

A
B R I E F A C C O U N T
O F T H E
WAR in N. AMERICA:
S H E W I N G,

The principal Causes of our former Miscarriages :

A S A L S O,

// The NECESSITY and ADVANTAGE
of keeping CANADA, and the maintaining a
friendly Correspondence with the INDIANS.

To which is added,

A Description of the NATIVES,—their Manner
of Living, &c.

The whole containing several very remarkable Particulars, relative to the natural Dispositions, Tempers, and Inclinations of the unpolished Savages, not taken notice of in any other History.

BY PETER WILLIAMSON,
Formerly a PLANTER in the Back - Settlements
of PENNSYLVANIA.

E D I N B U R G H :

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T O

The RIGHT HONOURABLE,
GEORGE DRUMMOND, *Esq;*

Lord PROVOST of EDINBURGH

My LORD,

THE well known humanity of your disposition, encourages me to offer the following sketch of the war in N. America to your Lordship's protection. Your ardent zeal for the public good, and for the success of his Majesty's arms in this just and necessary war, gives me room to hope that you will not esteem below your notice, the labours of one, who, in the early period of the war, contributed his poor endeavours for the service of his country, at the risk of his life. The opportunities he then had of discovering some of the secret springs by which the efforts of the British arms were baffled in the beginning, joined to the knowledge he has, to his woe-ful experience, of the savage dispositions of the native Indians, among whom he had the misfortune to be for some time a captive, prompted him to the publication of the following sheets. He has ventured to assert nothing but what he knows to be fact. He has neither blamed nor applauded men nor measures without a voucher. He has represented matters as they truly were, and placed our miscarriages to the account of those to whom they properly belong.-----He now rejoices at that happy reverse of Fortune which has
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advanced the British arms to the utmost pinnacle of glory, and brought our perfidious enemy to the brink of destruction; he has therefore endeavoured to point out some of the many advantages that may accrue to the Mother-country, by retaining, in the event of a future peace, all or most of her late conquests in the New World, which she has acquired at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

The exalted sphere in which your Lordship acts, and your unwearied application in the discharge of all the duties of your function as a chief magistrate, in regulating the internal and external policy of this the metropolis of Scotland, in adding a lustre to it unknown to former times, by public edifices and ornaments, so as to excite the curiosity of strangers, and invite the residence of our native nobility, will transmit your name to posterity, as so many monuments of your public spirit. May I therefore hope that your Lordship will look with a favourable eye on this small performance, and consider it, at least as having a tendency to public utility, which is my sole aim, and in that view to take it under your patronage, which is the utmost ambition of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

EDIN. Feb. 3.
1760.

and most devoted Servant.

PETER WILLIAMSON.

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B R I E F A C C O U N T

O F T H E

W A R i n *N. A M E R I C A.*

BEFORE the treaty of Utrecht, it was agreed by all authors, whether English or French, that Lake Iroquois, by the French called Lake Champlain, Lake Cadaraqui or Ontario, and Lake Erie, with the country adjacent, was the country of the Iroquois or Indians *of the five nations* : and since that treaty, the Iroquois have conquered most of the other tribes between them and the river Mississippi, and therefore these lands by right of conquest belong to the Iroquois. By the treaty of Utrecht the Iroquois and their country are acknowledged to be under the dominion of G. Britain.

After the said treaty of Utrecht, the French incroached on this country of the Iroquois, and built several fortresses in it, one between the Lakes of Erie and Ontario, on the east of the great Falls of Niagara, to command the Indians that should pass by the south-side of the Lake; another at the west end of Lake Erie; and a third very strong one at the

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south-end

South-end of Lake Iroquois, called Crown Point, which commands the Lake, serves for a barrier to Montreal, and as a magazine and rendezvous, whenever the French or their Indians make any incursions into the colony of New-York, or the western frontiers of the Massachuset's bay and new Hampshire. It is distant about 120 miles from Albany, all water-carriage except a small carrying-place, and 86 miles from the nearest part of Connecticut river. They have settled a considerable village on both sides of the river Chaudiere, and have built a fort at a carrying-place about 20 leagues up the river, whence the whole force of Canada may in a few days be poured into the eastern parts of the colony of Massachuset's bay, the great nursery for masts, yards, and bow-sprits for our navy.

Since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and in time of profound peace, they erected a fort near bay Verte in Nova-Scotia, whence they had a communication by water with Louisburg and Canada, and other French settlements. They erected another very strong fort called Beausejour on the Isthmus of the Peninsula, on which they mounted 26 cannon, to command the basin and harbour of Chignecto or Bobassin, and is much within cannon-shot of an inferior fort built by us on the other side of the basin. They seized St. John's river, and erected two forts there *. They ingrossed the whole fur-trade of that river to themselves, which before the late peace was ours; they erected many more fortresses in the country of the Iroquois, one on the north-side of the Lake Ontario, called fort Frontenac, opposite to the English fort of Oswego,

* They have since been dispossessed of these forts, and of the settlements round about them, the inhabitants of which are incorporated with the English in the more Southerly colonies, having refused to swear allegiance to his Majesty.

to prevent the Indians from passing the north-side of the Lake to Oswego. They built a strong stone trading-house between the Lakes Erie and Ontario, west of the falls of Niagara, to prevent their coming to Oswego on the south-side.

In the 1753, they marched a large armed force from Montreal into the country of the Iroquois, altho' forbidden by the Indians by three several messages, and threatened to destroy all that should oppose them.

Here it may not be improper to give the reader a short description of the Indians in friendship with us, who by the public papers go indiscriminately under the name of Mