general satisfaction. But he found that the national antipathy of the English settlers against them was so great, that it was absolutely necessary, for the peace

* History of Carolina, vol. i. p. 111, 112, 113.

of the colony, to exclude them from all concern in the legislature. But he recommended it to the English freeholders, to consider them in the most friendly point of light, and to treat them with lenity, moderation, and compassion. He made but a short visit to the colony, embarking the same year for England. Joseph Blake succeeded him in the government.

The national prejudices against the French protestants gradually abated. Their industry, quiet and inoffensive deportment, won upon the people and daily increased their favour. They began to consider, that with themselves they had defied the hardships and dangers of the wilderness, that they had given the amplest proofs of their fidelity to the proprietors, of their love to their fellow settlers, and zeal for the success of the colony. The governour and their friends, observing these favourable dispositions, advised them to petition the legislature for an act of incorporation with the freemen of the colony. The petition met a favourable reception, and, on taking the oath of allegiance to king William, they were admitted to the privileges of English subjects. From this period the French and English subjects united in interest and affection, and have lived together in peace and harmony.* 1696.

Till about the year 1700 the colony enjoyed a tolerable degree of union and harmony. But there was then a revival of jealousies and dissentions, which in a few years arose to an uncommon height. From this period, various intrigues and corruptions crept into the seat of government, and flagrant encroachments were made both on the civil and religious rights of the colonists. Lord Granville, a bigoted churchman, was palatine. For all denominations of dissenters he had conceived a supreme contempt. Therefore, though it was a fundamental article in the colonial constitution, that "no person whatsoever shall dis-

* History of Carolina, vol. i. p. 120, 139, 140.

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turb, molest, or persecute another, for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship," yet he made the establishment of the church of England, and the suppression of all other modes of worship, in the colony, the chief object of his zeal and attention. James Moore, a poor, ambitious man, was governour. He was careful to make his own profits, and was a fit tool for the palatine. They united their arts and influence to obtain the establishment of episcopacy by a provincial law. A very great majority of the colonists were dissenters, who had fled from their native country on the account of the rigorous acts of conformity. They were prepared, with all their feelings and influence to oppose such an establishment. The only way in which the palatine, governour, and their tools could effect their purpose was by introducing corruption in the election of the members of the assembly. One half of these were chosen from among the dregs of the people, and were utterly unqualified to be legislators.* But after all his exertions governour Moore was not able to carry his point. This inglorious business was left for his successor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson. He appointed a new election in which far greater irregularities were practised than in the former. All sorts of people, aliens, Jews, servants, common sailors, and negroes were admitted to vote in the election. The governour and his adherents by undue influence and violence obtained a majority in the house. They framed a bill establishing episcopacy, and excluding all dissenters from the house of representatives. It also required, that every man, who should afterwards be chosen a member of the assembly, should take the oath and subscribe the declaration, appointed by law, to conform to the religion and worship of the church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of that church. It passed in the lower house by a majority

Corruption in election.

Establishment of episcopacy.

* History of Carolina, vol. i. p. 151, 152.

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of one only. In the upper house landgrave Morton was denied the privilege of entering his protest against the bill. An act was also passed for erecting churches. The colony was divided into ten parishes, glebes were granted, with monies for building churches, and salaries for the different rectors, payable from the public treasury. Nor did the business stop here; the governour determining, at any rate, to finish what he had undertaken, instituted, what the people termed a high commission court, similar to that of James II. It was enacted, that twenty laymen, be constituted a corporation, for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; with full powers to deprive ministers of their livings, at pleasure; not barely for immorality, but for imprudence, or on the account of unreasonable prejudices against them.*

Starchamber in Carolina.

The colony was immediately thrown into a state of the utmost tumult and distraction. Some formed resolutions of abandoning the colony. Others determined to petition their lordships, the proprietors, to redress their grievances. The inhabitants of Colleton county, who were chiefly dissenters, adopted this measure. They stated their grievances and prayed for a repeal of the oppressive acts. The petitioners were computed to be at least two thirds of the inhabitants of the whole colony. John Ash, one of the most zealous men in the opposition, was appointed to go with the petition to England. The governour and his party employed all their art and influence to prevent his passage in any ship from Carolina. But he found means of getting to Virginia, whence he embarked for England.

The inhabitants pray the proprietors to redress their grievances.

On his arrival he addressed lord Granville, the palatine on the subject of his message, and gave the proprietors all the information in his power. But as his lordship was at the bottom of the whole affair, he met with an unfavourable reception, and the grievances were not redressed.

* History of Carolina, vol. i. p. 152, to 166, 170, &c.

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When the bills arrived in England, Archdale, who had lately been governour in Carolina, and rendered both the colony and the proprietors very essential services, made an able and spirited opposition against them. He insisted, that the dissenters had not yet forgotten the hardships which they had suffered in England, by acts of conformity: that the right of private judgment in religion, was the birthright of every man: that the charter granted undisturbed liberty of conscience to every inhabitant in Carolina: that acts of conformity, with penalties annexed to them, had generally been destructive of the cause they were designed to promote: that they were utterly inconsistent with the principles of protestants: that they were unjust and oppressive, as well as unpopular; and therefore, on the principles of justice, sound policy, and religious liberty, ought to be repealed. The debate ran high; but the palatine, who was equally a tyrant and a bigot, declared that he would head the party in support of the bill. It was therefore confirmed by a majority of the proprietors.* This rash, impolitic, and ill timed measure, with others of a similar nature, ruined the influence of the proprietary government in Carolina, and ripened the inhabitants for a total revolt.

The proprietors, notwithstanding, pass the bill.

The dissenters saw themselves at once despoiled of the dear enjoyments, for which they had left their native countries, and braved the dangers of planting a wilderness. Great was their discouragement and vexation. Some were for an immediate removal of themselves and families to Pennsylvania, to set down under Penn's free and indulgent government. Others preferred an application to the house of lords in England. Accordingly a petition was addressed to their lordships, representing the securities given them, both by charter, and in the fundamental constitution, agreed to by the proprietors, granting a full toleration of all christians; and that no person

The dissenters petition the house of lords.

* History of Carolina, vol. i. p. 170.

should be disturbed, on the account of any speculative opinion in religion; and that no person should, on that account, be excluded from a seat in the general assembly, or from any office in the administration: that under these encouragements they transported themselves and their families into America, and settled in Carolina; and that by means of these encouragements the greatest part of the inhabitants were protestant dissenters. How the elections were managed, and the bills carried in the assembly, was evinced. It was also represented that the colony, under these grievances, was in a languishing and dangerous situation, and that its ruin would be a great damage to the commercial interests of the kingdom. Joseph Boon was their agent to negotiate their affairs with their lordships. His agency was successful. Their lordships having heard the parties on the petition, resolved that the act relative to the establishment of the church of England, was not warranted by the charter, was not consonant to reason; that it was repugnant to the laws of the realm, and destructive of the constitution of the church of England. With respect to the other part of the act relating to the reception of the sacrament, &c. they resolved that it was founded in falsity, in matter and fact, was repugnant to the laws of England, contrary to the charter of the proprietors, an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive of trade, and tended to the depopulation and ruin of the colony. Their lordships addressed queen Anne, on the subject, praying her majesty to redress the grievances to which the colonists had been subjected.

Their lordships condemn the act.

Her majesty referred the matter to the lords of trade and plantation, who reported, that the charges brought against the provincial government and the proprietors were well grounded: that they had abused their powers and forfeited their charter. They desired her majesty, by a scire facias, to resume the

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government. The queen accepted the report and declared the laws to be void.*

Her majesty declares it void.

In the close of the year 1707 lord Granville was no more, and lord Craven commenced palatine. He was far from possessing the tyrannical, intolerant spirit of lord Granville. He entertained more favourable sentiments of the dissenters, and gave instructions, for the adoption of the most conciliating measures, that the inhabitants, as far as possible, might be brought into a state of harmony, mutual esteem, and confidence.

CHAPTER VI.

Ravages of the French and Indians in king William's and queen Anne's Wars. Destruction of Schenectada, Salmon Falls, and Casco. The reduction of Port-Royal. Sir William Phips' unsuccessful attempt on Canada. Major Schuyler's expedition. The distressed state of New-England. Armament from France, under the Marquis of Nesmond for the reduction of Boston and New York. The remarkable preservation of New York and the country in general. The uncommon cruelties of this war. Depredations and distressed state of New-England in queen Anne's war. Expedition of Colonel Church. Expedition under Colonel Nicholson to Wood Creek. Reduction of Port-Royal and Acadia. Expedition against Canada, under Admiral Walker and Brigadier Hill. The loss of New-England in these wars, and their general effect on the country.

1689. SCARCELY had the colonies emerged from one scene of troubles, before they were involved in another. The revolution, by William and Mary, restored their liberties; but immediately involved them in war. While Lewis the XIV. attempting to support king James, kindled the flames of war between France and England, the French and Indians commenced hostilities against the colonies of New-

June 27th. England and New York. In June, 1689, the Indians surprised Cocheco, part of the town of Dover, in New Hampshire; killed and captivated about fifty

* Hist. Carolina, vol. i. p. 174, 175.

of the inhabitants. Twenty three were slain, among whom was major Waldron, a worthy man, who had performed many good services for his country. The enemy marked their route with destruction, burning houses, and mills, and doing every thing in their power to make the country desolate.

This disaster spread a general alarm. Vigorous measures were adopted, with the utmost despatch, for the defence of the frontiers. A considerable body of troops was sent from the Massachusetts, garrisons were placed at convenient places, some of the scattering enemy were slain, and their corn was destroyed. But while the forces were on their march, the enemy surprised and burnt the garrison house at Oyster-River, and slew more than twenty of the inhabitants. Depredations were committed in several parts of the county of York, in the province of Maine, and the fort at Pemaquid was taken by the enemy. The Indians were instigated by the French from Canada, as well as Acadia; who joined them in plundering and burning the country. From Acadia privateers were fitted out, who took many vessels and kept the sea coasts in constant alarm. There was no safety by land or sea.* The distressed inhabitants wished for the approach of winter, when they hoped that the deep snows and severities of the season would give them respite, from continual alarm and desolation. But great was their disappointment and surprise, when they found that even the winter afforded them no defence.

Aug. 28th.

Count Frontenac, a brave and enterprising officer, was governour of Canada. Inflamed with the resentments of his master, against king William and the revolution, he was zealous of distinguishing himself in enterprises against his American subjects. Therefore, in the dead of winter, three expeditions were planned and parties of French and Indians despatched from Canada, on different routes, to the

* Hutch. vol. i. p. 396. Belknap's Hist. p. 248, 250.

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Feb. 8th. 1690. Schenectada surprised.

frontiers of the English colonies. One of the parties, in the month of February, fell on Schenectada, a village on the Mohawk river. Such was the fatal security of the people that they had not so much as shut their gates. The enemy made the attack in the dead time of the night, when the inhabitants were in a profound sleep. Care was taken by a division of the enemy into small parties to attack every house at the same instant. Before the people were risen from their beds the enemy were in possession of their dwellings, and commenced the most inhuman barbarities. In an instant the whole village was wrapped in a general flame. Women were ripped up, and their infants dashed against the posts of their doors, or cast into the flames. Sixty persons perished in the massacre, and about thirty were captivated. The rest fled naked in a terrible storm and deep snow. In the flight, twenty five of these unhappy fugitives lost their limbs through the severity of the season.

The enemy consisted of about two hundred French, and a number of Caghnuaga Indians, under the command of D'Aillebout, De Mantel, and Le Moyne. Their first design was against Albany, but having been two and twenty days on their march, they were reduced to such straits, that they had thoughts of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. The Indians therefore advised them to Schenectada: and it seems that the accounts, which their scouts gave them of its fatal security, was the only circumstance which determined them to make an attempt even upon this. The enemy pillaged the town, and went off with the plunder and about forty of the best horses. The rest, with all the cattle they could find, were left slaughtered in the streets. The success of the enemy seems to have been principally owing to the dispute between Leisler and the people of Albany, in consequence of which this post was neglected.

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The Mohawks joining a party of young men from Albany pursued the enemy and falling on their rear, killed and captivated nearly thirty.*

Destruction at Salmon Falls March 18.

Another party from the Three Rivers, commanded by the Sieur Hertel, the succeeding month made an attack on Salmon Falls, a settlement on the river which divides New Hampshire from the Province of Maine. The inhabitants flew to their arms and made a noble defence. But after nearly thirty of their bravest men were slain, the rest, consisting chiefly of women and children, surrendered at discretion. Fifty four were carried into miserable captivity. The houses, mills, barns, and a great number of cattle were burned.†

May 17th.

A third party, from Quebec, making a junction with Hertel, in May, attacked and destroyed the fort and settlement at Casco. An hundred people were either killed or taken. After the destruction of this settlement, the eastern settlements were all deserted and the people retired to the fort at Wells.‡

One grand design of these expeditions was to detach the Five Nations from the British interest, raise the depressed spirits of the Canadians, encourage the Indians already in the interest of the French, and fix them more firmly in their views. As the Five Nations were in alliance with Great Britain, and had given the French much trouble, they had in some preceding years employed nearly the whole force of Canada against them, with a view totally to subdue and extirpate them. But so far had they been from accomplishing their wishes, that the Five Nations, but two years before this time, had nearly made a conquest of Canada. In 1688, twelve hundred of their warriors landed on the south side of the island of Montreal, and while the French were in perfect security, making a violent attack upon them, slew all the men, women, and children without the skirts of the town. Not less than a thousand French were

The Five Nations surprise the island of Montreal, July 26.

* Smith's Hist. N. Y. p. 66, 67. † Belknap's Hist. p. 257, 258.
‡ Ibid. p. 259, 260. Hutch. vol. i. p. 396, 397.

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slain in this invasion. Twenty six they carried into captivity and burnt alive. They plundered and burnt all the plantations. But this did not satiate their rage and thirst for blood, for in October they made another descent on the island, destroyed all the lower part of it and carried off a much larger number of captives.*

Consequences of their depredations.

These expeditions had the most dismal consequences on the affairs of the French in Canada. For no sooner had the news of the destruction at Montreal, reached the garrison at lake Ontario, than they set fire to the two barks, which they had on the lake, and abandoned their fort. They left in the fort twenty seven barrels of powder and their stores, which were all seized by the Indians of the Five Nations. At their departure the French set a match to their powder, with a design to blow up their works; but the match went out, and the whole became the booty of their enemies. They made their flight down the Cadarackui river in seven birch canoes; but such was their panic that they went off in the night, and in shooting the falls, one of their canoes overset, and, with all the men on board, was lost.

These were not the only misfortunes which befel the French in this war with the Five Nations. They sent numerous scouts into their country, by which thousands of their inhabitants were cut off, and large tracts made desolate. These repeated depredations prevented cultivation, and produced a distressing famine through the country. Nothing but the ignorance of the Five Nations, at that time, in the art of attacking forts, saved Canada from a total destruction.

Unspeakably fortunate was it for the French, and as unfortunate for the English colonies, that through the malignant influence and execrable measures of king James, they might not, at that time, give the least assistance to these faithful allies.

* Colden's Hist. vol. i. p. 90, 91

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Means of preserving the colonies.

However, providence very singularly overruled their victories for the preservation of the English colonies. They rendered them secure from the inroads of the enemy, till the work of the revolution was nearly accomplished, and probably saved New York from a general destruction. A scheme had been projected for the conquest of that province; and Caffiniere had been despatched with a fleet and troops for that design. The fleet and troops arrived at Chebucta in September.* Count Frontenac, who had the chief command, on the arrival of the fleet proceeded immediately to Canada. Caffiniere had orders to sail to New York, and continue in the bay, in sight of the city, but out of the reach of its cannon, till the first of December; when, if he should receive no intelligence from the count, he was, after unlading his ammunition, stores, and provisions, at Port Royal, to return to France. The land force for this enterprise was to consist of thirteen hundred regulars and three hundred Canadians. The land army was to take their route by the river Sorel and lake Champlain. When the count arrived in Canada, the news of the victories of the Five Nations, the loss of his favourite fort on lake Ontario, and the distressed state of the country, dashed his designs and broke up the expedition.†

In the state in which count Frontenac found Canada, the expeditions which he planned, and which succeeded so much to his wishes, were excellently adapted to his purposes. The destruction of Schenectada so alarmed the people, that they were on the point of abandoning the country and even Albany itself. But the Mohawk sachems in a noble speech urged their stay, pressed an union of all the colonies against the enemy, and roused them to a vigorous war.‡

The colonies considered Canada as the source of all their troubles. An expedition was therefore plan-

* September, 1688. † Smith's Hist. New York, p. 64, 65.
‡ Colden's Hist. vol. i. p. 125, 126.

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ned, both against Port Royal and Quebec. The chief command of the forces, appointed for these purposes, was given to Sir William Phips. In April, a fleet of small vessels, with about eight hundred men, sailed for the reduction of Port Royal. Of this they made an easy conquest; and Sir William took possession of the whole coast from Port Royal to Penobscot and the New-England settlements. The whole business was finished, and the fleet and army returned in about a month. The plunder was so considerable, that it was judged equal to the whole expense of the expedition.

April 28th. Port Royal taken.

This cheap and easy acquisition, confirmed the colonies in the prosecution of their designs against Canada. The continual ravages of the French and Indians, on the frontiers, made the necessity of the enterprise appear in a strong point of light. It also appeared highly necessary for the encouragement of the Five Nations, and for the preservation of their friendship. For the French were now, by every art, attempting to divide and detach them from the interests of the colonies. The Massachusetts were influenced by a still further motive; they wished to recommend themselves to the good graces of his majesty, and to obtain the establishment of their government. Every exertion was therefore made for the equipment of a force adequate to the service. It was designed that two thousand men should penetrate into Canada by lake Champlain, and attack Montreal at the same time that the armament by sea should invest Quebec. The fleet consisted of thirty-two sail of vessels, great and small. The largest was a 44 gun ship, with two hundred men. The whole number of men was nearly two thousand. The success of the expedition depended principally on a division of the French force. The fleet sailed from Nantasket on the 9th of August. A combination of untoward circumstances defeated the design. The troops, which were destined for Montreal were not supplied either with battoes or provisions suffi-

Expedition against Canada.

cient for crossing the lake. The fleet was early discovered in the river St. Lawrence, and unfortunately did not arrive at Quebec till the 5th of October. Two or three days were spent in idle consultations. The army which was to march by the lake had now retreated. Count Frontenac had time to arrive from Montreal with considerable force, and was now able to employ the whole strength of Canada against this little army. He therefore despised the summons of the English knight to surrender the town, contemned both king William and his subjects. He refused any other answer, than by the mouths of his cannon. On the 8th, all the effective men, amounting to a little more than twelve hundred, were landed and began their march for the town. Though their march was through a thick wood in which were ambuscades of French and Indians, yet they continued their march till night, and advanced again the next day. The ships also were drawn up before the town; but they were so galled by the fire of the enemy, that they were drawn off the next day, without doing them any considerable damage. On the 11th, the troops re-embarked. Another attempt was designed; but the season was cold, and tempestuous weather coming on drove many of the vessels from their anchors, and so scattered the whole fleet, that they were obliged to give over the enterprise. Some of the vessels were afterwards driven off to the West Indies, and three or four were lost.*

Unsuccessful.

A French writer observes, that had the English made the descent while the count was at Montreal, or within two days after his arrival at Quebec, they would have gained the city without striking a blow. He says there were not two hundred men in it, and that it lay open and exposed on all hands.† The French applauded the valour of the troops, but universally censured the conduct of Sir William. They attributed their deliverance to the immediate hand of

* Hutch. vol. i. p. 399 to 402. Smith's Hist. N. Y. p. 68, 69. Colden's Hist. vol. i. p. 137, 138.

† Le Hontan.

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providence. From the ill success of this enterprise it has been treated, both by English and French writers, with ridicule and contempt. The defeat of it has been generally imputed to the want of conduct in Sir William Phips. But on a fair statement of the case it will appear, that considering the state of the country, his achievements were honourable; and that the expedition was defeated more by the fault of others than by his own.

In the two preceding years the colony of the Massachusetts only, had kept more than seven hundred men in pay for the defence of the country. The expense of the colony amounted to more than twenty thousand pounds. Many of the eastern settlements had been totally swept away. The frontiers were in such continual alarm, and so many men called into public service, that cultivation was exceedingly diminished. Provisions were scarce and dear, and many of the poor people were in want of bread.* Yet, in this state of the country, such were his exertions, that he had conducted an expedition against Port Royal, and in tolerable season had prepared for a second against Quebec. The plan of it appears to have been good: and the fleet would have sailed at an earlier period, had not Sir William waited some time for provisions and military stores from England. For these the colony had made an early and pressing application.

Chief reason of the disappointment.

New York were to have furnished battoes and provisions for the army, which was to march by the lake; but, by reason of Leisler's usurpation of the government, that colony was in an unhappy state of division and tumult. Milborn his son-in-law was commissary, and made no effectual provision of either. The army were not able to pass the lake, nor even to keep the field. Such was the want of provisions that they were soon obliged to return to Albany. This circumstance contributed more than

* Letter of Dep. Gov. Danforth to Sir H. Ashurst, April 1, 1690.

any other to defeat the enterprise.* Even, agreeably to the French writers, had the army advanced, or had they only kept the field, so as to have detained count Frontenac a few days longer at Montreal, it would have been crowned with success. On the 19th of November Sir William arrived at Boston. About two hundred men had been lost; thirty by the enemy, and the rest by sickness. 1690.

This was a humbling stroke to New-England, and involved them in almost inextricable difficulties. No preparation had been made for the return of the fleet. The colonies seem, not only to have presumed on success, but to have depended on the spoils of the enemy, to defray the expense of the expedition. The soldiers upon their return were on the point of mutiny for their wages. It was not possible in a few days to raise a sufficient sum to make them payment. The poverty of the people, the heavy debt brought on the colonies, the extreme difficulties to which they were now reduced, for the first time, drove them to the necessity of emitting bills of public credit. These in a short time had a rapid depreciation, did great injury to the soldiers and other creditors. It proved a source of complicated and extensive mischiefs.

The failing of the expedition had other unhappy consequences. It had an ill effect on the Five Nations, who were a great check upon the enemy, and defence to the colonies. They blamed the English for their inactivity, and appeared more inclinable to make peace with the French. It encouraged the enemy, and exposed the frontiers to still greater ravages. 1691.

To keep up the spirit of our Indian allies, and to prevent, as far as might be, the ravages of our frontiers, Major Peter Schuyler the next year, with about three hundred men, nearly half Mohawks and Scha- Major Schuyler's expedition.

* The author of the life of Sir William Phips gives this as a reason of the ill success of the fleet, and says, they were unprovided with battoes.

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kook Indians, passed lake Champlain, and made a bold attack on the French settlements north of the lake. Meanwhile, De Callieres, the governour of Montreal, spared no pains to give him a proper reception. He crossed the river with twelve hundred men, and encamped at La Prairie. Schuyler attacked and put to flight his out posts and Indians, pursued them to the fort, and on that commenced a brisk attack. He had a sharp and brave action with the French regulars, and afterwards forcing his way through a body of the enemy, who intercepted him, on his return, made good his retreat. In these several conflicts, the major slew of the enemy thirteen officers, and in the whole three hundred men; a greater number than he carried with him into the field.*

The warriors of the Five Nations, continued their incursions through the whole summer, all along the river St. Lawrence, from Montreal to Quebec, and kept the country in continual alarm. Count Frontenac enraged at these incursions, for several years, employed almost his whole force against these nations, till by his expensive expeditions against them, and their repeated incursions, Canada was reduced a second time to famine. The French surprised several of their castles, and sometimes seemed to have the advantage; and then the Five Nations, in their turn, with redoubled fury, would attack their settlements and scouting parties, and like an impetuous torrent carry all before them. In these ways did providence in a great measure, defend the northern frontiers from the ravages of a barbarous enemy.

But the eastern were extremely harassed. The enemy, in that quarter, kept a constant watch on the inhabitants, crept privately into their towns and villages, waylaid them on the roads and in their fields, hunted them from place to place, surprised and slew them, whenever they could find an advantage. Large bodies of men were employed for their de-

* Colden's Hist. vol. i. p. 135, 136. Smith's Hist. N. Y. p. 78.

fence, and ranging parties scoured the woods from one post to another. But notwithstanding their utmost exertions scarcely a year passed without repeated damages by the enemy.

York destroyed Jan. 25th, 1692.

On the 25th of January the town of York was destroyed. Fifty of the inhabitants were killed, and about a hundred captivated. The people of the country were at this time greatly dispirited. The war had already brought on them a heavy debt, which was still increasing. Considerable numbers of their best men had been slain, and such large bodies were called out for their defence, as greatly impeded their husbandry, many of their towns and cattle had been destroyed, their trade and all their resources were exceedingly diminished. Poverty and ruin, at least, seemed to look them in the face. The people of New Hampshire, in particular, on whom the storm fell with the greatest severity, were on the point of abandoning the province. The governour was obliged to impress men to guard the out posts, and even then such was the scarcity of provisions, that, sometimes, the officers were under the necessity of dismissing them.* In these distressed circumstances application was made to Connecticut for provisions and men. Sometime after troops were sent from Connecticut, under the command of major Whiting, and acted in conjunction with those of the Massachusetts, in defence of the eastern frontiers.† Nothing but the influence of some men of greater magnanimity and perseverance than others, the union of the colonies in the common defence, with the hope of better times, kept up the spirits of the people, and prevented their total depression.

July 17th, 1694.

In 1694, the Sieur De Villieu, with a body of two hundred and fifty Indians, surprised Oyster river, part of the town of Dover; killed and captivated

* Belknap's Hist. p. 265, 266.

† Contributions of provisions and money were also made, by Connecticut and others, for the relief of the poor and of the frontiers, as in the late war. Magnalia, book vii. p. 115.

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nearly a hundred persons, and burned about twenty houses. Before the close of the war, several other places shared a similar fate.

Sir William Phips, at great expense, had built a fort at Pemaquid for the defence of those parts, and to encouarge the inhabitants not to desert them. But
1696. an armament was fitted out at Quebec, under the command of Iberville, who captured the fort; and then sailing to Newfoundland took possession of St. John's and its other harbours.

But the next year, 1697, was much more alarming and distressful than any of the preceding years of the war. The preceding winter had been one of the severest which the country had known from its first settlement to that period. Never had the country sustained greater losses in commerce, nor had provisions, in any period of the war, been more scarce, or borne a higher price. In these circumstances, the people were in daily expectation of a general invasion by a powerful armament from France, in conjunction with the whole force of Canada.

The Marquis of Nesmond, an officer of high reputation, was despatched from France with ten ships of the line, a galliot, and two frigates. It was expected that count Frontenac would join him, at Penobscot, with fifteen hundred men. Immediately after the junction they were to make a descent on Boston. This taken, they were to range the country as far as Piscataqua, carrying destruction as far back into it as should be in their power. They had orders to range the eastern coast of Newfoundland, take and burn all the English shipping, which should fall in their way. To finish their work of destruction, they were to take New York, and the troops, under the count, were to march through and lay waste that province, in their return to Canada. It was expected by the court of France, that the English would send a fleet to America, early in the spring, to recover what they had lost the preceding

year. This fleet the marquis had orders to attack and defeat. The French king had this expedition so much at heart, that he gave permission to the marquis, to augment his fleet with a number of ships, destined for another expedition in Hudson's bay, if he should meet them at Placentia, the place of their destination. CHAP. VI. 1697.

There was little hope in New England, of any assistance from Great Britain. The inhabitants therefore were thrown into great consternation. The utmost exertions were made, to be in a state of preparation for the enemy. The castle at Boston was strengthened with such additional works as the time would permit. The militia of the country were holden in immediate readiness to march to the sea coasts. Five hundred men were despatched to the eastern frontiers, for their protection. But in this terrible crisis, a power above human, interposed, and overruled that which had been devised for the destruction of the country, for its more effectual preservation. De Nesmond sailed too late for the accomplishment of these purposes; and, meeting with contrary winds, it was nearly August before he arrived at Placentia. There he heard no news of the English fleet, which he expected on the coast. A grand council was now called to determine whether they should immediately proceed to the attack of Boston. Every voice was in the negative. This was judged an imprudent measure, while they were ignorant of the state of their enemy.* Beside, should there be the greatest despatch in giving notice to the count De Frontenac, he would not be able to form a junction at Penobscot before the 10th of September: and by this time it was computed, that the fleet would have fifty days provisions only, and would not be able to effect any matter of consequence. Count Frontenac, with his formidable army, lay most of the summer in a state of inaction, waiting for or- July 24th.

* Hutch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 101—105.

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1697. Peace of Riswick Dec. 10th.

ders. Thus were the colonies preserved from their depredations. They stood still and saw the divine salvation.

The pacification of Riswick, the December following, gave them rest from a ten years predatory and most distressing war. Nearly a thousand of the frontier inhabitants were either killed, or carried into the most miserable captivity. Many towns and villages had been plundered and burnt. Extensive and fine tracts of country had been made desolate, and great numbers of cattle and horses destroyed. Such numbers of men had been employed in the war, that husbandry had greatly declined. Commerce was, in a manner, annihilated. So long a war in which so many men were employed, and in which such exertions had been made, had involved the northern colonies in an almost insuperable debt: when their numbers and resources had been exceedingly diminished. In the discharge of this debt they stood alone. They received no assistance from the English court.

In this war the enemy perpetrated the greatest barbarities, which had ever been known in New-England. Women, far advanced in pregnancy, were generally ripped up, and the tender babe dashed against a stone or tree. Infants, when they became troublesome, were despatched in the same manner. Sometimes, to torment the tender mother, the Indians would whip the child unsufferably, or hold it under water till it was strangling, and then throw it to the mother to hush and quiet. If she was not so happy, as soon to still its weeping, it was quieted with the hatchet, hung in the crotch of a tree, or left to be torn in pieces by dogs or wild beasts. Some of the captives were roasted alive; others had the fleshy parts of their bodies cut into deep gashes, and then brands and sticks on fire were thrust into the wounds, till, in this lingering manner they were tortured to death. Poor children of both sexes were murdered; and, in derision, left hanging by their rags, about on

the fences. In one instance an infant was tied to the corpse of its parent, and left to perish sucking the breasts of its dead mother.* Terrible was the condition of those who fared the best. They were subjected to the hardships of travelling half naked and barefoot, through pathless deserts, over craggy mountains, through horrible swamps and thickets. They were obliged to endure frost, rain, and snow, and all the inclemencies of the season, both by night and day. Famine was not an uncommon attendant on these doleful marches and captivities. No pity was shown, nor allowance made, for the aged or infirm. Such as, through infirmity, hunger, fatigue, or sorrow, fainted under their burdens, or could not keep pace with the enemy, in their hasty marches, were commonly soon despatched with the tomahawk.† Such were the hard things, which our ancestors endured for the defence of the country, and for the preservation of that fair inheritance, which they have, with such honour and magnanimity, transmitted to their posterity. If the very history of their sufferings wound our feelings, and awake our sorrows, how dreadful was their condition, who actually saw and suffered these evils.

1697.

Scarcely had the colonies wiped their tears, and recovered from the wounds and impoverishment of the former, before they were involved in the horrors of a new war. The seeds of it, indeed, were amply sown both in Europe and America. The exorbitant power of Lewis XIV. threatened the liberties of all Europe. His seating his grandson, the duke of Anjou, on the throne of Spain, and proclaiming the pretender king of England, were flagrant violations of former treaties. The latter was a grand indignity to the nation and crown of England. In America, he not only claimed all Acadia, but gave orders to his governour, Villebon, to extend the limits as far as Kennebeck. He claimed an exclusive right of

1702.

* Col. Church's Hist. p. 159.
† Magnalia, book 7. Belknap's Hist. p. 282—285.

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fishing on the coasts, and gave express orders for the seizing of all English vessels, which should be found fishing upon them. On the 4th of May, 1702, war was proclaimed both against France and Spain.

1702. War proclaimed, May 4th, against France and Spain.

The Five Nations, who were in alliance with the English, had entered into a treaty of neutrality with the French, in Canada. Therefore, though war was proclaimed, yet the province of New York, was so far from being harassed on her frontiers, that, for sometime, she carried on an advantageous trade with the Indian nations. But with Massachusetts and New Hampshire it was far otherwise. Against these unhappy provinces, during a ten years war, the strength and fury of the French and Indians were almost wholly employed.

1703. Destruction of Deerfield Feb. 28th.

On the 28th of February, 1703, a party of three hundred French and Indians, commanded by Hertel De Rouville, surprised the town of Deerfield, on Connecticut river, slew about forty persons, burned the town, and took nearly a hundred captives. More than twenty of the captives, unable to keep pace with the enemy, were killed before they reached Canada. Mr. Williams, minister of the town, was seized by the enemy as he rose from his bed, and in that cold season, kept standing in his shirt only, the space of an hour. During which time his house was plundered, two of his children and a negro woman murdered. His wife and five other children were suffered to put on their clothes, and then he was allowed to dress and prepare for a long and sorrowful march. The enemy having plundered and burned the town, made an hasty retreat, fearing that they should be overtaken by a superior force. Mrs. Williams was hardly recovered from her lying-in, and was in a feeble state. On the second day she acquainted Mr. Williams that she could not keep pace with the enemy any farther. He knew what would be the consequence. Words cannot express his wishes to be with and assist her! But no leave could be obtain-

ed. He was carried from her, and her savage master soon plunged his hatchet in her head.*

There were suspicions, that the Indians on the eastern frontiers were plotting new mischiefs against the colonies. Governour Dudley therefore, with commissioners from two of the colonies, held a conference at Casco, with delegates from the tribes of the Norridgewock, Penobscot, Pigwacket, Penakook, and Amariscoggin Indians. They assured the governour, that, "As high as the sun is above the earth, so far distant was their design of making the least breach of the peace." As an expression of their sincerity they presented a belt of wampum. Both parties gave the strongest assurances of their peaceable and friendly purposes. The Indians declared the union "firm as the mountains, and" that it "should continue as long as the sun and moon."

Eastern settlements depopulated, Aug. 10th.

Notwithstanding on the 10th of August, a body of five hundred French and Indians, dividing into several parties, attacked all the settlements, from Casco to Wells; killed and took a hundred and thirty people, burning and destroying all before them.† Soon after a number more were killed at Hampton village. The whole country from Deerfield to Casco was kept in continual alarm and terror by small parties of the enemy. The women and children were obliged to retire into garrisons, the men to go armed to their labours, and constantly to post centinels in their fields. Troops of horse were posted, and large scouting parties, employed on the frontiers. Expeditions were undertaken to beat up the head quarters of the enemy, and to desolate their country. But when they were hunted in one place, they fled to another. Sometimes while the troops were seeking them in this quarter, they would be plundering and burning in another. The country was interspersed with such extensive groves, hideous swamps, and fastnesses, that notwithstanding the utmost vigi-

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 138, 139. † Belknap's Hist. p. 330, 331.

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lance and exertions, both of the soldiers and inhabitants, they would penetrate undiscovered far into the country, do the mischief they designed, and make their escape.

Colonel Church, the next year, was despatched with about six hundred men, on an expedition into the eastern country. He destroyed the towns of Minas, Chignecto, and some other settlements on the eastern rivers. He also did considerable damage to the enemy at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy. He alarmed and insulted Port Royal.

Attempt on Port Royal, May 13th, 1707.

Three years after Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, with about a thousand men made an attempt for the reduction of that fortress. The army embarked at Nantasket in twenty three transports, under convoy of the Deptford man of war, and the Province Galley. Colonel March had the chief command. In a few days the army arrived before Port Royal; and landed in two divisions. Colonel March landed on the harbour side, with seven hundred men; and Colonel Appleton, with three hundred, on the other. As March advanced the next day, he was opposed by a party of French, posted on an eminence, with Subercase, the governour, at their head. He attacked them with such spirit, that the governour's horse was soon killed under him, and the party retreated. Colonel Appleton put the Canadians and Indians to flight on the other side. The out posts were driven in, and all the inhabitants forsook their habitations and retired to the fort. This was so strong and so well garrisoned with disciplined troops, that it was determined, in a council of war, to be more than a match for their raw and undisciplined army. Therefore, after a destruction of French estates and settlements, about the fort, to a very considerable amount, the army re-embarked, and sailed to Casco Bay. Some officers went to Boston for further orders.*

May 26th.

June 7th.

* Hutch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 165—171.

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Governour Dudley, highly chagrined and angry, ordered the troops to return to the place of action. On the 10th of August, after a sharp conflict with the enemy, they made good their landing. But neither the land nor naval force was sufficient for the enterprise. The officers and men were dissatisfied with the service, as, in their opinion, there was no prospect of success. No means could inspire them with union and firmness. In about ten days they re-embarked, and returned sickly, disheartened, and ashamed.

While this unfortunate expedition was in hand the frontiers were kept in continual alarm. Oyster river, Exeter, Kingston, and Dover, in New Hampshire, Berwick, York, Wells, Winter-Harbour, Casco, and even the town of Marlborough, in Massachusetts, were alarmed and considerably damaged by the enemy.

Besides the expeditions mentioned, several winter campaigns were undertaken, and troops marched up the rivers to the principal towns and forts of the eastern Indians, but they found their towns and forts abandoned, and the enemy, for greater security drawn off to Canada. No very considerable blow could therefore be given them. It was computed, that every Indian killed or taken, during the war, cost the country a thousand pounds.

Such were the distresses of the country in these times, that they are not easily described or conceived. While large quotas of their best men were in service abroad, the rest were harassed by the enemy, subjected to continual service in garrisons and scouts at home. The inhabitants could till no lands, but such as were within call of their forts and garrisoned houses. They lay down and rose up in fear, and procured their bread at the continual hazard of their lives.

Canada was considered as the source of all these mischiefs, and the reduction of that as the only effectual remedy against them. The assembly of the 1708.

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1709.

Massachusetts addressed her majesty on the subject, praying for an armament from England to co-operate, in conjunction with the troops of the colonies, for the reduction of Canada. A plan was concerted by the ministry, not only for the reduction of Canada, but of Acadia and Newfoundland. Early the next spring, the earl of Sunderland communicated to the colonies her majesty's design. A requisition of two thousand seven hundred men was made of the colonies for this purpose. Twelve hundred from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, were to join a squadron of ships and five regular regiments from England, and make an attack upon Quebec. The other fifteen hundred were to march by lake Champlain, and invest Montreal, at the same time the descent should be made on Quebec. Colonel Nichols, who had been deputy governour of New York, and governour of Virginia, was appointed to the command of the land army, and marched to Wood Creek. The colonies, Pennsylvania excepted, made great exertions for the public service. Beside their quota, independent companies were raised and sent on to the army. More than a hundred battoes and as many birch canoes were constructed for crossing the lake. Three forts, several block houses, and stores for provisions, were erected. The colonies provided transports, boats, and provisions, as well as furnished and paid their men, at their own expense. The province of New York signalized herself by her zeal for the public service. Besides raising some independent companies, she procured and maintained six hundred Indians of the Five Nations, and victualled a thousand of their wives and children, at Albany, while they were employed in the campaign.

Expedition to Wood Creek.

The armament from England was to have been at Boston by the middle of May. But before it sailed the Portuguese were defeated, and the allies of England were reduced to very great straits. The force, therefore, which was designed for America, was ordered to Portugal, and the enterprise was de-

feated. Great sickness and mortality prevailed in the army at Wood Creek, and the general, receiving no intelligence of the armament from England, returned to Albany. The troops were kept in pay till about the middle of October, when it was too late to employ them in any enterprise of importance.

This fruitless business was a prodigious loss and expense to the colonies. The province of New York only expended more than twenty thousand pounds.*

The expectations of the people had been wrought up to a high degree of assurance, that the expedition would be successful. They anticipated the fall of Canada, and an honourable issue of all their troubles. When therefore, from all this exertion and expense, they received nothing but loss and disappointment, their chagrin and depression were proportionably great.

However the importance of driving the French out of Canada, and the necessity of immediate exertions to keep up the spirit and friendship of the Five Nations, which only could preserve the frontiers from becoming a field of blood, induced them to keep this object still in view. General Nicholson made a voyage to England to solicit assistance from the British court.

The assembly of New York addressed queen Anne on the subject. Colonel Schuyler was so impressed with a sense of the necessity of prosecuting vigorous measures against the French, and so extremely chagrined at the late disappointment, that he determined on a voyage to England, at his own private expense, to represent to her majesty the absolute necessity of reducing Canada under the crown of Great Britain. He also determined to carry over with him five Indian chiefs, that they might impress the same on her majesty. No sooner were the assembly apprised of his design, than they resolved that

* Smith's Hist. N. Y. 119, 120.

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1709. he should be the man to present the address of the governour, council, and general assembly to her majesty. The arrival of the Indian sachems in England, was matter of great curiosity and noise through the kingdom. Her majesty dressed them in the English manner, and, instead of a blanket, they had each a scarlet cloth mantle, edged with gold, thrown over their other garments. In this dress they were introduced into the royal presence. They represented the long wars, which, in conjuction with her children, they had waged against their enemies, the French: That they had been a strong wall of defence to them, even to the loss of their best men: That when they heard their great queen was about to send an army to Canada, with one consent, they joyfully hung up the kettle and took up the hatchet, and assisted colonel Nicholson. They declared, that the reduction of Canada was of so great weight to their free hunting, that if their great queen should not be mindful of them, they must, with their families, forsake their country, and seek other habitations, or stand neuter, either of which would be much against their inclinations.* Nicholson and Schuyler used their utmost influence with her majesty, for the same purpose.

April 19th, 1710.

An expedition against Canada, it seems, was again in contemplation. In July commodore Martin arrived at Boston, in the Dragon, with the Falmouth, a bomb ship, tender, and two or three transports. With commodore Martin, Nicholson, Schuyler, and the Indian kings returned. It was expected that this squadron would have been joined, by a fleet under lord Shannon, who, in July, was under sailing orders for America. But the westerly winds, it seems, prevented his sailing till the season was too far advanced. The reduction of Port Royal therefore became the only object of the campaign.

Sept. 18th. In September a fleet sailed from Boston, consisting of three fourth rates, the Dragon, Chester, and Fal-

* Smith's Hist. N. Y. p. 121, 122.

1710. Expedition against Port Royal.

mouth, of two fifth rates, the Loostaff and Feversham, with the Star bomb and province galley, fourteen transports in the pay of Massachusetts, five in that of Connecticut, two in the pay of New Hampshire, and three in that of Rhode Island, designed for Port Royal and the coasts of Nova-Scotia. These, with the tender and transports from England, made thirty six sail. Commodore Martin in the Dragon commanded the whole. The army consisted of a regiment of marines, commanded by colonel Redding; of four regiments raised in New-England; two commanded by Sir Charles Hobby and colonel Tailer of Massachusetts, one by colonel Whiting of Connecticut, and the other by colonel Walton of New Hampshire. Nicholson was general. On the 24th, the fleet and army arrived at Port Royal. The troops landed without opposition, and made an easy conquest. On the 21st of October the engineers opened three batteries, of two mortars and twenty four cohorns in the whole. The Star bomb at the same time plying the enemy with her shells. The next day Monsieur Subercase surrendered the fort and country to the crown of Britain. General Nicholson left a sufficient garrison under the command of colonel Vetch, his adjutant general, who was appointed to the government of the country. From this time the name of the port was changed to Annapolis-royal.*

Surrenders, Oct. 22.

Besides the troops employed in this expedition, the colonies had considerable bodies of men scouring the woods during the whole summer. Colonel Walton after his return from Annapolis, with a hundred and seventy men ranged the eastern country, killed the sachem of Norridgewock and some other Indians. The enemy notwithstanding did mischief in various places.

Nicholson, animated with his late success at Annapolis and some other at Newfoundland, went again

* Hutch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 180—184.

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1711. to England, to solicit another expedition against Canada. The country in general had no expectation that his solicitations would be successful. They did not imagine that queen Anne's new tory ministry would attempt any thing of that nature for New-England. But, contrary to all expectation, the matter

June 8. was resumed. In June general Nicholson arrived at Boston with the news that a fleet might soon be expected from England, and with orders, from her

Canada expedition. majesty, that the several governments of New-England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, should have their quotas in immediate readiness for the expedition.

A general meeting of the governours of the several colonies was immediately appointed at New London. Within sixteen days after the arrival of gener-

June 24. al Nicholson, the fleet arrived at Boston. But very extraordinary it was, that the fleet had neither provisions nor pilots. Ten weeks provisions were required, at Boston, for the army. Before this it had been suspected, that it was not designed, that Canada should be reduced. These circumstances much increased the suspicion. It was doubted whether in the then state of the country, it were possible, in so short a time, as was necessary, to procure such a quantity of provisions. There was, at the same time a suspicion, that if the expedition should miscarry, that the blame was to be thrown upon New-England. Whether this suspicion was well grounded or not, sure it is, that it had great influence, together with the zeal which the colonies had for the service, to draw forth their utmost exertions. When the fleet arrived the general court of Massachusetts was convened at Boston, and the governours were met at New London, to concert measures for forwarding the expedition, with the greatest harmony and despatch. A punctual compliance with her majesty's orders, was universally recommended. Not only the governments, but private persons exerted themselves beyond what had been known upon any

other occasion. The assembly of Massachusetts issued bills of credit to the amount of forty thousand pounds, and that of New York to the amount of ten thousand.* Acts were made stating the price of all articles of provision, necessary for the army, and even for impressing them wherever they could be found. In a little more than a month, from the arrival of the fleet, the new levies and provisions were ready. On the 30th of July, the fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war, twelve from England, and three which had been before stationed in America, forty transports, six store ships, a fine train of artillery, and all manner of warlike stores, sailed from Boston for Canada. The land army on board consisted of five regiments, from England and Flanders, and two regiments raised in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, amounting in the whole nearly to seven thousand men. The fleet was commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, and the army by brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, the queen's favourite, after the disgrace of the dutchess of Marlborough. The land force, in number, was about equal to that, which, under general Wolfe, reduced Quebec; though, at this time it was not half so strong, as it was when reduced by that general.

Not long after the sailing of the fleet general Nicholson appeared at Albany at the head of four thousand men, from the colonies of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The regiments were commanded by colonels Whiting, Schuyler, and Ingoldsby. Colonel Schuyler had procured six hundred of the Five Nations. More than this, in so short a time, could not have been reasonably expected.

On the 14th of August the admiral arrived in the mouth of St. Lawrence. But that he might not lose the company of the transports, as was pretended, he put into the bay of Gaspy, where he continued till the 20th of the month. On the 22d, two days after, he

* Hutch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 190, 197. Smith's Hist. N.Y. p. 128, 131.

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sailed from the bay, the fleet appeared to be in the utmost danger. It was without soundings, without sight of land; the sky was darkened with a thick fog, and the wind was high at east south east. In this situation the fleet brought to, with the heads of the ships to the southward. This was done with an expectation, that the stream would drive them into the midst of the channel. But, instead of this, about midnight, the seamen discovered, that the fleet was driven on the north shore among rocks and islands, on the verge of a total shipwreck. Eight or nine of the British transports, on board of which were about seventeen hundred officers and soldiers, were cast away. Nearly a thousand men were lost. The admiral and general saved themselves by anchoring; but such was the violence of the storm, that they lost several anchors. On this disaster the fleet returned to Spanish river bay, where in a council, both of land and naval officers, it was unanimously determined, that as they had but ten weeks provisions, and could not expect a supply from New-England, to make no further attempts. The fleet sailed for England, and on the 9th of October, arrived at Portsmouth. Here the fleet suffered another misfortune. The Edgar, a 70 gun ship blew up, having on board four hundred men, besides many persons who came on a visit to their friends. As the cause of this event was wholly unknown, jealous minds were not without suggestions, that even this was not without design.

Shipwreck in St. Lawrence, Aug. 22.

It was pretended that both the English and French pilots advised to the fleets coming to, in the manner it did, when the transports were lost; but the pilots, from New-England, declared, upon oath, that they gave no such advice. If any such advice was given it must have been by the French pilots, on board, either upon design or through mistake. Charlevoix says, "there was on board the admiral, a French prisoner, one Paradis, an old seaman who was perfectly acquainted with the river St. Lawrence: this

man cautioned him, when he was off the seven islands, not to venture too near the land, and he obliged him to make frequent tacks and keep near the wind, which did not favour him. At length the admiral, tired out, and, perhaps, suspecting the pilot only designed to wear out his men, refused to come to stays," and so was driven ashore. Thus other accounts were entirely different from the admiral's. But the blame, at any rate, was imputed wholly to New-England. No notice was taken of the exertions of the colonies, nor of the extraordinary measures to supply the army: measures to which, probably, neither the people of England, nor even of Ireland would have submitted.

The whigs in England, in general, censured the ministry for their conduct respecting this expedition. When the plan of it was concerted the parliament was sitting, yet it was never laid before the members. It was said that this was for the greater secrecy, and that for the same reason the army were not victualled. But lord Harley represents the whole affair, as a contrivance of Bollingbroke, More, and the lord chancellor, Harcourt, to cheat the public of twenty thousand pounds. Lord Harcourt was pleased to say, "No government was worth serving that would not admit of such advantageous jobs." Another English writer observes upon it, that, "If the ministry were sincere in the prosecution of the war, they were certainly the most consummate blunderers that ever undertook the government of state."*

General Nicholson had not proceeded far on his march, before he received intelligence of the loss sustained by the fleet, and the army soon returned.

The marquis De Vandreuil, governour of Canada, received intelligence of the arrival of the fleet from England, and of the preparations making in the colonies for the invasion of his country, and had omitted nothing in his power to put it in the best state of de-

* Rider's Hist. of England, vol. xxxii. p. 189, 190.

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fence. No sooner was he apprised of so many ships wrecked, and so many bodies with red coats driven upon the shore, and that the river was clear of ships, than he ordered the whole strength of Canada towards Montreal and lake Champlain. At Chambly, he formed a camp of three thousand men, to oppose general Nicholson. Had the general crossed the lake, it might have been difficult for him to return.

Very providential it was, that the provincial transports were all preserved. A small victualler only was cast away, but her crew were saved. Yet the loss and disappointment were exceedingly grievous to the colonies. After so many attempts had been blasted, some pious minds gave up all expectations of the conquest of Canada. They imagined that it was not the design of Providence that this northern continent should belong wholly to any one European nation.*

Upon the return of general Nicholson's army, and the report of Vandreuil's force, the inhabitants of the country were not only disappointed, but thrown into a state of general fear and alarm. They were apprehensive, that the enemy in different parties, by different routes, would, with redoubled fury, harass and desolate the frontiers. New York kept part of her troops in pay the ensuing winter, for the repair and defence of their out posts. The New England colonies took proper measures for their defence. Colonel Walton was sent, with considerable force, as far as Penobscot; where it was expected the enemy would make an attack. He burned several of the enemy's vessels, designed for privateers, and took some prisoners.

Though the expedition against Canada was unsuccessful, yet it probably prevented the fall of Annapolis-royal into the hands of the enemy. Such had been the mortality among the soldiers, that of the four or five hundred New Englandmen left to garrison the

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 193, 196. Smith's Hist. N. Y. p. 130, 131.

fort, not more than one in five survived. The garrison was reduced to a handful of men. They were in fear even of the Acadians alone, without any additional force. The French court, sensible of their mistake, in not paying a more particular attention to that country while it was in their hands, had sent pressing orders to Vandreuil to exert himself for its recovery. Troops were raised and on the point of marching from Canada for this purpose, when the news of the arrival of the British fleet, and of the preparations in New-England reached him; and they were detained, at home, for the defence of Canada. The French inhabitants of Acadia, having intelligence of the force designed for their assistance, grew so insolent, that it was not safe for an Englishman to go from the fort. But as soon as they knew, that the force which they expected was countermanded, they acknowledged their faults and became submissive. At the same time, however, they acquainted Vandreuil, that their submission was a matter of mere necessity, and that the French king had no better subjects than they were. 1711.

Sometime after, captain Pigeon, one of the regular officers, going up the river to destroy some French houses, and to cut timber for the repairs of the fort, was surprised by a great number of Indians, who killed the major of the fort, the engineer, and the whole boat's crew, besides taking nearly forty of the garrison prisoners. This stroke so encouraged the Acadians, that they again took up arms. Five hundred of them, with as many Indians as they could collect made preparations for attacking the fort. They expected to have been headed by an experienced officer from Placentia. But the governour was not able to afford them any assistance, and they laid down their arms.*

Early the next spring the enemy began their depredations on the frontiers. They made spoil on 1712.

* Hutch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 199.

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Oyster river, Exeter, Kittery, York, and Wells. The frontiers this year were well guarded, in some of the colonies, one half of the militia were on duty in the garrisons and ready to march at a minute's warning. Scouts were kept out ranging from one post to another. On the eastern coast, spy-boats were constantly employed, to watch and to give notice of the appearances and motions of the enemy.* Nevertheless, the countenance of public affairs, wore an uncommon gloom. Though numbers of the enemy were killed and the country was guarded with such spirit and vigilance, scattering parties of the enemy murdered more or less of the inhabitants, both on the eastern and northern frontiers. The French emissaries were daily seducing the Five Nations from the British interest. The late ill success gave powerful influence to their solicitations. The Senacas, Shawanese, and even the Catt's Kill Indians, became disaffected; so that there was a general apprehension of their falling on the inhabitants, and desolating the country all along upon Hudson's river.†

March 31st, 1713.

But the pacification of Utrecht, the next year, relieved the apprehensions of the country, and put a welcome period to a ten years most expensive and distressing war. By the treaty of peace France ceded Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New-Britian, Hudson's Bay, and the French part of the island of St. Christophers to Great Britain. It was also stipulated, that "the subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations, or cantons of Indians subject to the dominion of Great Britian, nor to the other nations of America, who are friends to the same." By this article, the French gave up all claim to the Five Nations and to all parts of their territories; and, as far as it respected them, entitled

* Belknap, p. 336. † Smith's Hist. N. Y. p. 133.

the British crown, to the sovereignty of the country.

1712. Peace with the Indians, July 13th.

After the peace was known in America, the eastern Indians sent a flag and desired peace. The governour of Massachusetts, with his council, and that of New Hampshire, met them at Portsmouth; where, by their chiefs and deputies, they renewed articles of submission and pacification, asking pardon for their perfidy and rebellion, and promising, for the future, to demean themselves as faithful subjects of the crown of Great Britian.

Though, in these long and distressing wars the colonies and churches of New England and New York were grievously chastised, yet they were not forsaken. In various respects the care and goodness of Providence were conspicuous. These were to be seen in the admirable preservation of their captivated countrymen, sons, daughters, and dearest connexions; in their tedious marches to the remote settlements of the Indians, and to Canada; in the kindness of the French in purchasing them out of the hands of barbarians, and making their captivity comfortable by humane and generous treatment; and in restoring such numbers of them, after a long captivity, to the embraces of friends and the bosom of their country. These were manifest in their support under such an accumulation of evils, and of such long continuance: and especially, in those interpositions, which apparently delivered them from destruction, at times, when it could not have been done, but by that Power only which is more than human. The same were conspicuous in the seasonableness of the peace and its great advantages to the country.

For about five and twenty years the colonies had enjoyed hardly four years peace. During more than twenty years of this long term there had been no peace to him who went out or came in, to him who slept or awoke. For several years of the war not less than a fifth part of all the inhabitants, able to bear arms,

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were in actual service; and at sometimes half of the militia. Those who were not in service, were obliged to guard their own fields and families at home, and were subject to constant alarms. The fields were untilled, and fine extensive tracts desolated. The loss of men was great. Few families were so happy as not to be in mourning, either for their slain or captivated friends. The resources of the country were exceedingly diminished and its debts were enormous. The aspect of affairs grew more and more gloomy. In these circumstances, what could be more seasonable, or a greater blessing than peace? Remarkably providential was it, that when a most abandoned ministry were at helm, and the peace for the nation in general, was much less favourable than might have been expected, that such ample territories were ceded to the English, in America, and such advantages were procured for the colonies, both with respect to fishery and commerce.

Our fathers saw these events and were glad. In their most public solemnities they celebrated them with admiration and praise. Will they not ever challenge of their posterity a religious remembrance, as important parts of that great chain of events, by which, under the divine administration, have been handed down to them, their extensive country, their distinguished privileges and happiness?

The country had already, by their wars, been retarded in wealth, in extent of settlement, in population and literature, not less than twenty-five or thirty years.

The country in general, in twenty, or at farthest in twenty-five years, doubled its inhabitants: yet such were the losses sustained by the Massachusetts and New Hampshire in particular, that after the pacification, in 1713, there were not double the number of inhabitants, within the limits of the two colonies. that there were half a century before. At a moderate computation, not less than five or six thousand of young men, the flower of the country, in

those colonies, fell by the sword of the enemy, or by diseases contracted in the public service.* In the whole of New England and New York the numbers, probably, were not less than eight or nine thousand. Nine tenths of these, it is reasonable to suppose, might have been heads of families, and in forty years have increased to a hundred and fifty thousand souls.

The support of the war, of civil government, of a regular and constant worship of the SUPREME BEING in the churches, undoubtedly, occasioned an annual burden greater than any felt, by any other subjects of Great Britian. Under this pressure our venerable ancestors had not the least relief nor compensation from the crown. Surely great were their merit and magnanimity, and ought to be had in perpetual remembrance and admiration.

CHAPTER VII.

Expedition against St. Augustine. Defeat of the French in Carolina. Palatines settle in North Carolina. Massacre by the Corees and Tuscororas. Expedition against them. General conspiracy of the Indians against the Carolinians. War with them. Distressed state of the colony. It revolts from the proprietary government and effects a revolution. Under the government of Great Britain enjoyed safety, prosperity, and general satisfaction.

NEW ENGLAND and New York were not alone in the distresses of queen Anne's war. Carolina, which was then the southern frontier, had her full share in its expenses and dangers. Immediately after the commencement of hostilities, between England and Spain, governour Moore, thirsting for Spanish gold and plunder, used all his influence with the assembly to engage them in an expedition against St. Augustine. Numbers of the principal members were against the measure; but the governour and

* Hutch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 201.

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1702. Expedition against St. Augustine, 1702.

his party obtained a majority in the house; and two thousand pounds sterling was voted for the expedition. An army of twelve hundred men, one half militia, and the other half Indians were raised and armed for the enterprise. A sufficient quantity of shipping was impressed for the transportation of the army, stores, and provisions. Colonel Daniel, an enterprising officer, with a party of the militia and Indians, marched by land, while the governour, with the main body, proceeded by water. Daniel arrived before the governour, entered and plundered the town. But the Spaniards having been apprised of the expedition, had laid in four months provisions in the castle; to which on his approach they repaired with all their money and most valuable effects. On the arrival of the governour with the main body, the harbour was blocked up, and the castle completely invested, with a force against which, the enemy could make no appearance. They therefore kept themselves snug in their fortress. The governour had no artillery sufficient to dislodge them, and therefore found himself under the necessity of dispatching colonel Daniel to Jamaica for cannon, mortars, and shells for that purpose. Before his return two large Spanish ships appearing off the mouth of the harbour, struck the governour with such a panic, that he instantly raised the siege, and abandoning his shipping, made a precipitate retreat into Carolina. Instead of enriching himself with gold and plunder, which was one principal object of the expedition, the ships, provisions, and military stores, became the booty of his enemies. Colonel Daniel, having no intelligence that the siege was raised, on his return, stood in for the harbour of St. Augustine, and very narrowly escaped the enemy.

In consequence of this rash and unfortunate enterprise, a debt of six thousand pounds sterling was entailed on that then poor colony. This gave rise to the first paper currency in Carolina. The defeat of the enterprise and the ill effects of the currency

united their influence to fill the colony with dissention and tumult. The governour, instead of sharing heaps of gold, had a large portion of public odium and reproach.

Soon after a new calamity arose. The Appalachian Indians, in consequence of their connexions with the Spaniards, became insolent and hostile. An expedition against them became necessary. Governour Moore, at the head of a body of white men and Indian allies, marched into the heart of their settlements. The towns of those tribes, who lived between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah were laid in ashes. Many of the savages were captivated, and others obliged to submit to the English government. By this expedition the governour served two purposes of considerable importance to himself. He wiped away the reproach and odium occasioned by the former; and, by employing the Indian captives in cultivating his fields, or selling them for his private advantage, he obtained a handsome personal emolument.*

Expedition against the Appalachians.

Though this enterprise was successful, yet dangers more alarming arose from another quarter. In 1707 the colony was thrown into a state of general consternation and distress, by the news of a designed invasion from the French and Spaniards. No sooner was this intelligence received than every precaution in the power of the colony, was taken for its defence. The militia were mustered and trained; the fortifications at Charleston were repaired; James island was fortified, trenches were opened at White Point; and at such other places as were judged necessary. The colony, nevertheless, was in a feeble state to resist a powerful and enterprising enemy.

1707.

The necessity of all their exertions and precaution soon appeared. Monsieur le Feboure, captain of a

French invade Carolina.

* History of Car. p. 152, 157.

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French frigate, with four armed sloops, appeared off Charleston bar. The French had been assisted in their enterprise by the governours of Havannah and St. Augustine. The land army consisted of about eight hundred men, under the command of Monsieur Arbuset. Le Feboure had received intelligence that great sickness prevailed at Charleston, and, imagining that this might prevent the marching of the troops of the country into it, he sailed sooner from St. Augustine than otherwise he would have done, expecting to take the town without opposition. In this haste, it seems the general, Arbuset, was left to come on with as much expedition as possible. On the appearance of the enemy, signals from the shore announced their arrival and the number of their ships. On the first day of their arrival they hovered on the coast without passing the bar. The next day was spent in sounding the south bar. This delay was of the utmost consequence to the colony, as it gave time to alarm the country, and march the militia to the town. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was now governour, a man excelling in courage and military skill, and by his presence he checked the general consternation of the people, inspired them with fresh courage, and roused them to action. The next morning after the enemy had sounded the bar, they, with four ships and a galley, with a fair wind and tide, crossed the bar and sailed directly for the town. But when they had advanced as far up the river, as to discover the fortifications, they stopped short, and casting anchor a little above Sullivan's island, sent a flag, demanding a surrender of the town. By this time the militia were generally collected, at or near the town, and a number of Indian allies were come in for its defence. Besides a privateer, which lay in the harbour, guns were put on board five other small ships, and the gallant sailors were directed, in their own way, to assist in the defence of the town. The governour therefore answered the flag, that it was his determination to defend the town to the last extremity. On

the reception of this answer, the enemy seemed to hesitate, and, instead of advancing towards the town, kept their station and effected nothing that day. The next, they landed a party on James' island, and burnt a village by the river's side. Another party went ashore on the opposite side of the river, and plundered and burnt all before them. The next day the enemy were driven from James' island; and the other party, consisting of about a hundred and sixty, were surprised by the militia, and mostly either killed, wounded, or taken.

This success so animated the Carolinians, that they determined to try their fortune by sea, as well as upon the land. The ships were commanded by William Rhett, a man of spirit and conduct. With his little squadron he set sail, and bore down upon the enemy; but, instead of preparing for action, they immediately weighed anchor, recrossed the bar, and soon disappeared. Such was the precipitation with which Monsieur le Feboure made his departure, that a scattering party was left on shore and taken.

French defeated.

Some days after, Monsieur Arbuset appeared on the coast, with a ship of force, and landed a number of men at Sewee bay. Rhett with the privateer and an armed sloop put to sea, and sailed for the bay. Captain Fenwick, at the same time, crossed the river and marched to attack the enemy by land. He found them advantageously posted, but after a brisk and sharp fire they gave way and fled to their ship. Rhett soon coming to his assistance, took the ship and about ninety prisoners. Among these was Monsieur Arbuset, commander in chief by land, and a number of sea officers. These, together, offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransom.

Thus ended Monsieur Feboure's invasion of South Carolina; little to his own honour, and as little to the credit of his men. The militia conducted themselves with great spirit, and their exertions were crowned with uncommon success. Of eight hun-

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dred men who came against the colony nearly three hundred were either killed or taken prisoners.*

1707. The divine interposition was very conspicuous in this happy event. The Carolinians, in letters which they wrote to their friends on the subject, represented their deliverance as marvellous. Feboure's sailing too hastily, before he was prepared for the enterprise, and leaving general Arbuset to come after him, were happy circumstances for the Carolinians. As this was in consequence of the intelligence which he had received of the mortality at Charleston, this circumstance, contrary to all human expectation or foresight, seems to have had a principal share in defeating the enemy. It brought them on presumptuously without necessary preparation, and was of no essential disservice, with respect to the defence of the town. Though the governour, at first, marched the militia only to the environs of it; yet, as soon as it became necessary; he, notwithstanding the sickness, ordered them in for its defence. The delay of the enemy after they appeared off the bar, their hesitation on receiving the governour's answer, their landing their men in small parties, instead of making a general attack with their whole force, were all circumstances as favourable to the Carolinians as if they themselves had planned the whole affair. The panic which seized the enemy at the approach of Rhett's little squadron; the ignorance of general Arbuset of what had happened when he came on the coast; the landing of his party and the stay they made, seemed not less providential than if they had all been particularly designed by the Supreme Ruler to give the province a signal triumph, and a striking demonstration that the counsels of the enemy had been turned into foolishness.

June, 1709. In 1709, about six or seven thousand Palatines were transported into England. As they had been persecuted by the French, and driven from their country,

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. i. p. 180—181.

on the account of their religion, they were recommended as peculiar objects of charity. Queen Anne's exemplary liberality to these people was not less serviceable to the colonies than beneficial to themselves. As by the tedious wars in Germany, they had been reduced to circumstances of great indigence and misery, her majesty assisted them in making settlements in America. On application to the proprietaries a considerable body of them were encouraged to make settlements in Carolina. Ships were prepared for their transportation; and governour Tynte, who then presided over the colony, had instructions to provide for every man, woman, and child, a hundred acres of land free of all quitrents for ten years, and that the rent annually should never be more than one penny per acre.* The territory granted them was in North Carolina, on Roanoke, in the counties of Albemarle and Bath. Here commenced a third considerable settlement in that colony.†

Palatines settle in North Carolina, 1710.

The same year, nearly three thousand of the same people, came over with governour Hunter to New York. Some settled in the city, where they built the old Lutheran church. Others settled on a pleasant tract of several thousand acres, in Livingston's manor. Some others went into Pennsylvania. The flattering accounts of the country, which they transmitted to Germany, was the occasion of the transmigration of so many thousands of their countrymen, afterwards into that province. They were protestants; some were men of wealth, and all well affected to the government. In the several governments in which they settled, they have been industrious and peaceable.

But scarcely had those who settled in North Carolina, seated themselves comfortably in a hideous wilderness, and begun to please themselves with the prospects of liberty and peace, when they were overtaken with a miserable destruction.

* Hist. of S. Car. vol. i. 199. † See its history in a subsequent chapter.

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1710. Though it had been strongly recommended to the Carolinians to take all the Indians, within four hundred miles of Charleston, under their protection, and to treat them in the most friendly manner; yet neither the assembly, nor the people would comply with the recommendation. The friends of those, who had been tortured and slain by the Indians, were so incensed against them, that they breathed nothing but vengeance and implacable resentment. Besides other acts of violence, the people, at some periods, had, without restraint, kidnapped and shipped them off to the West Indies.* The remembrance of past injuries, and the encroachments which they saw making by new settlements, probably, induced them to

1712. form a general conspiracy against these new planters,

Conspiracy of the Indians. and soon after against the whole province. Those powerful tribes, the Corees and Tuscaroras, with other Indians, united with a determination, to expel all the European intruders. Their plan was formed with admirable cunning and secrecy. For the security of their own families, they surrounded their principal town with a breast-work. Here the warriors of different tribes met, to the number of twelve hundred bow-men. The plan which they had concerted was, all on the same night, to begin their work

Massacre of the Palatines. of destruction. When the fatal night came, they issued out in different parties, and on different roads, and coming under the mask of friendship, almost at the same instant, to the houses of the planters, murdered men, women, and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent the spreading of an alarm, they ran, like bloody tygers, from house to house, carrying death and carnage wherever they came. None knew what had happened on that dreadful night to his hapless neighbours, till the barbarians brought destruction to his own doors. About Roanoke, in one night, a hundred and thirty seven of the inhabitants fell a sacrifice to their savage fury.

* Hist. of S. Car. vol. i. p. 91, 92.

A Swiss baron and a great part of the Palatines were among this unhappy number. Some escaped and gave the alarm, next morning, to their neighbours. This prevented the total destruction of these infant settlements. The people were all collected at one place, and, night and day, the militia kept watch around them.

No sooner had the news of this sad disaster reached South Carolina than governour Craven, with great exertion and despatch, raised an army of nearly a thousand men. It consisted of six hundred militia, and of three hundred and sixty six Indians of various tribes. Colonel Barnwell commanded the whole. Hideous were the woods through which it was necessary for the colonel to pass, that he might give seasonable relief to his distressed countrymen. Neither could horses pass with carriages, nor could the men carry their arms and the provisions necessary for their support. The Indians by hunting, furnished them with provisions, on their march. The colonel came up with the enemy, and, after a considerable action, entirely defeated them. Three hundred were slain, and a hundred taken prisoners. No sooner had the Tuscaroras made their escape to their fortified town, than the colonel surrounded, and, with great spirit, attacked them. After numbers had been slain the remainder capitulated. It was computed that nearly a thousand of the enemy were killed, wounded, and taken. Colonel Barnwell's loss was not very considerable. Five of the militia only were slain and not a large number wounded. Thirty six Indians were killed, and nearly seventy wounded.

On this severe chastisement the Tuscaroras fled their country, and were incorporated with the Five Nations.*

Singular mercies were here to be seen in the midst of judgment. That there was not a general conspiracy and rising among the Indians in South, as well

* Hist. S. Car. vol. i. p. 201, 208. Colden's Hist. vol. i. p. 5.

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as North, Carolina, as soon after happened; that so many of them should offer themselves, and act so friendly and faithful a part, in the defence of the country, could be owing to nothing but a divine influence. To what could the safe conduct of the army, through a horrible wilderness, and the victories won, be ascribed, but to a divine interposition? To what other cause could it be ascribed, that the remains of the slaughtered settlements, should, with such wisdom and fortitude, defend themselves till they were succoured by their neighbours? Their magnanimity and spirit of defence were eminent.

The assembly voted four thousand pounds for the service of the war. Governour Craven, who had but lately been invested with the government, was a man of great integrity, wisdom, and courage, and seemed providentially to have been fixed at the helm for such a time; and for the still more stormy season which soon after commenced. By his wisdom and justice he conciliated the affections and gained the confidence of the people. The elections were again conducted with regularity, without riot and tumult.

General conspiracy and rising of the Indians 1715.

But scarcely had the people forgotten their former sorrows, and emerged from the late dangers and expense, when others far more general and threatening arose. The Yamosees, a powerful tribe of Indians, the Creeks, Cherokees, Appalachians, Catawbaws, Congarees, and all the Indian tribes from Florida to Cape Fear river, formed a conspiracy for the total extirpation of the Carolinians. The 15th of April, 1715, was fixed upon, as the day of general destruction. With such secrecy and appearances of friendship was the affair managed, that the English imagined that all was peace and safety. Even the traders slept, the preceding night, with the king and war-captains in the chief town of the Yamosees. All was peace and silence till the dreadful morning rose. Then, all on a sudden, as the day broke, the traders, one man and boy excepted, were slain by one vol-

1715. Destruction by the Indians.

ley. The war captains were instantly out in arms calling upon their fellows, and proclaiming in their terrible manner the designs of their vengeance. The young warriors in a flame of passion flew to their arms, and like a conflagration bore down all before them. In a few hours they massacred about a hundred christians in the town of Pocataligo and the neighbouring plantations. They advanced in two parties; one fell upon Port Royal, the other on St. Bartholomew's parish. The man and boy who were not killed in the first fire, though the former was much wounded, made their escape to Port Royal, and gave the alarm. On this short notice, about three hundred souls escaped, on board a ship to Charleston. The women and children, from both these places, generally made their escape to this town. Some families fell into the hands of the enemy and, in their barbarous manner, were tortured and murdered. Their effects were generally abandoned to the enemy, and their buildings burnt, or otherwise destroyed.

While the Yamosees, Creeks, and Appalachians were advancing against the southern frontiers, marking their route with terror and desolation, the Congarees, Catawbaws, and Cherokees, came down in formidable numbers on the northern. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of six thousand bow-men; and the northern of between six hundred and a thousand. So scattered were the settlements, and so sudden was the danger, that the people had not time to collect in sufficient numbers, to make any stand against the enemy; but each one consulting the safety of himself and family fled to the capital.

In this distressed state of the colony, the assembly authorized the governour to impress men, arms, horses, and whatever might be necessary for the common defence. He was impowered even to arm the negroes on whom they could depend, for assistance in the common defence. Wisdom, despatch, firm-

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ness, and caution marked his conduct. He marched against the southern division of the enemy with twelve hundred white men, and such negroes as could be trusted. These were the whole number on the muster rolls able to bear arms. It was judged that such was the strength of the fortifications at Charleston, that the inhabitants would be able to defend themselves in his absence. Doleful was the day when the whole strength of the colony was called to action with a numerous, subtile, and merciless foe. When its very existence depended on the success of this little army.

Meanwhile, the northern division of Indians were destroying the country and making an inroad towards Goose creek. Captain Barker with a corps of ninety horse was sent against them; but he was betrayed by the treachery of an Indian whom he trusted, drawn into an ambush in a thick wood, slain, and his party defeated. The enemy penetrated the country as far as Goose creek. The whole tract was deserted, excepting one or two plantations, which were fortified. Seventy white people and about forty faithful negroes, who had compassed themselves with a small breast-work, for some time bravely defended themselves against the whole force of this northern division; but afterwards, unwarily hearkening to the enemy's proposals of peace, were betrayed and massacred. Flushed with success, the enemy destroyed all before them, till they were met by captain Chicken at the head of the Goose creek militia; when, after a long and hard fought battle, they were totally defeated. This happily secured the country on that side from all further ravages.

Governour Craven, apprised of the arts of the enemy, and sensible how much the safety of the whole colony depended on his success, marched with every precaution. His army was guarded in the strictest manner. As he advanced, the straggling parties fled before him. At Saltcatches he came upon their great camp. Here commenced a sharp and bloody

battle. The enemy fought from behind trees, bushes, and every cover, setting up their terrible war whoops and yells: sometimes retiring, and then again and again, with redoubled fury, returning to the charge. Notwithstanding their hideous yells and superior numbers, the governour, keeping his troops close at their heels, drove them before him. He drove them from their settlements, at Indian land, and pursuing them over the Savannah wholly ridded the country of this formidable body of savages. The Yamosees fled to the Spanish territories in Florida. What numbers were killed in this battle on either side is not known; but during the war nearly four hundred of the inhabitants were slain.*

On the return of the governour to Charleston, the people were raised from the depths of despondency to the highest tide of joy. Providence had indeed wrought wonderfully for them, and given them a great and memorable salvation.

Though the termination of the war was honourable and happy for the Carolinians, yet the effects of it were long and heavy. Many of them had lost their negroes, and had none to assist them in raising provisions for their families. Those who had not lost them, were called into service and could not oversee them, so that their plantations were uncultivated. Many were driven from their estates, and their dwellings and effects were destroyed. The harvest was so inconsiderable, that they were obliged to send to the northern colonies for the necessaries of life. The colony had sustained a great loss both of men and treasures. By the two recent wars, it had contracted a debt of not less than eighty thousand pounds. Applications were made to the proprietors, either in whole, or in part, to re-imburse the colony; but they would advance nothing for the purpose. The assembly considered the Indian lands

* Most of the particulars of this war are taken from the History of South Carolina, vol. i. p. 219—230. Some few are from Dr. Humphrey's History of Missionaries in South Carolina, p. 96—101.

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as conquered by the colony; and that, in justice, they ought to be applied to the public emolument. They therefore appropriated them to their own advantage, for the encouragement of new settlers. In consequence of the acts of the assembly, five hundred people transported themselves from Ireland, and made settlements on the frontiers. At this juncture, this was a happy acquisition, forming, for the colony, a strong barrier against the incursions of the savages. But the injustice, cruelty, and violence of the proprietors, frustrated all the happy consequences of the wise and salutary measures adopted by the province; and at once involved it in a state of distraction and misery. Though they had expended nothing in the war, and had represented both to the lords and to his majesty, that they could not provide for the defence of the colony; yet they insisted on their right to the conquered lands; repealed the acts of the assembly, and ordered the lands to be laid out in large baronies, for their own use.

1716. The Irish settle on the frontiers.

By this means they violated the faith of the colony, and totally ruined the Irish emigrants. Many of them had spent the little money they had, in their transmigration and settlement; and by this means were reduced to the greatest misery, and actually perished for want. Others removed to the northern colonies. The old settlers having lost this important barrier on the frontiers, deserted their plantations, and left the country open to the incursions of the enemy. This revived and greatly increased the former aversion and hatred of the people, to the proprietors and their government. With more earnestness and impatience than ever did they wish for the protection of the crown.

Are ruined by the proprietors.

This year governour Craven, who had performed such important services for the colony, and by merit gained the highest love and esteem of the Carolinians, left the government, to take care of his domes-
1717. tic affairs in England. Robert Daniel succeeded him in the chair.

1717.

At this time of general discontent, nothing could exceed the impolicy and injustice of the proprietors. Instead of redressing, they increased the grievances of the people. One Trott, a cunning, supercilious, oppressive man, was chief justice of the colony, and of the court of vice admiralty. William Rhett, his brother-in-law, was receiver general and comptroller of his majesty's customs, both in Carolina and the Bahama islands. Their cunning, many offices, and emoluments, gave them great influence in the colony. New instructions were given by the proprietors respecting the elections, which were contrary to the constitution. These men employed all their art to serve the oppressive designs of the proprietors, and had an undue influence in the elections. In the assembly they opposed all popular bills, and whenever they could not prevent their passing, they made such representations of them to the proprietors, as to prevent their approbation of them. The affairs of government were so managed, that the public expenses ate up all the fruits of the people's labour: and these artful men, made such representations to the proprietors, as to prevent all means of relief. So great and numerous were the grievances of the people, and the instances of Trott's maleadministration, that governour Daniel joined with them in their complaints, and both he and a majority of the council joined the commons in their charges against him. But no redress could be obtained. The proprietors continued Trott in his office, and even thanked him for his good services. They displaced the old counsellors, nominated twelve others, appointed a new governour, and repealed a number of the laws. They also ordered a new election of the assembly. These were finishing strokes to the proprietary government, threw the people into a state of general perplexity and tumult, and ripened them for an immediate revolt.

Trott and Rhett oppress the people.

1719. Nov. 28th.

When the new assembly met, 1719, with a manly firmness and true spirit of patriotism, they determin-

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1719.

ed to pay no attention to the instructions of the proprietors; but at all hazards, to execute their own laws and defend the rights of the province. The assembly absolutely refused to transact any business with the proprietary governour and his council. The governour, at this time, was Robert Johnson, son of Nathaniel Johnson, who formerly held the same office, and left him a good estate in the colony. He was a man of address and high in the affections and esteem of the people; but, with all his address and influence, he could not persuade the assembly to depart from their resolution. No regard for personal characters could make them forget the weakness, injustice, and contemptibleness of the proprietary government. They preferred the public good, their own liberty and safety to every personal consideration. They had impeached Trott, before the assembly, in more than thirty articles of maleconduct; and the articles of charge were supported with strong evidence. It was alleged, that he had been guilty of many partial judgments: that he had contrived ways of multiplying and increasing his fees: that he had contrived a fee for continuing suits from one term to another; and had put off the hearing of them for years: that he had given advice in cases depending in his own court, with many other matters of like nature. Governour Johnson, with a majority of his council, as governour Daniel had done before, joined the assembly in the charges against him. To give further weight to them, before the proprietors, Francis Yonge, one of the council, was appointed agent, fully to represent the whole matter to their lordships; but Trott was still continued to oppress the people.

War was this year proclaimed between England and Spain, and the colony was threatened with an immediate invasion from the Spaniards. The militia, just before the meeting of the new assembly, had been called to a general review at Charleston. The officers and soldiers took this opportunity, to

subscribe a general association and firm agreement, to stand by each other, in the defence of their common rights, against the oppression and tyranny of the proprietors. A determination having been formed to revolt, and put themselves under the crown, the affair was conducted with uncommon address and resolution. The assembly while they utterly refused to transact any thing with the governour, under the proprietors, expressed the highest esteem for his person, and in an obliging and genteel manner, made him repeated offers of the government, intreating him to hold the reins of it for the king, till his pleasure should be known. The governour absolutely refused, and issued his proclamation dissolving the house. The representatives ordered it to be torn from the hands of the marshal, met under the name of a convention of the people, and proceeded to do their own business. Colonel James Moore was elected governour. He was a bold man, excellently qualified for a popular leader in perilous adventures. The governour had suspended him from his office in the militia, for espousing the cause of the people. To him therefore he was no friend, to the proprietors he was an inveterate enemy, and in whatever enterprise he engaged, he was firm and inflexible. On the 21st of December, 1719, the convention and militia marched to the fort in Charleston, and proclaimed him governour, in his majesty's name, and till his pleasure should be known. With this popular assembly, or convention, he assumed the powers of government, and put the colony in a state of defence against the invasion which was every day expected. It was the design of the Spaniards to possess themselves of both sides of the gulf of Florida, and to command the navigation through the stream. The capture of Providence island, as well as the reduction of Carolina was an object of their expedition. They sailed from the Havannah, with fourteen ships, and twelve hundred men. They commenced their operations against Providence.

Revolution in Carolina, Dec. 21st.

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1719. Captain Rogers, who commanded the island, receiving them with great spirit and conduct, gave them a severe repulse. Soon after they were overtaken by a storm, in which most of the fleet were lost. In this singular manner, did the Great Disposer of events interpose, and give safety to his people.*

The Carolinians having assumed the government in behalf of his majesty, referred their complaints to the royal ear. On a full hearing of the ill government and oppression of the lords proprietors, and of the proceedings of the people, before his majesty, it was judged, that the proprietary charter had been

1721. forfeited, and the colony was taken under the royal protection.

Government becomes regal.

From this period the government became regal, and continued under that form till the late revolution. The governour was appointed by the crown, and vested with its constitutional powers civil and military. He had a negative on all bills passed by the assemblies, with the power of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving them. He was vested with powers of chancery, admiralty, supreme ordinary, and of appointing all officers civil and military. To him was also entrusted the execution of the laws. A council was appointed him, by the crown, to advise and assist him in legislation. The assembly consisted of representatives chosen by the free suffrages of the people. The government was formed, as nearly as circumstances would admit, on the plan of the British constitution.

Francis Nicholson was appointed the first kingly governour. In the beginning of 1721, he arrived in Carolina and took on him the administration of government.

He found the colony in a low and pitiable condition. The proprietors, during the half century of their government, had built no churches, erected no schools, done nothing for the civilization or chris-

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. i. p. 287—290.

tianizing of the heathen, nor even for the support of that mode of worship, which in such an undue and oppressive manner they had established in the colony. The people in general grew up in great ignorance, and some were almost entirely strangers to public worship. CHAP. VII. 1721.

At the term of fifty four years from the arrival of the first planters, the number of white inhabitants in the colony amounted only to fourteen thousand. This low degree of population was owing to various causes. The principal ones were the unhealthiness of the country, the massacres and depredations committed by the Indians, and the weak, impolitic, and oppressive government of the proprietors. 1724.

Nicholson was a popular governour; and, under his administration, the affairs of the colony took a new and happy turn. Though he was naturally passionate and headstrong, and, having been bred a soldier, was profane; yet so strong was his conviction of the importance of religion, to the happiness of civil society, that he made liberal provision, for the encouragement of public worship, for the erecting and support of schools; and in these respects, by his influence and example, did great good to the colony.

In 1728, the crown made a purchase of seven eight parts of Carolina, both of lands and quitrents, for a little more than twenty two thousand and five hundred pounds sterling. Lord Carteret retained his right in the property and quitrents, but resigned his right of jurisdiction. The next year the proprietors made a formal surrender of the country to his majesty.* From this period the government of the Carolinas became regal. Four years after, the patent of Georgia passed the royal seals, and a plan was adopted for its speedy settlement. 1728. Purchase of Carolina by the crown. Surrender, Sept. 1729.

At the time of settlement, and for half a century from that period, few colonies endured greater hardships and dangers than South Carolina; but after it

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. i. p. 318. 119

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became a royal government, it, in general, enjoyed great prosperity. On the north it was secured from the ravages of the Indians, by its sister colonies, and on the south Georgia, soon after, became an important barrier against the southern tribes. The inhabitants enjoyed peace, and were safe in their persons and property. The fertility of the soil generously repaid the labours of the husbandman, made the poor to sing, and industry every where to smile. The inhabitants were entirely satisfied with the government and protection of Great Britain, gloried in her as their mother country; and through a thousand channels wealth poured in upon them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Settlement of North Carolina. First voyages made to that country. Interview with the Natives. Their kindness. Settlement of Albemarle and Cape Fear. Revolt in Albemarle. Deed from the proprietors. Constitution of the colony. Palatines plant themselves on the Roanoke. The colony is purchased by the crown, and the government becomes regal. The plan and patent for the settlement of Georgia. Settlements made. Regulations of the trustees. Expedition against St. Augustine. Spaniards invade Georgia and are defeated. The corporation surrender their charter and the government becomes regal. General observations relative to Georgia and the southern colonies.

THE first voyages to any part of the territories of the United States, were made to North Carolina. Here the French and Spaniards attempted to make settlements, and alternately destroyed each other. To this part of the continent Amidas and Barlow made their voyage in fifteen hundred eighty four. They first landed at Wococon, and afterwards visited Roanoke. On the north end of the latter were nine houses, built of cedar and fortified with sharpened trees. The Indian name of the country was Wingandacoa, the king of it was Wingina. His chief town was six days journey from Wococon. His brother, Ganganameo resided at the village on

Indian name of the country in 1584.

Roanoke. The third day after the arrival of the English at Wococon some of the natives made their appearance, in a small boat, and one of them, of his own accord, after making a considerable speech, of which they understood not a word, went boldly on board the ships. The English gave him a shirt, hat, wine, and a good meal. He appeared to be highly pleased, and soon made them a grateful return. Paddling off, at a small distance from the ships, he soon loaded his boat with fish, and returning to the point, he divided his cargo into two parts; and pointing one to one ship and the other to the other, took leave of his new friends. The next day, Ganganameo came, with his train of about fifty men. They had fine limbs and a good stature. They appeared exceedingly civil and harmless. Though the English appeared in arms, he manifested no signs of fear, but spreading his mat on the point, sat down and made signs for them to sit with him. He gently stroked his own, and their heads and breasts, in token of his cordial friendship, and that their heads and hearts should be one. After he had addressed them in a long speech, they presented him with a number of toys, with which he manifested the highest satisfaction. Then opening a trade with him they received twenty deer skins, worth twenty crowns, for a pewter bason. Charmed with its glitter and novelty he made a hole through it, and hung it about his neck for a breast plate. He conceived it to be a very princely ornament. They sold him a copper kettle for fifty skins more, worth fifty crowns. Thus they made their gain of this friendly and simple people.

Interview with the natives.

Trade with them.

Some days after Ganganameo made a visit with his wife and children. They were of low stature, but modest and handsome. His wife, the princess, wore a coat of leather, and before a short apron of the same. About her forehead was a band of white coral, and in her ears bracelets of pearls, of the bigness of large peas, hanging down to her middle.

Visit of Ganganameo.

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1584.

The only distinction, in dress, between the prince and his wife, was the manner in which they wore their hair. His was long on one side only, hers, agreeably to nature, was long on both.

Ganganameo was greatly respected by his people: none traded, sat, or spake, when he was present, except some of his chief men. In whatever the English trusted him he was punctual and faithful. He commonly sent them daily a brace of bucks, conies, hares, fish, and, sometimes, melons, cucumbers, peas, walnuts, and various kinds of esculent roots. He was so charmed with the English arms, that he would have engaged a bag of pearls only to have been armed.

Courtesy of an Indian princess.

When the English went to Roanoke, they made a visit at his house. As he was from home, his wife ran to meet them, and ordered her men to bear them on their backs to the land. As the season was rainy and tempestuous she ordered their boat to be drawn on shore, that it might not be injured by the waves, and the oars to be carried into the house, that they might not be stolen. In the house were five rooms. Having brought them into one of these, she washed their clothes and feet, and when they had warmed and dried themselves, by a good fire, she introduced them into another, where, on a long board, she had spread a table for their refreshment. Here she entertained them with a kind of frumenty, boiled venison, roasted fish, boiled roots, melons, and divers kinds of fruit. When they repaired to their boat, in the evening, she appeared to be much grieved, and sent them mats to cover them from the rain. Many other courtesies did she show them. Say the voyagers, "A more kind, loving people cannot be."*

Cruel wars now raged among the Indians, in those parts, and Wingina lay, at his chief town, recovering from the wounds he had received in battle.

* Voyage of Amidas and Barlow; Smith's History of Virginia, p. 3, 4.

Governour Lane, with the second company of Sir Walter Raleigh, on the seventeenth of August, fifteen hundred eighty five, fixed his residence at Roanoke. He made discoveries to the southward as far as Secotan, which was about eighty miles. This was the southern boundary of the country called Wingandacoa. His passage was through Pamtico sound. Through Currituck sound, he went to the northward, and explored the country as far as the town of the Chesapeaks, one hundred and twenty miles. To the northwest, proceeding through Albemarle sound, he made discoveries as far as Choanoke, since called Chowan. This was estimated a hundred and thirty miles. Choanoke was, at that time, the greatest town on the river, and was supposed to be able to muster seven hundred warriors.*

Discoveries of governour Lane 1585.

About sixty five years after these discoveries, a permanent settlement was made in North Carolina. Several substantial planters from Virginia, and some other plantations, emigrated and began a settlement in the county of Albemarle, chiefly in Chowan precinct. They found the winters mild and the country fertile beyond expectation. Every thing which they planted yielded a prodigious increase. Their horses, cattle, swine, and sheep, breeding at an uncommon rate, and passing the winter without the care of the husbandman, they soon found themselves living in ease and plenty. With these encouragements, though few in number, settled at considerable distances from each other, and surrounded with numerous Indian nations, they unanimously determined to keep their ground. From the flattering descriptions given of the country, in a few years, a considerable number of families were induced to emigrate and make settlements in the colony. They soon commanded a number of articles, such as wheat, Indian corn, beef, pork, tallow, hides, deer skins, and furs, for exportation. These they exchanged with

Settlement in the county of Albemarle, 1650.

* Smith's History of Virginia, p. 5, 6.

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the Bermudians and New Englanders, for rum, sugar, salt, molasses, and wearing apparel. The latter was obtained at an exorbitant price.

As the soil was liberal to the planters so were they to all who visited them. Most of them living nobly, gave away more to coasters and guests than they expended in their own families.*

Settlement at C. Fear, 1661.

In sixteen hundred sixty one, settlements were made at and about Cape Fear, by a number of adventurers from Massachusetts. They obtained a transfer of their lands from the natives, the original proprietors of the soil. This, with occupancy, they esteemed a good title to their lands, without deeds or patents from the crown. They judged themselves entitled to the same privileges which they enjoyed in the country, whence they emigrated. For some time they were exceedingly distressed for want of necessary subsistence. On application to the general court of Massachusetts, an extensive contribution was ordered for their relief.

Some of these planters, it seems, gave such offence to the Indians, by sending off a number of their children, under the pretence of instructing them in the principles of christianity, that they drove them off with their bows and arrows.†

The grant of Carolina, to their lordships Clarendon, Craven, &c. having passed the royal seals, March 4th, 1663, these noblemen held a meeting in May, 1663. May, and, at the desire of the New England people settled within the limits of their grant, published general proposals for planting the country. They gave assurance to all who should plant themselves in Carolina, of the most perfect freedom in religion; that they should be governed by a free assembly, enjoy the same exemption from customs, granted by the charter; and, that every freeman, during the term of five years, should be allowed a hundred acres of land for himself, and fifty for every servant,

* Lawson's History of North Carolina, p. 62, 63.
† Manuscripts of the Hon. Benjamin Hawkins.

paying only an acknowledgment of a half penny an acre.

1663.

The same year three men, Anthony Long, William Hilton, and Peter Fabian were sent from Barbadoes to make discoveries in North Carolina. They came to anchor in Cape Fear road, on the 12th of October. They spent some time in going up the branches of the river, especially the north east. They discovered some rich lands at a place which they named Rocky Point. It is probable, that in consequence of their discoveries, some settlements were made in those parts from Barbadoes.*

The proprietors claim jurisdiction over the first settlers.

The proprietors by virtue of their patent claimed all the lands in Carolina, and jurisdiction over all who had made settlements on them. And, as the planters in the county of Albemarle were principally emigrants from Virginia, and till this time had been within the limits and jurisdiction of that colony, the proprietors appointed Sir William Berkley, then governour of Virginia, superintendant general of their county of Albemarle. He repaired to the county, granted and confirmed lands on the conditions published by the proprietors. He also appointed officers for the government of the people. He allowed them a general assembly, and appointed Mr. Drummond their governour.

Sir John Yeamans governour of Clarendon county, 1665.

Two years after, the people who had settled at and about Cape Fear were made a distinct county by the name of Clarendon county. This was extended, on the coast, from Cape Fear to the river St. Matheo, though it does not appear, that there were, at this period any settlers south of little river, the southern boundary of North Carolina. John Yeamans, a respectable planter, from Barbadoes was created a baronet and appointed commander in chief of this county.

Inhabitants of Albemarle dissatisfied.

The inhabitants of Albemarle were not well pleased with the new claims of their lordships. They

* Extracts from their journal now before me. Lawson's Hist. N. C. p. 65—73.

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1665.

had endured the hardships and dangers of making new settlements in a vast wilderness. They had settled to the general satisfaction of the natives, the original proprietors of the soil. They planted themselves under the old Virginia patent, and had enjoyed about fifteen years quiet possession. To be ejected now, or become tributaries to the proprietors, appeared to them not only palpably inconsistent with every idea of justice, but in a high degree inhuman. They were neither pleased with the claims, nor government of such men. Indeed they were on the point of a general revolt. In this state of their affairs the general assembly preferred a petition to their lordships, the proprietors, praying that the people of Albemarle might hold their possessions on the same terms on which they were holden in Virginia. Their lordships delaying to grant their petition, the colony revolted for nearly two years.*

Petition their Lordships, 1666.

Revolt.

Oct. 1667, S. Stephens governour

In October, 1667, Samuel Stephens was appointed governour of Albemarle. But he does not appear to have convoked an assembly, for nearly two years, on the constitution of the proprietors. Something more was yet necessary to be done to quiet the planters. One Colepepper, who had been active in the revolt, with another person, was despatched to England with a promise, on certain conditions, of the submission of the colony to the proprietaries. To quiet the inhabitants the proprietaries executed the following deed to the colony.

Grand Deed to North Carolina, May 1st, 1668.

To our trusty and well beloved Samuel Stephens, Esq. governour of our county of Albemarle, and the isles and islets within ten leagues thereof, and to our trusty and well beloved counsellors and assistants to our governour, Greeting :

Whereas we have received a petition from the grand assembly of our county of Albemarle, praying that the inhabitants of the said county may hold their lands upon the same terms and conditions, that

* Chalmer's Political Annals.

the inhabitants of Virginia hold theirs; and forasmuch as the said county doth border upon Virginia and is much of the same nature, We are content, and do grant that the inhabitants of the said county, do hold their lands of us, the lords proprietors, upon the same terms and conditions that the inhabitants of Virginia hold theirs.

Wherefore be it known unto all men by these presents, that we, the said lords and absolute proprietors of the county within the province aforesaid, have given, granted, and by these presents do give and grant full power and authority unto you the said governour, for the time being, or that shall hereafter be by us appointed, full power and authority, by and with the consent of our council then being, or the major part thereof, to convey and grant such portions of land as by our instructions and concessions annexed to our commission, bearing date in October, Anno Domini 1667, we have appointed to such persons as shall come into our said county to plant and inhabit."

Constitution of government.

The proprietaries allowed them a general assembly, which was to consist of the governour, twelve counsellors, and twelve delegates annually chosen by the freeholders. The governour was appointed by the proprietaries, half the council were chosen by the governour, and half by the assembly. The governour was obliged to act agreeably to the advice of a majority of his council. No taxes were to be imposed without the consent of the assembly. All men, taking the oath of allegiance to the king, and of fidelity to the proprietaries, were declared to have a title to equal privileges.

First assembly according to it, 1669.

In sixteen hundred sixty nine governour Stevens convoked the first assembly on this constitution. Besides various regulations for the security of property and the good government of the colony, it was enacted, "None shall be sued, during five years, for any cause of action arising out of the country; and none shall accept a power of attor-

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ney, to receive debts contracted abroad." Hence this colony was, for a time, considered as the refuge of the criminal, and the common asylum of the fugitive debtor.

Colepepper tried for high treason.

After Colepepper had executed his trust, and was about to return, he was impeached, by the commissioners of the customs, for acting as collector without their authority, and embezzling the king's revenue in Carolina. He was seized, on board a vessel in the Downs, carried back, and tried by virtue of the statute of Henry VIII. on an indictment of high-treason committed out of the realm. Lord Shaftesbury, who was then in the height of his popularity, undertook his defence. His lordship insisted "That there never had been any regular government in Albemarle, that its disorders were only feuds between the planters, which could only amount to a riot." On this plea Colepepper was acquitted, though it was contrary to the plainest facts.

Palatines settle on Roanoke, 1710.

In seventeen hundred and ten a considerable number of Palatines were settled in the colony, on and near Roanoke, in Albemarle and Bath counties. These were a considerable accession to the strength and numbers of the colony. But its population was exceedingly slow. Though it was now sixty years from its first settlement yet the whole number of

Are massacred, 1712.

fencible men did not exceed twelve hundred. Two years after the colony sustained a great loss both of lives and property, in the horrible massacre perpetrated by the Corees and Tuscaroras. The expense of defending the colony against the enemy, till the arrival of colonel Barnwell and his troops from South Carolina, and the summer following, was very considerable.

Enacting style in 1715.

The enacting style of the colony from about the year sixteen hundred fifteen was, "Be it enacted, by his excellency the palatine, and the rest of the true and absolute lords proprietors of Carolina, by and with the consent of the general assembly, now met at Lit-

tle River, for the northeast of the said province, and it is hereby enacted."

There appears ever to have been a government in this colony distinct from that in South Carolina. During the whole term of the proprietary government the colonies appear to have had different governours. The last governour in this colony, under the proprietaries, in seventeen hundred twenty nine, was Sir Richard Everard. At the same period the government of South Carolina was vested in Arthur Middleton, president of the council.

The Carolinas surrendered to the crown in Sept. 1729.

In September the payment of seventeen thousand and five hundred pounds sterling was completed, in behalf of the crown, for seven eighths of the Carolinas. Seven eighths of the quitrents due from the colonists amounting to more than nine thousand pounds sterling, were purchased for five thousand. A clause in the act of parliament, respecting the purchase, reserved an eighth share of the property and quitrents then in arrears, to John Lord Carteret, which continued to be legally vested in his family.* All his share in the government he surrendered to the crown. The other proprietors made a surrender both of property and jurisdiction.

Boundary lines.

From this period the government became regal, similar to that of the other royal governments. The boundary line between North and South Carolina, begins at a cedar stake, by the sea side near the mouth of Little River, which is the southern extremity of New Brunswick, and thence runs a north west course through the boundary house in thirty three degrees and forty six minutes, to thirty five degrees north latitude; and thence, agreeably to the ancient charters, a wes line to the South Sea. The north line between this colony and Virginia begins on the sea shore in thirty six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, and runs west parallel with the other west line to the same western boundary.

* His eighth share lay in North Carolina, and since became the property of Lord Greenville.

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1729.

The first royal governour was George Barrington. He continued in office till seventeen hundred thirty four. He had five successors before the American revolution.*

From the period in which his majesty assumed the immediate care and government of the Carolinas, a new era commenced in that country, which the Carolinians esteemed the era of their freedom, security, and happiness. That the colonists might apply themselves to industry with vigour and success, it was the first object of the royal concern, to establish the peace of these colonies upon the most sure and permanent foundations. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was commissioned and sent out to treat with the Cherokees. They spread over the lands at the head of Savannah river and back into the Appalachian mountains. They claimed an immense tract of country, as their hunting grounds, and its boundaries had never been clearly ascertained. Their numbers, at that period, were estimated at twenty six thousand. It was supposed that, on any emergency, they were able to send into the field six thousand warriors. An alliance with them was an object of prime importance. Sir Alexander arrived in the beginning of the year, and with despatch made his journey to the distant hills. When he arrived at Chowee, about three hundred miles from Charleston, he was met by the chiefs of the lower towns, and a general congress of the chiefs of the nation were summoned to meet him at Nequasset. In April the congress met. The chiefs, upon their knees, promised fidelity and obedience to the great king George, calling upon every thing terrible to fall upon them if they should violate their promise. By the unanimous consent of the nation, Moytoy was appointed commander in chief. Numerous presents were

Sir Alexander Cumming treats with the Cherokees. 1730.

* Gabriel Johnson from 1734—1752. Matthew Rowan president of the council till 1754. Arthur Dobbs till 1764. William Tryon till 1771. Josiah Martin till 1774.

made to the Indians; and they brought the crown, with five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, from Tennassee, their chief town, and Moytoy presented them to Sir Alexander, praying him to lay them at his majesty's feet. Sir Alexander proposed that a number of their chiefs should be deputed to accompany him to England, to do homage in person. Six were appointed, and sailed with him for England. They arrived at Dover in June. As a pledge of their loyalty, the crown of their nation, the feathers of glory, and the scalps of their enemies, were laid at his majesty's feet. A treaty was drawn up, and signed by Alured Popple, secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, on the part of his majesty, and the Cherokee chiefs in behalf of their nation. The chief articles were for substance, That the king's children of Carolina should trade with the Indians, and furnish them with all goods they should want; and make haste to build houses and plant corn from Charleston towards the Cherokee towns behind the great mountains: That the Cherokees should be always ready to fight against any nation of white men or Indians, who shall hurt or molest the English: That the trading path should be kept clean from blood: That the Cherokees shall trade with no people but the English, nor admit any to build forts, or cabins, or to plant among them: That if any should attempt to do it, they shall give notice of it to the English governour: That if any Englishman shall kill an Indian, he should be punished by the English laws, as if he had killed an Englishman; and that when an Indian should kill a white man, he should be delivered up and punished in the same manner. Every article was accompanied with presents of different kinds, such as cloth, guns, shot, vermilion, flints, hatchets, &c.* This peace was kept inviolably by the Cherokees nearly thirty years.

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol ii. p. 6, 7, 8.

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1730.

The first governour of South Carolina, under the crown, was Robert Johnson. He arrived at his seat of government the beginning of the year seventeen hundred thirty one. With him returned the Indian chiefs, with such ideas of the power, greatness and generosity of the English nation, as imagination can better paint than language express.

For the encouragement of the Carolinians, his majesty granted them several indulgences. The restraints on rice, an enumerated article, were partly taken off, and the parliament allowed a discount on hemp. The arrears of quitrents, amounting to more than nine thousand, were remitted as a bounty from the crown. Seventy pieces of cannon were sent over by his majesty, and the governour had orders to build a fort at Port Royal, and another on the river Alatamaha. An independent company of foot was allowed for their defence by land, and ships of war were stationed for the protection of trade. For the encouragement of commerce, the colony was allowed to continue, and very considerably to increase, their bills of credit.

Till this period the cultivation of the Carolinas was very inconsiderable. Says a writer of their history, "The face of the country appeared like a desert, with little spots here and there cleared, scarcely discernible amidst the immense forest;" but after this, under the royal smiles, they began to emerge from a state of poverty and oppression, to a state of freedom, ease, and affluence.

Plan for the settlement of Georgia.

Soon after the establishment of the two distinct governments of South and North Carolina, a plan was concerted for the settlement of a colony, between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah. Till this time that extensive country had remained a wilderness, without an inhabitant, except the savage natives. In the settlement of this, two principal objects were had in view; the relief of the indigent inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland; and the more effectual security of the Carolinas. To South Carolina especially, it would form an important bar-

rier, both against the Indians and Spaniards. The plan was conceived by a number of charitable people, who raised monies for the purpose of transporting valuable families made miserable by misfortune and poverty, at home, into this part of America. The design was not only to transport, and give them lands in America, but to clothe, and furnish them with utensils necessary to make a permanent settlement.

On application to his majesty, for his countenance and a legal execution of their design, his letters patent were granted, incorporating twenty one persons, by the name of Trustees for the settling and establishing of the colony of Georgia. These letters passed the seals June 9th, 1732. The charter of incorporation made a grant of all that part of Carolina, lying between the most northerly stream of Savannah river, along the sea coast, to the most southern stream of Alatamaha river; westward from the heads of these rivers respectively in direct lines to the South Sea, inclusively, with all islands within twenty leagues of the same. The present boundaries are the Atlantic ocean on the east, the Floridas on the south, Missisippi on the west, and South Carolina on the north, and northeast. The state is about 600 miles in length and 250 in breadth.

Patent for the purpose, June 9th.

The trustees having exhibited an ample charity, by making large contributions themselves, undertook the solicitation of contributions from others; for the purposes of clothing, arming, purchasing utensils for cultivation, and for the transportation of such needy families, as would consent to emigrate, and begin the settlement of the colony. Their views were not confined to British subjects only, but it was their design to open a door for indigent and oppressed protestants of other countries and denominations.

To prevent all abuse and misapplication of those charitable donations, they agreed to deposit the money in the bank of England; and to enter in a book the names of the donors, with the sums contributed by each of them. They also obliged themselves,

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1732.

and their successors in office, to lay a statement of the money, received and expended, before the lord chancellor of England, the lords chief justices of the king's bench and common pleas, the master of the rolls, and the lord chief baron of the exchequer.

These generous trustees offered their time, labour, and money, wholly for the good of others; seeking no other reward for themselves than the noble satisfaction of virtuous actions, and of doing good to individuals and the public. Doubtless, they may challenge the annals of any nation to produce a more charitable and worthy undertaking.

The trustees held their first meeting in July, 1732, elected lord Percival president, and appointed a common seal. Besides the liberal donations made by the gentry, clergy, and nobility, the parliament granted ten thousand pounds for carrying the design into immediate effect. The November following, a hundred and sixteen emigrants offered themselves, and embarked for Georgia. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, a zealous and active promoter of the colony, embarked with them. The next January they arrived, in good health, at Charleston in South Carolina. The Carolinians sensible of the vast advantages, which might be derived to them, from the settlement in contemplation, gave it a generous encouragement. They made the emigrants a present of a hundred breeding cattle, with some other live stock, and twenty barrels of rice. They also furnished them with a party of horse, and with scout boats for their conveyance to Savannah, and assistance in the exploration of the country. Governour Bull accompanied Mr. Oglethorpe and the emigrants, to Savannah; and the Carolinians assisted, with their labours as well as purses, in planting this new colony. After exploring the country they began their settlement on the high pleasant bluff, on which the town of Savannah now stands. A regular town was marked out, on the south side of the river; and, near its bank, a fort was erected and guns mounted, for the

January 15th, 1733.

Settlement of Georgia.

defence of the inhabitants. The town was named Savannah from the Indian name of the river which washed it on the north.

Mr. Oglethorpe concluded a treaty of friendship with the Creeks, that numerous and powerful tribe of Indians. He embodied all the men capable of bearing arms, arranged them under proper officers, and equipped them for service.

Regulations of the trustees.

While these things were effected in the colony, the trustees had been forming a plan of settlement, and establishing such regulations, as in their opinion, were best adapted to answer the purposes of their incorporation. As the military strength of the colony was one principal object of its settlement, they considered the inhabitants both as planters and soldiers; to be furnished, no less with arms for defence, than with tools for cultivation. Each grant of land was viewed as a military fief, for which the possessor, whenever called, was to appear in arms and take the field, for the common defence. It was determined, that the lands should be granted in tail male; and, that on the termination of the estate in tail male, it should revert to the trust, and should be regranted, as the trustees should determine. They were however, especially to regard the widows and daughters of those who had made settlements on the lands thus reverting. The widows during life were entitled to the mansion house and one half of the lands, which had been improved by their husbands. Allowances were also to be made to daughters, especially if they had not been previously provided for in marriage. If any of the lands granted, should not be cleared, improved, and well inclosed within eighteen years from the date of the grant, they were also to return to the trust. All forfeitures for non-residence, treason, felonies, &c. were to the trustees, for the emolument of the colony. The use of negroes and the importation of rum were absolutely prohibited. There was also a prohibition of all trade

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with the Indians, unless by virtue of a special licence for that purpose.

1733. As this new settlement was designed as a barrier against the Spaniards, and numerous and potent tribes of Indians within the limits of the colony, it was imagined that negroes would disserve a principal object in view. Rum was viewed as injurious to health, and destructive to the peace and interests of a new settlement. It is not improbable, that the trustees had also in the prohibition of this article, a charitable regard to the peace and life of the Indians. It was imagined that a free trade with them would be productive of wars, and expose the colony to destruction. These were some of the reasons, which induced these humane and liberal gentlemen, to adopt such an uncommon system of fundamental regulations. Scarcely could the human mind have formed one less adapted to the condition of the poor settlers, mor impolitic, or in its consequences more destructive of the population and prosperity of the province.

1734. Notwithstanding there came over the next year five or six hundred emigrants to advance the settlement. But it was soon found by experience, from these first embarkations of poor people, from England, collected from the refuse of towns and cities, that these were not the people to fell the mighty groves of Georgia, and turn the wilderness into gardens and pleasant fields. Those who had been irresolute, idle, and useless members of society at home, were found to be no better abroad. A more enterprising and hardy race of men were to be sought, that the ends in view might be answered. The trustees therefore determined to introduce upon their lands, a number of Scotch and German labourers. To effect this proper inducements were necessary. The trustees therefore resolved that eleven townships, each consisting of twenty thousand acres should be laid out in square plats, upon the principal rivers in the colony. Two were to be laid out on the Alatamaha, two on

the Savannah, two on the Santee, and the other on Pedee, Wacamaw, Wateree, and Black rivers, as they were then called. Each town was to be divided into fifty acre shares; of which every man, who would make a settlement, had one share.* On the publication of these terms Switzers, Scotch, and Germans became adventurers in the colony. 1734.

By the influence of John Peter Pary, of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, a number of Switzers came over and made settlements in the colony. Nearly at the same time about a hundred and seventy Saltzbergers, protestants from Germany, emigrated and made a settlement on the Savannah, which they named Ebenezer. The same year about a hundred and sixty Scotch Highlanders were transported into Georgia, and settled on the Alatamaha. They built a fort, which they called Darien. About this they settled a small town, which, in memory of that whence they emigrated, was named New Iverness. 1735.

In 1736, Mr. Oglethorpe, who made it his business to oversee and advance the settlement of the colony, brought over with him a recruit of three hundred planters. With these he settled Frederica, on the island St. Simon, the west side of which is washed by the river Alatamaha. Great pains were taken to strengthen the southern parts of Georgia. In addition to the ten thousand sterling, granted 1732, the parliament made a second grant of twenty six thousand pounds for the encouragement of the colony. About fourteen hundred planters, in the term of three years, had been transported into the colony. Under these favourable appearances, the trustees flattered themselves, with expectations of soon seeing their new colony in a flourishing state of population, wealth, and power. But sadly were their expectations disappointed. Not all the liberality of individuals, nor the countenance and generous 1736.

* Hist. S. Car. vol. ii. p. 42, 45. By comparing the grants with the number of men who made settlements, as they are set down from year to year, I find about 60 acres and a half granted to each man.

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grants of parliament, could, under their regulations, raise the colony from an affecting state of poverty and wretchedness.

In 1737, on a rumour that the Spaniards, at the Havannah and St. Augustine, were making preparations for the invasion of the colony, the government, at the request of the trustees, sent over a regiment of six hundred men for its defence. Each soldier, at the end of seven years, might be discharged with a title to twenty acres of land. The parliament also made another grant of twenty thousand pounds, enabling the trustees to transport into the colony a fresh embarkation of persecuted protestants. Within the term of seven years, from June, 1732, to June, 1740, the British parliament granted *l.*94,000 for the settlement of Georgia. The benefactions made to the corporation for that purpose, in Great Britain, amounted to *l.*16,704,6,3,2. and those in Carolina to *l.*1,296,5,9. The whole sum given was *l.*112,000,12,0,2. Of this, during the seven years, the trustees expended *l.*106,081,4,5,2. They had settled in the colony 687 men, and 834 women and children, 1521 persons; equal to 304 families, reckoning five to a family. Of this number 915 were originally poor British subjects, and 606 were poor foreign protestants. The settlement of each person cost the nation about 70*l.* and each family about *l.*350. Within the same period, it appears from the quantity of lands granted, allowing the same proportion to rich and poor, that they had settled 977 rich people. So that in 1740, there were 2,498 inhabitants, equal to 500 families.* This is, on supposition that all the lands granted were settled, and that none of the planters were dead. Neither of these can be supposed: but it is probable, that the increase of the planters amounted to all deficiencies by death or otherwise.

Donations and expenditures in the settlement of Georgia.

* I have before me an account of benefactions, expenditures, and grants made, and of the poor people sent over to the colony the first seven years.

Besides the expenditures which have been stated, the nation was at the expense of transporting a regiment of 600 men into Georgia, and of arming, clothing, victualling, and paying them during three of the seven years. This, probably, amounted to as much as all the other expenses. We may therefore estimate the cost of settling every person for the term of seven years at *l.*70 at least, and of each family at *l.*350 At this time nothing had been received, by way of compensation, nor was any thing received for many years after this period. The corporation afterwards expended *l.*5,919,7,7 the balance remaining on hand in 1740, in advancing the settlement of the colony. At the same time the nation were at great and constant expense for its protection.

Upon the declaration of war against Spain, Mr. Oglethorpe was vested with a general command. As the Spaniards had been bad neighbours in peace, and as it was expected they would be much worse in war, he undertook an expedition against Florida. Assisted by Virginia and the Carolinas, he marched with an army of more than two thousand men, consisting of regulars, provincials, and Indian allies. He took two Spanish forts, Diego and Moosa. He invested St. Augustine, cannonaded and bombarded it for a considerable time. By sea he was assisted by captain Vincent Price, with several twenty gun ships; but after all their exertions, the general was obliged to raise the seige and return with considerable loss.

Oglethorpe's expedition, 1740.

Two years after, the Spaniards in their turn invaded Georgia. In May, 1742, two thousand land forces, under the command of Don Antonio de Rodando, from the Havannah, under a strong convoy, arrived at St. Augustine. This armament was discovered on its passage, by captain Haymer of the Flamborough man of war, who was cruising on the coast, and advice was immediately sent to general Oglethorpe of its arrival in Florida. The general sent intelligence, with the utmost expedition, to governour Glen of South Carolina, desiring him, with

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Spanish armament.

Preparations for its reception.

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all possible despatch, to collect, and send on to his assistance, all the force in his power. He also requested him to despatch a sloop to the West Indies, to acquaint admiral Vernon with the intended invasion of the country. Georgia, Port Royal, and the inhabitants of the southern frontiers of South Carolina, began to tremble. Many of the inhabitants of the latter deserted their habitations; and, with their families and effects, repaired to Charleston. But the Carolinians though exposed to the same dangers with their fellow subjects, in Georgia, and though it was their policy to keep the enemy at a distance, yet having imbibed prejudices against general Oglethorpe, on the account of his late unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine, determined to provide for their own defence, and leave him to act alone, in opposing the superior force which was coming against him.

Meanwhile the general made all possible preparations for a vigorous defence. Message after message was sent to his Indian allies, who, as they had a great esteem for his person, flocked to his camp. With his own regiment, such rangers and highlanders as could be mustered in Georgia, amounting only to seven hundred men, exclusive of his Indians, he fixed his head quarters at Frederica, determining in case of an attack, to sell his life as dearly as possible, in defence of the province. At the same time he had no doubt of a reinforcement from Carolina, for which he every day waited with anxious expectation. The Spanish armament after a considerable reinforcement from St. Augustine, on the last of June came to anchor off Simon's bar. The fleet consisted of thirty two sail, having on board more than three thousand men, commanded by Don Manuel de Monteano. After they had spent some time, in sounding the channel, and found a sufficient depth of water, with the tide of flood, they stood in for Jekyl sound. The general, who was now at Simon's fort, fired upon them and made every exertion in his

Spaniards invade Georgia.

power to prevent their passing up the river. The Spaniards returned the fire from their ships, and proceeded up the river Alatamaha, beyond the reach of his guns. Hoisting a red flag at the mizzen-topmast-head of the largest ship, they landed on the island and erected a battery of twenty eighteen pounders. Among their land forces was a fine artillery company, under the command of Don Antonio Rodondo.

General Oglethorpe finding that he could not prevent the enemy's going up the river, and that their force was so great that it was unsafe, with his handful of men, to remain at fort Simon's, nailed up his cannon, burst his bombs and cohorns, and destroying the stores, retreated to his head quarters at Frederica. He perceived, that the most he could do, was, by vigilant and vigorous measures, to act on the defensive, to plan all means of retarding the enemy and of gaining time till he should receive a reinforcement. This he constantly expected from Carolina. While his main body were working on the fortifications, and making them as strong as possible, in their circumstances, scouting parties were kept out to watch every motion of the enemy. Night and day the Indian allies, assisted by the highlanders, ranged through the woods, harassed the out posts, and, as far as possible, obstructed the approach of the enemy. The general was pressed with difficulties. He not only wanted men but provisions. These were neither good nor plentiful. The enemy commanded the river, and he was at so great a distance from the settlements, that there was no prospect of a supply. But to prolong the defence, which was of the utmost consequence, not only to Georgia, but to Carolina, the general concealed from the army every discouraging circumstance. To inspire them with vigour and perseverance, he exposed himself to the same hardships and fatigues with the meanest soldier. The enemy made several attempts to pierce through the woods to the attack of the fortress at Frederica; but they met with such opposition from deep morasses

Conduct and difficulties of general Oglethorpe.

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1742.

and dark thickets, lined with fierce Indians and wild highlanders, that, in every instance, they were repulsed. Numbers of their officers and best troops were slain, and more than a hundred men taken prisoners. On this the Spanish general kept his men under cover of his cannon, and proceeded up the river with a number of gallies to reconnoitre the fort, and to draw the attention of general Oglethorpe to that quarter. To counteract this design the general detached parties of his Indians to lie in ambush in the woods, along the shore, to prevent the enemy's landing. Learning that there was a difference in the Spanish army, so that the troops from Cuba, and those from St. Augustine, formed two distinct camps, he conceived the plan of surprising one of them. His knowledge of the woods gave him great advantage for the execution of his design. He marched out under the cover of night, with a number of chosen men, and having advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp, he halted his main body, and advanced with a small party to view the situation of the enemy. While he was conducting every thing with the utmost secrecy a Frenchman in his service, firing his piece, deserted and gave the alarm to the enemy. As the general's plan was defeated, by this perfidy, he retreated to head quarters. But deeply apprehensive of the mischief which this treacherous villain might effect, by discovering his weakness, he began to devise means to defeat the credit of his informations. With this view he addressed a letter to the French deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and how practicable it would be to cut him and his small garrison in pieces; and begged him, as his spy, to bring them on to the attack. If he could not, he desired him to use all his art, to persuade them to tarry, at least, three days more at fort Simon's, intimating that within that time he should receive such a reinforcement from Carolina, with six British ships of war, that he should be able to give a good

Oglethorpe's stratagem to get rid of the enemy.

account of the Spaniards. At the same time, he urged him not to mention a word of admiral Vernon's coming against St. Augustine. He concluded with assurances, that for his services he should receive an ample compensation. This letter was entrusted to a Spanish captive, who for the sake of obtaining his liberty and for a small reward, engaged to deliver it to the French deserter. But instead of delivering it to him, he, agreeably to the wishes of the general, conveyed it directly to the commander of the Spanish army.

Their perplexity and division.

Great was the perplexity, various the conjectures and speculations, which this letter occasioned in the Spanish camp. The commander himself was not a little perplexed. The deserter was put in irons, and a council of war was called, to deliberate on the measures to be taken, in a case so puzzling and extraordinary. Some of the officers were of opinion, that it was only a stratagem to deceive them, and prevent the attack of Frederica. Others imagined that the matters mentioned in the letter were probable; that the English general might wish for an attack, and to detain them till a reinforcement should arrive, or till admiral Vernon should make himself master of Augustine. They were therefore for dropping a plan of conquest attended with so many difficulties, and for consulting their own safety and that of Augustine; lest, while they were attempting conquests, they should be conquered themselves, and lose Florida. While the Spaniards were employed in these deliberations, and embarrassed with contrary opinions, an event, entirely providential, took place, which at once united their councils. Three ships of force, sent out by the governour of Carolina, at this nick of time, appeared on the coast. This corresponding with the intimations given in the letter, convinced the Spanish general of the truth of its contents. The Spaniards, in imagination, saw a vast reinforcement at hand, and were so panic struck, that they immediately set fire to the fort, and em-

Sudden retreat to Augustine.

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barked in such hurry and confusion, that some cannon, a quantity of provision and military stores were left behind.*

In this very providential and remarkable manner, was Georgia delivered from the very jaws of destruction. Fifteen days was Don Manuel de Monteano on the small island, on which Frederica stands, without effecting any thing of importance. He was frighted, and all his designs defeated, by a mere stratagem, in which general Oglethorpe lost not a man.

In this resolute defence, general Oglethorpe displayed both personal courage and military skill; and not only saved Georgia, but, probably, a considerable part of South Carolina from destruction. He performed singular services for the country, and merited an equal degree of applause and thanks from both colonies.

It is not improbable that the principal designs of the Spaniards were against Carolina; and had they succeeded in Georgia, Port Royal, the southern frontiers of South Carolina, and Charleston itself, might have fallen an easy prey to their victorious arms. It was by far the most formidable armament ever employed against that part of the country. It was in a peculiar manner calculated to distress and ruin Carolina. Augustine, before the war, had been the grand resort of all runagate negroes. The governour of Augustine had not only refused, on application, to deliver them up to their masters, but had proclaimed protection and liberty to all who should repair to him.† The Spaniards had now a negro regiment whose officers were negroes clothed in lace, and bore the same rank as the white officers, and with the same familiarity walked and conversed with the Spanish general. Many, if not the principal part of these were refugees from Carolina. Had the Spaniards penetrated into that province, where, at that period, there were more than 40,000 negroes, they might,

* Hist. S. Car. vol. ii. p. 112—119. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 71.

with such an example, have soon acquired numbers against whom, no force in Carolina could have made any effectual resistance.

Though the Carolinians exhibited as little good policy as good neighbourhood in this affair, yet they, as well as the inhabitants of Georgia, under the all governing hand of Providence, experienced a very memorable deliverance.

The inhabitants of Port Royal and its vicinity expressed their deep sensibility of it, in their address to general Oglethorpe, on this occasion. In it are the following sentences :

" We, the inhabitants of the southern parts of Carolina, beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your late wonderful success, over your and our inveterate enemies, the Spaniards, who so lately invaded Georgia, in such a numerous and formidable body, to the great terror of his majesty's subjects in these southern parts. It was very certain, had the Spaniards succeeded in those attempts against your excellency, they would also have entirely destroyed us, laid our province waste and desolate, and filled our habitations with blood and slaughter ; so that his majesty must have lost the fine and spacious harbour of Port Royal, where the largest ships in the British nation may remain in security on any occasion."

So inglorious was this event to the Spanish arms, that on the return of the troops to the Havannah, the commander was imprisoned, that he might take his trial for his conduct, during the expedition. Though the enemy threatened to renew the invasion, yet they seem, never since, to have made any attempts to get possession of the country by force of arms.

Provisions and succours of all kinds were near at hand ; and, on any emergency, might be obtained of the sister colonies. But when the first colonies were planted, these were not to be had short of a voyage of three thousand miles across the Atlantic.

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However, after all this national expense, the colony remained in a languishing and distressed condition. Notwithstanding the liberal and noble designs of the trustees, they imposed on it so many impolitic, though well meant restrictions; subjected the inhabitants to so many forfeitures and hardships, as reduced them to a state of discouragement and wretchedness too great for human nature long to endure. The Carolinians, in pity, invited them over the river Savannah to settle under their government. While some abandoned the colony, others who remained fell into a state of tumult and confusion. In view of their unhappy condition, and wearied with their reiterated complaints, the trustees made a surrender of their charter to the crown.

1752. In 1752, the government became regal, similar to that of the other royal governments in America. John Reynolds, a naval officer, was appointed their governour.

At this period, almost twenty years from its first settlement, the vestiges of cultivation were hardly perceptible in the forests of Georgia. In England all commerce with the colony was not only neglected, but even despised. The whole amount of its annual exports fell short of ten thousand sterling. Nor did it, under the royal government, for many years, emerge from its poverty and various embarrassments.

The poverty of the southern colonies, and their slow progress in cultivation and improvement, after their first settlement, was principally owing to these causes, Their unskilfulness in husbandry, their ignorance of the productions, which were natural to the country and most profitable to the planter, their indolence and want of a spirit of enterprise.

General observations on the southern colonies.

Virginia is one the finest countries both for wheat and cattle, yet for more than a century from the commencement of its settlement, a great proportion of the people lived on pone, Indian bread, rather than be at the trouble of sowing and fencing a field

of wheat. With respect to their cattle, rather than be at the pains to make proper provision for them, in winter, they would suffer them to be so pinched with hunger, as nearly to die, and so stint their growth, as to prevent their ever being so large and fat, or in other respects so profitable as otherwise they might have been. Hence their beef and mutton were not so good as in England or the northern colonies. Whereas with a small degree of care and feeding in the winter, they would have been as large as the English cattle, and the beef, perhaps, equal to any in the world. The Virginians had the best lands for hemp and flax; their sheep increased plentifully, and yielded good fleeces; the mulberry tree grew as naturally as the weed, and the silk worm would thrive exceedingly without danger; yet, they brought their clothing of all kinds, linen, woolen, silk, hats, and leather from England. They had a plenty of hides, but most of them lay and rotted. Their sheep were shorn only to cool them. They abounded in deer skins of the best quality, but he was a rare economist, who manufactured a pair of leather breeches. Nay, though they had the finest groves of timber, yet at the distance of a hundred and fifteen or twenty years from their first settlement, they imported all their wooden ware, not only their cabinets, chests, tables, chairs, and boxes, but even their cart-wheels, bowls, and brooms from England.*

In the Carolinas and Georgia, the case was very similar, for many years after their first plantation. It was not till after their respective governments became regal, that either of them made any considerable progress in cultivation. After this period, some of the most enterprising among the inhabitants, began to discover their richest lands and what were their most natural and profitable productions. These were now looked out with that keenness of sight, secured and cultivated, with that avidity and ardour,

* Beverley's Hist. Virg. p. 252, 253, 255, 256.

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which the prospects of wealth naturally inspire. Tradesmen and artificers began to be introduced among the planters, and both the plantations and buildings began to assume a better appearance.*

As late as the year 1756, Georgia remained little better than a wilderness. The rich swamps on the rivers were not cultivated, and the planters had not found their way into the interior parts of the country, where the lands are not only more fertile than those on the sea coast, but the climate is far more healthful and pleasant. The whole amount of the exports from Georgia, at this period was only 16,776 pounds sterling.

Governour Wright, by his example and success, first gave spring, to a spirit of industry and emulation, to the inhabitants of this province. He was not only a father to it, but discovering the excellency of its low lands and river swamps, and the mode of cultivation, in a few years, made himself master of a handsome fortune. The planters, thus taught the road to wealth, eagerly seized and cultivated the rich lands, and soon after the peace of Paris, 1763, rose to a state of ease, respectability, and opulence. At this period the whole amount of its exports were no more than 27,021 pounds sterling. From this time the increase was so rapid, that in 1773 the amount of the exports of its staple commodities was 121,677 pounds sterling.† The colony enjoyed an increasing state of prosperity, till the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies.

* Hist. S. Car. vol. ii. p. 15, 16. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 267.

CHAPTER IX.

War with the eastern Indians. Brunswick destroyed. Canso surprised and seventeen vessels taken by the enemy Attempts to engage the Five Nations in war against the eastern Indians. The English take and burn Norridgewock. Peace made with the Indians. French war. Duviviere takes Canso. Expedition of the New Englanders against Louisburg. Remarkable deliverance of New England.

THE peace concluded with the Indians, in seventeen hundred thirteen was of short duration. Some dissatisfaction seems to have arisen, as early as the year seventeen hundred seventeen. Even before this time some injuries had been done to the English. Colonel Shute, governour of the Massachusetts, wishing to prevent hostilities, met the Indians in a general treaty at Arowsick. They complained that encroachments had been made on their lands, and expressed their dissatisfaction that so many forts had been built, at one place and another. They also complained that trading houses had not been erected for the purposes of taking off their commodities, and supplying them with necessaries. The governour promised them, that trading houses should be built, that armorers should be sent down, at the expense of the province, and that for their commodities, they should be supplied with provision, clothing, and other necessaries. There was a renewal of former treaties and an amicable conclusion of the conference.

It was expected that the general court would have adopted measures, to carry the several matters, stipulated by the governour, into immediate execution. But such was the general disaffection to the governour, that it induced the court, sometimes, to oppose his measures, even when they were wise and salutary. The treaty was therefore disapproved, and nothing was done for the performance of a single article which had been stipulated. The private trad-

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1721. ers, by their frauds and other injuries, irritated the Indians, and the French jesuits among them roused them to war.* Some damages were done to the English.

August, 1721. The general court therefore resolved, that three hundred men should be sent to the head quarters of the Indians, and that proclamation should be made, commanding them, on pain of being prosecuted with the utmost severity, to deliver up the jesuits, and the other heads and fomenters of the rebellion, and to make satisfaction for the damages they had done. If they should refuse a compliance, it was ordered, that as many of their principal men, as the commanding officer should judge expedient, should be seized and sent to Boston. If opposition should be made, they were to repel force by force. The governour and judge Sewel, one of the council, scrupled the lawfulness and prudence of a war with the Indians, and therefore the troops were not sent, as the court had resolved.

At the next session the house manifested their dissatisfaction that the troops were not sent out; and resolving "That the government has still sufficient reason for prosecuting the eastern Indians for their many breaches of covenant," a party of men was ordered up to Norridgewock, their chief town. Here was an Indian church, and father Ralle, a jesuit, whom the Indians, in a manner, idolized, was their pastor. The party effected nothing more than the bringing off some of the jesuit's books and papers. His faithful disciples took care for the security of his person and fled to the woods.

Nov. 3.

This attempt was such an insult as the Indians could not brook. From this time they meditated nothing but revenge. The next June, about sixty of them captivated nine families at Merrymeeting bay. A small party took the collector of the customs, at Annapolis royal, Mr. Newton, John Adams,

June, 1722.

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 218, 221, 270.

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captain Blin, and a number of passengers, who put in at one of the Passimaquidies, in their way from Nova Scotia to Boston. Another party burned a sloop at St. George's river, made a number of prisoners, and attempted to surprise the fort. Soon after the enemy burnt Brunswick, a village between Casco bay and Kennebeck. Captain Harman, who had been posted with a party on the frontiers, pursued the enemy, killed a considerable number, and took their arms.

July 25. War with the eastern Indians.

Upon this war was proclaimed against the enemy, and became general. The Norridgewocks, Penobscot, St. François, Cape Sable, and St. John's Indians, all united in hostilities against New England.* They ravaged all the frontiers, from Nova Scotia to Connecticut river. For three years large numbers of men were employed in ranging the enemy's country, and guarding the frontiers. Connecticut, though not immediately exposed, as the Massachusetts and New Hampshire were, assisted her sister colonies in this, as she had done in all the preceding Indian wars.† Her troops were employed principally in the defence of the frontier towns of the Massachusetts in the county of Hampshire.

The country was now much stronger than in the former Indian wars; the fortresses on the frontiers were more numerous, and much better furnished with men and provisions. The experience which had been gained in former wars, taught the colonists more skill and foresight in fighting Indians, than they had before employed. The Indians were less numerous, more scattered, and generally at a greater distance than in former wars. They nevertheless

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 294, 295.

† From the year 1688 to 1695 the colony expended about 5,000*l.* in expeditions, aids, and succours for the defence of the province of New York. Within the same period the colony expended nearly 2,000*l.* for the defence of the Massachusetts. From the year 1703 to 1706. Connecticut expended nearly 11,000*l* more in the defence of the same province. The currency in these times was about three fourths the value of sterling money *Reasons in behalf of Connecticut against parliamentary taxation, p.* 29.

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killed many of the inhabitants and did the New England colonies very essential injuries.

Feb. 11th, 1723. In February, colonel Westbrook was despatched with a hundred and thirty men, to Kennebeck; and with whale boats and small vessels, ranged the coast as far as Mount Desert. On his return he sailed up Penobscot river; and about thirty two miles above the anchoring place, for the transports, discovered the Indian castle. It was seventy feet in length and fifty in breadth. Within were twenty three well finished wigwams. Without was a handsome church sixty feet long and thirty broad. There was also a commodious house for the Roman catholic priest. But these were all deserted, and nothing more was accomplished by the expedition, than the barbarous business of burning this Indian village.

Captain Harman, about the same time, was sent, with a hundred and twenty men, on an expedition to Norridgewock; but the rivers were so open, and the ground so full of water, that they could not pass either by land or water. After they had, with great difficulty reached the upper falls of Amascoggin, they divided into scouting parties and returned without seeing an enemy.

Afterwards captain Moulton went up with a party of men to Norridgewock; but the village was entirely deserted. He was a brave and prudent man, and, probably, imagining, that moderation and humanity might excite the Indians to a more favourable conduct towards the English, he left their houses and church standing. Some books and papers of Ralle, the jesuit, were brought off, by which it was discovered that the French were instigators of the war.

April. As soon as the spring began to open the enemy renewed their hostilities. Eight persons were killed or taken, at Scarborough and Falmouth. Among the dead was a sergeant Chubb, whom the Indians imagining to be captain Harman, against whom they

had conceived the utmost malignity, fifteen aiming at him, at the same instant, lodged eleven bullets in his body.

Besides other mischief, the enemy, the summer following, surprised Casco, with other harbours in its vicinity, and captured sixteen or seventeen sail of fishing vessels. The vessels belonged to the Massachusetts; but governour Philips of Nova Scotia, happening to be at Casco, ordered two sloops to be immediately manned and despatched in pursuit of the enemy. The sloops were commanded by John Eliot of Boston, and John Robinson of Cape Anne. As Eliot was ranging the coast he discovered seven vessels in Winepang harbour. He concealed his men, except four or five, and made directly for the harbour. Coming nearly up to one of the vessels, on board of which were about sixty Indians, in high expectation of another prize, they hoisted their pendants and cried out, "Strike English dogs and come aboard, for you are all prisoners." Eliot answered that he would make all the haste he could. As he made no attempts to escape, the enemy soon suspected mischief, cut their cable and attempted to gain the shore; but immediately boarding them, he prevented their escape. For about half an hour they made a brave resistance, but Eliot's hand-grenadoes made such havock among them, that at length, those who had not been killed took to the water, where they were a fair mark for the English musketeers. Five only reached the shore. Eliot received three bad wounds, had one man killed and several wounded. He retook seven vessels, several hundred quintals of fish, and fifteen captives. Many of the captives had been sent away, and nine had been murdered in cold blood. The Nova Scotia Indians were characterized as more cruel than the other Indian nations.

Robinson re-took two vessels and killed several of the enemy. The Indians had carried the other vessels so far up the bay, above Managash harbour that

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it was not safe to pursue them, as he had not a sufficient number of men to land and put to flight the more numerous enemy.

The loss of such a number of men determined the enemy to seek revenge on the poor fishermen. Twenty of these yet remained in their hands, at the harbour of Malagash. These were all destined to be sacrificed to the manes of the slaughtered Indians. At the very time, that the powawing and other ceremonies, attending such horrible purposes, were just commencing, captain Blin, who sometime before had been a prisoner among them, arrived off the harbour; and made the signal, or sent in the token, which it had been agreed between them, should be the sign of protection. Three Indians came on board, and an agreement was made for the ransom both of the ships and captives. These were delivered, and the ransom paid. Thus providentially were these poor men rescued from an untimely and barbarous death.

This Nova Scotia affair, was, by no means, fortunate to the Indians. Besides the loss which they had already sustained, captain Blin, in his way to Boston, captivated a number of them, near Cape Sables; and captain Southack a number more, which they brought on with them to Boston.

Sept. 16. Damage at Arowsick.

Before the close of the year, four or five hundred Indians made a descent on the island of Arowsick. The soldiers, guarding the labourers in the fields, discovered them, and gave the alarm so seasonably to the inhabitants, that they had time to shelter themselves in the fort, and also to secure part of their goods, before the enemy came upon them. They commenced an immediate attack on the fort; but finding after they had fired some time, that they could not carry their point with respect to this, they fell to plundering and burning the houses and destroying the cattle. About fifty head were killed, and thirty dwelling houses were burnt. With pain did the inhabitants behold this destruction, lamenting

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their want of numbers to make a sally and prevent the mischief. But the garrison consisted of forty men only, under the command of captains Temple and Penhallow. These were no match for such numbers. The enemy drew off, in the night, and retired to head quarters at Norridgewock.*

From April till the last of December, the enemy kept the country in continual alarm. More than forty people were killed and taken, in various places, besides those which have been mentioned. The most of them were killed.

Attempts had been made, by the Massachusetts, to engage the Five Nations and Scatacook Indians in the war. For this purpose commissioners had been sent to Albany, with such proposals, as were judged proper to induce them to take up the hatchet against the eastern Indians. The Indians conducted the affair with great art. All the encouragement obtained was, that the Five Nations would send a number of delegates to Boston, to treat on the subject. Accordingly, not less than sixty of them went to Boston, at the session of the general court. A very formal conference was holden with them, in the presence of the whole court. But the delegates would not involve their principals in war. After they had amused the commissioners, and drawn a large sum in valuable presents from the government, they answered, that if any of their young men were inclined to go out with parties of the English, they might do as they pleased. Thus after high expectations, much trouble and expense, the affair issued without contributing, in the least, either to the honour or defence of the province.

Negotiation with the Five Nations, Aug. 21.

In the beginning of the next year the war was less favourable to the English, than it had been in the preceding. Their losses, on the whole, exceeded those of the enemy. However, before the close of the year, they received several such blows, as made

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 294—297.

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them weary of the war, and disposed them to an accommodation.

In March they began to alarm and kill the inhabitants; and in little more than two months, they killed people at Cape Porpoise, at Black Point, on Kennebeck river, at Berwick, Lamprey, and Oyster rivers, and at Kingston. They also killed and captivated several on Connecticut river.

April 30. Captain Winslow killed.

Captain Josiah Winslow, who had been stationed at the fort on St. George's river, with part of his company, had been surprised and cut off. He went out from the fort with two whale boats, fourteen white men, and three Indians. It seems the enemy watched their motions, and on their return, suddenly surrounded them, with thirty canoes, whose complement was not less than a hundred Indians. The English attempted to land, but were intercepted, and nothing remained, but to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They made a brave defence, but every Englishman was killed. The three Indians escaped to report their hapless fall.

Indian feats by water.

Flushed with this success, the enemy attempted still greater feats on the water. They took two shallops at the Isles of Shoals. They then made seizures of other vessels in different harbours. Among others they took a large schooner carrying two swivel guns. This they manned and cruised along the coast.

It was imagined that a small force would be able to conquer these raw sailors. A shallop of sixteen, and a schooner of twenty men, under captains Jackson and Lakeman, were armed and sent in pursuit of the enemy. They soon came up with them, but raw as they were, they obliged the English vessels to sheer off, and leave them to pursue their own course. The vessels returned much damaged in their rigging by the swivel guns. Jackson and several of his men were wounded.

Captain Durel, of the Seahorse man of war, was, at that time, on the Boston station. His lieutenant,

master, and master's mate, each of them took the command of a small vessel, with thirty men, and sailed in quest of the Indian seamen; but they soon grew weary of the business, and returned without giving any intelligence of the enemy. The Indians took eleven vessels and forty five men. Twenty two they killed, and the others they carried into captivity. 1724.

While this part of the enemy were accomplishing these feats by water, other parties were alarming the inland country, killing and captivating the inhabitants. Mischief was done at Groton, Rutland, Northampton, and Dover. In all these places more or less were killed, some were wounded, and others carried into captivity.

Weary and discouraged with fruitless attempts to intercept the Indians, by ranging the frontiers, it was determined to make another attempt to surprise them in their capital village at Norridgewock. Four companies, consisting in the whole, of two hundred and eighty men, under the command of captains Harman, Moulton, Bourn, and lieutenant Bean, were despatched up the river Kennebeck. On the twentieth of August they arrived at Taconick. Here leaving their boats, under a guard of forty men, they marched, the next day, for Norridgewock. In the evening they discovered two women, the wife and daughter of Bomazeen, the famous warrior and chieftain of Norridgewock. They fired upon them and killed his daughter, and then captivated his wife. By her they obtained a good account of the state of the village. On the twenty third they came near it, and as they imagined that part of the Indians would be in their corn fields, at some distance, it was thought expedient to make a division of the army. Harman, who was chief in command, marched with eighty men to the fields. Moulton with the remainder marched directly for the village. About three o'clock it opened suddenly upon them. The Indians were all in their wigwams entirely secure. Moulton

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1724. Surprisal of Norridgewock, Aug. 23.

marched his men in the profoundest silence, and ordered, that not one of them should fire at random, through the wigwams, nor till they should receive the enemy's fire; as he expected they would come out in a panic and overshoot them. At length an Indian stepping out discovered the English close upon them. He instantly gave the war whoop, and sixty warriors rushed out to meet them. The Indians fired hastily, without injuring a man. The English returned the fire with great effect, and the Indians instantly fled to the river. Some jumped into their canoes, others into the river, which the tallest of them were able to ford. Moulton closely pursuing them, drove them from their canoes, and killed them in the river, so that it was judged, that not more than fifty of the whole village reached the opposite shore. Some of these were shot before they reached the woods.

The English then returning to the village, found father Ralle, the jesuit, firing from one of the wigwams on a small number of men, who had not been in the pursuit of the enemy. One of these he wounded; in consequence of which, one lieutenant Jaques burst the door and shot him through the head. Captain Moulton had given orders not to kill him. Jaques excused himself, affirming that Ralle was loading his piece, and refused to give or receive quarter. With the English there were three Mohawks. Mog a famous Indian warrior firing from a wigwam killed one of them. His brother in a rage flew to the wigwam, burst the door, and instantly killed Mog. The English followed in a rage and killed his squaw and two helpless children. Having cleared the village of the enemy they fell to plundering and destroying the wigwams.

After the action was over Harman and his party came in from the fields, and the army lodged in the village. In the morning they found twenty six dead bodies besides that of the jesuit. Among the dead were Bomazeen, Mog, Carabeset, Wissememet, and

Bomazeen's son-in-law, all famous warriors. Charlevoix says there were no more than thirty killed, and fourteen wounded. The English not only plundered the village, but brought off the plate from the Roman catholic church, and, in their zeal against idolatry, broke the crucifixes and images with which it was adorned. After the English had marched off, one of the Mohawks was either sent back, or of his own accord, returned and burnt the wigwams and the church. This is the English account.*

1724. Village plundered and burnt.

Charlevoix says, the English finding they had no body to resist them, fell first to pillaging and then burning the wigwams. They spared the church, so long as was necessary for their shamefully profaning the sacred vessels and the ardorable body of Jesus Christ, and then set fire to it. He says, when the Indians returned to the village, they made it their first care to weep over the body of their holy missionary. They found him shot in a thousand places, scalped, his skull broke to pieces with the blows of hatchets, his mouth and eyes full of mud, the bones of his legs fractured, and all his members mangled an hundred different ways. Thus was a priest treated in his mission, at the foot of a cross, by those very men who have so strongly exaggerated the pretended inhumanity of our Indians, who have never made such carnage upon the dead bodies of their enemies. There is, doubtless, in this account, some mistake and exaggeration; but according to our own, are there not sad marks of inhumanity? Do not the instances of firing on the defenceless women, killing the daughter of Bomazeen, the wife and children of Mog, and father Ralle, appear to have been unnecessary and cruel? Have not a promiscuous plundering and burning of towns and churches, the slaughter of defenceless women and children, been ever considered by Americans as barbarous, especially when they have been the sufferers? Can these

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 211, 213.

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be less barbarous when they are the perpetrators? When shall we be so happy, as to banish revenge from our rancorous hearts, and possess such benevolence and greatness of spirit, as to treat our enemies with that justice, compassion, and humanity, which we think reasonable, and wish to have exercised towards ourselves?

To do justice to this story it should be observed, that Ralle had used his influence with the Norridgewocks, which was very great, and with the Indians in general, to engage them in the war. When the English attacked the village, he had with him an English boy, whom the Indians, about six months before, had captivated. This boy he had shot through the thigh, and afterwards, stabbed in his body. Captain Harman, under oath, witnessed this act of cruelty.* The boy was brought home and cured of his wounds.

Ralle was venerable for age, having been nearly forty years a missionary among the Indians. He was master of the learned languages, and from his letters, appeared to have been a man of superior natural powers. He held a correspondence with some of the ministers in Boston. His letters to them, written in Latin, were pure, classical, and elegant. Pride was the grand foible of his heart. He contemned the English, often threatened and provoked them. He met death in that very war, of which he had been a principal incendiary. He had a great talent at ingratiating himself with the Indians. To them he was dear as their own lives. He was indeed their idol. Charlevoix represents their esteem of him in the following sentence: "After his converts had raised up and oftentimes kissed the precious remains, so tenderly and so justly beloved by them, they buried him in the same place where, the evening before, he had celebrated the sacred mysteries, namely, where the altar stood before the church was burnt."

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 312.

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This was a fatal blow to the Norridgewocks. The tribe dwindled and never made any figure afterwards.

Encouraged by the success of this expedition, others of a similar nature were immediately set on foot. Colonel Westbrook, with three hundred men, marched across the country, from Kennebeck to Penobscot. Other parties were ordered up to Amesaconti and Amarescoggin: but no Indians could be found at the principal places of their common resort. The frontiers were nevertheless still harassed, and small numbers were killed and taken.

From the commencement of the war, the government had given premiums for every Indian scalp or captive. This was now increased to a hundred pounds for each. At this encouragement, John Lovewell raised a company of volunteers to hunt the Indians. On his first attempt he brought in one scalp and a captive. He made a second, in which he discovered ten Indians about a fire, all in a deep sleep. He ordered a part of his men to fire, who killed three. As the other seven arose they were all shot dead, by the rest of the company, who reserved their fire for that purpose. In a little more than two winter months, he and his party had made twelve hundred pounds in hunting Indians.

Jan. 5, 1725.

March 3.

Flushed with repeated success, he made a third expedition with a company of thirty men. The Indians, in the mean time, were not idle, but vigilantly sought to revenge the blood of their slaughtered brethren. In May, as Lovewell and his company were ranging the country, a prompt Indian presented himself, on a point of land adjoining to a large pond, on purpose to decoy them. Captain Lovewell soon suspected his design, and that a body of Indians were near at hand. He ordered his men to lay down their packs and prepare for action. The Indian kept still in view, gradually leading them round the pond, till he had drawn them a sufficient distance from their packs, and then suffering them to approach within gun shot, he discharged upon Lovewell, wounded

Lovewell's fight, May 8.

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him and one of his men. The Indian was instantly shot dead and scalped. Meanwhile a body of Indians who lay concealed seized the packs, and at a place chosen for their purpose, waited the return of the English. When they came to the place, about eighty Indians arose, yelled, fired, and in great fury, rushed upon them with their hatchets. Lovewell and his company made a gallant defence, and soon taught the enemy the danger of approaching too near them. To secure their rear and prevent the enemy's surrounding them, they retreated to the pond; where, notwithstanding the numbers and rage of the enemy, they fought them six hours, till night came on and finished the combat. Captain Lo. well, his lieutenant, and ensign were soon mortally wounded; and, with five more, were left dead on the place of action. Sixteen escaped unhurt. Eight were wounded and left in the woods without provisions. Of these two only came in, the others perished with hunger and their wounds. Though the English sustained great loss, yet the Indians were totally disappointed, and probably sustained a loss still much greater. Such brave men cannot be supposed to have fought six hours without doing important execution.

This unfortunate enterprise, however, finished the business of scalping parties. Both the English and the Indians were weary of the war. Ralle was now dead, and the Indians were left to pursue their own inclinations.

Peace with the Indians.

In June hostilities ceased. Four Indians soon after came to Boston; and, in behalf of the Indian tribes, whom they represented, signed a treaty of peace. This was afterwards ratified, at Falmouth in Casco bay, by Mr. Dummer, lieutenant governour of the Massachusetts, John Wentworth, Esquire, lieutenant governour of New Hampshire, and Paul Mascarene, Esquire, of the council of Nova Scotia, commissioners from their respective governments. This treaty was succeeded by a long and happy peace with the Indians.

This has been applauded as the most judicious treaty ever concluded with them. But its happy consequences were not at all owing to any thing in that, more than had been in other treaties. The articles were substantially the same. The pacific conduct of the Indians was owing to a very different cause; the justice and punctuality of the government in the fulfilment of its several articles.* Provision was made for the support of trading houses, at Kennebeck, Saco, and St. George's rivers. Acts were made for the restraining of private trade with the Indians. They soon found that they were supplied with goods, not only on better terms, than they could purchase them of the French, but than they could purchase them even of the private English traders. This was, at once sufficient, and much more effectual to prevent private fraud and commerce than all the laws which could have been made for that purpose. This was not only a source of peace, but in another view, it was a public emolument. It turned the channel of the skin and fur trade, from the French to the English merchants. Would it not be happy were a similar policy immediately adopted with respect to the Indians, in every part of the United States? Were they, at places of public trade, most convenient for them, to be furnished with all articles, at a lower price than they could be obtained elsewhere, would it not, at once, prevent private fraud and commerce, increase the Indian trade, conciliate the affection and esteem of the Indian nations, and be the most effectual, and by far the cheapest mode of defence, though thousands of pounds should be sacrificed for the purpose?

From this period to the commencement of the Spanish and French war the colonies experienced the blessings of general tranquillity. Their advances in the extent of their settlements, in cultivation, commerce, wealth, and population were very considerable.

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 317.

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1725. War with Spain proclaimed, Oct. 23, 1739. 1741.

The war with Spain in seventeen hundred thirty nine, soon began to interrupt this tranquil and prosperous state of the colonies. The southern colonies were in immediate danger. Its effects with respect to them have already been noticed.

In the expedition against Cuba the northern colonies furnished a considerable number of troops, and sustained a great loss of men, as they were mostly carried off by the uncommon mortality which prevailed in the army.*

It was the general expectation, every year, that France would unite with Spain in prosecuting the war against Great Britain. It was therefore judged expedient to be in readiness for such an event. The forts on the frontiers were put in a good state of defence. Castle William, the key of the Massachusett's colony, was not only effectually repaired, but a new battery of twenty forty two pounders was added to the works. A much larger magazine and greater supplies of powder than had before been usual were provided at the expense of the province. The cannon, mortars, shot, and other stores were the bounty of the crown.

1744. Upon a representation of the defenceless state of Annapolis and Nova Scotia, by Mr. Mascarene, two hundred men were despatched by the Massachusetts, to reinforce the garrison on that station.

March 31. Though war had been declared against France early in the spring, yet it was not known in New-England, till the beginning of June. The French at Louisburg, it seems, had the knowledge of it at an earlier period. Duvivier made an expedition from thence, with nine hundred men, and on the thirteenth of May surprised Canso. With another

* The sickness seems to have been almost as mortal as the plague. According to the general's account, no less than three thousand four hundred and forty five died, during the short space of two days. This was considerably more than a fourth part of the whole army. Of nearly a thousand men from New England, not more than ninety or a hundred returned. Of five hundred from Massachusetts fifty only returned.

party he soon after made an attempt on Annapolis; but as it had been reinforced from the Massachusetts, his expectations were disappointed. While the French were thus attacking us by land, many of our vessels were taken by their privateers and men of war, and carried into Louisburg. It became so dangerous to prosecute the fishery, that the fishermen gave up the design of going on their voyages the next summer. It was imagined, that no maritime business could be carried on but under convoy. CHAP. IX. 1744.

In the fall of the year it became the general voice, that Louisburg must be taken. It was not however the apprehension of any, that it could be effected even by the united strength of the colonies. It was the general opinion, that application must be made to his majesty, both for a naval and land force, to carry it into execution. As the winter came on, suggestions were broached, that the place might, probably, be taken by surprise. Some who had been prisoners at Louisburg, and professed to be well acquainted with the fortifications and garrison, favoured this opinion. Mr. Vaughan, who had been a trader at Louisburg, was sanguine in the opinion, that it might be taken by a coup du main. It was the general opinion, that if the fortress could not be taken by surprise, yet, that the provisions for the garrison were so scant, that it would be impossible for it to stand a siege till the usual time for the arrival of supplies from France. At the same time it was talked, that a naval force might be provided to cruise off the harbour, sufficient to prevent the entrance of any chance vessels which might arrive.

While this was the conversation abroad, it seems that Mr. Vaughan, who was zealous in the affair and has been called the projector of the expedition, proposed it to governour Shirley. The governour made diligent inquiry of those who had been traders and prisoners at Louisburg, concerning the condition of the fortress, the usual time of the arrival of supplies from Europe, the practicability of cruising before the

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harbour, and whatever else might be necessary to obtain the fullest information relative to the affair.

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Before this time, he had written to the ministry, representing the necessity of a naval force, early in the spring, for the preservation of Annapolis. If this should arrive, he hoped, that the commander, with that, would be willing to cover the provincial troops. Commodore Warren, with several capital ships, was cruising at the leeward islands. It was thought probable, that when he should be acquainted with the expedition, he would either come with his whole force, or, at least, send part of it to the assistance of the colonies. These, at most, were no more than probable conjectures, yet these were all the chances, which the colonies had of a naval force, in the spring, sufficient to cope with a single capital ship, which might arrive at Louisburg. The ministry would indeed, by an immediate express, be acquainted with the expedition, but the distance between Europe and America, was too great to expect any timely assistance.

Plan of the expedition against Louisburg.

The plan of the expedition was, that a land force of four thousand troops, in small transports, should proceed to Canso; and, the first favourable opportunity, be landed in Chapeaurouge bay. They were to be furnished with cannon, mortars, ammunition, and all necessaries effectually to carry on the siege. To prevent the arrival of provisions and stores for the enemy, a number of vessels, as soon as the season would permit, were to be despatched to cruise before the harbour of Louisburg. An estimate was made of all the naval force which the colonies could furnish. The largest ship which they could employ mounted no more than twenty guns; and the whole number of armed vessels did not amount to more than ten or twelve. With this land and sea force, it was said there was a good chance of success. If, agreeably to their expectations, the men of war should arrive, it was insisted, that there was every imaginable reason to expect the reduction of the place. The whole

affair was so providential and extraordinary, and the consequences so great, that it deserves a particular relation.

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In the beginning of January, when the general court was sitting at Boston, governour Shirley communicated the plan of the expedition to both houses. But he previously represented, that the message he was about to communicate was of such importance, that it required the utmost secrecy, and he wished the members to put themselves under an oath, not to divulge it, for such a time as the house should think proper. Without any scruple they bound themselves to secrecy, though it was the first instance, in the house of representatives. Many of the members, who had heard little or no conversation on the subject, were struck with amazement at the bare proposal. They imagined that it was an enterprise vastly too great, though there were a fair prospect of success. They were apprehensive, that it would create an expense which would ruin the country. But how wild and extravagant soever the scheme appeared, yet, in deference to the governour's recommendation, there was an appointment of a committee of both houses to take the proposal into consideration. For several days it was deliberated with great attention. By those who were for the expedition, it was insisted, that if Louisburg should continue in the hands of the French it would infallibly prove the Dunkirk of New England: That the French trade had always been inconsiderable: That their fishery was on the decline, and that for several years, they had bought fish cheaper of the English, at Casco, than they could catch and cure them; and that by privateering they might enrich themselves with the spoils of New England. It was also urged that in addition to these dangers, there was that, also, of losing Nova Scotia, which would instantly cause an increase of six or eight thousand enemies. It was also pleaded, that the garrison at Louisburg was disaffected. that provisions were

Debate on the Louisburg expedition.

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scarce, the works mouldering and decayed, and the governour an old man, unskilled in the arts of war; and that now was the only time for success. It was said, that in another year the town of Louisburg would be so fortified as to become impregnable: That there was nothing to fear from any force already there, and that before any could arrive from France, the garrison must be forced to surrender. It was also urged, that there was no probability of the arrival of any capital ship from France, so early in the year: That if any one should arrive separately, five or six of our small ones might be a match for her; but that there was a greater probability that English men of war, from England or the West Indies, would arrive before any from France. It was observed that there was always uncertainty in war, and that, if we were disappointed, we were able to bear the whole expense. It was said that if the expedition succeeded it would be glorious. It would save the coasts of New England from molestation, and might give peace to Europe. To obviate the objection relative to the expense, it was observed, that Great Britain would reimburse the whole.

On the other part it was replied, That we had better suffer in our trade, than by such an expensive measure, to deprive ourselves of all means of trade for the future: That we could annoy the enemy in their fishery, as much as they could us, in ours: That in a short time both parties would be willing to leave the fishery without molestation: That the accounts given of the works and garrison at Louisburg could not be depended on: That the garrison at Louisburg were regular troops, who, though unequal in numbers, would, in the field, be more than a match for all the raw, unexperienced militia, which could be sent from New England: That it was so difficult, at that season of the year for vessels to keep their station, and the weather was frequently so thick, that twenty cruisers would not prevent supplies from going into the harbour of Louisburg. It was further

said, that there was no sufficient ground, for the expectation of any men of war to cover our troops: and that if one sixty gun ship should arrive, from France or the French islands, she would be more than a match for all the armed vessels, which the colonies could provide: That our transports at Chapeaurouge bay would be all destroyed, and the army on Cape Breton would be obliged to surrender to the mercy of the French: That the colonies would be condemned by the British court, for engaging in such an enterprise, without their knowledge or approbation; and that they would be unpitied in their misfortunes, as they would be the natural effects of their own rash and wild measures. To these arguments it was added, that there was no certainty that such a number of men, as had been proposed, could be raised, or that provisions, artillery, military stores, and transports sufficient for the expedition, could be obtained: That the season of the year was a great discouragement, as, in the winter, it frequently happened, for many days together, that no business could be done abroad; and that, though bills of public credit should be emitted to carry the expedition into effect, yet they would depreciate in a great degree, probably in proportion to the whole sum emitted. Finally, it was said, that if the enterprise should be successful, it would be a national benefit, in which the colonies would have no share, in any measure, proportionate to the vast expense of treasure, and it might be, of the lives, which the acquisition might cost them; and that if it should prove unsuccessful, it would give the country such a shock, that it would not, in half a century, recover its present state.

On mature deliberation the arguments against the expedition preponderated, and the committee reported against the proposal. The houses accepted the report; and, for some days the members laid aside all thoughts of the expedition.

Though the heart of the governour was wholly in the affair, and he ardently wished that his proposal

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1745. Merchants petition the general court.

might have met the approbation of the general court, yet he judged it inexpedient any further to press the affair either by message, or by private influence with the members. He adopted a measure more prudent and influential; the forwarding of a petition, from the merchants and men of influence, to the general court on the subject. This was signed by many of the merchants in Boston; but more generally by those of Salem and Marblehead; and prayed, that for reasons therein expressed, especially, for the preservation of the fishery from ruin, that the houses would reconsider their vote, and comply with the governour's proposal. This produced another committee, who reported in favour of the expedition. A whole day was spent in debating the subject. A vote finally passed in favour of the expedition, but it was by a majority of one voice only. Never was an affair deliberated with more calmness and moderation. There appeared no other division, than what resulted from a real difference in opinion, upon the true interest of the province and nation.

Vote passes in favour of the expedition.

Union and success in preparation.

No sooner was the great point determined, than there was an immediate union, of both parties, in the measures necessary to carry it most effectually into execution. An embargo was laid on every harbour in the province. Despatches were immediately forwarded to all the colonies as far as Philadelphia. But none, except the New England colonies, could be persuaded to engage in the enterprise. The Massachusetts raised three thousand two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of commissioned officers. Connecticut raised five hundred and sixteen, and Rhode Island and New Hampshire three hundred men each.

The time for preparation was short; but from the day that the vote passed in favour of the enterprise, every circumstance so remarkably contributed to its success, that a Divine Providence seemed every where to watch over it for good. The winter was so clement and favourable, that business could be

done abroad, as well, and nearly with the same despatch, as at other seasons. Colonel Pepperel was appointed commander in chief. He was a gentleman of a great landed interest, and largely employed in commerce. The second in command was Roger Wolcott, Esq. deputy governour of the colony of Connecticut. They were popular men, and the sacrifice of private ease and interest, which they made, in accepting the appointments, with the esteem in which they were holden among the people, had great influence on inferior officers and private soldiers, for a season, to sacrifice domestic ease and their private affairs to the more important service of their country. Many of the private soldiers were freeholders, and others the sons of wealthy farmers, who could have no other views in their enlistment than the public welfare.

It soon appeared that it would be next to impossible to clothe and victual the men, and to procure warlike stores necessary for the expedition. Committees of war were authorized, by warrant, to enter houses, cellars, and all places, wherever these articles were to be found, and to take them for the use of the army. During the preparation many vessels unexpectedly arrived, with more or less of all the articles of which the country were in want. Such was the general zeal and union, that the people submitted to any measures, which appeared necessary for the general good. The chief men in government appeared willing to run all risks, and to be at any expense, to accomplish the enterprise in view.

All the shipping employed in the service was insured by government. None could be engaged but on this condition. The whole naval force which New England could furnish, consisted only of twelve ships and vessels. These were the Connecticut and Rhode Island sloops of war, a privateer ship of about two hundred tons, and a snow of less burden belonging to Newport; a new snow, captain Rouse, a ship, captain Snelling, a snow, captain Smethhurst,

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a brig, captain Fletcher, three sloops, captains Saunders, Donahew, and Bosch, and a ship of twenty guns, captain Tyng, who was commodore, and commanded the whole. Several of these sailed as early as the middle of March, to cruise off the harbour of Louisburg. As a sufficient artillery could not be obtained in New England, governour Shirley, with much difficulty, on loan, procured ten eighteen pounders from New York. In two months the army was enlisted, clothed, victualled, and equipt for service.

On the twenty third of March, an express boat, which had been sent to commodore Warren, in the West Indies, returned to Boston. She brought advice from the commodore, that as the expedition was wholly a colonial affair, without orders from England, and as his squadron had been weakened, by the loss of the Weymouth, he must excuse himself from any concern in the enterprise. This must have struck a great damp upon the governour and general; but they secreted the advice: and as the army was embarked, and the general on board, they sailed, the

March 24. next morning, from Nantasket, as though nothing discouraging had happened. The governour doubtless hoped that if the reduction of Louisburg should not be effected, Canso would be regained, Nova Scotia preserved, the French fishery destroyed, and the New England and Newfoundland fisheries restored.

April 4. On the fourth of April the fleet and army arrived safe at Canso. The New Hampshire troops arrived four days before them. The troops from Connecticut, under governour Wolcott arrived on the twenty fifth. The land army now consisted of more than four thousand men in health and high spirits.

Though the advice from commodore Warren was truly discouraging, yet, under the all governing hand of the SUPREME RULER, every thing was proceeding in the happiest train.

Soon after the sailing of the express boat for Boston, commodore Warren received orders from Eng-

land, to repair, with such ships as could be spared, to Boston, and to concert measures with governour Shirley for his majesty's general service in North America. The commodore sailed immediately for Boston, and despatched an express, ordering such ships as were in these seas to join him. The Eltham of forty guns was at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, as convoy to the mast fleet. When the express arrived, she had sailed with the fleet. She was soon overtaken by an express boat, when the captain, remanding the fleet into port, sailed directly for Canso. On the twenty third of April he arrived to the great joy of the whole army. Commodore Warren, on his passage, meeting intelligence that the fleet had sailed for Canso, proceeded directly to the same port; and arrived the same day in the Superb of sixty guns, with the Lauceston and Mermaid of forty guns each. High was the tide of joy, which, at once, arose through the whole fleet and camp. There was now a sufficient force for their defence: a force equal to any which was expected from France. After a short consultation with the general, the commodore, with the men of war, sailed to cruise before Louisburg.

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Commodore Warren arrives at Canso, April 23.

Before this time, the ships and vessels, sent to cruise before the harbour, had done important services. They had taken several vessels bound into Louisburg with provisions and West India goods. They had also engaged the Renommee, a French ship of thirty six guns, which had been sent with despatches from France. For some time she kept up a running fight with the small ships, as she could easily outrun them; but, after making several attempts to enter the harbour, she put back to France, to report what she had discovered. She fell in with the Connecticut troops, under convoy of their own and the Rhode Island colony sloops. She had force sufficient to have taken them both; but after exchanging a few shot, and somewhat damaging the Rhode Island sloop, she made off to France.

April 18.

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The fleet and army soon followed the men of war, and, on the thirtieth of April, arrived in Chapeaurouge bay. The enemy had not received the least intimation of any design against them, till, early in the morning, they discovered the transports from the town. The cruisers had indeed, almost every day, been seen before the harbour; but they imagined them to have been privateers, in quest of their fishing and trading vessels.

The sight of the transports gave the alarm to the French, and Bouladrie was detached with a hundred and fifty men to oppose the landing of the troops. But while the general amused the enemy by a feint at one place, he was landing them at another. Bouladrie with his detachment soon attacked them, but as a number of his men were killed on the spot, himself and others taken prisoners, the rest were obliged to make a precipitate flight, that they might not be instantly swallowed up by the provincials, who were landing in great numbers.

The next morning, four hundred men marched round behind the hills to the northeast harbour, setting fire to all the houses and stores, till they came within a mile of the grand battery. Some of the stores had in them so much tar, and so many other combustibles, that such a cloud of smoke arose, as made it difficult to discover an enemy, only at the distance of a few rods. The French therefore, expecting the whole army upon them, threw their powder into a well, and deserted the grand battery. Our troops took possession without any loss. The cannon, which were forty two pounders, were turned upon the town; and, for some time, a constant fire, upon it, was kept up from the grand battery. This greatly damaged the town; but the expense of powder was so great, that it was judged advisable to stop the fire, and reserve the ammunition for the fascine batteries.

The army had nearly two miles to drag their cannon, mortars, shot, and the like, through a morass,

in which oxen and horses would bury themselves in mud, and could be of no service. This was to be performed by mere dint of labour. Men of the firmest limbs, and who had been used to draw pine trees for masts, were appointed to this service. By the twentieth of May the troops had erected five fascine batteries. One of them mounted five forty two pounders. This did great execution. The New Englanders knew nothing of regular approaches, but took the advantage of the night and went on in their own natural way.

While the troops were thus busy on shore, the fleet was equally vigilant and active, in cruising off the harbour.

The Vigilant, a French sixty four gun ship, was met by the Mermaid, whom she immediately engaged; but as she was of inferior force, captain Douglass, the commander, suffered himself to be chased till he drew the Frenchman under the command of the commodore and the other ships. On which she May 18. struck to the British flag. She was commanded by the Marquis de la Maison Forte, and had on board five hundred and sixty men, with stores of all kinds for the garrison. This capture was of great consequence, not only as it increased the naval force before the town, and afforded considerable supplies of military stores, but more especially, as it was a capital loss and disappointment to the enemy. It deprived them of all expectations of further supplies or succour, and tended to accelerate the capitulation.

But a few days before this capture, a proposal had been made, that the men of war should anchor in Chapeaurouge bay, and that the marines, and as many of the sailors, as could be spared, should land and assist the army. Had this been done, the Vigilant would have got into the harbour, and defeated the expedition. Such were the prodigious labours and hardships of the siege, that a greater number of troops were wanted; and yet, by the service, the numbers employed were daily diminishing. This

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1745. however was in a measure compensated, by the continual increase of the naval force before the town. Four days after the capture of the Vigilant the Prince Mary of sixty and the Hector of forty guns arrived. Soon after arrived the Canterbury and Sunderland of sixty and the Chester of fifty guns. There were now eleven men of war. One sixty four, four sixty, one fifty, and five forty gun ships. Such was the naval force, that it was determined, that, on the eighteenth of June, the ships should go into the harbour, and with the army, make a joint attack upon the town.

May 22. June 10, and 12.

Before this, the island battery had been nearly silenced, and was considered as not long tenable. The west gate of the town was much damaged and nearly beat down, and a breach is said to have been made in the adjoining wall. The circular battery of sixteen guns, and the principal one against ships, was nearly ruined. The northeast battery was much damaged, and the enemy driven from the guns. The west flank of the king's bastion was almost demolished. From the preparations on board the men of war, the enemy expected a general and furious assault. This, it seems, they were unwilling to risk.

Surrender of Louisburg, June 17.

On the fifteenth of June they desired a cessation of hostilities, that they might enter on the consideration of articles of capitulation. On the seventeenth, after a siege of forty nine days, the city of Louisburg and island of Cape Breton, were delivered up to his Britannic majesty. Neither the inhabitants nor garrison were to bear arms, for twelve months, against Great Britain, nor her allies. They were embarked on board fourteen cartel ships, and transported to Rochfort.

Nothing could have been more timely than this capitulation. Notwithstanding the capture of the Vigilant, laden with stores, the besiegers were in want of powder; and such were the hardships and length of the siege, that greater numbers of men were found to be necessary. The general had sent off despatches for a recruit both of men and ammuni-

tion. The Massachusetts sent off four and Connecticut two hundred recruits, with all the powder, which they could purchase; but these, with the troops from Rhode Island, did not arrive till after the capture of the island. The very day after the surrender, the rains began, and continued incessantly for ten days. These must have greatly impeded, if not broken up the siege. They must also have been fatal to many of the men, as they had no better lodgings than the wet ground, and, as their tents, generally made of common oznaburgs only, did not secure them against a single shower. But, by this opportune surrender, Providence housed them in the city, in dry and convenient barracks.

During this long and severe siege, the men, on all occasions, at landing, in skirmishes with the French and Indians, and in their approaches to the city behaved well. In embarking in the enterprise they exhibited a noble spirit; and in the prosecution of it, a steadiness, perseverance, and magnanimity, which before had no parallel in the affairs of America. So remarkable was the hand which watched over them, that the whole loss, during this uncommonly long and dangerous siege, by sickness and the enemy, was no more than a hundred and one. Sixty of these were lost in an unfortunate attack on the island battery.

The news of this important success arrived in Boston on the third of July, and flew instantly through the colonies. The joy which it diffused was great and universal. Those colonies, which had no share in the honours and dangers of the enterprise, were not insensible of the importance of the acquisition, nor that they were deeply interested in the event. Pennsylvania, therefore, contributed four, New Jersey two, and New York three thousand pounds in money and provisions for the support of the troops.

To France Louisburg was a place of capital importance. It had been fortified with prodigious art and expense. With propriety it might be termed

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the American Gibraltar. The fosse, or ditch, round the town, was eighty feet wide, and the ramparts thirty high. On these, round the town, were mounted sixty five cannon of different sizes. The entrance into the harbour was defended by the grand and island batteries. On the former were mounted thirty cannon carrying a forty two pound ball: and on the latter an equal number carrying a ball of twenty eight pounds. The garrison, at the time of the surrender, consisted of six hundred regular troops, and thirteen hundred militia. There were ten thirteen, and six nine inch mortars. There were provisions and ammunition for five or six months. Neither by the combined armies of Great Britain and her allies, nor by her formidable fleets, had France from the commencement of the war, received so deep and sensible a wound. No event had taken place, by which her schemes had been so entirely disconcerted and deranged. The acquisition was grand, and its consequences were vast and important.

Consequences of the capture of Louisburg.

The value of the prizes taken, in consequence of the expedition, was little, if any thing, short of a million sterling. The place was taken, at a time, when ships and vessels from all parts, were expected in the harbour. To decoy them, the French flag was kept flying. Beside the Vigilant, and the other prizes taken before, and during the siege, two East India ships, and another from the South Sea were taken, which together were estimated at six hundred thousand pounds sterling.* Besides, Nova Scotia and the English fisheries, in America, were preserved, and those of France were totally ruined. At the same time the colonies themselves and their trade were rendered much more secure.

* July 24th an East India ship from Bengal was taken, estimated at 75,000*l.* Another East Indiaman was soon after taken, valued at 125,000*l.* The South Sea ship was decoyed by the Boston packet, captain Fletcher, under the guns of the men of war, and taken, August 22d. She was estimated at 400,000*l.*

Indeed the colonies were delivered from immediate dangers, of which, at that time, they had no knowledge. Duvivier, the winter after the surprise of Canso, went home to France, on the business of soliciting an armament for the reduction of Nova Scotia. On this application he was despatched with seven ships of war for that purpose. On his passage he took a prize, on board of which was lieutenant governour Clarke of New York. By him he received intelligence of the reduction of Louisburg, and returned to France. In expectation of this fleet, Monsieur Marin, with nine hundred French and Indians, from Canada, appeared before the fort at Annapolis; but, finding no shipping for his assistance, he soon retired.* Thus by this enterprise were the plans of France dashed, and the colonies secured. This enabled Great Britain, afterwards, more honourably to treat of peace, and seems to have restored to her a great part of what she had lost in Germany.

In this enterprise, first and last, New England employed more than five thousand men. From the time of the surrender, till the twenty fourth of May following, about eleven months, the place was kept wholly by the New England troops. During part of this period, great sickness and mortality prevailed; and New England sustained a very considerable loss of men. After that time, the garrison consisted partly of regular troops, drawn from the garrison at Gibraltar and partly of New Englandmen; both paid by the crown. Notwithstanding these important services, the colonists had no share in the prizes nor in any thing taken on the island of Cape Breton, excepting a small sum allowed captain Fletcher, who led in the South Sea ship.†

In consequence of the signal success attending this expedition, a shade was thrown over the imprudence and rashness, with which it seems to have been un-

* Douglass, vol. i. p. 562.

† Hutch. vol. ii. p. 416—423 Douglass, vol. i. p. 342, 347—356 Rider's Hist. vol. xxxviii. p. 124—126.

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1745. dertaken. On both sides of the water pious people could not, but with grateful admiration notice the remarkable coincidence of circumstances, which contributed to this great event. Governour Shirley, in his speech to the general court, observes, that "scarce such an instance is to be found in history." The annual convention of the New England ministers in their address to his majesty term it "the wonderful success, GOD has given your American forces." A clergyman, writing from London, hath this observation, "this prosperous event can hardly be ascribed to any thing short of an interposition from above, truly uncommon and extraordinary."

Effects on the courts of England and France

Both to Great Britain and France, the reduction of Louisburg, by New England, was an affair of no small surprise. In each of these courts it was productive of grand plans of operation. Great Britain flushed with victory, thought of nothing less, for the business of the next campaign, than the reduction of Canada, and the extirpation of the French from the northern continent. The French fired with resentment, by the losses which they had sustained, meditated the recovery of Louisburg, the conquest of Nova Scotia, the destruction of Boston, and the ravaging of the American coast from Nova Scotia to Georgia.

1746. It was the plan of the British court, that eight battalions of regular troops, in conjunction with the provincials to be raised in New England, should rendezvous at Louisburg; and with a squadron, under admiral Warren, proceed up St. Lawrence to Quebec. From New York, and the southern colonies, as far as Virginia, another army was to be composed, which was to rendezvous at Albany. This, under the command of general St. Clair, was to cross the country to Montreal. No proportion was fixed for the several colonies, but they were left to show their zeal for the common cause, by raising such numbers as they pleased. It was expected, at least, that they would send five thousand men into

the field. The four New England colonies granted five thousand three hundred men. The other colonies agreed to raise two thousand and nine hundred. Eight thousand and two hundred in the whole.* Notice of the plan was given to the colonies, the beginning of June, and in six weeks most of the New England troops were ready to embark.

A powerful armament under the command of Richard Lestock, admiral of the blue, was prepared, at Portsmouth, with transports having six regiments on board, to co-operate with the provincials in carrying the great plan into execution. The fleet had orders to sail the first opportunity; but its departure was unaccountably delayed, till it was judged that the season was too far advanced to risk the great ships on the boisterous coast of North America.† It is not improbable, that the landing of the young pretender, the rebellion in Scotland, and the apprehensions of an invasion from France, were occasions of this delay.

That this armament, which consisted of nearly thirty ships of war, might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was despatched against the coast of Brittany, with a view to surprise port L'Orient, the grand repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East India company. But nothing was effected worthy of notice. Sept. 14.

Meanwhile, France, notwithstanding all her other preparations, fitted out her fleet and troops for America. The duke D'Anville, a nobleman, in whose courage and conduct, the French had reposed the greatest confidence, was appointed to command the expedition. The armament consisted of eleven ships of the line, and of thirty smaller ships and vessels, from thirty to ten guns; and of transports carrying three thousand one hundred and thirty land forces. Armament under the duke D'Anville.

* The proportions were very unequal. New Hampshire raised 500, Massachusetts 3,500, Rhode Island 300, Connecticut 1,000, New York 1,600, New Jersey 500, Pennsylvania 400, but not by act of government. Maryland raised 300 and Virginia 100.

† Rider's Hist. vol. xxxix. p. 50. 53. Douglass, vol. i. p. 302

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These, at Nova Scotia, were to form a junction with sixteen hundred Canadian French, and Indians. Monsieur Pomeret commanded the land forces. As early as the beginning of May, this formidable armament was ready to sail; but it was so detained by contrary winds, that the admiral could not leave the coasts of France, till the twenty second of June. Admiral Martin waited, with a fleet of observation, to prevent his sailing, but he got out of the harbour unnoticed, and proceeded without molestation. The duke D'Anville had detached Monsieur Conflans, with three ships of the line and a frigate, to convoy the trade to Cape François in Hispaniola. Conflans was to join him at Chebucto, and in his passage, near Jamaica, fell in with the British fleet, commanded by commodore Mitchel; but the commodore conducted in such a dastardly manner, that he let the French pass without any considerable injury. He seemed to refuse taking them, when it was in his power.* It was now, therefore, left to Him only, who disappointeth the devices of the crafty, and taketh the prey from the mighty, without human aid, to save the colonies from ruin. Let us with grateful admiration behold how seasonably and how powerfully he wrought for their salvation.

Disasters attending it.

He not only laid an embargo on the enemy, and, for more than six weeks, prevented their sailing, but caused their passage to be stormy and tedious. Like the chariot wheels of Pharaoh, they moved heavily. It was not till the third of August, that they passed the western islands. On the twenty fourth, when they were three hundred leagues from Nova Scotia, one of the great ships complained so much that they were obliged to burn her. In a violent storm, which overtook them on the first of September, the Mars a sixty four gun ship, was so much damaged, in her masts, and became so leaky, that she bore away for the West Indies. The Al-

* Rider's Hist. vol. xxxix, p. 53. Douglass, vol. i. p. 322.

cide, another sixty four, was so damaged, that she was sent off to keep her company. Soon after the crew of the Ardent, a third sixty four, became so sickly, that she put back to Brest. 1746.

Arrives at Chebucto, Sept. 12.

It was not till the twelfth of September, that the duke D'Anville arrived at Chebucto, in the Northumberland, accompanied with one ship of the line, the Renommee, and three or four transports only. One ship only had arrived before him. This long and disastrous passage had totally deranged his whole plan. Conflans, who came on the coast in August, hearing nothing of the duke, had before this time sailed for France.

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While the colonies were, with impatience, waiting the arrival of the British fleet under admiral Lestock, the squadron under Conflans was discovered, and the news of it brought to Boston, by several fishermen, who had made their escape from the ships at Chebucto; but their report was not credited. But, the beginning of September the colonies had authentic news of the sailing of this formidable armament for America. Reports were soon after brought them, that a great fleet was discovered to the westward of Newfoundland; but the colonies still flattered themselves, that it was the English fleet, under admiral Lestock. On the twenty eighth, however, there arrived an express at Boston, with certain intelligence, that these ships were the French fleet. The report was, that it consisted of fourteen sail of the line, and twenty smaller men of war; and, that the rest were fire ships, bomb tenders, and transports. It was said, that there were eight thousand regular troops on board.*

Alarms New England.

England was not more alarmed with the Spanish armada, in fifteen hundred eighty eight, than Boston, and New England were on the report of the arrival of D'Anville's fleet at Chebucto. The first advices of imminent danger often shake the firmest

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 425.

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minds. Every practicable measure for the defence of the country was immediately adopted. In a few days six thousand and four hundred of the inland militia were brought in, to reinforce Boston. Six thousand more, from Connecticut, if occasion should require it, were on the first notice to have been despatched to the assistance of their brethren at Boston.* At that period, this was nearly half the militia of the colony. The militia on the sea coasts were kept at home for their own defence. But as New England had no intelligence of what Providence had been effecting for the country, in the storms and disasters which had attended the French armament, the chief dependence, under the divine conduct, was on a fleet from England, sufficient, in conjunction with the squadron at Louisburg, to defeat the French armament. But with respect to this, and all other human aid, they were totally disappointed.

That irresistible hand, which already had wrought so conspicuously for the relief of the country, completed its salvation. The duke D'Anville waited till the 16th of the month for the arrival of the remainder of his fleet, and not one ship of war, nor any of the fleet, except three transports, arriving, he was so affected with disappointment and chagrin, that it brought on an apoplectic fit, or he drank poison, and died suddenly the same morning.

Sept. 16.

The duke D'Anville dies, Sept 16.

In the afternoon after his death the vice admiral, D'Estournelle, with four ships of the line, came into port. As the French troops had been long on board, before they sailed, and had a tedious passage, they arrived in an extremely sickly and miserable condition. The admiral was dead, and Conflans returned to France. Of four capital ships, the Ardent, Caribou, Mars, and Alcide, they had been deprived. The Argonaute fire ship was also missing. In these circumstances D'Estournelle, on the eighteenth, called a council of his officers, and, as they had not half

* Douglass, vol. i. p. 322, 323.

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the force designed for the expedition, proposed to return to France. Monsieur de la Jonquiere, governour of Canada, was on board the Northumberland, and next in command to the vice admiral; he, with others of the council, for seven or eight hours, strenuously opposed the vice admiral's proposal. They insisted, that the sick men, with fresh air and provisions, would soon recover, and that they were able, at least, to reduce Annapolis and Nova Scotia: That after that they might winter safely in Casco bay, or return to France, as might best suit their inclinations. The debate issued in the rejection of the admiral's proposition. This so extremely agitated his spirits, that it brought on a fever and threw him into a delirium. A divine terror seemed to fall upon him. He imagined he was among the English, ran himself through and was no more.* Jonquiere, a man of skill and experience in war, succeeded him, and the expectations of the fleet and army were much raised. From this time the reduction of Annapolis and Nova Scotia, became the object of the expedition.

Division in the enemy's council.

D'Estournelle kills himself.

The troops were landed with a view to the recovery of their health, and the Acadians and Indians amply furnished them with fresh provisions. Nevertheless dysenteries and a scorbutic, putrid fever occasioned a very great mortality among them. The Nova Scotia Indians took the contagion, and by it lost not less than one third of their whole number.†

Mortality among the French and Indians.

Governour Shirley, supposing that he had received authentic intelligence of the sailing of admiral Lestock for America, sent off an express to carry the intelligence to Louisburg. The packet was taken by the French, and carried into Chebucto, on the eleventh of October. This probably accelerated their sailing, and determined them to return directly to France, without making any attempt upon Annapolis. On the 13th of October, they sailed from

* Hutch. vol. ii. p. 427, 428. † Douglass, vol. i. p. 322.

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1746. Oct. 13, the French sail for France.

Succession of disasters.

The rescue of the colonies to be ascribed to divine interposition.

Chebucto. Two days after sailing they were overtaken with a severe cold storm, which, without intermission, continued to increase for two days, so that the fleet was exceedingly scattered. Two only, a fifty and a thirty six gun ship, got into the bay of Fundi. The latter came into the bason, and put on shore an express certifying De Ramsay, that the French fleet were returning to France. These ships were discovered from the fort at Annapolis, and the Chester man of war, the Shirley frigate, and a small armed vessel, well manned with troops from the garrison, went out in chase of them; but they made their escape to France. Thus having buried two admirals and nearly half their army at Chebucto, they returned, without effecting the least enterprise against the colonies. The French burnt the Caribou, the Mars was taken, on her return, by the Nottingham, just as she arrived on the coast of France. The Alcide was driven on shore by the Exeter and burnt. This was the fate of the grand French armada, sent against New England.

Such a succession of disasters as pursued the French, from the day they sailed from France, till they returned, is rarely to be found in the history of human events. The restraints put upon this mighty armament, and the protection of New England, was little less remarkable, than the defeat of the Assyrian monarch, and the defence of Jerusalem, when, after his vast preparations and haughty menaces, he was not suffered to go against her, nor to shoot an arrow there. Like him, the enemy returned with uncommon loss and shame, to their own land.

The ministry well knew of the sailing of this formidable armament, yet seem to have cared very little what might be the consequence to the colonies. The only measure which they seem to have taken in consequence of its sailing, was an order to admiral Townshend to sail with his squadron, from the West Indies, to reinforce commodore Knowles at

Louisburg.* These combined squadrons were more than a match for the French fleet, in their distressed circumstances; but they made not the least attempt for its destruction or annoyance. No admiral on the American station, this year, appears to have acted with any tolerable spirit. Indeed there was no exertion of military skill or prowess, no employment of policy, nor the adoption of a single measure, in Europe or America, which appeared to have had the least influence in the preservation of the country. The whole glory of that remarkable salvation, which it experienced, appeared to be due to Him only, whose kingdom ruleth over all. Pious men saw this in a strong point of light, and in their most lively and public devotions ascribed the glory to Him.

When it appeared that the expedition against Canada was likely to fail, governour Shirley's enterprising genius influenced him to project an attempt, in conjunction with the other colonies, upon the French fortress at Crown Point. For this purpose four months provisions, fifteen hundred men, tents, ordnance, and ammunition were forwarded to New York; but the great sickness which prevailed in Albany, and the alarm which D'Anville's armament spread through the colonies frustrated the design.

A considerable part of the troops, raised for the expedition against Canada, were kept in pay till September, seventeen hundred forty seven. Some were sent to reinforce the garrison at Annapolis, others were employed for the defence of the frontiers, but a considerable part were wholly inactive.

De Ramsay, who had got together an army of sixteen or seventeen hundred French and Indians at Annapolis, receiving intelligence that the French fleet were returned to France, decamped, and returned to Minas. His design was to canton his men here, and at Checonicto, that he might have them in readiness to join the armament, which he expected from

De Ramsay decamps.

* Douglass, vol. i. p. 343, 344.

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France the next spring, for the reduction of Annapolis.

1746. Governour Mascarene of Annapolis having represented that a thousand men, to reinforce that and the neighbouring posts, might be sufficient not only for their defence, but to drive the enemy from that quarter, the three colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, voted the complete number. The Massachusetts sent on five hundred men. The three hundred from Rhode Island were shipwrecked on their passage, near Martha's Vineyard; and the troops from New Hampshire, after they were on their passage, put back, and never proceeded. These failures were the occasion of what afterwards befel the Massachusetts soldiers.

They were cantoned in a loose manner at Minas. De Ramsay having advice of their situation, detached about six hundred men under M. Culon and M. La Corn, with a view to dispossess them of that post. The last of January, they surprised, killed, and captivated about a hundred and sixty of the men, who were scattered in small parties. Colonel Noble who commanded the corps was among the slain. By this time the main body were collected, but as they had lost their commander, were inferior in numbers, and had little ammunition, they capitulated, engaging not to bear arms against the French, in Nova Scotia, during one year. They were to march off with six days provision, arms shouldered, drums beating, and colours flying.

Troops at Minas surprised, Jan. 31, 1747.

Preparations of the French. Notwithstanding the uncommon misfortunes attending the duke D'Anville's fleet, the last year, the French determined to renew their attempts against the British settlements, both in North America and the East Indies. With this view two squadrons were equipped. That for North America was commanded by De la Jonquiere, governour of Quebec: that destined for the East Indies, by M. de St. George. The fleets made a junction, and early in the spring sailed from Rochelle. The whole consisted of six ships

of the line, six frigates, and four East India ships fitted like men of war; with twenty nine merchant ships and transports. The ministry despatched the admirals, Anson and Warren, with thirteen ships of the line and several frigates in quest of the enemy. On the third of May, they came up with the French squadrons; when the English commenced a furious engagement. De la Jonquiere maintained it with equal courage and conduct, till finally, overpowered with numbers, he was obliged to strike to the British flag. Ten ships were taken, the six ships of the line, and the four East Indiamen. De la Jonquiere, four or five thousand men, some bullion, and large sums of money, were taken with the ships.* Thus did Providence again interpose for the preservation of the English colonies in America.

De la Jonquiere's defeat, May 3.

De Ramsay, on advice of the defeat of De la Jonquiere, returned to Canada, and the French gave no further trouble in Nova Scotia.

During this war the Canada, Cape Sable, St. John's, Penobscot, and Norridgewock Indians were hostile, so that the frontiers did not escape alarms and molestation. They burnt the fort and a number of dwelling houses at St. George's, and destroyed a great number of cattle. They in a manner destroyed Saratoga the last year, and had been so troublesome this, that the garrison abandoned the place, brought off the stores and ordnance, and burnt the fort. Damages were also done on Connecticut river, on the frontiers of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire. But the frontiers suffered very little in comparison with what they had done in former wars. The Indians were greatly diminished in their numbers, and many were withdrawn to the frontiers of Canada. Sometimes they were kept at home for the defence of that country, and, at others, they were engaged to be in readiness to assist the French, in their great enterprises against

* Rider's Hist. vol. xxxix. p. 92, 93.

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the English colonies. These prevented their doing mischief in small parties.

1748.

Towards the close of this year a general inactivity and languishment appeared among the belligerent powers, indicating that they were nearly exhausted, and verging towards a general pacification.

April 30, 1748

Accordingly, the next April, preliminaries were signed at Aix la Chapelle, and in a few days a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed.

Definitive treaty, Oct. 7.

The definitive treaty was completed on the seventh of October. Prisoners on all sides were to be released without a ransom, and all conquests to be restored.

Thus after nearly ten years war, in which there had been a vast expense of blood and treasure, the parties had gained nothing. On cool reflection, it could hardly be told for what reasons a war had been undertaken, which had so embroiled, exhausted, and depopulated so considerable a part of Europe. In this manner do princes play off the peace, treasures, and lives of their subjects.

Expense of the war.

The expenses of the northern colonies, including New England and New York, during this war, cannot be estimated at less than about a million sterling. The bills issued by the Massachusetts for between two and three years of the war, amounted to between two and three millions currency. At the time of emission, five or six hundred pounds were equal to one hundred sterling. Governour Hutchinson supposes, that the real consideration, which the government received from the people, was nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling.* He gives it as his opinion, that, for the term of between two and three years of the war, the province of the Massachusetts paid two hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides the annual taxes, which were as high as the people could bear. By the account which Douglass gives, the expense of that province, in the expedition against Cape Breton, was not less than four hundred thou-

* Hutch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 435.

sand pounds sterling. That province therefore, during the war, must have been at the expense of more than half a million sterling. The other three New England colonies, with New York, probably expended nearly an equal sum. The expenses of South Carolina were very great, as has been noticed in a preceding chapter. All the colonies suffered in their trade and husbandry.

Loss of the colonies.

In the close of the war especially, they sustained very great losses in their shipping and commerce. The ships which had been stationed on the coast for the protection of the trade, were called off to form a squadron under admiral Knowles, for the reduction of St. Jago, the capital of Cuba. While the coasts were left bare, the French privateers seized their opportunity, and carried off from the colonies many of their vessels without the least molestation. They became so bold as to sail up Delaware river almost to Philadelphia. They ventured up many leagues into Chesapeak bay, and sailed up Cape Fear river in North Carolina.*

In the expeditions against Cuba and Louisburg, in garrisoning the latter, and in the defence of Nova Scotia, New England lost three or four thousand of her young men. Such were the losses of the two colonies of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in this and the last Indian war, that from seventeen hundred twenty two, to seventeen hundred forty nine, a term of twenty seven years, there had been no increase of their numbers. This was a term in which, otherwise, they would have more than doubled the number of their inhabitants. At the time, when governour Hutchinson wrote his history,† he observed, "It is probable that there would have been two hundred thousand souls more than there are at this time, in New England, if the French had been expelled from Canada an hundred years ago." The wars with the French and Indians of Canada, first

* Douglass, vol. i. p. 343, 344, and 564. † 1766.

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and last, swept off great numbers of the inhabitants of New York, as well as of New England. The employment of so many men in the late war, and for so many years, with the loss sustained, was a great check to population, exceedingly retarded the extension of settlement and the cultivation of the country.

In this war the colonies had exhibited the most striking evidences of their loyalty and zeal, in his majesty's service. But neither from these, nor from all their losses and expenditures, did they derive any considerable advantage to themselves. Though it be true, that the crown, in some good part, repaid the bare expense of the expedition to Louisburg, yet this did by no means compensate the country. She had nothing to compensate her loss of men, or the damages sustained by the depreciation of the currency, nor her numerous other losses and services. Great Britain engrossed all the advantages of the reduction of Louisburg. It was finally given up, to recover what had been lost in Germany, and to purchase peace for the nation. The prodigious quantities of clothing, arms, and ammunition purchased by the colonies, for their soldiery, while it greatly impoverished them, increased the trade of Great Britain, and was no inconsiderable emolument to the parent state.

The colonies were obliged, during the war, to emit such sums in bills of credit, that they were scarcely able to redeem them before the commencement of the next French war. Before the complete redemption of the bills, in those colonies where their credit was the best supported, the depreciation was nearly twenty for one. This was a great injury to commerce, public credit, and the morals of the people, for years after the termination of the war.

CHAPTER X.

French war, 1755. Reasons of the war. Colonel Washington's expedition. Convention at Albany. Expedition against Nova Scotia, Fort du Quesne, Crown Point, and Niagara. Success in Nova Scotia. General Braddock defeated by the French and Indians Baron Dieskau defeated and taken by general Johnson. Unhappy division of the southern colonies. Colonel Bradstreet defeats a party of the enemy. Oswego taken. Inactivity of Lord Loudon. Conduct of the southern colonies. Comparison between the campaigns of 1755 and 1756.

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DURING the term of about seven years after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle the colonies enjoyed general tranquillity. They vigorously addressed themselves to the arts of peace. By industry, economy, population, the extension of their settlements, and the increase of commerce, they were making strenuous exertions to recover themselves from the losses and impoverishment, which they had sustained by the preceding war. As the great number of bills of credit, which had been thrown into circulation, had injured trade, wounded the public credit, and had an ill effect on the morals of the country, particular attention was paid to the restoration of public credit and the remedying of these evils. These were matters of capital importance to the general prosperity.

While the colonies were prosecuting these great objects, the French were making encroachments on their eastern, northern, and western frontiers: They were also attempting, in such a manner, to compass the colonists with a line of posts and fortifications, as, that, in case of war, their frontiers would be exposed to the continual alarms and devastation of the French and their Indians. Though the whole country of Acadia or Nova Scotia, had been expressly ceded to Great Britain, by the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and that cession had been confirmed by all subsequent treaties; yet the French

French encroachments.

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claimed a considerable part of that country; and in several places, were erecting fortifications. At the
1749. northward, they had encroached on the English, by the settlement and fortifications at Crown Point. At the westward, they were not only attempting to complete a line of forts, from the head of St. Lawrence to Missisippi, but were encroaching far on Virginia.

Reasons of the war.

While under the auspices of peace, agriculture and maritime commerce flourished on her coasts, the Indian trade drew many of her wandering traders far into the inland country, beyond the great mountains. Here they found themselves in a delightful climate, exuberantly fruitful, and watered with many fair and navigable rivers. It was apprehended, that these advantages, in conjunction with the Indian trade, would amply compensate its distance from the sea. A number of noblemen, merchants, and planters of Westminster, London, and Virginia, called the Ohio company, obtained a charter grant, of six hundred thousand acres, on and near the Ohio river. In pursuance of the terms of their patent, the
1751. lands were surveyed, about two years after the grant, and settlements were soon made.

The governour of Canada, had early intelligence of the transactions of the company, and was alarmed with apprehensions, that they were prosecuting a plan, which would effectually deprive the French of the advantages, which they derived from their trade with the Twightwees; and what was still worse, would cut off the communication between the colonies of Canada and Louisiana. The French claimed all the country from the Missisippi, as far in upon Virginia, as the Alleghany mountains. This claim was founded on the pretence, that they were the first discoverers of that river. To secure their claims and preserve the communication between their two colonies of Canada and Louisiana, they had not only erected a fort on the south side of lake Erie, but one about fifteen miles south of that, on a branch of the

Ohio, and another at the conflux of the Ohio and the Wabache. Nothing could be more directly calculated to dash a favourite plan of France, than the settlement of the Ohio.

The governour of Canada therefore wrote to the governours of New York and Pennsylvania, representing that the English traders had encroached on the French, by trading with their Indians, and threatening that if they would not desist, that he would seize them wherever they should be found.

The Indian trade had been managed principally by the Pennsylvanians; but the Ohio company were now about to divert it to a different channel. By opening a road through the country, and erecting a trading house at Will's creek, they were, by the Patomac, conducting it directly to Virginia. The Pennsylvanians, influenced by a spirit of selfishness and revenge, gave early intelligence, both to the French and Indians, of the designs and transactions of the company. The French governour, therefore, put his menaces into execution. A party of French and Indians seized the British traders, among the Twightwees, and carried them to their fort on the 1753. south side of lake Erie. The Twightwees, resenting the injury done to the British traders, their allies, made reprisals on the French, and sent several of their traders to Pennsylvania. The French however persisted in their claims and continued to strengthen their fortifications.

The Indians at the same time, jealous that settlements were about to be made on their lands, without purchase or consent from them, threatened the settlers. These claims and encroachments of the French, and threats of the Indians, struck at the very existence of the Ohio company. Complaints were therefore made to lieutenant governour Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and the province began to interest themselves warmly in the affair. The Indians were, in some measure, pacified, by a pretended message delivered them from the king. Major Washington

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was despatched to Mr. St. Pierre, the French commandant on the Ohio, to demand the reasons of his hostile conduct, and, at the same time, to insist on the withdrawment of his troops. A party of Virginians were also sent forward to erect a fort at the conflux of the Ohio and Monongahela.

The French commander denied the charge of hostility, and was so far from withdrawing his forces, that he made an absolute claim of the country, as the property of the French king, and declared that, agreeably to his instructions, he would seize and send prisoner to Canada, every Englishman, who should attempt to trade on the Ohio or any of its branches.

Before the Virginians had finished their designed fortifications on the Ohio, the French came upon them, and, driving them out of the country, erected a regular fort on the very ground where they had begun their fortifications. This fortress, which was called du Quesne, very much commanded the entrance of the whole country on the Ohio and Missisippi.* This gave a general alarm not only to the colonies, but to Great Britain.

It was easily foreseen, that if the French should unite Canada with their settlements at the mouth of the Missisippi, by a possession of that vast country, which lies between them, that the colonies would not only sustain the loss of a great part of their country, and all share in the Indian trade; but, that in time of war, their frontiers would be exposed to continual alarm and danger. They must also be subjected to the ruinously expensive and impracticable defence of a frontier more than a thousand miles in length. On the contrary if the designs of France on Nova Scotia and the Ohio, could be defeated, it

* In these ravages the French destroyed all the English traders but two, and plundered them of skins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thousand pounds. They finally came on from Vesango, with a thousand men, and eighteen pieces of cannon, in three hundred canoes, drove off the Virginians and built fort du Quesne. Rider's Hist. vol. xl. p. 71.

would entirely disunite their colonies: and, as the entrance into the one, is in the winter season shut up by frost, and as that into the other is always difficult, by reason of the banks, at the mouth of the Missisippi, they would consequently become of little value to France. It was also foreseen that the fortune of these colonies would immediately affect their settlements in the West Indies. As these points were fully comprehended by both nations, they were equally determined to maintain their respective claims.

No sooner therefore were the British ministry acquainted with the claims and conduct of the French, than they instructed the Virginians, by force of arms to resist their encroachments. Orders were given that several independent companies in America should assist the Virginians. Major Washington was advanced to the rank of a colonel, and appointed to command the troops destined to remove the French encroachments on the Ohio. On the first notice captain James Mackay marched with his independent company from South Carolina, to the assistance of the Virginians. Two other companies were ordered from New York on the same service. Colonel Washington, without waiting for the companies from New York, determined to advance with the Virginians and Mackay's company, consisting of about four hundred men. In May the colonel fell in with a party from fort du Quesne, under the command of one Jamonville, whom he totally defeated. De Villier, who commanded at fort du Quesne, incensed at this defeat, marched down upon him, with nine hundred men besides Indians. The colonel had thrown up some imperfect works, which were with propriety termed fort Necessity; hoping to defend himself in his post, till he should be reinforced, by the companies expected from New York. Within these works, he made so brave and obstinate a defence, that De Villier finding he had desperate men to combat, of-

Colonel Washington's expedition.

May 28. defeats Jamonville.

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fered him an honourable capitulation. This he accepted, and retreated with his party to Virginia.

1754. July 3.

Instructions had been sent early the same year, from the lords of trade and plantations, recommending a meeting of commissioners, from the several colonies, to concert a plan of union and defence against the common enemy; and, in his majesty's name, to effect a league of friendship between the colonies and the Indian nations bordering on them. The colonies generally manifested a cheerful compliance with the recommendation. But, as in former wars, some colonies had done much, and others scarcely any thing, to the great injury of the common cause, it was now earnestly wished that each colony might be obliged to do its equal proportion. It was also desired, that, as the Five Nations of Indians had been under the direction of particular governours and states, and had been too often influenced to measures subservient to the interests of individual persons, or of particular colonies, rather than to such as were beneficial to the general interest, the management of their affairs might be under some general direction; which should contribute to the safety and welfare of the colonies collectively. The general court of the Massachusetts presented their desires to governour Shirley, that he would "Pray his majesty, that affairs which related to the Six Nations and their allies, may be put under some general direction, as his majesty shall think proper: That the several governments may be obliged to bear their proportions of defending his majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French, and the ravages and incursions of the Indians."

April 10.

July. General convention at Albany.

In the summer there was a general convention of governours and principal men of the several colonies at Albany. It was the unanimous opinion of the convention, that an union of all the colonies was absolutely necessary, for the common defence. The plan which the convention proposed was, "That a grand council should be formed of members chosen

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by the assemblies, and sent from all the colonies, which council, with a governour general, to be appointed by the crown, should be empowered to make general laws, to raise money in all the colonies for the defence of the whole."* Could such an establishment be once effected, the colonies imagined themselves competent to their own defence against the combined force of the French and their Indians. Several of the colonies, in former wars, had defended themselves against them, unassisted either by Great Britain or their sister colonies. Their united force therefore, they judged, would certainly be sufficient. But this plan did not meet the approbation of the ministry. They were too cautious to trust such powers with the Americans.

Plan of the convention.

Rejected by the ministry.

They had formed a very different plan. It was that the governours of the colonies, with one or more of their council, should form a convention, to concert measures for the general defence, erect such fortifications, and raise such numbers of men, as they should think proper, with power to draw on the British treasury for such sums as they judged necessary, and that the colonies should reimburse the treasury, by taxes imposed on them by acts of parliament. A subtle and base contrivance, to provide for favourites, sap the liberties, and engross the wealth of the colonies, and at once to fix them down in perpetual poverty and slavery. The colonies too well knew the imprudence and rapacity of king's governours, their embezzlement of public monies, their ignorance of the true interests of the colonies, their want of affection for the people; and how many of them came into America to make their fortunes, tamely to commit their liberty, property, and safety, to their management. They were at an equal remove from resigning their property to the disposal of a British parliament. In the colonies it received not the least countenance, but met the universal disapprobation.

Ministerial plan.

Disapproved by the colonies.

* The gentlemen from Connecticut dissented from this plan as dangerous to the liberties of the colonies.

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On the reception of the news of colonel Washington's defeat, the British court remonstrated against the conduct of the French: but receiving nothing but evasive answers and professions of peace from the court of France, gave orders for a vigorous preparation for war. The colonies were directed to arm, and act with united exertions against the enemy. Four expeditions were planned. One against the French on the Ohio, under the command of general Braddock, a second against Nova Scotia, a third against Crown Point, and a fourth against Niagara. About the middle of January, general Braddock embarked at Cork, with fifteen hundred regulars for Virginia. After a passage of about six weeks he arrived at the place of destination.

General Braddock embarks for America, Jan. 1755.

The French, while they spoke nothing but peace, made vigorous preparations for the support of their claims in America. Early in the spring they had a powerful armament ready to sail for Canada. It consisted of twenty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates and transports. On board were great quantities of military stores, and four thousand regular troops, under the command of baron Dieskau.

French armament.

Admirals Boscawen and Holborn, with seventeen ships of the line and seven frigates, with six thousand land forces, were despatched to watch the motions of the enemy.* Admiral Boscawen sailed directly for Newfoundland. Soon after his arrival the French fleet, under the command of M. Bors de la Mothe, came also to the same station. But the thick fogs which prevail on the coasts, especially at that season of the year, prevented the fleets from discovering each other. One part of the French fleet escaped up the river St. Lawrence, while another part went round and got into the river by the straits of Belleisle. But while the English squadron lay off Cape Race, the southernmost point of Newfoundland, two French ships, the Alcide of sixty

Admiral Boscawen sails for Newfoundland.

French ships Alcide and Lys taken.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xl.

four guns and four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys, pierced for sixty four, but mounting twenty two guns only, having on board eight companies of land forces, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews; and, after a sharp engagement, which lasted several hours, were taken. On board were found a considerable number of officers, engineers, and about eight thousand pounds in money. The other French ships and troops arrived safe in Canada, and were the principal means of the misfortunes which, for sometime after, attended the English colonies.

In the spring the colonies, especially the northern, were all activity and exertion, in making preparations for the several expeditions which were to be carried into execution. Acts were passed prohibiting all commerce with the French colonies. The Massachusetts very early detached a considerable body of troops to Nova Scotia. The expedition in this quarter was under the command of colonel Monckton.

Monckton's expedition against Nova Scotia.

About the latter end of May, he proceeded up the bay of Fundy, with a large body of troops, covered by three frigates and a sloop, under the command of captain Rouse, to dislodge the enemy from that quarter. On his arrival at Malagash, he found the passage up the river, defended by a large number of French troops, Acadians, and Indians. Four hundred were placed in a log house with cannon mounted. The rest of the troops were defended by a strong breast-work of timbers thrown up as an out-work to the block house. The English attacked them with such impetuosity that in about an hour they abandoned their works, and the passage up the river was opened. The army advanced, and on the twelfth of June, invested the French fort of Beau-Sejour. The fort was taken after a bombardment of four days. The French had twenty six pieces of cannon mounted and ample supplies of ammunition. The garris-

Beau-Sejour taken.

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on were sent to Louisburg on condition of not bearing arms in America for the term of six months.

No sooner was the fort provided with a proper garrison, than colonel Monckton marched still further into the country, and reduced the other French fort on the river Gaspereau, which runs into bay Verte. This was the principal magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries for war. Here therefore large quantities of provisions and stores of all kinds fell into the hands of the conquerors. The colonel then proceeded to disarm the Acadians to the number of fifteen thousand men.* Great numbers of them were afterwards brought off into the New England colonies.

Acadians disarmed.

Meanwhile captain Rouse, and the ships under his command, sailed to St. John's river to dislodge the enemy from that post. At the mouth of the river they were erecting a new fort. On his approach they burst their cannon, blew up their magazine, and, as far as time would permit, destroyed their works, and then abandoned the post to the English. Thus, by this successful expedition, the English possessed themselves of the whole country of Nova Scotia, and its tranquillity was restored and put on a firm establishment.

The two expeditions against Crown Point and Niagara were forwarded with great exertion and despatch by the colonies of New England and New York. The troops, for each of these enterprises, were ordered to rendezvous at Albany. Most of them arrived before the end of June. The command of the expedition to Crown Point was given to generals Johnson and Lyman. The troops under their command, raised by New England and New York, amounted to between five and six thousand men. Besides, they were joined by Hendric, sachem of the Mohawks, with a considerable body of Indians. Ma-

Johnson and Lyman command the expedition against Crown Point.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xl. p. 100, 102.

jor general Lyman soon marched with the main body of the army along Hudson's river as far as the carrying place, about fourteen miles from the south end of lake George. General Johnson tarried at Albany to forward the artillery, battoes, and other necessaries for the enterprise. At the carrying place, where the artillery, provisions, stores, and battoes were to be landed, it was judged necessary to build a fort and cast up entrenchments for their security. The accomplishing of these works, carrying on the cannon, provisions, stores, and battoes employed the army five or six weeks before they could be in readiness to advance to the lake.

Expedition under general Braddock.

While the New Englanders were humbling the French in Nova Scotia, and advancing towards Crown Point, the Virginians and general Braddock had been slowly making preparations for the expedition against the French on the Ohio. Though this with the ministry, was the favourite expedition, and though the general arrived soon enough to have begun his operations early in the spring, yet it was the tenth of June before he began his march from fort Cumberland, which the Virginians had built at Will's Creek. This is said to have been owing to the dilatoriness of the Virginians, whom he had employed as contractors for his army. They were almost three months in procuring provisions, horses, and a number of waggons sufficient for the conveyance of his baggage. Some waggons were obtained from Pennsylvania, yet, after all, but about half the number for which he had contracted, were procured for his service. He began his march with about two thousand and two hundred men. When he arrived at the great meadows, he received intelligence that the French, at fort du Quesne, were in expectation of a reinforcement of five hundred men. This induced him to quicken his march. That he might proceed with greater expedition, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provision and heavy baggage,

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while he pressed forward with the rest of the army, and with such provisions and necessaries as might barely serve him, till colonel Dunbar should bring up the rear.

Precautions given him.

Before his departure from England, much pains had been taken to make him cautious and prepare him for his command. Colonel Napier furnished him with an excellent set of military instructions, which he had received from the duke of Cumberland. Indeed his royal highness, in person, frequently premonished him to be particularly watchful against an ambush or surprise. When he was on his march colonel Washington intreated him, with earnestness, to suffer him to precede the army, and scour the woods with his rangers. But the general treated this generous and necessary proposal with contempt, and rashly pressed on, through thickets and dangerous defiles, without reconnoitring the woods, or obtaining any proper knowledge of the country through which he was to pass. By the eighth of July, he had advanced nearly sixty miles forward of colonel Dunbar, and within twelve or fourteen miles of fort du Quesne. In this situation his officers, especially Sir Peter Halket, earnestly besought him to proceed with circumspection, and to employ the friendly Indians, in his army, as an advanced guard, against ambuscades and surprise. But he was too haughty and self-sufficient to derive any benefit, even from the experience or wisdom of the greatest characters. The next day, without any knowledge of the situation of the enemy, or without any of the precautions, to which he had been so repeatedly advised, he pressed on, till about twelve o'clock; when he was, all on a sudden, saluted with a heavy and deadly fire in front and on the whole of his left flank. The enemy artfully concealed themselves, and kept their fire, till the whole army had time to enter the defile. Though the yell and fire were tremendous, yet there was scarcely an enemy to be seen. The suddenness of the attack, the horrible scream of the Indians, and

Braddock defeated, July 9.

the slaughter made by the enemy's first fire, threw the advanced guard into the utmost panic, so that rushing back on the main body they threw the whole of the regular troops into irretrievable confusion. The general at once exhibited the greatest intrepidity and imprudence. Instead of retreating from the defile and scouring the thickets with his cannon, or ordering the Virginians to drive the enemy from his flanks, he remained on the spot, giving orders for the few gallant officers and men, who remained with him, to form regularly, and advance to the attack of their invisible enemy. But as the enemy kept up an incessant and deadly fire his officers and men fell thick about him, and five horses were killed under him. The obstinacy of the general seemed to increase with the danger, till at last he received a musket ball through his right arm and lungs. As he fell the few who remained fled in the utmost confusion. The general was carried from the field, by the bravery of lieutenant colonel Gage and another of his faithful officers.

The artillery, ammunition, baggage, and the general's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions fell a prey to the enemy. Of the latter, the French court availed themselves, in their public memorials and declarations. The general died of his wounds four days after the defeat. Thus the loss of his own life and the ruin of a fine army, were but the natural consequences of his unparalleled self-sufficiency, imprudence, and obstinacy. The enemy consisted only of about four or five hundred men, chiefly Indians, and were not a match even for the Virginians, could they have been allowed to fight in their own way.

Remarkable conduct of the Virginians.

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this unfortunate expedition, remains yet to be told. The Virginia militia, who had been so despised by the general, and disdainfully kept in the rear, though equally exposed with the regular troops, amidst all this confusion, stood firm and unbroken. They alone advanced against the enemy; and, under col-

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onel Washington, covering the retreat, seem to have preserved the regulars from a total destruction.

1755. Loss of men.

The loss of officers and men was very great. Sir Peter Halket was killed, at the head of his regiment, by the first fire; and the general's secretary, son of governour Shirley, soon after fell. The loss of officers much exceeded the common proportion. The loss of men was not less than seven or eight hundred.*

Extraordinary panic and retreat.

The flight of the army was so precipitate that it never stopped till it met the rear division. This, on their junction, was instantly seized with the same general panic, which affected those who had been in the action; and though no enemy had been seen during the engagement, nor afterwards, yet the army continued retreating, without making any stand or considerable halt, till it reached fort Cumberland. This was little less than a hundred and twenty miles from the place of action. Had the troops, even here, so recovered their spirits as to have made a stand, they might, in some measure, have guarded the frontiers, and prevented those devastations, inhuman murders and barbarities, which the French and Indians, during the rest of the summer, perpetrated on the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. But instead of adopting this prudent and salutary measure, colonel Dunbar, who succeeded in command, leaving the sick and wounded at this post, under the care of the Virginians, marched off with fourteen hundred men to Philadelphia.†

August. The northern army advances to the lake.

Towards the last of August the army under general Johnson having got on their artillery, battoes, and provisions to the carrying place, at fort Edward, advanced fourteen miles to the south end of lake George. Here preparations were making with all possible despatch for crossing the lake, as soon as the battoes and cannon could be brought on. In the mean time the army was encamped on a rising ground, covered on the flanks by a thick wood and swamp, by the lake

* Rider says he lost half his army, vol. xl. p. 110. † Rider, vol. xl. p. 111.

in the rear, and having a breast-work of trees in the front. While the army lay in this situation, the Indian scouts, which, every day, the general sent out to make discoveries, brought him intelligence of a large body of the enemy advancing, from Ticonderoga, by the south bay, towards fort Edward. Here was a garrison of about five hundred of the New York and New Hampshire troops, under the command of colonel Blanchard. Immediately on the reception of this intelligence, the general, comprehending the design of the enemy, to destroy the provisions and stores at fort Edward and cut off the retreat of the army, sent expresses, one after another, to the colonel, ordering him to call in all his detached parties and to keep his whole force within the fort and entrenchments. About midnight one of the expresses returned with an account that the enemy were advanced within four miles of fort Edward. A council of officers was summoned, and, agreeably to their opinion, early in the morning a party of a thousand men, with Hendric, the Mohawk sachem, and his Indians were detached to intercept the enemy. The party was commanded by colonel Williams of the Massachusetts and colonel Whiting of Connecticut. Baron Dieskau, who marched from Ticonderoga, with a view to cut off the garrison at fort Edward, when he had advanced within a few miles of the fort, receiving information that it was fortified with cannon; and, that the army at the lake had neither lines nor cannon, agreeably to the unanimous desire of his troops, came to the resolution of attacking the main camp. As he was advancing within about three miles of it, his advanced parties discovered the corps under colonel Williams, and he immediately laid an ambush to surprise him. Notwithstanding the vigilance and keen sight of the Indians the whole party were drawn into the snare. The enemy instantly rose, and from almost every quarter poured in upon them a tremendous fire. Colonel Williams, the Indian sachem, and many

Detachment under Col. Williams.

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other officers and men instantly fell. Under these disadvantages, and pressed with superior numbers, it was with the utmost difficulty, that colonel Whiting, who succeeded in command, extricated his men from this dangerous defile and secured his retreat into the camp. The enemy pressed so hard that many fled singly, and some whole companies soon followed their example. To prevent an entire overthrow the whole were obliged to retreat with as much haste as possible.

1755. Col. killed, detachment repulsed, Sept. 6.

A close firing was heard in the camp, which was judged to be at three or four miles distance, and appeared to approach nearer and nearer. From this circumstance, it was rightly conjectured, that the detachment was repulsed and retreating into camp. The utmost exertions were made to give the enemy a proper reception. A few cannon had been brought on, but they were at the south landing of the lake, half a mile, or more, from the breastwork. The camp was alarmed and parties were sent to bring forward such pieces of cannon as could be moved with the greatest facility and despatch. Fugitives from the retreating detachment, soon came running into the camp. These were followed by company after company, in the utmost hurry and disorder. The whole party were soon in, and the enemy, following close upon them, appeared in regular order, advancing towards the centre of the camp. At about thirty rods distance, they made a little halt, and began the attack, with a brisk and heavy firing of platoons. The Canadians and Indians covered the flanks of the regular troops, and commenced a brisk though irregular fire. The confusion in which the detachment had retreated, the reports of the loss they had sustained, and of the great numbers of the enemy, with the bold countenance and regularity with which they began the attack, for a few minutes caused such a general panic, that it required the utmost exertions of the generals to keep the men at the lines; but they had received but a few fires before

Battle at lake George, Sept. 6.

their spirits began to rise, and they fought with great resolution. The lines became one continual blaze and roar. Some pieces of artillery began to play, and so intimidated the Canadians and Indians that they were scattered and retired behind trees and bushes, firing at too great a distance to do execution. Baron Dieskau finding that he could make no impression on the centre of the camp, moved first to the left, and then to the right, attempting, by every exertion of military art and prowess to force a passage. But as he was not supported by his irregulars, and as from every part of the lines, which he attempted to penetrate, he received a heavy and destructive fire, he was obliged to give over his attempts. The provincials perceiving that the fire of the enemy abated, and that they were in confusion, without waiting for orders, leaped their breast-works, and attacked them on all sides, with such resolution and firmness, as put them to an entire rout.

B. Dieskau defeated and taken.

When the action commenced the number of the enemy amounted to about two thousand. Of these seven hundred were killed and thirty made prisoners. Among the latter was baron Dieskau himself, who was found at a little distance from the field, dangerously wounded, supporting himself by the stump of a tree.

The loss of the provincials was about two hundred. These were principally of the detachment under colonel Williams. Of this there were killed besides privates, colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains, and several subalterns. Among the slain were the brave king Hendric and about forty of his Indians. The only officer of distinction killed in the attack on the camp was the brave colonel Tidcomb, who, about ten years before, had signalized himself at the siege of Louisburg. The general and major Nichols were wounded.

M'Guines defeats a party of the French

The next day captain M'Guines marching from fort Edward, with a detachment of a hundred and twenty New Hampshire men, as a reinforcement to

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the camp, discovered between three and four hundred of the remains of the enemy, sitting by a pond not far from the place where colonel Williams had been defeated. Though his numbers were so inferior to the enemy's, he made such dispositions and attacked them with such impetuosity and good conduct, that after a sharp action, he put them to an entire flight. They fled with such precipitation as to leave many of their packs and other articles to the conquerors. The brave captain, however, unfortunately received a wound, of which he died a few days after his arrival in the camp.*

Small circumstances occasion the victory.

Several small circumstances, which seem to have been merely providential, probably saved fort Edward and the army; and occasioned the defeat of the enemy. The report of a prisoner, whom the French had taken, that the camp was entirely defenceless, without lines or cannon, determined them to make the attack on the main army, and probably saved fort Edward: That they made not the attack two days sooner, when the camp was, in fact, in the situation, which the prisoner had reported: and that the enemy halted and began the attack at so great a distance, as rendered their fire in a great measure ineffectual, till the provincials had recovered their spirits, and were prepared to make a manly resistance, were very favourable circumstances. Had the enemy reserved their fire and advanced directly to the lines, without hesitation, it is not improbable, that they would have gained a complete victory, with less loss than they finally sustained. Had not the provincials strengthened their camp with lines, and brought on their cannon at that very juncture, or had any of these circumstances been otherwise than they were, the army might have been ruined. It is the glory of Providence, by small means and circumstances, to produce great events. The neighing of a horse gave an empire to Darius.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xl. p. 120.

The action at the lake gave an immediate alarm to the country. Large reinforcements were draughted from the militia of the colonies, and forwarded to the army, with the greatest expedition. But the absolute necessity of strong forts and garrisons, at the carrying place, and at the lake, in which provisions and stores might be safely lodged, and by which a communication might be maintained between the army and Albany, now appeared in a much stronger point of light than it had ever before done. It was from Albany only that it could be supplied with provisions, or be reinforced on any emergency. It was only by keeping this communication open, that the retreat of the army could be secured. Therefore, though it was reinforced, it was judged unsafe to pass the lake till a good fort was erected at the south landing of lake George, and the works at fort Edward were strengthened and rendered more complete.

Necessity of erecting forts.

It was easily foreseen, that, by the time the necessary preparations could be made, it would be too late to proceed to Crown Point this campaign, and all thoughts of it were laid aside. But that every thing might be in the best state of readiness, as soon as the spring should open, the army addressed themselves, with the utmost diligence, to complete the works proposed. A fort was erected at lake George, and the works at fort Edward were completed. The army were employed in these services till the latter end of November. The troops then decamped, and, excepting those who kept garrison, returned to their respective colonies.

Though the expedition against Crown Point had failed as to its main object, yet the management of it, had been with such spirit and prudence, as was highly applauded by his majesty and the whole nation. From his majesty the general received the honour of a baronet, and from the British parliament a present of five thousand pounds.*

General Johnson promoted.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xl. p. 121.

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1755. Expedition against Niagara fails.

The army commanded by governour Shirley consisted of two thousand and five hundred men. But his preparations were deficient and his measures so slow and dilatory that he effected nothing of any great importance. It was towards the middle of July before the first division of his army marched from Albany. It was the eighteenth of August before the general arrived at Oswego, and it was the last of the month before the artillery and the rear division of the army arrived. The great distance between Albany and Oswego, made the transportation of provisions, ammunition, and stores an exceedingly difficult business. On the news of general Braddock's defeat many of his battoe men dispersed and ran home, by reason of which a sufficient quantity of provisions could not be carried on for the troops. Therefore, though a number of good vessels and a vast number of boats were built, to convey the army across the lake to Niagara, and though the general had brought on a fine train of artillery, yet he could not proceed for want of provisions. Even as late as the twenty sixth of September, he had hardly provisions sufficient to proceed with six hundred men only. Beside the rainy season was now come on, and it was judged impracticable to proceed. The rest of the season was therefore spent in erecting barracks and two new forts. The ground on which the old fort was built, in seventeen hundred twenty seven, was chosen rather for the agreeableness of its situation, than for defence against a regular siege. One fort therefore, was built on the east side of the river Onondago, called fort Ontario. This was about four hundred and fifty yards distant from the old fort, and was designed to command that and the entrance of the harbour. The other was four hundred and fifty yards west of the old fort called Oswego. Colonel Mercer and seven hundred men were left at Oswego to garrison the forts; and the rest of the army

decamped on the twenty fourth of October and returned to Albany.

Thus ended the campaign of seventeen hundred fifty five. Notwithstanding the prodigious exertions of the colonies, the French were not dispossessed of a single fortress, on their northern or western frontiers. They and their Indian allies, not only ravaged the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania during the summer, but they continued plundering, burning, and laying them waste, murdering and captivating the inhabitants, during the whole winter.*

Ravages in Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Doubtless it will appear extraordinary, if not, in a measure, unaccountable, that while New England and New York, were raising such powerful armies, the wealthy and numerous colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, should suffer a small number of French and Indians, with impunity, to be thus continually alarming and wasting the country, captivating, murdering, and committing all manner of barbarities on their inhabitants. This is to be accounted for, principally, on the account of their divisions. These originated partly from clashing interests between the colonies, but chiefly from differences between the people, and royal and proprietary governours. Pennsylvania were entirely opposed to the Ohio company for reasons which have been mentioned. Her inhabitants seem rather to have encouraged the French and Indians at first. Afterwards, when they themselves felt the effects of their inhumanity, the misunderstanding between them and governour Morris frustrated their best concerted plans. When the assembly of the province became convinced of the absolute necessity of erecting forts and maintaining a standing military force, for the defence of their western frontier, and passed a bill of fifty thousand pounds, for that purpose, he absolutely refused giving his assent to it, because the estates of the proprietors were taxed equally with the estates

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Divisions in the southern colonies.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xi. p. 127.

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of the inhabitants. He insisted, that he had express orders from the proprietors, to oppose all taxes upon their lands. The assembly judged it so reasonable, that the proprietaries should pay an equal tax with the inhabitants, as their estates were equally in danger, and as they would be equally benefitted by the common defence, that they could not be willing to alter the mode of the bill.

Between governour Dinwiddie and the Virginians, there was a violent animosity, on the account of his rapacity and extravagant fees for grants of land. They carried the matter so far as to prefer a complaint against him to his majesty.

Maryland was less exposed than the other two colonies, and not very zealous in carrying on the war. While they therefore would not unite in their own defence it could not be expected that she should undertake it separately. Hence for want of union nothing could be done to any good purpose.

Jan. 28.

His majesty was so well pleased with the zeal of New England, and some of the other colonies, that he recommended it by a message to the house of commons, To take into consideration the faithful services of the people of New England, and of some other parts of North America, and grant them a suitable reward and encouragement. In consequence of his majesty's recommendation, the parliament voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for those purposes.*

Encouragement for New England.

As governour Shirley had not answered the expectations of his majesty the last campaign; and as he determined to make his principal efforts in America, where the first hostilities commenced, and where it was imagined the strongest impressions could be made, general Abercrombie was appointed to succeed him. But as it was imagined that a general command over all the operations in North America, would be subservient to the general interest, the earl

* Rider's Hist. vol. xl p. 151, 152.

of Loudon was appointed commander in chief of that department of the war. Besides his general command, he was appointed governour of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American regiment, which was to be raised in the country. He was viewed as a nobleman of an amiable character, and had formerly distinguished himself in the service of the nation. He was vested with powers little short of a viceroy. CHAP. X. 1756.

General Abercrombie took his departure for this country in March, but the earl of Loudon, who was to direct the grand plan of operation, never left England till the last of May. By this time he ought to have been in America.

All the hostilities of the preceding years had been carried on without any proclamation of war, by England or France. The latter had, during the whole time, made the most pacific professions. But on the eighteenth of May, Great Britain proclaimed war against France. Early in June, the king of France in his turn, proclaimed war against Great Britain. Proclamations of war. June 9.

The plan of operations in America, had been concerted the last year, in a general council of war, at New York. It was to attack Niagara and Crown Point. And to facilitate these operations, a body of troops was to be detached up Kennebec river to alarm the capital of Canada. These enterprises were to have been effected by the northern colonies, in conjunction with a body of regular troops. At the same time the southern colonies, assisted by some regular regiments, were to besiege fort du Quesne on the Ohio. The plan was extensive, but the colonies united, with men of skill and enterprise to lead them, were well able to have carried it into execution.

Niagara, without exception, was one of the most important posts in North America. Its situation was on the south side of lake Ontario, at the very entrance of the strait, which joins this to lake Erie, and forms the only water communication between them. It was the grand link which connected the

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two colonies of Canada and Louisiana. It was the only way, by which the Indians, for several hundred miles from the northwest, could pass with safety to the southern parts of America; or by which the Indians south of the lake could communicate with the northern. Whoever commanded this post must, in a greater or less degree, not only influence and command the Five Nations, and the Indians north of the lake, but all those scattered on the banks of Ouabache and the Missisippi. By cutting off this post all communication between Canada, the Ohio, and Louisiana would be cut off, and the English would in a great measure, command all the Indians on their western frontiers. At the same time it would greatly facilitate the reduction of the enemy's fortresses on the Ohio, and all their other posts south of the lakes.

Crown Point, which was erected about the year 1731, secured the absolute command of lake Champlain, and guarded the only passage into Canada. Through this lake, by the route of Crown Point, the parties of French and Indians made their ancient bloody incursions upon the frontiers of New England and New York. This post brought the enemy much nearer to the colonies, and served them as a retreat on emergencies. It furnished them with a magazine of provisions and ammunition at hand, and greatly facilitated their works of destruction. By the reduction of this, the frontiers of those colonies, would be, in a great measure, rendered secure. The enemy would be driven back into their own territories, north of the lakes, and the way would be opened, the very next campaign, to penetrate into the heart of Canada.

Governour Shirley, though he was not able to proceed to the attack of Niagara, the last campaign, yet had made ample preparations to proceed to it immediately in the spring. The New Englanders under general Johnson had not only carried on a fine artillery and ample stores to lake George, but had built boats for crossing the lake, and forts to pre-

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serve the communication between the army and the country, so that every thing was in the happiest train to proceed to an immediate attack on the enemy's posts. The last campaign, every thing was to be done, roads were to be made, the rivers were to be cleared of their obstructions, the battoes, boats, and vessels were all to be built, and forts were to be erected; but now all was prepared to the hand of the officers, who succeeded in command. The colonial forces were early in readiness for the field. Four regular regiments with a number of independent companies had been in the country all winter. The great distance between Albany and Oswego required that the operations of the campaign should commence as soon as possible. Besides, as the French had two forts on the lake, and Monsieur Montcalm, a brave and skilful officer to conduct their operations, there was every reason to expect, that unless the English generals took the field at an early period, he would make a descent upon the forts at Oswego, and not only frustrate the expedition, but possess himself of that important post. The attention of Great Britain was, with eagerness, turned towards America, which was designed to be the chief scene of military operation. America was big with expectation.

In this happy state of preparation and of high and universal expectation, the new generals dashed all the schemes of Great Britain and the American colonies. Like the touch of the torpedo on the human body, for nearly two years, they occasioned a general torpor in all the English troops and military operations in America.

General Abercrombie delayed his operations, or even so much as joining his army, till the latter part of June. He pretended to be waiting for two regiments from England. At length they arrived, and, on the twenty fifth of the month, the general proceeded to Albany. Here he found himself at the head of six regular regiments, a number of indepen-

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dent companies, the New England, New York, and New Jersey troops, with four companies from North Carolina. But still, with this fine army, such an one, probably, as had never before been assembled in America,* nothing of consequence was undertaken. Neither of the proposed expeditions were attempted, nor were the out posts seasonably reinforced.

Meanwhile the enemy acted with vigour and despatch. They had not only time to make preparations against future attacks, but to begin offensive operations. Even before this period they had reduced a small fort in the country of the Five Nations. The garrison consisting of twenty five Englishmen were massacred to a man, in the midst of those Indians, who had been long considered as the allies of Great Britain and her colonies. At the same time they carefully watched all the motions of the English. Having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions was on the way from Schenectada to Oswego, they laid an ambush in the woods and thickets, on the north side of the Onondago river, to intercept and cut off the party. Just as the enemy came to the place, they heard that the convoy was past; but they determined, if that were the case, to wait the return of the detachment. This was commanded by colonel Bradstreet, an officer of courage and enterprise. He had been apprehensive of such an event, and was not unprepared. As he was sailing along the river, with his battoes formed in three divisions, he was saluted with the Indian war whoop and a general discharge of musketry from the north shore. He immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite shore, and with part of them he took possession of a small island. The enemy instantly forded the river and attacked him; but he gave them so warm a reception that they were soon repulsed. Finding that another body of the enemy had crossed a mile higher up, he advanced against them with two

Col. Bradstreet attacked, but defeats the enemy, July 3.

* It consisted of about 10,000 men, and in the garrisons at Oswego and the forts south of lake George were about two thousand more.

hundred men, and attacked them sword in hand, with such fury, that those who were not slain upon the spot, were driven with precipitation and confusion into the river, and considerable numbers were drowned. Hearing that a third party had crossed still higher up the river, he marched against them with almost incredible despatch, and put them to a total rout. In these actions, which lasted nearly three hours, about seventy of his men were killed and wounded. About twice that number of the enemy were killed and seventy taken prisoners.

From the prisoners the colonel learned that a large body of the enemy had taken post on the east side of lake Ontario, furnished with artillery and all implements for the siege of Oswego. Colonel Bradstreet returned immediately to Albany, and gave general Abercrombie an account of this intelligence. General Webb with one regiment was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march to the relief of that garrison. But on the twenty ninth of July, when the earl of Loudon arrived at Albany, he had not begun his march. By this time about seven thousand of the New England and New York troops under general Winslow had advanced to the south landing at lake George. They were in high spirits, perfectly harmonious, and waited with impatience to be led on to the attack of Crown Point. Great numbers of battoe men lay at Albany, Schenectada, and other places convenient for the service. The generals had with them about three thousand regulars at Albany. With such a force, officers of skill and enterprise might have penetrated into the heart of Canada. But the British generals, with most of the regular troops, continued at Albany till the middle of August, if not till sometime after; and general Webb never began his march for Oswego till the twelfth of the month.

Inactivity of the British generals. Aug. 12.

Meanwhile the Marquis de Montcalm invested the forts at Oswego, with about three thousand men, regulars, Canadians, and Indians. He blocked up the harbour with two large armed vessels, and post-

Montcalm invests Oswego.

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ed a strong party on the roads between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of succour or intelligence. Having made the necessary preparations, on the twelfth of August, he opened his trenches before fort Ontario, which had been built for the purpose of securing fort Oswego, on an eminence, by which it was commanded. The English, firing away their shells and ammunition, and spiking up their cannon, unaccountably retired, the very next day, across the river into fort Oswego, where they were much more exposed than they were in the fort which they had abandoned. The enemy possessed of this commanding ground, soon began an incessant fire on fort Oswego. On the thirteenth colonel Mercer, who commanded, was killed with a cannon shot; the officers were divided in opinion, and the garrison panic struck, so that the enemy made an easy conquest of one of the most important posts which the English had in America. On the fourteenth of August the garrison capitulated. A hundred and twenty one pieces of cannon, fourteen mortars, great quantities of ammunition and warlike stores, two frigates or sloops of war, which had been built to cruise on the lake, and to cover the troops in the expedition against Niagara, two hundred boats and battoes, with a garrison of sixteen hundred men were delivered into the hands of the enemy.* The victors immediately dismantled the forts, and carried off this grand booty to strengthen their own lines and fortresses on the lake.

It surrenders, Aug. 14.

Loss at Oswego.

By the fall of this post the enemy obtained the sole command of the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the whole country of the Five Nations, which it was designed to cover. The settlements at the German flats, and all that fine tract of country on the Wood Creek and Mohawk rivers were laid open to their incursions.

Consequences of the capture.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xli. p. 16—27. Wright's History of the French War, vol. i. p. 17, 18.

When general Webb had advanced as far as the carrying place, between Mohawk river and Wood Creek, he received the news of the capture of Oswego. Apprehensive of an attack by the enemy, he began to fell trees and throw them into the river, and to render it impassable even for canoes. The French ignorant of his numbers, and dreading an attack by him, used the like precautions to prevent his advancing. He was left therefore to retreat in the same leisure manner in which he had advanced.

Lord Loudon now pretended, that it was too late to attempt any thing against the enemy, though it was nearly three months to the time of the usual decampment of the army. The troops were advanced to the south end of lake George, and might, at any time, within a few days have made an attack on Ticonderoga or Crown Point.

He spent the remainder of the season, in pretended preparations for an early campaign the next spring. The forts, Edward and fort William Henry, were made more defensible, and furnished with numerous garrisons. The provincials returned to their respective colonies, and the regular troops who were not employed in the garrisons went into winter quarters at Albany. Thus ended the northern campaign of 1756.

Comparison between the campaigns of 1755, and 1756.

The last year the provincials under their own generals had advanced far upon the enemy, erected forts, built ships, and many hundreds of boats and battoes, defeated one army of their enemies and taken their general captive. They had also made grand preparations for opening the campaign, at the earliest period, this year. The British generals, with the finest army ever collected in America, with the advantage of roads and rivers, cleared for their passage, to the very forts of the enemy, and with all the other preparations of the last year, had lost one of their most important posts, had not advanced one foot upon the enemy, nor effected any thing honourable or important.

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1756. Conduct of the southern colonies.

The management of affairs in the southern colonies was not more fortunate than it had been in the northern. Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia did not resolve on any regular plan of defence. Fort Granville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, was surprised and taken. The French and Indians, in small parties, making frequent incursions into the frontier settlements, in these colonies, committed many shocking murders on the defenceless inhabitants, without regard to distinction of character, sex, or age.

In South Carolina the slaves were so much more numerous than the white people, that it was thought unsafe for them to spare any of their troops abroad upon a general enterprise.

Great expectations had been formed of the earl of Loudon and general Abercrombie. In the principal towns through which his lordship passed, the first characters flocked round him, and, with great ceremony, congratulated him on his safe arrival. At New Haven, Mr. president Clap and the principal gentlemen of the town, waited on him in the most respectful manner. The president presented his lordship with their joint congratulations on the safe arrival of a peer of the realm, in North America.

General disappointment.

How prodigious then was their disappointment, how cutting their chagrin, when they found that these very men, from whom they expected so much, had disconcerted and dashed all their plans, and employed ten or twelve thousand men about nothing? Had, through their inactivity, lost more men, by diseases, than probably would have been lost in a vigorous, active campaign, in which they might have engaged in severe and hard fought battles, and done the most essential services to their country? It was not difficult to discern, that from such men, the enemy had nothing to fear, and the colonies nothing to expect, but loss and disappointment.

CHAPTER XI.

Preparations for the campaign in 1757. Plan of operation in America changed, and Louisburg becomes its only object. This is reinforced, and the expedition postponed. Fort William Henry taken by the French. The country is alarmed, and great reinforcements of militia sent forward to Albany and Fort Edward. The campaign closes with loss and shame. The provincials lose all confidence in the British commanders. Change of men, 1758. Armament against Louisburg. Its siege and capture by general Amherst. Defeat at Ticonderoga. Du Quesne taken by general Forbes.

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1757. Preparations for the campaign.

NOTWITHSTANDING the disappointments of the last, the British parliament made great preparations this year, for a vigorous prosecution of the war in America. In May admiral Holbourn and commodore Holmes sailed from Cork, for America, with eleven ships of the line, a fire ship, bomb ketch, and fifty transports, having on board more than six thousand regular troops. The land force came out under general Hopson. The armament arrived safe at Halifax the ninth of July. The colonies expecting, that after such long and great preparations, for that purpose, that they should be led on to the conquest of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, had been zealous in raising their full complement of men. Great therefore was their mortification when they found that the design against Crown Point was laid aside, and that the reduction of Louisburg was become the sole object of the expedition. They were unwilling that their troops should be removed out of the colonies and be employed against Louisburg. It appeared to them extremely impolitic, after the expense of so much time and money, in preparations for an expedition to the northward, now to lay it aside. Such inconstancy and fluctuation appeared to them childish, and calculated to prevent the accomplishment of any thing decisive or important.

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Besides, it did not appear safe for the colonies, in this manner to draw off their troops. They had not been able the last year, with an army of nearly twelve thousand men, to maintain their ground. The enemy were now stronger than they were at that time, and, by the loss of Oswego, all the western country was laid open to their ravages. There was reason to fear, that the frontier posts and settlements would, one after another, be swept away; and, that the preparations, which had been made for an early attack on the enemy, would be swept away with them.

The colonies however were obliged to submit,

July 9. and lord Loudon sailed from New York, with six thousand land forces, and joined Holbourn and Hopson at Halifax. Here was now a land army of more than twelve thousand men, exclusive of officers, aided by a powerful fleet; but they were so dilatory in their measures, that before they were ready to sail, the Brest fleet, of seventeen sail of the line besides frigates and transports, arrived at Louisburg; and

Expedition against Louisburg given over. the garrison was so reinforced, that it amounted to more than nine thousand men. On the reception of this intelligence, it was judged inexpedient to proceed, and the expedition was given up.*

Had the earl of Loudon been a man of enterprise, had he wished to have distinguished himself in his majesty's service, or to have rendered himself popular in the colonies, he might, by the beginning of September, have conducted this powerful army to Ticonderoga, and carried all before him in that quarter. At least he might have sent on large detachments for the defence of the frontiers. With his Prussian majesty, an Amherst, or a Wolfe, these would have been but natural and common achievements. But he returned to New York, and effected nothing. The miserable consequences of this irresolution and inactivity, began soon to appear in a strong point of light.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlii. p. 6, 7.

The British generals in America, did more, by their pusillanimity, the weakness and inconstancy of their counsels, than the French otherwise could have done by all their conquests. As though they had not been satisfied with the loss of Oswego, they destroyed the fortifications at the great carrying place, and filled Wood Creek with logs and trees. They cut off all communication between the colonies and the Five Nations, the only body of Indians which preserved even the appearance of friendship to them, and abandoned their whole country to the mercy of the enemy. Nothing could be done to prevent their collecting the Indians from all quarters to act against the colonies.

Monsieur Montcalm did not neglect to improve the advantages which he had gained, and which the conduct of the British commanders afforded him. Finding that the troops were drawn off to Halifax, he at once determined on the siege of fort William Henry, and the destruction of the vessels and battoes, at the south landing of lake George. Bodies of Indians were collected, and preparations made with despatch for the enterprise.

Meanwhile colonel Parker with four hundred men, in battoes, was detached from this post, to surprise an advanced guard of the enemy at Ticonderoga. Landing at night, on an island not far distant, he sent three boats to reconnoitre, directing them where to meet him in a general rendezvous. The enemy, waylaying and intercepting the boats, got perfect intelligence of the colonel's designs, and concerted measures to decoy him into their hands. Having laid an ambush of three hundred men behind the point where he designed to land, they sent three boats to the place appointed for rendezvous. The colonel mistaking them for his own boats eagerly put to shore, and was instantly surrounded with the enemy, who were now reinforced with four hundred men. They attacked him on all sides, with such incessant vio-

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lence, that seventy private men and two officers only made their escape.

1757. Elated with this success, Monsieur Montcalm hastened to the siege of fort William Henry. Having drawn together all his forces from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, with a greater number of Indians than the French had ever before employed, on any occasion, he passed the lake,

August 3. and regularly invested the fort. His whole army amounted to nearly eight thousand men. The garrison consisted of about three thousand, and the for-

William Henry taken, Aug. 9. tifications were good. At fort Edward lay general Webb with about four thousand troops. Yet in six days was this important fortress delivered to the enemy. All the vessels, boats, and battoes on the lake, which, at so much expense and labour, for two years, had been preparing, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Though general Webb had seasonable intimations of their designs, yet he never sent to alarm the country, and bring on the militia. He never reinforced the garrison, nor made a single movement for its relief. So far from this was he, that he sent a letter to colonel Monro, who commanded the fort, advising him to give it up to the enemy.* Montcalm intercepting the letter sent it into the fort to the colonel. The garrison was allowed to march out with their arms, baggage, one piece of artillery, and all the usual honours of war. The troops were not to serve, against the most christian king, during eighteen months, unless exchanged for an equal number of

Part of the garrison murdered. French prisoners. The French Indians paid no regard to the capitulation, but falling on the English, as they marched out, stripped them of their baggage and few remaining effects; and the Indians in the English service were dragged from the ranks, tomahawked, and scalped. Men and women had their throats cut, their bodies ript open, and their very bowels, with insult, thrown in their faces. Infants

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlii. p. 9—12. Wright's Hist. of War, vol. i. p. 41.

and children were wantonly taken by their heels and their brains dashed out against stones and trees.* The Indians pursued the English half way to fort Edward, where most of them at last arrived, in the most forlorn condition. Is it not admirable, that between two and three thousand troops, with arms in their hands, should, contrary to the most express stipulation, suffer these insults?

Country alarmed.

When it was too late, general Webb alarmed the country, and put the colonies to great expense in sending large detachments of the militia for the defence of the northern frontiers. The sudden capture of the fort, the massacre made by the enemy's Indians, suspicions of treachery in general Webb, and apprehensions that Montcalm would soon force his way to Albany, filled the country with general consternation. People never were more alarmed during the war. At the same time, there was never a more general and manly exertion. The small colony of Connecticut detached a body of about five thousand men. She had fourteen hundred in service before. General Webb, notwithstanding the great numbers of men with which he was reinforced from Connecticut, New York, and the other northern colonies, did not make any effectual provision for the defence of the frontier settlements. No sooner had the enemy finished one expedition, than another was undertaken. Soon after the capture of fort William Henry, the enemy, with fire and sword, desolated the fine settlements at the German flats, and on the Mohawk river. On the American station there were about twenty thousand regular troops, and a large body of provincials in service, and yet one fortress and settlement after another was swept away, and every where the enemy rioted and triumphed with impunity. This was the end of the campaign, this year, in America.

German flats destroyed.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlii. p. 14. Wright's, vol. i. p. 41.

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Amidst this succession of misfortunes on the northern frontiers, the affairs of the southern colonies, in some respects, took a more favourable turn. The governour of Pennsylvania concluded a peace with the Delaware Indians inhabiting on the banks of the Susquehannah, and in some measure covering the frontiers of that province. At the same time Virginia found means of conciliating the Cherokees and Catawbaws, and of obtaining a league of friendship and alliance with those powerful tribes. At that time they were supposed to be able to furnish three thousand gun men. From these treaties the southern colonies derived very considerable advantages, and their frontiers seem to have suffered much less in this, than in the two former years.

The colonies by this time, had very much lost all confidence in the British commanders in America. They appeared so dilatory, so destitute of all foresight and spirit of enterprise, as utterly to disqualify them, for the important command which they held. To their incapacity and pusillanimity, wholly did they impute the capture of fort William Henry, and their other losses on the frontiers. Notwithstanding all the reinforcements, which France had sent to Canada, they had, every campaign, a force much superior to the enemy. Had they been men of military genius, skill, and enterprise, instead of the losses they sustained, they might have led on the troops under their command to conquest and glory. Had the colonies been left to themselves, they would, probably, have done much better. Two years of great expense to them, were worse than lost. In short they considered the generals so incompetent to the business with which they were entrusted, that they did not very cheerfully submit to their commands.

The province of Massachusetts, for sometime, declined a compliance with the orders of lord Loudon, relative to the quartering of his troops. Such a misunderstanding and dispute grew between them, that his lordship threatened to dragoon them into his meas-

ures. He wrote to them in this high strain; "I have ordered the messenger to wait but forty eight hours in Boston; and if, on his return, I find things not settled, I will instantly order into Boston, the three regiments from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more are wanted, I have two in the Jerseys at hand, beside three in Pennsylvania." The assembly notwithstanding, did not express an immediate compliance, and he ordered the troops to march. The general court perceiving how matters were going, and unwilling to push them to extremity, expressed their compliance, and the march of the troops was countermanded.

Had the old ministry been continued, and the men which they had appointed to the chief command in America, still held their places, it is impossible to say, what would have been the fate either of Great Britain, or her colonies. But, by a most favourable turn, in Providence, those incomparable men Mr. Pitt, Mr. Leg, and their friends, had been fixed in the ministry, had now time to concert their measures, and choose the men to carry them into execution. Every thing therefore, now took a new and surprising turn. The dispute relative to the Ohio, Crown Point, and territory in America, had involved most of the kingdoms of Europe in the flames of a destructive war. The fire had kindled in both the Indies, and spread its dreadful effects beyond the Ganges. The preparations necessary for the support of a war of such extent were almost immense. However, the abilities of these great men, and the national resources, under their management, soon appeared adequate to these grand objects.

Change of men and measures.

Not discouraged with the disappointments of former years, they determined on the reduction of Louisburg, with a view of cutting off the communication between France and Canada, of destroying the French fishery, and of securing the trade and fisheries of Great Britain, and of her colonies in America. At the same time to gratify the colonies.

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and draw forth all their strength and exertion, it was determined, that expeditions should be also undertaken against Crown Point and fort du Quesne.

Armament for the reduction of Louisburg sails, Feb. 19.

The armament for the reduction of Louisburg, sailed from England in February. Admiral Boscawen commanded the naval, and general Amherst the land operations. Under general Amherst was brigadier general Wolfe. These were gentlemen of singular characters. General Amherst had the coolness and abilities of the Roman Fabius, while general Wolfe possessed the magnanimity and fire of the Scipios. From such men great achievements were expected, and their successes equalled the most sanguine expectations.

On the twenty eighth of May, the whole fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty seven sail, took its departure from Halifax, and on the second of June appeared before Louisburg. The land army, including some light troops amounted to about fourteen thousand men.* For six days the weather was so bad, and the surf was so prodigious, that no boat could live near the shore. The landing of the troops was impracticable. On every part of the coast, where a landing was judged possible, the enemy had drawn entrenchments. In places most convenient for the purpose they had erected batteries, and mounted cannon. During the whole time, after the discovery of the fleet till the landing of the troops, the enemy were strengthening their works. These they lined with a numerous infantry. General Amherst in person, with a number of his generals, reconnoitred the shore.

Troops land, June 8.

On the eighth the weather became more favourable, though there was yet a considerable swell and surf. The general, determining not to lose a moment, catched the opportunity. Before break of day, the troops were embarked in three divisions. The admiral and general made their dispositions with

* Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 95. Rider's Hist. vol. xliii. p. 127.

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consummate judgment. To distract the enemy, by drawing their attention to different parts, the troops were disposed in three divisions. That on the left was designed for the real attack, and was commanded by general Wolfe. The divisions on the right and in the centre were designed only for feints. Five frigates and some other ships of war commenced a furious fire not only in the centre, but on the right and left of the enemy, to rake them on their flanks. When these had fired about fifteen minutes, general Wolfe with his division pressed to the shore. The enemy reserved their fire till the boats were nearly in shore, and then poured on them the united blaze and thunder of their musketry and cannon. Many of the boats were broken in pieces, and others were overset. The men leaped into the water; and while some were killed, and others drowned, the rest, supported and animated by the noble example and conduct of their gallant commander, pushed to the shore, and with such order and resolution rushed on the enemy, as soon put them into confusion, and drove them from their entrenchments. When general Wolfe had made good his landing, the centre moved to the left, and the right following the centre, the landing was completed in excellent order.

The weather was so bad, the swell and surf so great, that for many days, scarcely any of the artillery or stores could be landed. It was with great difficulty, that provisions and implements for the siege were got on shore. A great many boats were lost in the service. The ground was exceedingly bad; in some places rough, in others boggy and wet. These obstacles, with a brave resistance from the enemy, caused the operations of the siege, for sometime, to proceed very slowly. The enemy had five ships of the line in the harbour, and could bring all their guns to bear upon the troops in their approaches. But no discouragements were judged insurmountable, by such generals as Amherst and Wolfe. By the twelfth of June, general Wolfe had

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secured the point called the light house battery, and all the posts in that quarter. On the twenty fifth he had silenced the island battery: but the shipping in the harbour kept up their fire upon him, till the twenty first of July; when one of the ships blew up, and setting fire to two others, they burnt to the water's edge. This was to the enemy an irreparable loss.

General Amherst had, by this time, made his approaches near to the city; so that they were in good forwardness for making lodgments on the covered way. The town in many places was consumed to the ground, and in all it had suffered much. The fire of the enemy languished exceedingly, yet they made no proposals of capitulation. One bold action more was necessary to bring them to terms. The admiral determined to send into the harbour a detachment of six hundred men, in boats, to burn or bring off the two remaining ships. In the night between the twenty fifth and the twenty sixth of the month, the attack was made, under the conduct of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. Under the darkness of the night, making their way through a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, they, sword in hand, boarded and took the ships. One running aground, they burnt, the other they towed out of the harbour in triumph.

July 26. The next morning the governour proposed terms of capitulation. The garrison, consisting of five thousand seven hundred and thirty seven men, surrendered prisoners of war. One hundred and twenty one cannon, eighteen mortars, and large quantities of stores and ammunition were taken. The enemy lost five ships of the line and four frigates, besides other vessels. St. John's was given up, with Louisburg, and the English became masters of the coast, from St. Lawrence to Nova Scotia.* This was the

* Rider's Hist. vol. xliii p. 127—135. Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 95—103. General Amherst's journal of the siege of Louisburg, and articles of capitulation. At St. John's 4,100 inhabitants submitted and brought in their arms.

most effectual blow to France, which she had received since the commencement of the war. It was a deep wound to her navy, and especially to her colonies and interests in America. It very much cut off her communication with Canada, and greatly facilitated the reduction of that country.

As the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was a favourite object with the northern colonies, they made early and great exertions, for carrying it effectually into execution. Beside the assistance which they gave in the reduction of Louisburg, they furnished about ten thousand troops for the northern expedition. In conjunction with between six and seven thousand regular troops, they had, by the beginning of July, got into lake George more than a thousand boats and battoes, a fine train of artillery, provisions, and every thing necessary for an attack on the fortresses of the enemy. General Abercrombie had the chief command.

Embarkation for Ticonderoga, July 5.

On the fifth of July, the army, consisting of fifteen thousand three hundred and ninety effective men, embarked in nine hundred battoes and one hundred and thirty five whale boats. Besides, there were several rafts on which cannon were mounted to cover the landing of the troops. Early the next morning, they landed at the north end of lake George without opposition. The army formed in four columns and began their march for Ticonderoga. The woods were thick, and the guides unskilful, so that the troops were bewildered, and the columns falling in one upon another were entirely broken. In this state of confusion, lord Howe advancing at the head of the right centre column, fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of about four hundred regulars and a few Indians, who had deserted their advanced camp near the lake, and were precipitately fleeing from our troops; but had lost their way, and were bewildered in the same manner, as they were. The enemy fired and killed lord Howe, the first fire. The Indian yell, suddenness of the at-

Lord Howe killed, July 6.

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tack, and fall of lord Howe, threw the regulars, who composed the centre columns, into a general panic and confusion; but the provincials, who flanked them, were more acquainted with such kind of fighting, and soon defeated the party. About three hundred were killed, and one hundred and forty eight taken. Among the prisoners were five officers and three cadets. The loss of the English was inconsiderable as to numbers; but in consequences it was great and terrible. The loss of that gallant officer, lord Howe, was irreparable. From the day of his arrival in America, he had conformed himself, and made his regiment conform, to that kind of service, which the country required. He was the first to endure hunger and fatigue, to encounter danger, and sacrifice all personal considerations to the public service. While rigid in discipline, by his affability, condescending and easy manners, he conciliated affection, and commanded universal esteem. Indeed he was considered very much as the life and idol of the army. The loss of such a man, at such a time, cannot be estimated. To this the provincials attributed the defeat and unhappy consequences which ensued.

As the troops for two nights had slept little, were greatly fatigued, and needed refreshment, the general ordered them to return to the landing place, where
July 7. they arrived at eight in the morning. Colonel Bradstreet was soon after detached with a strong corps to take possession of the saw mill, about two miles from Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. Towards the close of the day the whole army marched to the mill. The general having received information, that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about six thousand men, and that a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, determined to lose no time in making an attack upon their lines. He ordered his engineer to reconnoitre the ground and intrenchments of the enemy. He made a favourable report of their weakness, and of the

practicability of forcing the lines with musketry only. On this groundless report a rash and fatal resolution was taken to attempt the lines without bringing up the artillery.

Defeat at Ticonderoga, July 8.

The army advanced to the charge with the greatest intrepidity, and for more than four hours, with incredible obstinacy maintained the attack. But the works, where the attack was made, were eight or nine feet high, and impregnable even by field pieces. For nearly a hundred yards from the breast-work trees were felled so thick and so wrought together, with their branches pointing outwards, that it rendered the approach of the troops, in a great measure, impracticable. In this dreadful situation, under the fire of about three thousand of the enemy these gallant troops were kept, without the least prospect of success, till nearly two thousand were killed and wounded.* They were then called off; and to this rash and precipitate attack succeeded a retreat equally unadvised and precipitate.† By the evening of the next day the army had reached their former camp at the south end of lake George.

July 9.

The general blamed.

Nothing could have been more contrary to the opinions, or more mortifying to the feelings of the provincials, than this whole affair. They viewed the attack upon the lines, without the artillery, as the height of madness. Besides, it was made under every disadvantage to the assailants. The enemy's lines were of great extent, and on the south towards South bay, and on the north, especially at the east end towards the waters which form the communication between South bay and lake Champlain, they were weak, and might have been approached under the cover of a thick wood. The army was sufficiently numerous to have attacked the lines in their

* Of the regulars were killed 464, of the provincials 87. In the whole 548 Of the regulars were wounded 1,117; of the provincials 239. In the whole 1,356. There were missing 29 regulars and 8 provincials. The whole loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 1,941. Gen. Abercrombie's return.

† Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 109, 113. Rider's, vol. xliii. p. 136,141.

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whole extent at once. But unhappily the attack was made only on a small part of them, where they were by far the strongest and most inaccessible. As no attacks or feints were made in other parts, the enemy were left to pour their whole fire on a small spot, to which but a small part of the army could advance. Besides, the general never approached the field, where his presence was indispensably necessary; but remained at the saw mill, where he could see nothing of the action, nor know any thing but by information, at the distance of two miles. In consequence of this the troops for hours after they should have been called off, were pushed on to inevitable slaughter.

But especially did the provincials reprobate the retreat. They esteemed themselves as more than a match for the enemy should their pretended reinforcement arrive. The whole army after this bloody affair, amounted to nearly fourteen thousand men. After all the pompous accounts of the numbers of the enemy, they never amounted to but little more than three thousand. When the general retreated he had more than four effective men to their one. He had a fine train of artillery. There were strong grounds on which he might have encamped with the utmost safety. There were eminences which commanded all the works of the enemy; whence he might have enfiladed their front, and poured destruction on their whole lines and camp.

The provincial officers were therefore clearly of the opinion, that there was the fairest prospect of success, notwithstanding their misfortune, could the expedition only be prosecuted with energy and prudence. But the general took his own way, without advising with them, and appeared to retreat with the utmost perturbation.

Falls into contempt.

The general never had been high in the esteem of the provincials, after the loss of Oswego, but now he sunk into contempt. They generally called him

mistress Nabycrombie; importing that petticoats would become him much better than breeches.

To repair, as far as might be, the defeat at Ticonderoga, the general detached colonel Bradstreet with three thousand provincials against fort Frontenac. The expedition was planned by the colonel, and undertaken at his desire. He proceeded to lake Ontario, where he embarked his troops, and landing them safely within a mile of the enemy, immediately invested the fort. The enemy made no opposition, but after two days surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This important post was on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, just were it takes its rise from lake Ontario. The fort not only commanded the entrance of the river from the lake, but was the grand magazine for supplying Niagara, du Quesne, and all the enemy's southern and western garrisons. But as no attack had been expected in this quarter, the troops had been drawn off for the defence of Ticonderoga and their southern posts. The garrison consisted only of a hundred and thirty men. But there were in the fort sixty cannon, sixteen small mortars, and an immense quantity of provisions and goods. They were valued by the French at eight hundred thousand livres. Nine armed vessels, from eight to eighteen guns were also taken. This was the whole naval force which the enemy had on the lake. The colonel, after he had destroyed the fort, stores, provisions, and all the vessels excepting two, returned with them richly laden to Oswego.*

Frontenac taken, Aug. 27.

This fortunate event, together with the attempt on Ticonderoga, frustrated the expedition of Monsieur Levi against the settlements on the Mohawk river; recovered the communication between Albany and Oswego; and once more gave us the command of lake Ontario. It greatly obstructed the communica-

* Bradstreet's Letter to general Amherst. Wright's History of the War, vol. i. p. 124, 125.

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tion between Canada, Niagara, and all their southern and western posts and settlements.

1758. General Amherst, having placed a strong garrison at Louisburg, and made the dispositions necessary for the security of the adjacent country, no sooner heard of the disaster at Ticonderoga, than he proceeded to Boston, and thence, at the head of six regiments, about the middle of September, began his march through the country, to reinforce the army at the lake. He designed, if the season should not be too far advanced, to achieve something further for the service of his country.

General Forbes' expedition.

While these matters were transacted in the northern department, general Forbes was, with great caution, activity, and fatigue, advancing to the conquest of fort du Quesne. About eight thousand men had been assigned to this service. In June the general marched from Philadelphia for the Ohio. His march lay through a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of roads for the marching of armies, incumbered with wood, morasses, and mountains almost impassable. It was with incredible difficulty that he procured provisions and carriages, for the expedition: That he formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted the numerous obstacles, which presented themselves in his tedious march. In addition to the other difficulties the enemy's Indians kept a constant watch upon all his movements; and, in small detachments, neglected no opportunity to harass and impede him in his progress.

June 30, marches for the Ohio.

When the general had advanced to Ray's-town, about ninety miles from du Quesne, he sent colonel Bouquet with a detachment of two thousand men to Lyal Henning, within about forty miles of the fort. The colonel, from this post, detached major Grant with eight hundred men to reconnoitre the fort and out works of the enemy, and if practicable to reduce the post by a coup de main. The enemy having intelligence of their approach, detached a body of

troops sufficient completely to surround them. A severe action commenced, which, for three hours, the English with great spirit maintained against so great a superiority of numbers. But finally they were overpowered, obliged to give way, and retreated with disorder to Lyal Henning. About three hundred men were killed and taken. Among the latter was major Grant and nineteen other officers who were carried prisoners to fort du Quesne.

This severe check made no alteration in the resolution of general Forbes. He still advanced with the same persevering firmness and circumspection, which had marked his whole conduct. The enemy finding that it was impossible to surprise and defeat him, on his march; and that their numbers were insufficient to defend the fort against him; on the twenty fourth of November, after destroying their works, abandoned them to the general. His light troops took possession, the following evening. The next day, the general arrived with the whole army, and the British flag was once more erected at fort du Quesne. The French made their escape down the river, partly in boats and partly by land, to their forts and settlements on the Missisippi.

Du Quesne taken, Nov. 24.

General Forbes repaired the fort, and changed the name to PITTSBURG. Having concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian nations, inhabiting that extensive and fine country, and apparently reconciled them to the English government, he committed the care of the fort to a garrison of provincials, and took his departure for Philadelphia. On his return he erected some small fortresses, at Lyal Henning, for the defence of the western frontiers of Pennsylvania.* The incredible fatigues of this campaign, so broke the constitution of this vigilant and brave commander, that he returned to Philadelphia in a very enfeebled state, where, after languishing a short time, he died universally lamented.

Death of general Forbes.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xliii. p. 143, 145. Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 125, 126.

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When general Amherst arrived at the lake the season was so far advanced, and he found so large a detachment drawn from the army under colonel Bradstreet, that he judged it not advisable to make any further attempts against the enemy, during that campaign.

Notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, the campaign closed with great honour and advantage to the colonies, and to the nation in general. In this fourth year, after the commencement of hostilities, the English had not only reduced Louisburg, St. John's, and Frontenac; but they had made themselves the undisturbed possessors of that fine tract of country, the contention for which, had been the principal occasion of kindling up the flames of a war so general and destructive. Success had attended the British arms not only in this, but in almost all quarters of the globe. The successes in America, besides many other important advantages, paved the way for that series of successful events, which terminated in the entire reduction of Canada.

Treaty with the Indians, Oct. 8.

Another favourable occurrence of this year, which was not without its influence in that great event, was a general treaty and pacification with the Indian nations inhabiting between the Appalachian mountains and the lakes. A grand assembly for this purpose met at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia. The managers of the treaty, on the part of Great Britain and the colonies, were the governours of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Sir William Johnson, deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, and two agents for the province of New Jersey. They were attended by a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senacas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoques, and Conays, the Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, Unamies, Minisinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers. The whole number, including the women

and children, amounted to more than five hundred. On the eighth of October the conferences were opened. The Six Nations complained that some of their nations had been killed by the English, that others had been captivated and imprisoned in time of profound peace. The Delawares and Minisinks complained, that the English had encroached on their lands, and driven them from their hunting grounds; and they respectively declared, that these were the things which had imbittered their hearts and provoked them to hostilities. The objects, particularly in view of the English governours, at this congress, were to ascertain the boundaries of the lands in dispute; to reconcile the Six Nations with their nephews, the Delawares; to remove every cause of misunderstanding between the English and Indians, detach them from the French interest; establish a firm peace; and to induce these nations to use all their influence, to persuade the Twightwees, who would not come to the general congress, to accede to the treaty now made with themselves. The conferences continued till the twenty sixth of the month. Governour Denny made satisfaction for the lands to which the Indians laid claim, by the payment of a thousand dollars.

All former treaties were confirmed, and lasting peace and friendship stipulated. The Indians were presented with a considerable quantity of goods, and, to gladden their hearts, the business was finished by an ample treat. The Indians the next day departed in peace.* Oct. 27.

This treaty with the Indians, had a happy influence, in facilitating the operations against Canada the next year.

In review of the events of the present, and of past years, it appears very remarkable, that under the old ministry and their general officers, nothing but loss, disappointment, and shame attended every enterprise.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 55, 65.

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Not one general officer, originally of their appointment, in America, ever achieved any thing manly or honourable; but hesitation, delay, and disappointment attended all their measures. On the contrary, under the new, and the generals originally of their appointment, every enterprise was crowned with success. A series of the most important and brilliant successes, from every quarter, like a steady, all-cheering stream, flowed in upon the nation.

CHAPTER XII.

Plan of the campaign, 1759. Expeditions against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec. Ticonderoga and Crown Point abandoned. Niagara taken. Siege of Quebec. Action at the falls of Montmorenci. The camp removes to point Levi. The troops land above the town. Battle of Quebec. Generals Wolfe and Montcalm killed. Quebec surrenders. Movements of general Amherst on lake Champlain.

THE successes of the last campaign opened the way to the very heart of Canada. The belligerent powers, in Europe, maintained the same hostile dispositions, which operated the last year. The British ministry, therefore, determined to improve the advantages, which they had gained in America; and, if possible, the next campaign, to reduce the whole country of Canada. For this purpose, it was determined to attack all the strong posts of the enemy, nearly at the same time. As soon as the river St. Lawrence should be clear of ice, it was determined that general Wolfe, who had so distinguished himself at the reduction of Louisburg, should, with eight thousand men and a strong squadron of ships, proceed to the siege of Quebec, the capital of Canada. At the same time general Amherst, who had the chief command, with an army of twelve thousand regulars and provincials, was to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Having reduced these posts, and formed a sufficient na-

Plan of operation in 1759.

val force on lake Champlain, he was to advance, by the river Sorel, into St. Lawrence, and form a junction with general Wolfe at Quebec. A third expedition was to be directed against the fort at Niagara, under the command of brigadier general Prideaux. Sir William Johnson commanded the New York provincials, and the Indians of the Five Nations, who served in this expedition. By so many different attacks, it was designed, as much as possible, to divide and distract the enemy, and prevent their making an effectual defence at any place. It was hoped, that if general Prideaux should be so fortunate, as to make himself master of Niagara, early in the season, that, embarking on lake Ontario, he would fall down the river St. Lawrence, and reduce the town of Montreal. Then it was hoped, that the three armies, forming a junction, would complete the conquest of the whole country.

To facilitate these grand operations colonel Stanwix had the command of a small detachment, for the reduction of small posts, and for scouring the banks of lake Ontario.

Expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The army under general Amherst was first in motion. In July he passed lake George; and, without opposition, conducted his army to Ticonderoga. On his approach the enemy abandoned their lines, which had proved so fatal to the English, the preceding year; and the general broke ground just within their formidable breast-work. At first the enemy made appearances of a determined defence; but, in the night of the 27th of July, they blew up their magazine, and precipitately retired to Crown Point. Here their stay was but short; for, on the first of August, they suddenly evacuated this post, and retired to the isle of Aux Noix. The light rangers were detached immediately to take possession. On the fourth, the general arrived with the army.

Ticonderoga and C. Point evacuated.

The French were yet formidable on the lake. They had four large vessels, mounted with cannon, and manned with the piquets of several regiments.

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These were commanded by Monsieur le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by a number of naval officers. The enemy, at the isle Aux Noix, consisted of three thousand five hundred effective men, strongly encamped with a numerous artillery. The French commander, Monsieur de Bourlemaque, flattered himself, that he should be able to prevent the passage of the English army into Canada.

General Amherst could not proceed till he should have a superior force on the lake. Captain Loring, who superintended the building of vessels at Ticonderoga, was therefore ordered, with the utmost despatch, to build a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau, eighty four feet in length, and twenty in breadth, to carry six twenty four pounders. While these were constructing, the army were employed in repairing the fortifications at Ticonderoga, and in laying the foundations of a strong and regular fort at Crown Point, for the security of his majesty's dominions in that part of the country. Particularly it was designed to guard against the incursions of the scalping and burning parties, which in former wars had been so destructive to the frontiers of the northern colonies.

Expedition against Niagara.

While the army under general Amherst were thus employed, general Prideaux, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson, advanced to Niagara, without loss or opposition. He arrived before the fort about the middle of July, and immediately invested it on all sides. The trenches were soon opened, and the siege was prosecuted with great vigour. But on the twentieth, the general was killed in the trenches, by the unfortunate bursting of a cohorn. This affected the army with universal sorrow, and threatened to check the vigour of its operations. No sooner was general Amherst acquainted with this misfortune, than he despatched brigadier general Gage, to assume the command. Meanwhile it devolved on Sir William Johnson. He vigorously pursued the measures of the late general, with every addition, which his own genius could

General Prideaux killed, July 20.

suggest. He was popular both with the provincial and regular troops, and almost adored by the Indians. The siege was therefore pushed with such united ardour and alacrity, that in about four days after the death of general Prideaux, the approaches were made within a hundred yards of the covered way.

The French alarmed with the danger of this important post, determined to hazard a battle for its preservation. Collecting all the regular and provincial troops, which they could draw from their several posts, in the vicinity of the lakes, in conjunction with a large body of Indians, amounting in the whole to seventeen hundred men, they advanced to attack the English and raise the siege. General Johnson, apprised of their design, ordered his light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers and other regulars, to take post on his left, upon the road where the French were making their approach. His flanks were covered by large bodies of his Indians. At the same time, he posted a strong body of troops, to secure his trenches from the attempts of the garrison, during the engagement. At nine in the morning, the action commenced with great fury, with a wild and horrible scream of the enemy's Indians. This yell is truly the most fierce and terrible, which can be imagined. It threw general Braddock's, and has thrown other troops, into the utmost confusion. But, at this time, it had no ill effect. The enemy were so well received in front, and so galled by the general's Indians on their flanks, that, in less than an hour, their whole army was ruined. For five miles the pursuit was hot and bloody. Monsieur d'Anbry, commander in chief, and sixteen other officers were made prisoners.*

Battle of Niagara, July 25.

Enemy defeated, and Niagara taken.

As the battle was fought in sight of the fort, and the hopes of the enemy were now ruined, they immediately surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The garrison, consisting of more than six hundred

* General Johnson's letter to general Amherst, July 25, 1759

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men, were conducted to New York and New England. The women and children were sent to Montreal.*

The services, which general Johnson rendered his country, were singular and important. In the compass of four years, he was twice honoured with the chief command. In both instances, he fought a general battle, and obtained a complete victory. Both victories were signalized by the capture of the chief commander of the enemy. The consequence of the latter was the reduction of one of the most important posts of the enemy, by which he cut off all communication between Canada and Louisiana. Through his influence many Indians were brought into the field, when he first had the command. This year he led out not less than eleven hundred. Though he was not bred to arms, yet, it was allowed, that no general could have made better dispositions for the battle, or conducted the siege with a more cool and determined resolution. The force of innate courage and natural sagacity, seems to have formed him an accomplished general.

Expedition against Quebec.

The taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with the reduction of Niagara, were a defalcation of capital members, but the expedition against Quebec was a blow at the heart of the enemy. This was the great central operation, to which all the other successes, however illustrious, had only a remote tendency. While this stood in its glory, nothing decisive was accomplished. The reduction of this was considered not only as the greatest object, but as, by far, the most difficult to be accomplished. The most accomplished officers were chosen for this arduous enterprise. Under general Wolfe, that great military genius, served brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. They were all three the sons of noblemen. The four generals were all in the flower and fire of youth. They were students in the arts

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 78.

of war; and though young in years, yet old in experience. The fleet was commanded by admirals Saunders, Holmes, and Durel, officers of worth and probity, who, on several occasions, had distinguished themselves in the service of their country.

On the twenty seventh of April, admiral Saunders came on the coast, within sight of Louisburg; but the harbour was so blocked up with ice that he was obliged to bear away for Halifax. Thence he detached rear admiral Durel, with a squadron, to the isle de Condres, in the river St. Lawrence, to intercept all supplies from France to Quebec. He took several store ships; but unhappily, seventeen sail of ships with stores, provisions, and recruits, from France, under convoy of three frigates, got into the river before him, and arrived safe at the capital of Canada.

Armament arrives at the isle of Orleans, June 26.

As soon as the season would permit, admiral Saunders, with an army of eight thousand men, sailed up the river, for Quebec. After a safe and easy passage the troops were disembarked on the isle of Orleans.* This island is about twenty miles in length, and seventeen or eighteen in breadth. It is fertile, highly cultivated, and abounds in people, villages, and plantations, affording every kind of refreshment. It was necessary to take possession of this island, not only for the convenience and refreshment of the army, but to act against Quebec, as the west point of it extends up to its very bason. Opposite to this is a high point of land, called Point Levi. The possession of both these points were of essential importance, as they might be advantageously employed against the town, and if in possession of the enemy, they could make it impossible, for any ship to lie within the bason of Quebec, or for the army to carry on any effectual operations against the town.

Description of Quebec.

General Wolfe having taken possession of these points, the harbour and town of Quebec, and the

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 81, 87.

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situation of the enemy came into view; and, at once, presented him with the almost insuperable difficulties which he had to encounter. Nature seems to have consulted the defence of no place more than that of Quebec. Charlevoix in his description of it says, No other city besides this, in the known world, can boast of a fresh water harbour a hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and that capable of containing a hundred ships of the line. It certainly stands on the most navigable river in the universe. At the distance of a hundred and ten or twelve leagues from the sea, it is never less than four or five leagues in breadth. But above the island of Orleans it suddenly narrows, and that at such a rate as to be no more than a mile broad at Quebec; from which circumstance this place has been called Quebio or Quebec, which, in the Algonquin language, signifies a strait or narrowing. When Samuel Champlain founded this city, in sixteen hundred eight, the tide usually rose to the foot of the rock. Since that time the river has retired by little and little, and has at last, left dry a large piece of ground on which the lower town has since been built, and which is now sufficiently elevated above the water's edge, to secure the inhabitants against the inundations of the river.* The ascent from the lower to the upper town, is so steep, that it cannot be ascended, only by steps which for that purpose have been cut in the rock, on which the upper town stands. This lofty rock extends itself, and continues with a bold and steep front westward along the river St. Lawrence for a considerable way, forming above the town the heights of Abraham. From the northwest comes the river called St. Charles, and falls into the St. Lawrence, washing the foot of the rock, on which the city is built. By the junction of these rivers the point on which it stands, is a kind of peninsula. There was no way therefore, to approach the town, but either to cross the river St.

Its natural strength.

* Charlevoix Journal, &c. vol. i. p. 90, 100, 102.

Charles, and attempt it on that side, or to go above the town and overcome the precipice formed by the rock. The town was not only thus defended by nature, but it was strongly fortified by art. It was protected by ten thousand men, under that able, and as yet fortunate commander, the marquis de Montcalm. He had strongly posted his army on that which was deemed the only accessible side of Quebec, all along from the river St. Charles to Montmorenci. At every spot, where an attack could be made, were strong intrenchments. In front was the river, and a sand bank of great extent; and the rear of the enemy was covered with a thick, impenetrable wood.

When general Wolfe saw the situation of the town, the nature of the country, the numbers and strong position of the enemy, though sanguine and adventurous, yet he began, in a measure, to despair of the success of the enterprise. Nevertheless the keen sense which he had, of the expectations of his country, his desires to answer them, and his thirst for glory, bore him above all considerations of difficulty or danger. He determined to leave nothing unattempted, which might be for the public service.

Batteries were immediately erected on the west point of the island of Orleans, and on Point Levi, whence a continual and destructive fire was poured upon the lower town. To co-operate in the best manner with the army, admiral Saunders took his station below the north channel of the island of Orleans, opposite to Montmorenci. To distract the attention of the enemy, and prevent any attempt on the batteries, which played on the town, admiral Holmes passed it, and took his station above. When this disposition was made, the general ordered the troops to be transported over the north channel of St. Lawrence to the northeast of Montmorenci. His view in this, was to cross that river, and to bring the enemy to a general engagement. To effect this was his grand object. He foresaw, that an assault on the city would prove ineffectual, while the shipping could

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only batter and destroy the lower town. In this they must greatly suffer, from the cannon and bombs of the upper. When the reduction of the lower should be effected, the passages to the other were so steep and so effectually entrenched, that even this advantage would contribute little to the reduction of the place. Several eminences, which commanded the enemy's entrenchments, a ford above, and another below, the falls, induced him to take this new position, and encouraged him to make an attack from this quarter. But on a nearer view, and more thorough examination of the ground, the opposite shore was found so steep and woody, and so well entrenched, that it baffled all his hopes, of carrying what he at first designed into execution. This was to force the enemy from their present position, by an attack on their left, which he apprehended to be less disadvantageous than one directly on their entrenchments. But their advantageous situation caused him to adopt different measures. Troops were detached above

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the town, and every appearance made, of a designed attack upon it, on that side. The general passed the town himself, and accurately surveyed the shore and banks of the river above. But on this side he found extreme difficulties from the nature of the ground; and these were increased by the precaution of the French general. He knew them so well, that he trusted in them for defence, on that side of the town. At the same time, he was too well apprised of the importance of the post, which he had chosen, to be drawn from it by any arts of the English general. He kept close in his lines. He had a numerous body of savages, and took care to make such a disposition of them, as to render any attempt on him, by surprise, absolutely impossible.

Meanwhile the shipping was exposed to the utmost danger, by the enemy's ships and rafts of fire, by which they had made repeated attempts for its destruction. By the vigilance of admiral Saunders and the intrepidity of the seamen, under the smiles

of Providence, it had more than once been saved from the most threatening danger. The seamen boarded these floating castles of fire, and towed them ashore, where they spent their fury without the least injury to the British squadron. Beside the constant danger of the fleet, the time for action was wearing away, and the season, in addition to all other difficulties, would soon fight for the enemy, and necessitate the fleet and army to retire. The general, therefore, came to the resolution of attacking the enemy in their entrenchments.

Attack at Montmorenci, July 31.

The attack was made at the mouth of the river Montmorenci. To facilitate this hazardous enterprise, great quantities of artillery were placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the enemy's intrenchments. The admiral placed the Centurion in the channel, to check the fire of the enemy's battery, which commanded the ford. Two flat bottomed vessels were armed, and run on shore, to batter an advanced redoubt. At the proper time of tide, and when the enemy's left appeared to be thrown into some confusion, by the fire of the batteries and shipping, the signal was given for the troops to move and begin the attack. The dispositions were excellently made and the place of the attack was chosen with great judgment, as it was the only place in which the artillery could be brought into use, and in which most of the troops could be brought to act at once. But here little accidents, which often dash human councils, and demonstrate a Ruler higher than man, totally defeated the design.

Many of the boats, from Point Levi, ran aground upon a ledge, which projects itself a considerable distance from the shore. This was an occasion of some disorder and of so much loss of time, that the general was obliged to stop the march of brigadier Townshend's corps, after it began to advance. After some delay, the boats were floated, and though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells, ranged in proper order. General Wolfe, in person, sounded

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the shore, and directed the spot, where the troops should land. Thirteen companies of grenadiers landed with two hundred of the second American battalion. They had orders immediately to form in four distinct columns, and, supported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, for their assistance, instantly to advance to the charge. But the grenadiers, without forming, and before Monckton's corps was landed, in confusion, impetuously rushed on towards the enemy's intrenchments. But here their courage served only to increase their misfortune. They were met with such a steady and tremendous fire from the enemy, that they could not stand the shock of their repeated vollies; but were obliged to take shelter behind a redoubt, which, on their approach, the enemy had abandoned. The general, perceiving that they could not form under so heavy a fire, ordered them to retreat and form behind Monckton's corps, which, by this time, was drawn up in excellent order on the beach. This unhappy circumstance had occasioned new delay; the day was far spent, the tide began to make, and the wind to blow with uncommon violence.

Defeat at Montmorenci.

In these circumstances the general foreseeing, that in case of a second repulse, the retreat of the army would become hazardous and uncertain, gave up the attempt, and repassed the river without molestation.* But in this unfortunate attack more than five hundred men and many brave officers were lost.†

Immediately after this severe check, brigadier Murray was detached, with twelve hundred men, in transports, to co-operate with admiral Holmes above the town. It was designed to make an attempt to destroy the enemy's shipping. The brigadier was also instructed, to sieze every opportunity of fighting the detachments of the enemy, and of provoking them to battle. He made a descent at Chambaud

* General Wolfe's Letter to Mr. Pitt. † Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p.94,95.

and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, clothing, provisions, and ammunition. But the ships were moored in such a manner, that their destruction was found to be impracticable. As no other service presented, above the town, general Murray returned to the camp.

The season was now far advanced, but nothing decisive had been accomplished. Though the news of the successes of generals Amherst and Johnson, had reached the army before Quebec, yet all hopes of any assistance from them were now entirely dashed. General Wolfe, consumed with the care, watching, and fatigue, with which, for so long a time, he had been exercised, and chagrined with disappointment, fell violently sick. His body was unequal to that vigorous and enterprising soul which it possessed. He well knew, that no military conduct could shine, which was not gilded with success. It could by no means satisfy his great mind, to return from an expedition so interesting to his country, barely without censure; he aspired to the zenith of glory. His high notion of honour, the national expectation, the success of other generals, all turning in upon him, oppressed his spirits, and converted disappointment into disease. When he had a little recovered from Sept. 5. the shock, he despatched an express to the ministry with an account of what had passed, and of the difficulties which he had to encounter. He wrote in the style of despondency, but at the same time promised, that the small part of the campaign which remained, should, to the utmost of his capacity, be employed for the honour of his majesty and the interest of the nation.

Before this express was sent off, it was determined to move the army above the town, and, if possible, to bring the enemy to a general action. The camp at Montmorenci was soon broken up, the troops and artillery re-embarked, and landed at Point Levi. The troops soon passed up the river in transports; and while admiral Holmes for several days successively,

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made movements up the river, to amuse the enemy, on the north shore, and draw their attention as far as possible from the city, one half of them were landed for refreshment on the other side. These movements had no other effect, than to produce a detachment of fifteen hundred men, from the main camp, under the command of Monsieur Bougainville, to proceed along shore, and watch the motions of the English fleet and army. The general, therefore, came finally to the resolution of landing his troops, in the night, within a league of Cape Dimond, and to ascend the heights of Abraham. These rise abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, and, once gained, would give the army possession of the ground on the back side of the city, where it was least defensible, and would enable the fleet and army to attack the upper and lower town in concert.

Such however were the difficulties and dangers, attending the execution of this design, that it could scarcely have been adopted, but by a spirit of enterprise, bordering on despair. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank of the river lined with centinels, the landing place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark; and the ground so difficult to be surmounted, as hardly to be effected, in open day, should no opposition be made. Should a spy or deserter give the least intimation of the design, or should it be suspected by the enemy: should the embarkation be disordered, through the darkness of the night, or difficulty of the shore, the landing place mistaken, or the centinels alarmed, the heights of Abraham would instantly be lined with such numbers of troops, as would render the attempt abortive. Any one of these things might have occasioned a defeat. Though these difficulties could not escape the penetration of the gallant general, yet, he adopted the plan without hesitation, and executed it in person. A divine superintendency so remarkably watched over it, that it succeeded to his wishes. When every thing was ripe for execution, admiral Saunders

was ordered to make a feint, with his ships, as if he designed to attack the enemy in their intrenchments, on the Beauport shore, and by his motions to give it all possible appearances of reality. The troops embarked in boats and on board the transports, and to cover the design proceeded eight or nine miles up the river, above the place where they designed to land. Under the cover of night the boats fell silently down the river, with the tide, and were not discovered by the sentinels. On the morning of the thirteenth of September, an hour before day the troops landed on the north shore directly against the heights of Abraham. Admiral Holmes sailing down the river, arrived just in season to assist and protect the landing of the troops. When they had gained the shore, the precipice before them was exceedingly steep and high, and they were not able to climb it, but by laying hold on stumps and boughs of trees, and pulling themselves up by them. A little path, so narrow that two could not go abreast, wound itself up the ascent, and even this was intrenched and defended by a captain's guard. With admirable courage and activity, did the light infantry and Highlanders mount the craggy steep, dislodge the captain's guard, and open the way for the other troops to gain the summit. By about the breaking of the day the troops were up, and formed in good order.*

Battle of Quebec, Sept. 13.

No sooner was the marquis de Montcalm informed that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, than he marched, with his whole force, from the Beauport side, to give them battle. He filled the bushes in his front with his Indians and best marksmen, amounting to not less than fifteen hundred. His regulars formed his left, the right was composed of the troops of the colony, supported by two regular battalions. The rest of the Canadians and Indians he extended on his right, with a view to out-flank the left wing of the English. General

* Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 210.

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Wolfe, instantly penetrating his design, detached brigadier Townshend with the regiment of Amherst, which was afterwards reinforced, with two battalions of royal Americans. He formed the left in the manner, which military men term, *en polens*, presenting a double front. The right of the army was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers. Otway's were afterwards brought to their right. On their left were Brag's, Kennedy's, Lascelles' Highlanders, and Astruther's regiments. Colonel Howe's light infantry protected the rear and the left. Webb's was drawn up as a reserve, in eight subdivisions with large intervals.* Such were the dispositions on both sides, as at once evinced the penetration and judgment of the respective commanders. The French had two pieces of artillery, the English had only time to bring up one. About nine o'clock the enemy in good order advanced to the charge. Their attack was brisk and animated. Though their irregulars kept up a galling fire upon the whole line of the English, yet they bore it with patience, reserving their fire, till the enemy's main body had advanced within forty yards, when they poured in upon them a terrible discharge, which took effect in its whole extent. The fire was maintained with the same steadiness and vigour, with which it commenced, till the enemy were obliged every where to give way. As general Wolfe stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he was aimed at by the enemy's marksmen. Receiving a shot in his wrist he wrapped it in his handkerchief, and continued giving his orders with the utmost coolness; but just as the fortune of the day began to declare itself, advancing at the head of Brag's and the Louisburg grenadiers, he received a ball in his breast and fell in the arms of victory.† Immediately fell general Monckton, the next in command, and were both conveyed out of the line. In this critical state of the action the command devolved

* General Townshend's Letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt.

† Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 104.

on general Townshend. He had the good fortune to preserve the spirit of the troops, and to push the advantages already gained to a complete victory. Every corps seemed to exert itself with a view to the honour of its own particular character. While the grenadiers, on the right, pressed on with their bayonets, general Murray with his corps, advancing with a heavy and destructive fire, broke the centre of the enemy, and the Highlanders falling impetuously on them, with their broad swords, hewed them down with terrible slaughter. The troops pushed them to the very walls of the town, killed them upon the glacis and in the ditch; and had not the town been too near, the whole French army must have been destroyed.*

No sooner had the English won the field, than a fresh enemy appeared, threatening another engagement, and to put all again, to the hazard. Monsieur Bougainville who had been drawn up the river by the movements of the English, with a corps of two thousand men, from Cape Rogue, appeared in their rear. But as the main body had been entirely defeated, general Townshend was able to establish his rear, and to turn such an opposition on that side, that the enemy, after some feeble attempts, were obliged to retire.

Loss in the battle.

In this memorable battle, six general officers fell; the two first in command in the English, and four in the opposite army. The loss of the English was five, and that of the French fifteen hundred men. The fall of general Wolfe, amiable in his personal character, and one of the greatest military geniuses of his age, was a capital loss to the nation, and damped the joy of this signal victory. When struggling with the agonies of grievous wounds, he seemed only anxious for the success of the action and the good of his country. When unable to stand, he begged his attendants to support him, that he might once

* Admiral Saunders' Letter to the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt.

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more view the field; but finding that his eyes were dimmed by the approach of death, he eagerly asked an officer what he saw? He answered, "the enemy run, they are totally defeated." Then said the hero, "I thank God, I am contented," and almost instantly expired.

The marquis de Montcalm was carried from the field mortally wounded to the city, and lived just long enough to recommend his wounded and captivated countrymen to the compassion of the English general. It must be granted that he was an officer of distinguished ability, and that from the commencement of the war, he had rendered the highest services to his country. In the last scenes of life he had well supported his character, having made the best dispositions which human prudence could suggest, both before and during the engagement. In every preceding enterprise, he had been successful; and it is not certain, that he would not have been so in the defence of Quebec, had he been left to pursue his own opinions. It has been said, that he was not for hazarding a general action; but that his opinion was overruled by Monsieur de Ramsay, governour of Quebec.

General Monckton, who was shot through his right breast, recovered; but the second in command in the opposite army was left wounded on the field, and died the next day, on board the English fleet. The third and fourth in command were killed.*

Immediately after the battle, admiral Saunders sent up all the boats in the fleet with artillery, ammunition, and whatever should be necessary, for the assistance of general Townshend, in besieging and attacking the town. But as the enemy were still more numerous than the English, it was judged expedient to fortify the camp, before they attempted completely to invest the town. A considerable time, after the utmost exertion, was spent in this; in

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlv. p. 106. Admiral Saunders' Letter in Wright's Hist. vol. i. p. 219.

clearing a road, in getting the cannon up the precipice, and in making the dispositions necessary to cut off the communication between the city and country.

On the seventeenth, the admiral went up with the fleet, in a disposition, with his whole force, to attack the lower, as soon as the general should be ready to attack the upper, town. As the city was now completely invested, and every thing put on the appearance of a vigorous siege, or of an immediate attack, the enemy demanded a capitulation. On the eighteenth the city of Quebec was surrendered, on terms honourable for the garrison, and advantageous for the inhabitants. The garrison was allowed the honours of war; and the inhabitants were to be secured in their persons and effects, in the exercise of their religion, and enjoyment of their civil rights, till a general pacification should determine their future condition.

Capitulation of Quebec, Sept. 18.

Various reasons united their influence, in procuring these favourable terms for the enemy. The season was so far advanced, as to become cold and stormy, unhealthy for the troops, and hazardous for the fleet. The enemy continued to assemble in force, in the rear of the British army; and though the lower town was in a manner destroyed, and the upper much damaged, yet the walls were in a state of defence, and it was judged a very considerable advantage to take possession of the city in this condition. What rendered the capitulation at this time more signally fortunate and providential was, that Monsieur Levi had arrived from Montreal with two battalions to reinforce the enemy, who were rallying behind Cape Rogue; and Monsieur Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions was on his march with a view of throwing himself into the town, the very morning on which it was surrendered.

A garrison of five thousand regulars, with a considerable number of light troops were left in the

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town, under the command of general Murray; with a plentiful supply of provisions, ammunition, and warlike stores, for the winter. The fleet soon sailed for England, and about a thousand French officers, soldiers and seamen were embarked on board a number of English cats and sent to France.

Thus, after a severe campaign, of nearly three months, fell the capital of the French settlements in America. If considered in all its circumstances, perhaps there never was an enterprise, attended with so many difficulties, managed with a more gallant perseverance, nor accomplished with more vigour and ability. A city strong in its situation, and strong in fortifications, was to be attacked; an army greatly superior in number to the besiegers, posted under its walls, in an impregnable situation, against the inclinations of a cautious commander, was to be forced to a general action; a theatre of more than five leagues was to be filled, and operations of this extent to be carried on, under the eye of a superior army, by about seven or eight thousand men. In this contest even with nature, as well as art, general Wolfe shewed himself superior to every difficulty. All the dispositions for that daring, but judicious attempt, which divided the force of the enemy, drew Montcalm from his intrenchments, and affected the capture of Quebec, were so many masterly strokes in the art of war.

The perfect harmony and united exertion of the whole fleet and army, through such a tedious campaign, had a capital influence in this grand event. In this all good men will discern a divine superintendency. How conspicuous was this, in combining so many favourable circumstances, as were necessary, for gaining the heights of Abraham? And, in preventing those numerous incidents, by which it might have been defeated, and against which no human foresight could have made effectual provision?

When the news of the surrender of Quebec arrived in England, it is hardly possible to describe the

various and mixed emotions, which instantly pervaded the nation. But two days before, the ministry had received the despatches of general Wolfe, after the check at Montmorenci. As the general appeared then to doubt, the public judged they had reason to despair. But in the midst of this general despondency, a second express arriving, at once announced the victory and capture of Quebec, with the death of general Wolfe. The effects of news so joyful, immediately on a state of general dejection, and that mixture of pity and grief which attended the public applauses and congratulations were singular, and uncommonly affecting.

While these events were taking place in Canada, general Amherst was making all possible exertions on the lakes; but it was the eleventh of October, before he had completed the shipping, necessary to command the lake, and could be ready to attack the enemy. On this day, having the whole army embarked in battoes, in excellent order, covered with his shipping, he advanced down the lake to attack the enemy. But the next day the weather became so tempestuous, that he was obliged to take shelter in a bay, on the western shore, and to disembark the troops. While they remained on shore, captain Loring, with his squadron, sailed down the lake, and drove three of the French ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk in deep water and abandoned by their crews. The third was run aground and abandoned; but captain Loring repaired and brought her away; so that, excepting one schooner, the French were now deprived of all their shipping on the lake. After lying windbound for several days, general Amherst re-embarked his troops and proceeded down the lake; but the storm, which had abated, beginning again with greater violence, and the wind blowing with such fury, that the waves ran mountain high, he was obliged to return again to the same bay, where he had before taken shelter, and to re-land the army. The general convinced, that the

General Amherst advances.

French vessels destroyed.

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season for action was elapsed, and that it was unsafe to venture the army on the lake in battoes, returned to Crown Point. The remaining part of the campaign was employed in raising the new fortress at Crown Point, with three small out forts for its defence; in forming roads for communication between Ticonderoga and the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and, in making such dispositions for the winter quarters of his troops, as, during the winter, should secure the country from all insult and damage by the enemy.

Thus happily closed the ever memorable campaign of seventeen hundred fifty nine: a campaign, the successes of which made ample amends for the inactivity and disappointments of former years, and which will always do the highest honour, not only to the generals who commanded, in the several enterprises, but to the whole English nation. By the capture of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, and especially of Quebec, the remaining part of Canada became invested on every side, and entirely cut off from all communication with France. The troops under Monsieur Levi, at Montreal, and at Trois Rivieres, with those at the Isle du Noix, could receive no recruits of men, provisions, nor military stores. The way was opened to advance upon them, in the spring, from the lakes Ontario and Champlain, and up the St. Lawrence, from Quebec, and presented the most flattering prospect of the total reduction of Canada.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of the garrison at Quebec. Designs of M. Levi. His preparations for the siege of the city. Marches with his army from Montreal. Battle of Sillery. General Murray defeated, and Quebec besieged. Lord Colville arrives with the British fleet. The French shipping is destroyed, and the siege raised. Plan and movements of general Amherst. He goes down the river St. Lawrence. Makes a junction with generals Murray and Haviland, at Montreal. The city surrenders, and the whole country of Canada is conquered. War breaks out with the Cherokees. Their lower towns destroyed. They take fort Loudon. Colonel Grant desolates their country with fire and sword. They make peace, and the whole country is quieted.

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IT had been supposed, the last year, that Canada was, in effect conquered, by the reduction of Quebec. Indeed, without the conquest of this, it was impossible to subdue the country. But experience soon taught the English, that more dangers awaited them, and that much more remained to complete the advantages to which the taking of the capital had given an opening, than, at that time, the most sagacious had been able to foresee. It soon appeared that there was danger of losing that important acquisition, which had been made, by such uncommon exertions of military prowess, such consummate generalship, in the face of so many dangers, and at the expense of so many lives. As soon as possible, after the reduction of Quebec, the English fleet retired, that they might not be damaged, by the storms usual at that season, nor freeze up in the river. As in the winter, the river would be frozen up, it was imagined that no shipping, would be necessary for the defence of the city, and consequently no ships were left. Lord Colville, with a strong squadron remained at Halifax, with orders to visit Quebec early in the spring. General Amherst was at New York, and so cantoned his troops, as early in the

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season, to recommence his operations, for the entire reduction of Canada. With this disposition it was imagined, that the English garrison at Quebec would be safe and undisturbed.

Designs of the enemy.

But no sooner was the English fleet withdrawn, than Monsieur Levi conceived the design of recovering Quebec. The army, which he commanded, was superior in numbers to the land force which had made the conquest. He had a number of smart frigates, by which he could entirely command the river. He established advanced posts, at Point au Tremble, St. Augustine, and Le Calvaire, while the main body of his army quartered between Trois Rivieres and Jaques Quartier. As Monsieur Levi had formed the design of attacking Quebec in the winter, and carrying it by a coup de main, he provided snow shoes, scaling ladders, and whatever might be necessary for that purpose. He took possession of Point Levi, and there formed a magazine of provisions.

Precautions of governour Murray.

Governour Murray, on his part, omitted no exertions, nor precautions, in his power, for the defence of the city, nor for the annoyance of the enemy. During the winter he repaired more than five hundred houses, which had been damaged by the English shells and cannon, built eight redoubts, raised foot banks along the ramparts, opened embrasures, and mounted artillery. He blocked up the avenues of the suburbs, with a stockade, removed eleven months' provisions into the highest parts of the city, and formed a magazine of four thousand fascines. He posted two hundred men at St. Foix, and four hundred at Lorette. A detachment marched to St. Augustine, and brought off the enemy's advanced guard, disarmed the inhabitants, and brought of great numbers of cattle. By these means the motions of the French were constantly watched, and the avenues to the city secured. As soon as the river froze over, he detached a party to Point Levi, who drove off the enemy, and took their magazine. He disarmed the inhabitants on the river, and obliged them

to take the oath of allegiance. The British government was thus maintained over nearly a dozen parishes.

By these measures, the out posts were so well secured, and the avenues to the city so effectually guarded, that Monsieur Levi judged it most prudent to abandon his first design of attempting to take the city by surprise, and not to begin his operations, till the spring should open, and he could form a regular siege. To be ready for this no pains were spared. The French ships were rigged, gallies built, bombs and bullets cast, fascines and gabions prepared, the militia disciplined and called to arms. From the inhabitants of the country M. Levi raised eight complete battalions. Of the colonists he regimented forty companies. General Murray had certain intelligence, that he was determined to undertake the siege of Quebec, as soon as the river should be cleared of ice, so that the frigates and other vessels could act. By these he would be able at once entirely to command the river.

Preparations of the enemy.

In the mean time, the garrison in the city suffered so extremely, by the coldness of the winter, and for the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that before the end of April a thousand soldiers were dead of the scurvy and other disorders. Two thousand more were unfit for service.* The general, notwithstanding, detached parties, who surprised the enemy's posts at St. Augustine, Maison, Brulee, and Le Calvaire. Nearly a hundred prisoners were taken. Afterwards, the light infantry were despatched to take possession of Cape Rogue, and to fortify it, to prevent the landing of the enemy at that post, and to be near at hand to watch their motions. Besides, considering the city as no other than a strong cantonment, he projected a plan of defence, by extending his lines, and intrenching his troops on the heights of Abraham, at the distance of about a hundred and

State of the garrison at Quebec.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 168, 169, and Governour Murray's Letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt.

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sixty rods from the city. These commanded its ramparts, and, by a small force, might have been defended against a formidable enemy. Fascines and every article necessary for the purpose had been prepared. In April, the men began to work on the projected lines; but the ground was so frozen, that it was found impracticable to carry the design into execution.

The enemy advance.

No sooner was the frost abated, so as to favour the designs of the enemy, than their provisions, ammunition, and heavy baggage fell down the river St. Lawrence, under the convoy of six frigates, from forty four to twenty six guns. The river was now wholly under their command; a point of great importance to the enterprise. The enemy landed at such places as they pleased. The British posts one after another were abandoned, and the detachments retired to the city.

On the night of the twenty sixth of April the main army of the enemy landed at Point au Tremble. It consisted of five thousand regular troops, six thousand Canadians, and four or five hundred Indians.* The numbers afterwards very considerably increased.† On the intelligence of the approach of the French army, general Murray ordered all the bridges over the river Caprouge to be broken down, and secured the landing places at Sillery and Foulon. The next day, finding that the French general had conceived the design of cutting off his out posts, which had not yet been called in, he marched out, in person, with two field pieces, and, taking possession of an advantageous situation, defeated his design. Having withdrawn his detachments, he retired with little loss to the city.

As the British troops were in the habit of victory, and as they had a fine train of artillery, general Murray determined, rather than tamely to submit to a siege,

* Wright's Hist. vol. ii. p. 256, and Rider's, vol. xlvi. p. 169, 170.

† General Murray, in his letter to the ministry, says, he was besieged with 15,000 men.

to risk a general battle. Accordingly, on the twenty eighth of April, he marched out with a train of twenty field pieces, and the whole number of his effective men, amounting to no more than three thousand. These he formed on the heights, in the best order. On reconnoitring the enemy he perceived, that their van had taken possession of a rising ground in his front, and that the main army was marching in a single column unformed. Judging this to be the lucky moment, he advanced immediately to the attack, before they had formed their line. The English charged the enemy's van both on the right and left with such fury, as soon drove them from the eminences, though they were well maintained. The van of the French centre gave way, and fell back on the main body, which was now forming to support them. This checked the pursuit of the English. The light infantry were ordered to regain the flanks of the enemy, but they were so furiously charged in the attempt, that they were obliged to retire into the rear, in such a shattered condition, that they could not be brought up again during the action. Otway's regiment, from the body of reserve, were instantly ordered to advance, and sustain the right wing. This was so well supported, that the repeated attempts of the enemy to penetrate it were in vain. Meanwhile, the left brigade of the English dispossessed the French of two redoubts, and, for a long time with prodigious resolution sustained the whole efforts of the enemy's right. This was reinforced by the third battalion of royal Americans, who were of the corps de reserve, and also by Kennedy's, from the centre. The enemy however were able, by a steady and furious fire, not only to support their centre, but to wheel round, and pour in such fresh and repeated force on the flanks of the English, that, notwithstanding every exertion of military art and prowess, the enemy began to encompass them in a semicircle, and pouring in upon the left a fresh regiment, de Rousillon, after they were fought down, and reduced

Battle of Sillery, April 28.

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to a handful, in that quarter, they penetrated that wing of the English army, and threw it into confusion. The disorder was soon communicated to the right; and it appeared, that there was the utmost danger, that the army would be surrounded and taken. As speedy a retreat as possible became necessary. In this there were such difficulties, as nothing but the magnanimity of the troops, the spirit and skill of the general and his officers could overcome. They finally gained Quebec. As the action continued an hour and three quarters with great exertion and spirit on both sides, the loss was very considerable. The English lost most of their artillery, and not less than a thousand men were killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was double that number.*

General Murray's engaging with such superior numbers, in the open field, when he might have acted with greater security in a fortified city, has been censured, as savouring more of youthful impatience, and over abounding courage, than of that military discretion, which ought to have distinguished a commander in his critical situation. The reasons given by general Murray for his conduct, are incomprehensible. It is not improbable, that as he was a man of the most ardent and intrepid courage, passionately desirous of glory, and emulous of the character of the incomparable Wolfe, that he designed, by one bold stroke, so to disable the enemy, as to pave the way to the conquest of Canada, by his own force; and, by this means, to raise himself to the height of military glory. Be this as it may, the victory obtained by the French, for a while exceedingly elated them, both in Europe and America. Indeed, the blow was sensibly felt by the English in both countries. It was not expected that, after such a defeat, the garrison would be able to hold out for any considerable time. The English fleet was at a great distance, and

* General Murray in his letter to Mr. Pitt estimates their loss at 2,500.

general Amherst could afford no immediate assistance. The acquisition and defence of Quebec in less than a year had cost the nation more than three thousand lives, besides a vast expense of money; and if it were now to be retaken, this would be all loss to no purpose; and the sanguine hopes, that Canada would be conquered the next campaign, must be all dashed and vanish.

The French, whose sole hope of success depended on the accomplishment of their work, before the arrival of a British squadron, lost not a moment in improving their victory. The very night succeeding the battle, trenches were opened before the town. Three ships anchored at a small distance below their camp, and for several days were employed in landing their cannon, mortars, and ammunition. At the same time the enemy worked incessantly in their trenches before the town. On the 11th of May, they opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon. The first day they cannonaded the town with great vivacity.

General Murray was not less active in his defence of the town, than the enemy were in the siege. The defeat which he had received served only to rouse him to more strenuous exertions. He was deeply sensible, that, if Quebec should be retaken, it would be attributed to the rashness of his counsels. He knew, that in proportion to the liberality, with which the public had heaped honours upon those, who had conquered it, they would not fail to pour resentment and contempt on the man, by whom it should be lost. It did not escape his reflection, that nothing makes a worse figure, than unfortunate rashness. These ideas, to a mind like his, were so many perpetual stings; and the very feelings, which led him to fight the enemy with a weak army, roused him to vigilance and activity, in the defence of the city.

He prosecuted the fortifications, which had been suspended by the severity of winter; and the soldiers, by his influence and example, exerted them-

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selves with incredible firmness and activity. Outworks were contrived, and on the ramparts were planted a hundred and thirty two pieces of artillery. By the time, that the enemy's batteries opened, the English were able to maintain such a superior fire, as greatly to check, and in a measure to silence them. The French were greatly deficient, with respect to the number of their cannon, and the weight of their metal. Their heaviest cannon seem to have been no more than twelve pounders.

But notwithstanding these circumstances, the relief of the town depended on the early arrival of the English fleet. This was hourly looked for with anxious expectation. It was the general opinion, that should a French fleet arrive before the English, this important acquisition must be lost.

On the twenty second of April, lord Colville, with the fleet under his command, sailed from Halifax; but was retarded by thick fogs, contrary winds, and shoals of ice, which floated down the river. In the mean time, commodore Swanton, who had sailed from England with a small reinforcement for Quebec, with two ships, got into the river, and landed at the Isle of Beck, the beginning of May. Here he purposed to wait for the rest of his squadron, which had been parted from him on his passage. But the Lowestoffe, one of his frigates, got into the river before him, and, on the ninth of May, to the great joy of the garrison, anchored in the bason, and gave them intelligence of a British squadron at hand. Commodore Swanton, receiving information, that Quebec was besieged, sailed up the river, with all possible expedition, and, on the evening of the fifteenth, anchored above Point Levi. General Murray, wishing for relief, expressed his earnest desire that the French squadron above the town might be removed. The commodore, therefore, ordered two frigates, early the next morning, to slip their cables, and attack the enemy's fleet.

Commodore Swanton arrives, May 15.

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No sooner were they in motion, than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; another ran on shore at Point au Tremble, and was burned. The whole fleet was soon destroyed, or taken. The enemy were so thunderstruck, at this unexpected disaster, and the intelligence of an English fleet in the river, that as soon as the darkness of the night favoured them, they raised the siege, and retreated with the greatest precipitation, leaving their artillery, implements, provisions, and their whole camp standing. Thirty four pieces of battering cannon, ten field pieces, six mortars, their tents, baggage, stores, and whole camp equipage fell into the hand of the English.

Siege raised and the French camp taken, May 17.

On the nineteenth, lord Colville arrived, and the English now became formidable, and capable of acting offensively against the enemy in that quarter. The clouds were dissipated, and the prospect of the entire reduction of Canada, by the united operations of the English armies, brightened, and continually became more and more flattering.

This happy prospect and the zeal of the colonies, induced them seasonably to send into the field their full quotas of men. Early in the season, therefore, general Amherst found himself at the head of a respectable army. His plan was to concentre his whole force at Montreal, for the reduction of that important city, where the whole remaining force of Canada was collected, and whence all the other French posts received supplies and support. The necessary consequence of the capture of this would be the fall of these, and the reduction of the whole country.

To effect this, general Amherst detached general Haviland with a good army, to proceed by lake George, Crown Point, and lake Champlain, to the place of general rendezvous. At the same time, general Murray had orders, with all the troops which could be spared from the garrison of Quebec, to ad-

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vance towards Montreal by the river St. Lawrence. The general himself designed with the principal army to penetrate into Canada, by lake Ontario and down the river St. Lawrence. For this purpose, captain Loring was detached to cruise on the lake. Two armed sloops were prepared for the same purpose. A great number of battoes and small vessels were built for the transportation of the troops, artillery, provision, implements, and baggage of the army. Several regiments, at an early period, were sent forward, from Albany, to attend these services and make the necessary preparations for crossing the lake.

June 21. In June, the general, with the main army, took his departure from Schenectada, and proceeded by the Mohawk and Oneida rivers, to Oswego. In less than three weeks, the general reached this post with

July 9. the whole army. It consisted of ten thousand regular and provincial troops, and a thousand Indians, commanded by Sir William Johnson.

Great had been the difficulties, already surmounted in conducting such an army with its artillery, provisions, and military stores through that vast tract of country between Albany and lake Ontario. Other generals had spent whole campaigns in effecting less than general Amherst had already accomplished. Much greater difficulties still remained in transporting this numerous army, with its necessary supplies, in open boats and gallies, across this vast lake, and down the numerous rapids of a mad river. It required the greatest caution, and the exactest order, lest they should fall foul on each other; lest they should approach too near the shore, or be driven too far out on the appearance of a sudden squall or storm seasonably to gain the land; or lest they should not be steered and pushed forward with such exactness and speed, in shooting the falls, as to prevent their turning side ways, oversetting, and dashing in pieces among the rocks. But the general, whose calm and steady resolution was not unequal to the difficulties before him, made all his dispositions with that admir-

able method and regularity of military arrangement, which so strongly marked the character of that great commander. After a detachment had been sent forward, to remove obstructions in the river St. Lawrence, and to find the best passage for the boats and vessels, the army embarked, and crossed the lake, without any misfortune. Receiving intelligence, that one of the enemy's vessels was aground and disabled, and that another lay off Lagalette, the general determined, with the utmost despatch, to go down the river to Swegatchie and attack Isle Royal.

Aug. 10.

On the seventeenth of August the row gallies fell in with the French sloop, commanded by Mr. de la Broquerie, who, after a smart engagement, surrendered to the English gallies. The enemy, with great precipitation, retired before the army, till it arrived in the neighbourhood of Isle Royal. This was immediately so completely invested, that the garrison had no means of escape. By the twenty third, two batteries were opened against the fort, and it was cannonaded in concert by these and the armed vessels in the river. Dispositions having also been made for an attack, Mr. Ponchant beat a parley, and surrendered on terms of capitulation.

L'Isle Royal surrenders, Aug. 25.

As this was a post of singular importance both to command the lake Ontario and to protect the frontiers of the colonies, the general spent some time in repairing the fort, in making every preparation, and taking every precaution, in his power, for passing his troops down the river to Montreal. As all the falls lie between this post and that city, this was by far the most dangerous part of the enterprise.

About the same time, general Haviland took possession of the Isle au Noix, and, by the directest route, was advancing across the country to St. Lawrence. General Murray with the British fleet was advancing up the river, and subduing the adjacent country. The respective armies bore down all before them, and the operations of the campaign were approaching fast to an important crisis.

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Loss at the falls in St. Lawrence.

When the necessary preparations had been made, general Amherst proceeded down the river; but notwithstanding all his precaution in passing the rapids, the stream was so violent, that many of the battoes and whale boats turned, went down sideways, and dashed in pieces on the rocks. About ninety men, nearly fifty battoes, seventeen whale boats, one galley, some artillery, ammunition, and provisions were lost. Considering the greatness of the embarkation, and the extreme difficulties to be encountered, this loss was not very considerable. At length, after a tedious, fatiguing, and dangerous voyage, of two months and seventeen days after their departure from Schenectada, the army, with great joy, saw the city of Montreal, the object of their ardent wishes, and the happy period of their labours and dangers. The troops were immediately landed in the best order. No opposition was made, excepting from some flying parties, who, after exchanging a few shot, fled with precipitation. The general marched about six miles from the landing place, and drew up his army on a plain before the city; where they lay on their arms during the night. So surprisingly providential were the motions of the several armies, that though they pursued long and different routes, through an enemy's country, where each had numerous difficulties to encounter, and in which they had no intelligence of each other's operations, they all met, at the same time, at the place of general rendezvous. General Murray landed on the island the same day that general Amherst took possession; and general Haviland, with the army under his command, appeared on the south side of the river opposite to the city.

Army arrives, Sept. 6, at Montreal.

Armies form a junction.

General Amherst had given orders, that the artillery should be immediately brought on, from the landing place at La Chine, and, in the morning, determined formally to invest the town. But no sooner did the morning appear, than the marquis Vaudreuil, governour of Canada, finding himself compassed with

armies, addressed a letter to him, demanding a capitulation. After some letters had passed between the general and governour, the demand was granted, on terms, which, at the same time, they were favourable to the French, did honour to the British arms and nation.

The marquis Vaudreuil had done every thing for the defence of Canada, which became a vigilant, faithful, and magnanimous officer. When all hopes of the recovery of Quebec failed him, he fixed his head quarters at Montreal, and used every art and exertion for its preservation. He not only levied forces, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications on the island; but he had recourse to feigned intelligence and other arts of delusion, to support the depressed spirits of the Canadians.* His chief hopes, however, were not placed either in his arts, or in the greatness of his strength; but in the difficulties, which, on all sides, attended the entrance of Canada. He flattered himself that after the general sickness and defeat of the garrison at Quebec, there would be little danger from that quarter. He knew the great distance between Albany and Montreal by the way of Oswego and St. Lawrence; and the almost insuperable difficulties of conducting an army down so many rifts and rapids, as there were in that river between lake Ontario and Montreal. These, in conjunction with the impenetrable woods, morasses, and mountains, which covered the country, through which the armies from New York and New England must pass, he hoped would so retard their operations and protract the war, that a general pacification would finally save the country. But when he found the three armies, in spite of all difficulties, forming a junction before the town, consisting of more than twenty thousand men, all his hopes were dashed, and he saw that his only safety was in capitulation. The extent of the country was so great,

* See his circular letter to the militia of Canada, preserved in Rider's History, vol. xlvi.

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the interests of the people and the objects of the treaty, which it was necessary to attend, and, as far as might be, secure, were so many, that it made the capitulation to be a work of considerable time. It consisted of nearly sixty articles; but on the eighth of September, it was completed. By this, not only Montreal, but all the other French posts in Canada, and the whole country, were surrendered to the crown of Great Britain. All the troops in Montreal and the other posts were allowed the honours of war, and were not to be treated strictly as prisoners, but to be sent directly to France, on condition of their not serving during the war. The capitulation secured to the inhabitants, of every character, the full enjoyment of the Roman Catholic religion, personal safety, and property of all kinds.

Montreal with all Canada given up, Sept. 8.

Description of Montreal.

Montreal is the second place in Canada, for extent, numbers, buildings, commerce, strength, and opulence. It stands on an excellent and well cultivated island, about ten leagues in length, from east to west, and nearly four in its greatest breadth. The city is built in a quadrangular form, on the bank of the river St. Lawrence. The bank, gently rising, divides the city into the upper and lower towns. Though the ascent from the lower to the upper town is so gradual as to be scarcely perceivable, yet when you have reached the citadel in the upper, it appears entirely to overlook them both, and to command the river and the adjacent country. The city, on the account of its central situation between Quebec and lake Ontario, became the grand resort of the Indian traders, and the staple of their commerce. As it is more than three degrees south of Quebec, and as the river, in its whole extent, from that city to this, inclines very considerably to the south, the country is far more pleasant, and the seasons more clement, than at the capital. Father Charlevoix says, "After passing Richlieu islands one would think he were transported into another climate. The air becomes softer and more temperate, the country

more level, the river more pleasant, and the banks infinitely more agreeable and delightful."

Before the war, the fortifications of this pleasant city were mean and inconsiderable; and though additions had been made since, yet there was nothing to render the capture of it an enterprise of any great difficulty, except that of leading an army through such a prodigious and difficult tract of country as the English were obliged to pass, that they might appear before it, and that here was collected all the regular, and most of the provincial, force in Canada.

General Amherst had the honour and good fortune of surmounting all difficulties, and of making such dispositions, as that, almost without the shedding of blood, he completed the conquest of Canada. Thus in a little more than a century and a half, from its first settlement, in the sixth year of the war, after the severest struggles, after six general battles, this vast country was completely conquered by the conjoined arms of Great Britain and her colonies. This conquest, if we consider the extent and difficulty of the operations, by which it was effected, the number of inhabitants,* the greatness and fertility of the country subdued, the safety it gave to the English colonies in America, and the transfer of the whole Indian commerce to the merchants of Great Britain, appears to have been one of the most important conquests, ever achieved by the English arms.

The accomplishment of so great a work, with so little bloodshed, without any considerable accident or misfortune, without a single instance of rashness or inhumanity, in the commander in chief, while it reflected the highest honour on his military accomplishments, did equal honour to the humanity and goodness of his heart. It must be allowed, that he was extremely happy, in having subordinate com-

* These, at the time of the conquest, were estimated at more than 100,000.

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manders, who, with such ability and vigour, seconded him in all his operations; and in commanding a body of regular and provincial troops, whom no labours could discourage, and whom no dangers could dismay.

But, after all, the principal honour is to be rendered to the SUPREME RULER, whose all-governing agency, directed the whole series of these successful events. HE only could harmonize and direct so many hearts and circumstances, in Europe and America, by sea and land, as combined their influence in this happy event. HE never wants means to accomplish his own purposes. When, in his moral government, great events are to be effected, HE will qualify and call forth instruments, and guide their counsels and operations to the accomplishment of his designs. A Moses, Joshua, David, and Cyrus will never be wanting, when the emergencies of his people call for such aids.

The repairing and garrisoning of the several forts, the removal of the French troops from Detroit and Michilimackinak; and the replacing of them with English garrisons; the preserving of a communication between the various distant parts; and the securing of the obedience of the country; made it necessary, for general Amherst and the commanders of the other divisions of the army, to return by the same routes, which they had taken, to form their junction at Montreal. For the commander in chief this was, in some respects, more laborious and difficult, than it had been to conduct the army to the place of conquest. His shipping, boats, artillery, and baggage were now to be carried back against the stream and to be conveyed up the rifts and rapids between Montreal and lake Ontario. This laborious and difficult service kept the army in constant fatigue, during the remainder of the campaign, and protracted it nearly to the beginning of winter.

Great and universal was the joy which spread through the English colonies, on the conquest of Canada.

Public thanksgivings, were generally appointed to recognize the divine goodness, and to ascribe due honours to HIM whose is the greatness and the victory.

One circumstance however damped the joy, which on this occasion, diffused itself through English America. This was the commencement of hostilities, by the Cherokees, on the southern colonies. During several of the first years of the war, this numerous and powerful nation, had appeared cordially to espouse the interests of the English. At their desire a fortress had been built in their country, called fort Loudon, in honour to the earl of Loudon, at that time, commander in chief in America. Parties of them had assisted in the late expedition against fort du Quesne. But it seems, that while they were on that enterprise, they were treated with such general coolness and neglect, and received such insults, as made deep impressions on the minds of that vindictive people.* These were kindled into flame and outrage, by the treatment which they received, from some of the Virginians, on their return from that expedition. Many of the warriors had lost their horses in that service; and, as they were returning home, through the back parts of Virginia, they caught such as they found running loose in the woods, not knowing that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians, instead of legally asserting their rights, fell on the unsuspicious warriors, killed twelve or fourteen of them, and took several prisoners. The Cherokees were highly exasperated at such ungrateful treatment from allies, whose frontiers, by their assistance, had so lately been turned, from a field of blood, into peaceful habitations. No sooner had they returned, than they reported to the nation, the bloody treatment which they had received. The flame spread instantly through their towns. The relatives of the slain

War with the Cherokees.

Reasons of the war.

* Wright's Hist. vol. ii. p. 241, 242.

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were implacable, and breathed nothing but vengeance against such ungrateful and perfidious allies. The French emissaries added fuel to the flames. In vain did the chieftains interpose their authority. Nothing could restrain the fury of their young warriors. They rushed down on the frontier settlements, and perpetrated many cruel ravages and murders on the defenceless inhabitants.*

About two hundred soldiers, under the command of captains Demere and Stewart, were stationed at fort Loudon. These, on every excursion from the fort, were attacked by them: some were killed, and the rest soon confined within the limits of the fort. All communication between them and the distant settlements was cut off, and, as their supplies were scanty, the only prospects before them were famine and death. It was feared, at the same time, that the arts of the enemy would influence the powerful, neighbouring nation of the Creeks to the same hostile measures.

In this alarming situation, governour Littleton gave orders to the commanders of the militia, immediately to assemble their men, and act on the defensive. The governour determined, with such independent companies and militia, as could be raised, to march immediately into the enemy's country, and to prosecute such measures, as should bring them to reasonable terms of accommodation.

Chieftains come to Charleston to treat of peace.

Notwithstanding what had happened, the Cherokees were generally averse from war. Hearing therefore of the preparations which were making against them, they sent thirty two of their chief men to Charleston, if possible, to settle all difficulties, and prevent a war with the Carolinians. They arrived before the governour had marched on the expedition, designed against them. A council was called, and the governour addressed them in a haughty speech, importing, that he knew all their hostilities against the Eng-

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. ii. p. 214, 215.

lish, and what they still designed: That he would soon be in their country, and they should know his demands; and, that, unless they should be granted, he would take satisfaction by force of arms. He assured them, nevertheless, that as they were come to Charleston as friends, to treat of peace, they should go home in safety, and that an hair of their head should not be touched. At the same time he gave intimations, that he had so many men in arms, in different parts of the province, that it would be unsafe for them to return, unless they marched with the army, which was going into their country. Ouconnostota, who had the name of the great warrior of the Cherokee nation, began an immediate reply; but as the governour was determined, that nothing should prevent his expedition, he would neither hear him speak, in the defence of his nation, nor with respect to any overtures of peace. Lieutenant governour Bull, who had a much better acquaintance with the manners of the Indians, and the dangerous consequences of an Indian war, urged the necessity of hearing the great warrior, and the happy consequences of an accommodation, before more blood should be spilt. But governour Littleton was inflexible, and put an end to the conference without hearing the warriors. They highly resented this treatment. After such a number of them had travelled more than three hundred miles to make peace, not only to be disappointed with respect to the great object of their journey, but not to be allowed to speak on the subject, was matter of prodigious chagrin, and a source of jealousy and fear.

Their ill treatment.

Soon after the conference, the governour marched for the Congarees. This was about a hundred and forty miles from Charleston, and the place of general rendezvous for the militia. Hither the sachems marched with the army, putting on the appearance of content, while inwardly they were burning with fury and resentment. The governour having mustered about fourteen hundred men, of whom about

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three hundred were regulars, marched for fort Prince George. When the army marched, the chieftains were all made prisoners; and, to prevent their escape, a captain's guard was mounted over them. To complete their indignity and ill treatment, when the army arrived at fort Prince George, the thirty two chieftains were shut up in a hut scarcely fit for the accommodation of half a dozen soldiers. They were not allowed to speak with their friends, nor even to see the light of day.*

Treaty of peace opened, Dec. 18.

When the governour had advanced as far as this post, he found his army so ill armed and disciplined, and so discontented and mutinous, that he judged it unsafe to proceed further against the enemy. Here therefore he opened a congress with the Indians. For this purpose he had previously sent for Attakullakulla, otherwise Little Carpenter, who was not only esteemed the wisest man in the nation, but the most firmly attached to the English. This old warrior, though just returned from an excursion against the French, in which he had taken a number of prisoners, hastened to the governour's camp, and presented him with one of the captives.

The governour opened the congress with a long and pompous speech, representing the great power of the English, their victories over the French, the treaties between them and the Cherokees, their breach of those treaties, and the power of the colonies to destroy them; and, in a threatening and high tone, demanding satisfaction.

Attakullakulla, in his reply, insisted, that the bad treatment his countrymen had received in Virginia, was the immediate cause of the present misunderstanding. He declared his friendship to the English, and alleged in proof of it, his fatiguing march against their enemies, the French. He said he would ever continue his friendship, and use all his influence, that the governour should have satisfaction, but he gave

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. ii. p. 216, 217, 218, 225.

intimations that the nation would not comply with his demands. He said that the governour had treated the Cherokees with more severity than the English had shewn to other Indians. He requested, that some of the head men, whom the governour had confined, might be released to assist him in the work of peace.

In compliance with his request, the governour released the great warrior Ouconnostota, and two more of the head men. The next day they delivered up two Indians. The governour putting them immediately in irons, so alarmed the Cherokees, that they fled out of the way and no more could be obtained. Attakullakulla, convinced that peace could not be obtained, on the governour's terms, determined to return home, and patiently wait the event. But no sooner was the governour apprised of his departure, than he sent for him back to his camp. The governour wishing to finish the campaign with as much credit as possible, immediately, on his return, talked of nothing but peace. Articles were drawn, and signed by the governour and six of the head men of the Cherokees. All former treaties were confirmed; twenty two of the Cherokee chieftains, whom the governour had seized, were to be kept as hostages, till such a number of Indians, who had been guilty of murder should be delivered up to the chief commander of the province. It was stipulated, That there should be an open and free trade as usual: That the Cherokees should kill or take every Frenchman who should come among them, and hold no intercourse with the enemies of Great Britain.*

Articles signed, Dec. 26.

Scarcely had the governour finished the treaty, when the small pox broke out in his camp. Few of the army had been infected with the disease, and the physicians were wholly unprovided for such an event. The men were struck with a general terror, and with the utmost haste returned to their respective settle-

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 149, 150.

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ments. Such was the fear which each had of his fellow, that all intercourse, on the return, was cautiously avoided. By this means the men suffered exceedingly with hunger and fatigue. The governour soon followed them, and arrived safely at Charleston. Here, though a drop of blood had not been spilt, nor scarcely any thing achieved, but what was highly perfidious and inglorious, he was received as a conqueror. From different societies and professions he received the most flattering addresses. By illuminations and bonfires, the citizens expressed the high sense, which they entertained of his services, and of the happy consequences of his expedition.

However, the delusion soon vanished, and it appeared, that the governour, by his conduct, had greatly injured, instead of serving the public. When the chieftains came to Charleston they were sincerely desirous of an accommodation. Peace might, doubtless, have been made on terms just and honourable. But by the treatment he gave the messengers of peace, both they and the nation were stung to the heart. An Indian values his freedom above all things, and with him, a breach of promise is a crime of the first magnitude. Though nothing appeared against the chieftains, though they had made a journey of many hundred miles to make peace, and though the governour had given them ample promises of safety and good treatment, yet he had treacherously deprived them of their liberty, and treated them not only with perfidy but inhumanity. He had obtained the appearance of peace, by taking one of those base and unjustifiable advantages, which low craft and policy often practise on the weakness and simplicity of unfortunate neighbours. This treatment had converted their desires for peace into the bitterest resentment, and a general rage for war.

Attakullakulla, by reason of his known attachment to the English, had little influence with his countrymen. Ouconnostota, whose influence was great, was now become an implacable and vindictive

enemy. He determined to follow the example of the governour, and to repay meanness and perfidy in their own kind. No attention was paid to the treaty, but Ouconnostota, collecting a strong party, killed fourteen men in the neighbourhood of fort Prince George, surrounded the fort, and confined the garrison to their works. Finding that he could make no impressions on the fort, he contrived a stratagem for its surprisal, and the relief of his countrymen, who were there in confinement.

The treaty is disregarded.

As the country was covered with woods and dark thickets, it was favourable to his purposes. Having concerted his measures, two Indian women, who were known to be always welcome at the fort, made their appearance, on the other side of the river, to decoy the garrison. Lieutenant Dogharty went out to them, to inquire what news. While he was conversing with the women, Ouconnostota joined them, and desired Dogharty to call the commanding officer, saying that he had matters of importance to communicate to him. Accordingly captain Cotymore, ensign Bell, Dogharty, and Foster, their interpreter, went out to him. He said, that he was going to Charleston to procure the release of the prisoners, and wished for a white man for a safeguard. The captain told him he should have a safeguard. No sooner had he received the answer, than turning and giving a signal, nearly thirty guns were fired from different ambuscades. The captain was killed, and Bell and Foster were wounded. In consequence of this, orders were given that the hostages should be put in irons. In attempting this one of the soldiers was killed, and another wounded. These circumstances so exasperated the garrison, that, without hesitation, they fell on the unfortunate hostages, and butchered them in a manner too shocking to relate.

Ouconnostota's stratagem.

He decoys and kills the commander.

Hostages are butchered.

In the evening the Indians approached the fort, and, after firing signal guns and crying aloud, in the Cherokee language, "Fight manfully and you shall be assisted," they commenced a furious attack on

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the garrison, and kept up their fire the whole night. But they were so warmly received, that they were obliged to give over the attack.

Traders massacred.

Disappointed in their design on the fort, and finding that their chieftains were slain, they wreaked their vengeance on the English traders in their country. These they butchered, to a man, without mercy or distinction. In the massacre of the hostages, the Cherokees had not only lost a great number of their head men, but most of them had lost a friend or relation. Nothing therefore could exceed the resentment and rage of the nation. The leaders of every town seized the hatchet, proclaiming to their fellows, that the spirits of murdered brothers were flying round them, and calling for vengeance on their enemies. With one voice the nation declared for war. Large parties of warriors, from different towns, rushed down on defenceless families, on the frontiers of Carolina, where men, women, and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless rage. At Long Canes, and about the forks of Broad river, they made terrible carnage among the inhabitants, who, trusting to the late peace, were reposed in perfect security *

War becomes general.

About two hundred of the enemy made a furious attack on the fort at Ninety Six: but they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. This they revenged on the open country, ravaging the English houses in that quarter, and all along the frontiers of Virginia. They were not satisfied barely with pillaging and destroying the inhabitants, but they wantoned in the most horrible acts of barbarity. Many, who fled into the woods, and escaped the scalping knife, perished with hunger. Those, who were made prisoners, were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered inexpressible hardships. So secret and sudden were the motions of the enemy, that it was impossible to tell where the storm would

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. ii. p. 225, 229. Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 153, 156.

fall, or to take the precautions necessary to prevent the mischief. Every day brought to the capital fresh accounts of their murders and desolations.

The southern colonies were all alarmed, and application was made in the most pressing terms to general Amherst, for immediate assistance. He despatched colonel Montgomery to Carolina, with a detachment of twelve hundred chosen men.

Col. Montgomery goes to Carolina.

On his arrival at Charleston, he advanced with as much expedition as possible to Ninety Six. As the conquest of Canada was the great object of this campaign, the colonel's orders were, to strike a sudden blow, for the relief of Carolina, and then to return, without loss of time, to head quarters at Albany. Nothing was therefore omitted by the colony, which was judged necessary to forward the expedition. As governour Littleton had been appointed governour of Jamaica, the government devolved on governour Bull, a man of singular erudition and integrity. He spared no pains for the defence of the province. The whole force of it was collected, and rendezvoused at the Congarees, for the assistance of the colonel in the enterprise. Several gentlemen of fortune formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. Application had been made to the neighbouring provinces of North Carolina and Virginia for assistance. In consequence of which, seven companies of rangers were raised, to patrole the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating further down among the settlements. Presents were voted to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws, and Catawbaws, as should join the province in the war against the Cherokees.* Thus assisted, by the beginning of June, he advanced to twelve mile river. He prosecuted his route, by forced marches, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of Keowee. Here he encamped, in a strong position;

Arrives in April.

Conduct of the colony on his arrival.

His expedition against the Cherokees.

* Hist. S. Carolina, vol. ii. p. 228, 230, 231.

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and imagining that the enemy were not apprized of his coming, he determined to surprise them. Leaving his camp under a sufficient guard, he marched through the woods, twenty five miles towards the town of Estatoe. On his march he detached a company of light infantry to destroy Little Keowee. The light infantry were received at Keowee with a smart fire, but, rushing in with their bayonets, they put all the men to death. In the morning the main body reached Estatoe; but it was abandoned, just as they entered the town. Such of the men, as had not made their escape, were instantly put to the sword. The women and children were captivated. The town, consisting of two hundred houses, well stored with provisions, ammunition, and all the necessaries of life, was immediately plundered, and then reduced to ashes. Some of the enemy, who had secreted themselves in their dwellings, were consumed with them. The colonel pursued the blow he had begun, with surprising rapidity. In a few hours Sugar town, as large as Estatoe, shared with it in the same fate. Every settlement in the lower nation was thus destroyed. About sixty Indians were killed, and forty women and children made prisoners. The rest escaped to the mountains. Their towns and villages were agreeably situated, and consisted generally of about a hundred houses, neatly built, and well supplied with provisions. There were large magazines of corn consumed in the general conflagration. Such had been the cruelties practised on the inhabitants, that the soldiers were deaf to all suggestions of mercy.*

Their towns destroyed.

Colonel Montgomery having taken such vengeance on the enemy, marched for the relief of fort Prince George, which the savages for sometime had so closely invested, that the garrison were in great distress, both for the want of wood and provisions.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 157.

At this post he arrived in safety, having lost not more than five or six men in the expedition.

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From this post two Indians were despatched to acquaint the Cherokees, that if their chief men would come down and treat of an accommodation, peace should be granted them, on the account of the Little Carpenter, and his many good services to the English. At the same time, they were to assure them, that, unless they should, in a few days, begin a negotiation, all the towns in the upper nation would be ravaged and reduced to ashes.* A messenger was also sent to fort Loudon, requesting the commanding officers to use their best endeavours for the obtaining of peace with the Cherokees of the upper towns.

Message to the Cherokees.

Messages of peace producing no good effects, the colonel determined to make an attack on their middle settlements. He immediately began his march, but his success in this enterprise, was no ways equal to that in his former. The enemy watched all his motions, and took every advantage and opportunity to distress him on his march. On the third day, as the army was advancing through a dangerous ground, the enemy attacked him in the most furious and obstinate manner. They commenced the action with their usual horrible screams and outcries, maintaining a severe fire from under cover. The troops were ranged in the most judicious manner, and firmly stood the enemy's charge. The fight was long, obstinate, and well maintained on both sides. At length the colonel making a movement, which brought the royal Scots upon their right, the enemy gave way and fled. The captain of the rangers, and about twenty men, were killed, and nearly eighty wounded. It was supposed that the enemy lost about forty men.† The army pushed forward, about five miles, the succeeding evening, to Etchowee, one of the most considerable towns in the mid-

Col. Montgomery marches against the middle settlements, June 24.

Battle, June 27.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlvi. p. 159. † Wright's Hist. vol. ii. p. 312.

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dle settlements. But the Indians had removed their most valuable effects, and forsaken the town. The colonel was able to do them no other injury, than to destroy a defenceless town. Here they attacked his piquet guard with such fury, that they were repulsed with difficulty. They also gave him repeated annoyance, by their vollies from the surrounding hills. Though he had gained the field, and been able to advance after the action, yet it had the effect of a defeat. So many of his men had been wounded, and so many of his horses killed, that he found a retreat absolutely necessary, to save the wounded men from the massacre of the enemy. In the beginning of July, he returned to fort Prince George. The expedition had cost him five officers, and about a hundred men, killed and wounded.

The colonel retreats.

He now supposed, that his orders obliged him to return, with the troops under his command, and rejoin the main army. To the consternation of the whole country, this was found to be his determination. The intreaties of the province, however, prevailed with him to leave about four hundred men, to assist in the defence of the frontiers.

Leaves Carolina.

Carolina and the neighbouring colonies were again exposed to the fury of a merciless foe, not so much weakened as exasperated, by their late chastisement. Fort Loudon soon fell into the hands of the enemy. They had assembled in strong bodies, and formed the blockade of it nearly a month before the departure of colonel Montgomery. They were now left, without molestation, to continue it with their whole force. The garrison held out about two months, till their provisions were totally consumed. The enemy manifested pacific dispositions, and promised kind treatment. These circumstances influenced them to surrender on honourable conditions.

Fort Loudon surrenders, Aug. 7.

But the enemy, regardless of faith or humanity, fell upon them, in their march homeward, and butchered all the officers, excepting captain Stuart,

and twenty five of the soldiers. The rest were carried into a horrible captivity.

Captain Stuart owed his life to the invincible attachment of Attakullakulla. He ransomed him, at the expense of all he could command, and with uncommon art and pains, conducted him in safety to his friends.

General Stanwix establishes the English interest on the Ohio.

While the Cherokees were thus distressing Carolina and the southern frontiers of Virginia, the English interest was firmly established on the Ohio, by the prudent and vigorous conduct of major general Stanwix. He had greatly strengthened the post at Pittsburg, by repairing and enlarging the fortifications; and by erecting store houses and barracks for a respectable garrison. With great diligence and success he had cultivated friendship and made alliances with the Indians in that vicinity. The happy consequences of these measures were soon apparent, in a considerable trade between the Indians and the merchants at Pittsburg; and in the return of nearly four thousand planters to the quiet possession of the lands, whence they had been driven, on the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.*

The Cherokees still continuing hostile, and South Carolina having already expended more than fifty thousand pounds sterling, in the defence of the frontiers, without gaining any considerable point, lieutenant governour Bull made application, a second time, to general Amherst for assistance. Meanwhile the royal Scots with the militia were posted on the frontiers for their defence. But, as the Creeks had murdered several of the English, and made no proposals for satisfaction, and as the French were employing all their arts, both with them and the Choctaws, to engage them in the war, the province was under the most dreadful apprehensions.†

* Rider's Hist. vol xlvi. p. 164. † Hist. S. Car. vol. ii. p. 235,236,244.

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As Canada was now conquered, the commander in chief could more conveniently spare a force adequate to the purpose of humbling the savages. The highlanders were therefore ordered again for Carolina. The active and brave colonel Montgomery, who commanded them, on the former expedition, was now embarked for England. He was brother to the earl of Eglinton, and afterwards succeeded him in his honours. His affairs requiring his return, the command of the regiment devolved on lieutenant colonel James Grant. He landed at Charleston with his regiment the beginning of the year seventeen hundred sixty one. The troops took up their winter quarters in the town.

Colonel Grant arrives with the Highlanders in Carolina, Jan. 1761.

It was determined, if possible, to give the Indians so severe a correction the ensuing campaign, as should induce them to peace. The province, therefore, determined to make the utmost exertions. A provincial regiment was raised under the command of colonel Middleton. Presents were made to the Indian allies, and numbers of the Chickesaws and Catawbaws were engaged in the service. The army were clothed and armed in the best manner for the service, in which they were engaging.

Expedition against the Cherokees.

In May, the army consisting of two thousand and six hundred men, advanced to fort Prince George. Here Attakullakulla, having got intelligence of the force advancing against his nation, met colonel Grant, and repeatedly intreated him by his friendship and many good services to the English, to proceed no further, till he had once more used his influence with his nation to bring them to an accommodation. But colonel Grant would not listen to his solicitations. He immediately began his march for the middle settlements. A party of ninety Indians, and thirty woodmen painted like Indians, marched in front of the army and scoured the woods. After them followed the light infantry, and about fifty rangers, consisting of about two hundred men. By the vigilance and activity of these, the colonel

The army marches to fort Prince George, May 27.

From thence, June 7.

designed to secure the main body from annoyance and surprise. During three days he made forced marches that he might pass several dangerous defiles which might cost him dear, should the enemy first get the possession, and warmly dispute the passage. These he passed without annoyance. But the next day, finding suspicious grounds on all sides, orders were given that the army should prepare for action, and that the guards should advance slowly, doubling their circumspection. As the army advanced in this cautious manner, about eight o'clock in the morning, the enemy were discovered, by the advanced guard, nearly in the same ground, where they attacked coloned Montgomery the preceding year. Rushing down from the high grounds they furiously attacked the advanced guard. These were supported and the action became general. A party of the enemy driven from the low grounds immediately ascended the hills under which the whole line was obliged to pass. On the left was a river, from the opposite banks of which they received a heavy fire as they advanced. While the line faced and gave their whole charge to the Indians on the bank of the river a party was ordered to ascend the hills and drive the enemy from the heights. No sooner were they dislodged from the heights, than they returned with redoubled ardour to the charge in the low grounds. These it appeared their determination obstinately to dispute. The situation of the troops soon became critical and distressing. They had been greatly fatigued, by forced marches, in rainy weather. They were galled by the fire of the enemy, so compassed with woods, that they could neither discern nor approach them, but with the greatest difficulty and danger. When they were pressed, they always kept at a distance, but rallying returned again with the same fierceness and resolution to the charge. No sooner were they driven from one place, than they sprang up like furies in another. While the attention of the colonel was drawn to the enemy on

Battle near Etchoe, June 10.

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the banks of the river, and employed in driving them from their lurking places on that side, so furious an attack was made on his rear guard, that he was obliged to order a detachment back to its relief, to save his cattle, provision, and baggage. From nine to eleven o'clock, did the enemy maintain the action. Every where the woods resounded with the roar of arms and the hideous shouts and yells of savages. At length the Cherokees gave way, but as they were pursued they kept up a scattering shot till two o'clock. They then wholly disappeared.*

The Cherokees defeated.

What loss the enemy sustained is not known, that of colonel Grant was about sixty men in killed and wounded. The army advanced as soon as possible, and, about midnight, arrived at Etchoe, a large Indian town. The next day it was reduced to ashes. There were fourteen other towns in the middle settlements, all which shared the same fate. The enemy's magazines, and their corn fields, amounting to not less, than fourteen hundred acres, were utterly destroyed. The miserable inhabitants stood the silent spectators of the general destruction; and were obliged to retire, to starve in the thickets and mountains.† Nearly the same barbarities were practised towards them, by a civilized and christian people, of which we so loudly complain, when, in their manner of warfare, they are practised against us. What a scene of blood and desolation, both with respect to them and the colonies, was the consequence of a haughty, bloody, and treacherous treatment of the Indians, by a few imprudent and base people among ourselves. Unjust and bloody measures often meet a recompense in their own way. As the consequences of an Indian war are nothing but merciless carnage and desolation, on both sides, every motive of humanity and good policy require, the strictest guard and precaution against it, and that the natives be treated with justice, condescension, and humanity.

Their middle settlements destroyed.

* Hist. S. Car. vol. ii. p. 248, 250. † Rider, vol. xlviii. p. 63, 64.

After nearly thirty days had been spent in works of destruction, the army returned to fort Prince George. The various hardships it had endured, in the wilderness, from watching, heat, thirst, danger, and fatigue, hardly admit of description. The feet and legs of many of the soldiers were so mangled, and their spirits so exhausted, that they were utterly incapacitated to proceed on their march. Colonel Grant determined therefore to encamp, awhile, at this post, both for the refreshment of his men, and to get intelligence with respect to the resolutions of the enemy.

Soon after his arrival, Attakullakulla and several other chieftains of his nation, came to the camp and expressed their wishes for peace. Articles were drawn and interpreted to the warriors. Attakullakulla readily agreed to them all, but one, which, he said, he had no authority from the nation to grant. This was a demand of four Cherokees to be delivered up and put to death in the front of the army, or four green scalps to be delivered within twelve nights. As the chieftains could not grant this, they were sent to Charleston to know whether the governour would abate this rigorous article.

Governour Bull and his council met them at Ashley Ferry. The governour spoke to them in this friendly manner; "Attakullakulla, I am glad to see you, and as I have always heard of your good behaviour, that you have been a good friend to the English, I take you by the hand, and not only you but all those with you also, as a pledge of their security whilst under my protection. Colonel Grant acquaints me that you have applied for peace; now that you are come, I have met with my beloved men, to hear what you have to say, and my ears are open for that purpose." Then a fire was kindled, the pipe of peace was lighted up, and, for sometime, all smoked together in great silence and solemnity.

Attakullakulla then rose and addressed the governour, in a manly and eloquent speech, representing his joy at seeing the governour, that he was come

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as a messenger of peace; that his people were in great distress; and that, though the English were superior to them, and lived in light, while they were in darkness; yet that one GOD was the Father of both; that they lived in one country, and that he wished what had happened might be forgotten, and they might live as one people. Peace was established, and both parties expressed their wishes, that it might continue as long as the rivers should run, or the sun shine.

The whole North American continent appeared now to be quieted. The colonies nevertheless were called upon to furnish their quotas during the war. Much remained to be done, in repairing and erecting forts, building barracks, and storehouses, and in putting the country into a proper situation to maintain the conquests which had been made. Prodigious was the labour and expense, which, in this and the next year, were bestowed on the fortifications and buildings at Crown Point. The works to be accomplished and the garrisons to be maintained, employed the regular and provincial troops, during the whole of this campaign.

CHAPTER XIV.

The critical state of Great Britain and the Colonies. Expedition against Martinico. Surrender of the French Islands. War with Spain Lord Albemarle's expedition against Havannah. The city is taken. Events disposing the enemy to peace. General pacification. Boundaries between France and Great Britain in America. Quotas, supplies, and expense of the colonies during the war. Effects of the war. Joy and state of the country on the return of peace. Indian war. The enemy ravage the frontiers of the southern colonies, take several English forts, attempt the reduction of fort Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara. Battle at Detroit. The enemy attack colonel Bonquet, and are defeated. They destroy a detachment of men near Niagara. Are humbled, and make peace.

EVERY thing which had been an object of the war on the continent of North America was now accomplished; but in Europe the affairs of Great Britain and her allies never wore a more gloomy aspect

France had greatly extended her conquests in Germany. A very considerable part of Hanover was in the possession of her troops. The king of Prussia was so reduced and pressed on every side, by his numerous enemies, that there was no human prospect, that he could, for any considerable time, hold out against them. Should he be overpowered, the allied army, which now was only able to act on the defensive, could not survive the event a single day. All the Hanoverian dominions must instantly be lost. What other disasterous consequences might ensue it was not within the reach of human foresight to determine. All the great powers of Europe were engaged on the side of France. The negotiations of peace, which Sept. 20. had been opened with some favourable appearances, were now broken off without any accommodation, or any favourable change in the feelings or designs of the belligerent powers. Indeed the parties appeared more hostile in their intentions, and more adverse in their opinions, than at the commencement of the war. After it had been so long and general, after such a prodigious effusion of blood, and the expense of so much money and treasure, as seemed almost to have exhausted and worn down the powers at war, they appeared to be inflamed with new animosities, and to be rousing themselves afresh to works of mutual destruction. It appeared that the courts of Bourbon had strengthened the family compact by new and extraordinary treaties, and that Spain was about to become an ally with France in the war.

Great Britain never was in a more critical and dangerous situation. She was not only directly or indirectly engaged in war with all the great continental powers of Europe, but with much the most considerable part of her maritime force. The Spanish fleet was computed at more than a hundred men of war. Spain was a fresh power, cordial in her friendship to France, unimpaired in her resources of men, money, stores or any thing necessary for war. Great Britain was exhausted of men, and her resources were sinking under a debt of more than a hundred millions.

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1761. In the gloom and dangers of Great Britain her colonies were involved. Notwithstanding all that glow of victory, which had appeared in America, there was yet great danger, that after all her exertions, she would derive no lasting advantages from the war. If France and her allies should carry their points in Europe, it would require, that all the acquisitions, made in America, should be given up to recover what would be lost in Germany, and to secure the rights of Protestants, on that side of the water. The extraordinary events of the next year gave a favourable turn to the affairs of Europe, and were productive of happy consequences to America.

Expedition against Martinico. After the close of the campaign on the continent of America, a considerable part of the regular troops, with a body of provincials, embarked for the West Indies, and joined an armament from Great Britain, in the reduction of Martinico. The whole land force consisted of about twelve thousand men, under the

Jan. 7, 1762. command of general Monckton. On the seventh of January the fleet and army arrived off that island. By the fourteenth of February the whole island was reduced to the government of Great Britain.

Martinico, Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincents taken, March 5. The surrender of this island, which was the seat of government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of the French force in the Caribbees, was soon succeeded by the surrender of all the dependent islands. The fertile islands of Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincents followed the example of the capital. In a short time the English became the sole and undisturbed possessors of that grand chain of numerous islands, which forms the immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South America. These islands, together, can boast more trade than falls to the share of some respectable kingdoms.

War with Spain. As war had been declared against Spain, on the second of January, it was determined to give a capital blow to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. An armament was prepared with the utmost despatch. Lord Albemarle was appointed to command the oper-

ations by land. He had, from his youth, been trained to war, under the duke of Cumberland. The fleet, destined to the service, was commanded by admiral Pocock, who had commanded so successfully in the East Indies. The object of the expedition was the Havannah, in which centered the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West Indies. The fleet sailed from Portsmouth on the fifth of March. This was to be reinforced by a squadron from Martinico, under the command of Sir James Douglass. On the twenty seventh of May the two squadrons formed a junction, at Cape Nichola, the north west point of Hispaniola. The fleet now consisted of thirty seven ships of war, with nearly a hundred and fifty transports. The land force on board was about ten thousand men. Four thousand regular troops from New York, were ordered to join them at the Havannah. A considerable number of provincials enlisted under their own officers, and assisted in this arduous enterprise. The whole land force, when collected together, would amount to fifteen or sixteen thousand men.

Armament against Havannah, May 27.

The admiral was sensible how much the success of the expedition depended on despatch; that it might be carried into execution before the coming on of the hurricane months. Instead, therefore, of keeping the common tract of the galleons to the south of Cuba, which was much the safest, though far the most tedious passage, he determined to pursue his course, from east to west through the streights of Bahama. This is a narrow passage, not less than seven hundred miles in length. It is bounded on the right and left, with so many dangerous sands and shoals, that the navigation is dangerous for small and single vessels. Yet such were the precautions and admirable dispositions of the admiral, that he carried this fleet of nearly two hundred sail, safely through this perilous passage. On the fifth of June, Havannah, the object of this long voyage, and of so many anxious hopes and fears, presented itself to the view of the fleet and army.

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1762. Troops land at the Havannah, June 7.

On the seventh the troops were landed. For more than two months, every art of war, every exertion of courage, with the most invincible patience and perseverance, under almost insuperable difficulties, were unitedly employed, by officers and soldiers, by the fleet and army for the reduction of this important island. The fortresses were strong by nature and art. The enemy made a gallant and obstinate defence. The climate was burning, and the want of water great and almost insuperably distressing. Never were British valour and resolution put to a severer trial. Some of the soldiers dropped down dead under the pressure of heat, thirst, and fatigue. Before the middle of July, the army, in this unwholsome and burning region, and under the rigour of such extraordinary services, was reduced to one half of its original numbers. Five thousand soldiers and three thousand seamen were ill at one time. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them, while they beheld this gallant army thus wasting by disease; and they could not but tremble for that noble fleet, which had so long been exposed on the open shore, and must in all human probability suffer inevitable ruin, should the hurricane season come on before the reduction of the place. As the season advanced, the prospect grew more and more faint. But when the troops were almost on the point of total despondency, the arrival of the troops from North America revived their drooping spirits, gave fresh vigour to the operations, and were of the most signal service.

Such was the zeal of the New Englanders in his majesty's service, that not only many of them enlisted with a particular view to the reduction of the Havannah; but even such as had assisted in the conquest of Martinico, and, by reason of sickness, had been sent off, in three ships, to their native country, for their recovery, soon finding their health restored, ordered the ships about, and steering directly for the Havannah, shared in the dangers and honours of that glorious enterprise.

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On the thirteenth of August, to the universal joy of the fleet and army, the Spaniards surrendered the town of Havannah with the shipping in the harbour, and a territory of a hundred and eighty miles westward of the town.

Description of the Havannah.

This was, in its consequences, one of the most important and decisive victories obtained since the commencement of the war. Though Havannah is not reckoned the capital of the Spanish West Indies, yet it is the first in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour on which it stands, is one of the best in the West Indies, if not in the known world. It is of sufficient extent to contain a thousand of the largest ships. It is perfectly secure from every wind. It is the grand resort of the rich fleets, from all parts of the Spanish West Indies, called the Galleons and the Flota. Hence they take their departure for Europe. These circumstances combine their influence, to make the Havannah one of the most flourishing, opulent, and populous cities in that part of the world. The fortifications were not unequal to its importance.

The advantage gained, in the capture of the enemy's shipping, was equal to that of the greatest naval victory. Twelve of their best ships of the line, three frigates, and some merchantmen were taken or sunk.

New England by her zeal in this enterprise, sustained a considerable loss of men. Scarcely any of the private soldiers, and but few of the officers, ever returned. Such as were not killed in the service, were generally swept away by the great mortality, which prevailed in the fleet and army.

The Spaniards received a wound in Asia, not less unexpected or terrible, than that given them in the West Indies. An armament under the command of general Draper and admiral Cornish, on the sixth of October, made a complete conquest of Manilla and the Philippine islands.

The loss of Martinico, Havannah, Manilla, and the Philippine islands, with the capture of several rich

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ships of nearly two millions value, made deep impressions on the Bourbon family. They very considerably affected those resources of money, which with France, were principal objects in her late treaties with Spain. These powers had been entirely disappointed in their attempts against Lisbon. The campaign in Germany had, by no means succeeded agreeably to their wishes. By the death of Elizabeth empress of Russia, and the revolution which immediately succeeded that great event, Providence gave a most unexpected and surprisingly favourable turn to the affairs of the king of Prussia. These all combined their influence in disposing the courts of Bourbon to peace, and to stop that flow of human blood, which, for seven years, had been running without intermission or parallel.

At the same time those grand acquisitions, which Britain had made, in Asia and the West Indies, enabled her to treat of peace without giving up a single post, which she had gained on the continent of North America.

Definitive treaty of Paris, Feb. 10, 1763.

On the third of November preliminaries of peace were signed, at Fountainbleau, by the British and French ministers. The definitive treaty of Paris was completed on the tenth of the succeeding February. In the fourth article of this treaty, his most Christian majesty renounced all pretensions, which he had ever formed or might form to Nova Scotia in all its parts, and guaranteed the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain. He also ceded and guaranteed, to his Britannic majesty, in full right, Canada with all its dependencies, with Cape Breton and all the other islands and coasts in the river St. Lawrence, with every thing dependent on said countries, lands, islands, and coasts; with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, in the amplest manner and form, without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee. The seventh article fixed the limits of territory between the two nations in the following manner:

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1762. Boundaries between Great Britain and France in America.

"In order to re-establish peace, on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and the French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of his most Christian Majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Missisippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian king cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses or ought to possess on the left side of the river Missisippi, except the town of Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Missisippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length from its source to the sea, and expressly that part, which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of the river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever."*

The king of Great Britain made a restoration of all his conquests in the Spanish West Indies to the king of Spain. In consequence of which his Catholic Majesty, in the twentieth article, made to his Britannic Majesty an ample cession of Florida, St. Augustine, the bay of Pensacola, and all that Spain possessed on the continent of North America, to the east or to the southeast of the river Missisippi. A cession was also made of every thing dependent on said country or lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which,

* Rider's Hist. vol. I. p. 5, 6.

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ever the Catholic king or crown of Spain had over the said countries.

1763. Liberties granted to the Roman Catholics.

In the fourth, seventh, and twentieth articles, his Britannic Majesty stipulated, that the inhabitants of the respective countries above ceded, by France and Spain, should be allowed the enjoyment of the Roman Catholic religion; and that he would give the most express and effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects might profess the exercise of their religion, according to the rights of the Romish Church, so far as should be consistent with the laws of Great Britain. It was further stipulated, that the inhabitants of said countries might sell their estates to British subjects, and retire with all safety and freedom wherever they should think proper. They were also allowed to remove their effects, as well as persons, without any restraint in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except in cases of debt and of criminal prosecutions. The time of emigration was limited to the term of eighteen months from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. These were the principal stipulations relative to the continent of America.

Peace favourable to the colonies.

Signally conspicuous was that all-governing Providence, which, for so many years, by sea and land, in Europe, America, and the other quarters of the world, combined such a variety of circumstances, as united their influence in this great event. In this important treaty, the American colonies saw the enemy, who, for nearly a century and a half, had given them such immense trouble, caused them so many years of fear and sorrow, such an incredible expense of blood and treasure, either removed from the continent, or reduced to circumstances, in which they were so far from injuring them, that they could not but contribute to their emolument, and to the wealth and grandeur of Great Britain. The aspects of Providence were peculiarly favourable with respect to the colonies, in that extent of territory which was secured to them by the treaty. In the extent and security which it gave them with respect to their fisheries and commerce, and in every other respect, which related to their particular interests it was

favourable, how defective soever it was with respect to the other interests of Great Britain. In this, pious people could discover something very providential, that though the colonies had no hand nor influence in the treaty, yet, that it was much more favourable with respect to them, than it was to the nation in general.

Great and universal was the joy which the peace gave to the English colonies in America. For nearly eight years they had been making the utmost exertions to carry on the war, and assist his majesty in humbling the pride of their common enemy. Their burdens and losses had been great. As the provincials generally inlisted only for one campaign, a new army was to be raised, new bounties given, and new clothing furnished every spring. So great was the expense, that the colonies were obliged not only to emit bills of credit to a great amount, but to tax the people as highly as they could bear. Besides the public bounties, the merchants, farmers, and gentlemen of character, were obliged to advance considerable sums to encourage the inlistment, or they must have left their merchandize, farms, and various employments, and gone themselves into actual service. Especially was this the case with the northern colonies. New England in general, during the war, had ten thousand men in the field. Some years, the two colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut only, furnished this number. The Massachusetts sent into the field annually five thousand and five hundred men; and one year seven thousand. Besides her annual quota, this colony for several years garrisoned Louisburg and Nova Scotia, that the regular troops might be employed in the expeditions against Canada. On application of the British admiral, she furnished five hundred seamen in the expeditions against Louisburg and Quebec. At several times many others were impressed out of the vessels employed in the fishery. Agreeably to the statement made by governor Bernard, and transmitted to the lords of trade, the colony had expended in the war eight hundred

Burdens of the war.

Supplies from New England.

Quotas and expense of Massachusetts.

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and eighteen thousand pounds sterling.* Of this three hundred and twenty eight thousand pounds had been replaced by parliamentary grants. Four hundred and ninety thousand pounds were expended, for which the colony had no parliamentary compensation.

Of Connecticut.

Connecticut exerted herself more beyond her proportion than the Massachusetts. On the commencement of the war, in 1755, she raised a thousand men for the service. After the battle at the lake, in September, she sent on a detachment of two thousand of her militia, as a reinforcement to the army. The next year, supposing that the southern states might fail of furnishing their respective quotas, she sent into actual service two thousand and five hundred men. This was double the number required by the commander in chief. Such was her zeal for his majesty's service and the general good, that she exerted herself in this duplicate proportion, lest the common cause should suffer. In 1757, the requisition of the commander was fourteen hundred only. These were not only raised, but, on the intelligence that fort William Henry was attacked, she with uncommon despatch sent forward about five thousand of her militia, for the relief and protection of that part of the country, which, at that time was thrown into a state of the greatest tumult and consternation. As she was called upon, the next year, to raise all the men in her power, and was encouraged that this would be the last year of the war, she exerted herself beyond all former examples, and sent into service about five thousand men. General Amherst taking advantage of the zeal of the colony this year, made this number the rule of his command annually during the war. This proved a heavy burden on the colony, and was not only far beyond her proportion, but even beyond her ability. The expense of this little colony, in the war from 1755 to 1762 inclusively, after

* Governour Bernard's Letter, August 1, 1764.

deducting the parliamentary grants, amounted to upwards of four hundred thousand pounds.*

Besides the public expense, that of individuals was not inconsiderable. It was sometimes at a very great premium that they could obtain substitutes to prevent personal services. Of these and numerous other incidental expenses, losses, and damages sustained by the war, no estimate can be made. Besides the men furnished by the colonies, under the general name of provincials, many of their inhabitants inlisted into the regular regiments, were among their grenadiers and very best troops. They were in the sharpest actions and severest services during the war. The royal American battalions, which were not inferior to any of the regular regiments, were raised wholly from the colonies. Numbers were impressed on board the shipping, many were employed in privateering and various other services relating to the war. The numbers employed, on the whole, were very great.

Effects of the war.

The colonies probably sustained a loss of about five or six and twenty thousand men. These in general were their most firm and hardy young men, the flower of their country. Many others were wounded, maimed, and enervated in the many distant and arduous campaigns during the war. As the New England colonies furnished much the greatest numbers of men, this loss fell with the greatest weight upon them. New York and New Jersey were next in their zeal to New England, and consequently had the next share in the expense and loss of the war. The populous and opulent colony of Pennsylvania, by reason of internal dissentions, sometimes did little or nothing; when she did her best, she sent into the field no more than two thousand seven hundred men. Her whole expense very little exceeded the grants made her by parliament. The expense of Maryland was next to nothing.

The employment of such a number of men for so many years, in the war, greatly injured the husbandry

* Reasons offered, in behalf of Connecticut, against internal taxation of the colonies, printed, New Haven, 1764.

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of the country, which was its principal, and, in the northern colonies, almost the only resource. The loss of so many young men, and the prevention of marriage, for so many years, with respect to others, very greatly retarded population. At the same time the war was a check to literature, exceedingly destructive of domestic happiness, injurious to piety and the social virtues. The colonies thirsted for peace. A deliverance from these evils, the return of parents, sons, brethren, and friends, from distant countries, captivity, and the dangers of war, to the embraces of each other, with the countless blessings of peace, diffused a general and uncommon joy. The extent of territory ceded to the colonies, the safety of their commerce and fisheries, the prodigious scope which opened for both, for the extension of settlement, the increase of wealth and population, and a general diffusion of happiness, all united to swell the general tide of joy. That high point of greatness, honour, and magnificence, to which the nation had been elevated, the extension of her empire, the flow of the whole trade and wealth of Canada, and of this great continent into her lap, whom they considered as a parent, and to whom they claimed the relation of children; the honours acquired in so glorious a war, with the advantages of a peace, which gave lustre to the crown and aggrandizement to the reign of a prince whom they loved, were so many circumstances enlivening the joy and increasing the satisfaction, which so universally prevailed. The colonists gloried in their prince, and in their relation to Great Britain. They felt a high degree of satisfaction, and it was no small part of their pride, that with their fellow subjects, of the mother country, they had shared in the labours and enterprises, and with them had mingled their blood in those battles and victories, on the continent and in the Indies, which had given such enlargement to her empire, and such lustre to her arms.

Joy and state of the country on the return of peace.

They felt a grateful sense of the royal beneficence and parliamentary goodness, in the grants which had been made for their assistance in defraying the expenses of the war. They were entirely satisfied with

the British government, and conceived themselves singularly happy in the protection and privileges which they enjoyed as British subjects. This was the general feeling and happy state of the country on the return of peace.

The extension of settlements, the increase of cultivation, numbers, commerce, and wealth of the colonies, for about ten or twelve years after the pacification of Paris were almost incredible. These, with the conquests made during the war, and the extent of country ceded, in America, by the definitive treaty, were so many great preparatory steps, in the grand series of events, which paved the way to the independence of the United States. These all united their influence in obtaining for them those extensive limits, and that happy establishment which they now enjoy.

While the colonies were congratulating themselves in the enjoyments of peace, and imagining that a long period of tranquillity and happiness was before them, they received a severe blow, from a quarter whence they had not the least intimation nor suspicion of such an event.

In 1761, a firm peace had been made with the Cherokees. Three of their chiefs soon after went to Great Britain, and there confirmed it with the British court. About the same time, Sir William Johnson made a tour among the Indian nations, to quiet their fears, which had been excited by the conquest of Canada. These fears, it seems, had been fomented by French emissaries, with no small industry and success. The same year a conference was held between several of the American governours and the Six Nations, with a view of ratifying former treaties, of more entirely conciliating and fixing their friendship. At this conference a warm dispute arose on the account of certain lands, of which, a Delaware chief complained that certain English settlers had taken possession, in consequence of a fraudulent conveyance. Though this animosity seemed to be in some measure stifled and to subside, at that time, yet the Indians were not satis-

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fied.* To this ground of dissatisfaction, there was an addition of many new ones. The French had always paid a more flattering attention to the Indians, than the English ever deigned to show them. Their conquests now made them haughty, and they treated these rude neighbours with less condescension and decorum, than had before been usual. Contrary to the faith of treaties, settlements were made beyond our just limits.† We had also drawn a line of forts round their best hunting grounds, and suspicions arose among them, that the English had concerted a plan for their total extirpation. These injuries and suspicions first roused the resentments of the Shawanese and Delaware Indians. These having united with the other tribes along the Ohio, and drawn the nations about Detroit, with a considerable part of the Indians on this side of the Missisippi into their measures, determined to make a sudden and general attack upon all the frontiers at the same time. That they might at one blow, both cut off the inhabitants and the means of their subsistence, they determined to begin their works of death at the time of harvest. The plan was concerted with uncommon art and secrecy. By their sudden and violent irruption great numbers of the inhabitants were massacred, their houses burned, and their crops ruined, with all the circumstances of horrour and cruelty, which are the common attendants of an Indian war. In consequence of the general alarm and consternation, all the frontier country of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, for twenty miles back into the country, with thousands of flourishing settlements were abandoned to the enemy. The travelling merchants, who, on the security of a general peace, were trading in the Indian country, were murdered, and their effects plundered. These were estimated at several hundred thousand pounds.

Indian war commences.

Frontiers abandoned.

That which, in a military view, was considered as of still greater importance, was the capture of Le Boeuf,

Forts taken.

* Rider's Hist. vol. xlviii. p. 64, 65, and vol. xlix. p. 33.
† The same, vol. l. p. 45, 46.

Venango, and Presqu'isle. These forts were advantageously situated, so as to command the heads of all the navigable rivers southward of lake Erie, and were important to keep up the communication between fort Pitt and the lakes, and the posts north of them. The Indians made themselves masters of these posts rather by stratagem, than by any force sufficient to have reduced them. They represented to the soldiers that they had cut off the other garrisons, boasted of the great numbers they had with them, and made them the most flattering promises of safety and good usage. When, by these arts, they had induced them to give up the posts, they commonly violated their promises, and killed or captivated them. By these arts they also got possession of Michillimackinac.

Flushed with these successes they attempted to reduce fort Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara. Though the theatre of this Indian war was of vast extent, though the different nations were separated by immense tracts of country, yet, in their operations, they preserved an admirable degree of connexion and concert. At the same time they invested Detroit and fort Pitt, though more than two hundred miles distant from each other.

The commander in chief apprised of the danger, to which all the western posts were exposed, detached strong reinforcements to those garrisons. Captain Dalyell conducted the reinforcement despatched to Detroit. After his arrival with the reinforcement, he imagined, from the intelligence given him, that he could surprise the enemy and drive them entirely from that settlement. For this purpose it was determined to make an attack on the Indian camp, which lay at the distance of about three miles from the fort. Between two and three in the morning, captain Dalyell, with two hundred and seventy men began his march with all possible secrecy and precaution. But the Indians were so vigilant and sharp sighted, that they discovered his party, lined the hedges, posted themselves behind houses, and took the best measures to annoy and defeat him.

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1763. Battle of Detroit, July.

Before he had reached their camp he was saluted with a severe fire in his front. Instantly it began in his rear, and soon it became furious and destructive on every side. The captain fell in the beginning of the action. The darkness of the night prevented the sight of the enemy, and the whole party were on the point of irreparable disorder and ruin. In this emergency, captain Grant, on whom the command devolved, saw that his only safety was in a speedy retreat. To effect this, with success, it was necessary to make a spirited charge upon the enemy. This was done with such order and resolution, that they were soon driven from the roads and repulsed in every quarter. The English having thus extricated themselves returned to the fort. But it was an unhappy affair in which seventy men were killed and forty wounded. The Indians, finding the garrison to be numerous and vigilant, despaired of further success, and soon drawing off gave it no more trouble.

Fort Pitt besieged.

Meanwhile Fort Pitt was so entirely surrounded, that all communication, even by private message, was cut off between that and the country. The Indians in some measure supplied their want of skill and cannon, by their incredible boldness and perseverance. Regardless of danger, and with a resolution which would have done honour to the best troops, they took post under the banks of the river, close to the fort, and burying themselves in holes, for days together, poured in upon it an incessant storm of shot and fire arrows. Captain Ecuyer, who commanded the garrison, took every precaution, which judgment or art could suggest, and defended himself with no less firmness and perseverance than the enemy made their assault.

General Amherst well knew the importance of the post, and had detached colonel Bonquet, a trusty officer, with a large quantity of provisions and military stores, under a strong escort for its relief and support. When the colonel had advanced to the remotest verge of the English settlements, he could not obtain the least intelligence of the state of the garrison, of the

numbers, position, or motions of the enemy. In this situation he determined to prepare for the worst, and disengaged himself of all ammunition and provisions, which did not appear absolutely necessary. Having thus disencumbered himself the army entered a rough and mountainous country. Before him lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, several miles in length. On both sides it was commanded by steep and craggy hills. After refreshing the troops it was determined, with a view, if possible to elude the observation of the enemy, to pass this defile in the night.

Though the colonel had not been able to obtain the least intelligence of the enemy, yet this alert and keen-sighted foe had discovered his party, and finding that a reinforcement was coming on, they immediately raised the siege of fort Pitt, and taking the rout by which they knew the army must pass, determined to surprise it, the first favourable opportunity.

Attack on colonel Bonquet, August 5.

While the English were making the necessary arrangements for refreshment and repose, after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, that day, their advanced guard was suddenly and furiously attacked. This was so expeditiously and firmly supported, that the enemy were soon obliged to fly, and the English pursued them to a considerable distance. But that which, with another enemy, would have been considered as a complete victory, in this case seemed only as an amusement, or artful relaxation. So far were the enemy from abandoning the field, that the moment the pursuit ended they returned with redoubled fury to the fight. Several other parties, who lay in ambush, in the high ground along the flanks of the army, now starting up rushed on to the encounter, with a resolution equal to that of their companions, and galled the English with a furious and obstinate fire. To dislodge them from the heights it became necessary to make a charge with the whole line. This succeeded. but produced nothing decisive. No sooner were the savages driven from one place, than they sprang up in another. Such were the reinforce-

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ments which constantly came rushing on to the battle, that, at length the whole detachment was completely surrounded.

Having thus surrounded the army, and drawn it at some distance from the convoy, they commenced a furious attack upon this. It now became immediately necessary for the main body to fall back, or the convoy must be instantly lost. This was effected with the utmost address and resolution. But the enemy were not intimidated; the action, every moment became more warm and general. The troops were attacked on every side; and with incredible spirit and obstinacy did the savages support and press the charge. During the whole of this serious action which took so many shapes, and in which so many manœuvres were necessary, the English were not thrown into the least confusion, but by their firm and steady conduct and superior discipline maintained the field, and with fixed bayonets drove the enemy from all their posts. Nearly seven hours did the action continue, without the least intermission. It began about one o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till the want of day terminated the engagement.

The ground, on which the battle was fought, was tolerably convenient for an encampment. The wounded men and convoy were placed in the centre, and the army marshalled in a circle, surrounded the whole. In this manner the troops passed an anxious night, obliged to the strictest vigilance, by a subtile and enterprising foe, who, at some distance, still compassed them about.

The action renewed, August 6.

On the first dawn of the morning they began to show themselves on every side of the camp. At the distance of about five hundred yards, they presented themselves round the whole camp; and, by an ostentation of their numbers and the most horrible shouting and yelling round this extensive circumference, they attempted to intimidate and strike the whole army with terror. On this alarming signal they furiously renewed the attack. The English, exhausted as they were with the fatigue and terrible action of

the preceding day, and anxieties of a sleepless night, were instantly called to service, which required the utmost vigour of body and mind. Beside their other distresses, they laboured under the calamity of a total want of water. In this hot season, amidst the fatigues of action and the agitation of their spirits, their thirst was inexpressible, and the want of water more intolerable than the fire of the enemy. In these circumstances they were exceedingly pressed in every quarter.

Under the favour of an incessant fire the enemy made the most daring and repeated attempts to penetrate the centre of the camp. In every attempt they were repulsed, yet their attempts were again and again renewed, without discouragement or dismay. The English were constantly victorious, yet constantly in danger. Their most spirited exertions made no decisive impressions on the enemy. When pressed they always gave way, but the moment the pursuit was over, they returned to the attack with as much spirit and alacrity as ever. The English were confined to their convoy, and could not lose sight of it a moment, without exposing that interesting object, with all their wounded men, to be an instant prey to the savages. Many of the horses were killed and disabled, and numbers of the drivers were stupified with fear, hid in the bushes, and incapable of either hearing or obeying orders. To advance or retreat was equally impracticable. In these circumstances, they saw before them the melancholy prospect of crumbling away and totally perishing in a dreary wilderness, without honour or revenge. Each moment the fate of Braddock presented to their view. Besides, they foresaw, that in their fall, that of the important garrison at Fort Pitt would be involved. In this most critical and distressful situation, the commander happened on an expedient, which succeeded to his wishes.

Observing the eagerness and temerity of the enemy, he determined to increase them; and, if possible to bring them to a more close engagement. For

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this purpose he ordered two companies, who had been posted in the most advanced situation, to retire within the circle. The troops on the right and left opened their files, seemingly to cover their retreat and fill up the vacancy which had been made by this movement. A company of light infantry and another of grenadiers were ordered to support the two companies, who feigned the retreat. The movements were made, and the plan executed, without the least confusion. At the same time, the thin line of troops, which occupied the ground whence the advanced companies had been withdrawn, moved back toward the centre of the circle, giving ground to the enemy.

Enemy defeated by stratagem

They, mistaking all these motions for a retreat, rushed in headlong from the woods and fastnesses, which covered them, and advancing, with a most daring intrepidity, within the circle, poured in a terrible and galling fire upon the English. But at the moment they imagined themselves masters of the camp, two of the four companies, which had been ordered for that purpose, made a sudden turn, unobserved by the enemy, and charged them furiously upon their right flank. The enemy received them with firmness, kept a good countenance, and returned the fire with resolution. But as these two companies were making a second charge with an irresistible fury upon their flank, the other two companies advancing poured in a terrible and well directed fire upon their front, and by this unexpected and united exertion put them to an immediate rout. The four companies pursued them, with such resolution and celerity, as gave them not a moment to collect, or look behind them, till they were totally dispersed. The savages round the camp, during this fierce engagement in the fort, were awed and kept in play, by the rest of the army, and seeing their companions thus routed, they soon followed their example and fled.

This happy manœuvre rescued the army from apparent destruction. It gained the field and cleared the adjacent woods. It greatly disheartened the enemy, as they had lost more than sixty men in these

encounters, besides a greater number who had been wounded. Among these were a number of their bravest warriors, who had most distinguished themselves, by the fierceness of their attack, and by their implacable animosity against the English. In their destruction was quenched no small part of the fuel of war.* The march of the army was however, still a matter of great difficulty. It had sustained the loss of fifty men, sixty more were wounded. And, at the very time, when an additional number of horses was necessary, on the account of the wounded men, so many had been killed, that there was not a number sufficient to carry on but a small part of the provision. With great reluctance the colonel was obliged to destroy the most of it; so that after all, one principal object of the expedition was defeated.

The troops, disburdened by this sacrifice, advanced about two miles, and pitched their camp at Bushy-run. After such fatigues on their post, and after such corrections as they had given the savages, in the preceding actions, it was natural to expect the enjoyment of repose. But scarcely had they fixed their camp, when the enemy appeared in ambush about them and gave them another fire. Indeed, at this time, nothing could have been more mortifying. The enemy however soon drew off, and, excepting a few scattered shot, gave them no more trouble. Four days after July 10. the army arrived at fort Pitt.

Few enterprises have been managed with more caution, skill, and gallantry than this. Colonel Bonquet, his officers, and men gained singular honour, by the firmness, presence of mind, and dexterity of movement displayed on this interesting occasion.

In few of the hard fought battles and signal victories of Europe, which are celebrated with so much eclat, is there such an exhibition of obstinate persevering fortitude, and of military skill, as appeared in this action. Indeed after all the severities and dangers of a campaign in Europe, little idea can be formed

* Rider's Hist. vol. I. p. 60—69.

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1763. Difficulties of an Indian war.

of what is to be endured in a war with savages in America. In Europe the country is cultivated and inhabited, roads are made, hospitals and magazines are prepared. If troops are conquered and taken, it is only an exchange of masters. They expect kind treatment from a civilized and generous enemy. But in a war with savages in America, every thing is the reverse, every thing is terrible. Here troops hold their marches through groves, thickets, and defiles, through a vast and dreary wilderness, where there are neither hospitals, magazines, or refreshments, for the supply of the well, nor relief or conveniencies for the sick or wounded. The face of the country, the nature of the service, the face and manner of the enemy are terrible. Their wild and horrible yells, their unusual appearances and manner of attack, are so alarming, that they have often thrown the best regular troops into the utmost confusion. Their extreme art in first discovering, waylaying, and surprising their enemy, the suddenness and violence of their attacks, and their merciless cruelty, all conspire to make them truly a most terrible enemy. Victories over them, often are not decisive, while defeats involve the vanquished in total ruin. The least misfortune to be expected, in general, is simple death. If in the rude campaigns of America, there be less dignity, there is something more adventurous, more interesting to the heart, and more amusing to the imagination, than in the more grand events of regular war. In them all the powers of courage and address are called forth into exertion, and all the firmness of body and mind is put to the severest trial.

An Indian war forms a truly critical and dangerous service. It requires a firm body of the best regular troops, with a large proportion of the best marksmen, to compose a light infantry. It requires a commander of the firmest and coolest mind, full of precaution, and rich in expedients; and who with the glance of his eye, can catch every advantage and opportunity. To appoint a self sufficient, incautious,

dull man, to command, in enterprises of this kind, is little better than to sacrifice an army to the rage and cruelty of an insidious and barbarous foe.

By the arrival of colonel Bonquet, at fort Pitt, that post was effectually secured against any further attempts of the enemy. By the seasonable succours sent to this post and to Detroit, the enemy received a considerable check and disappointment. They were not however discouraged from making further attempts in a different quarter. They now bent their whole force against Niagara, not less worthy of their regard than the other posts. This they endeavoured to distress by every art of which they were masters. They hoped to reduce it by hunger, if other expedients should fail them. The great distance of these forts from each other, and of them all from the settled country, was a circumstance which favoured their design. For this purpose they carefully watched the convoys both by land and water. On the fourteenth of September they surrounded an escort, near Niagara, slew seventy soldiers, and destroyed the whole detachment.

Detachment cut off Sept. 14.

As a schooner was afterwards passing lake Erie, with provisions for Detroit, she was attacked by a crowd of canoes, on board of which were nearly four hundred Indians. The engagement was hot, but the savage fleet was obliged to sheer off with considerable loss.

During this unhappy war the enemy did other damage; but the garrison soon became so well supplied with troops, provisions, and military stores, that the enemy lost all prospect of effecting any thing further of consequence against them. The next year they were so harassed and awed by the spirited conduct of colonels Bonquet and Bradstreet, that they were glad to submit to conditions of peace.

A treaty was completed in September. The English seemed rather to have dictated and imposed the terms, than to have given them just and equal advantages. The articles, for substance, were, That in twenty days after the ratification of the articles, they

Articles of peace with the Indians Sept. 1764.

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should deliver up all the prisoners in their hands. That they should renounce all claim to the forts we had then in their country: That the English should build as many more as they should judge necessary to secure their trade; and that they should cede to them for ever all the land within cannon shot of each fort. It was also agreed, that if any Indian should kill an Englishman, that he should be delivered up to be judged by the English laws, and that half the jury should consist of Indians; and that if any of the nations should renew the war, that the rest should join with the English to bring them to reason. Ten of the Indians who assisted as deputies in congress, were to abide as hostages, till the Indian nations should be certified of the terms of peace, and return the captives agreeably to the treaty.*

There is no mention of any cession on the part of the English, nor of any valuable consideration for those several little townships of land which they were obliged to grant round every fort which they then possessed, and round all others which they should think proper to build. Neither do I find the least stipulation on the part of the English to deliver up the murderers of the Indians among them to public justice, nor any such care to secure the liberty, property, and lives of the natives, as to impose whatever might serve their own interest and safety. Indeed this is too observable in most treaties with the Indians, that they stipulate and bind themselves to the English in every thing which can secure their interests, while the English, on their part stipulate little or nothing to the security of the Indians. They have too often imposed on them unequal terms, and even in the articles of peace laid a foundation for new wars. The Indians are quick sighted with respect to their own interests, they are susceptible of just and humane treatment, and could universal justice and kindness become part of the national character, as it respects them, and a proper attention be paid to their partic-

* Rider's Hist. vol. i. p. 70.

ular ideas of honour and decorum, we might in general, undoubtedly enjoy peace with them.

This Indian war, which seems to have originated from the inattention, haughtiness, and injustice of the English, made a considerable addition to the loss and expense, which the colonies had sustained, in the long war, by which, it was preceded. The colonies were again called upon, by the commander in chief, to furnish a considerable quota of men. Connecticut had, this year, not less than four hundred men in service. The principal loss and burden of this war however, fell on the southern colonies, as their frontiers were immediately exposed to the murders and depredations of the enemy, and as such large and fruitful tracts were abandoned, and the inhabitants driven in upon the more populous parts of the country.

Distressing as the war proved to these colonies, it was nevertheless attended with several favourable circumstances. The precipitancy of several of the warriors, in some measure, defeated the more methodical and deliberate mischief which had been designed, by giving the country too early an alarm. This gave an opportunity to a greater proportion of the frontier inhabitants to make their escape, and to save more of their valuable effects. The Cherokees, during the whole time, punctually kept the peace. Though the Senecas engaged in the war yet, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, the most of the other Indians of the five nations were restrained from hostilities.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ERRATA.

Page 402, l. 5, for *polens*, read *potens*.

Page 458, l. 6, from bottom, for *Bouquet*, read *Bouquet*, and all places after, where the same name occurs.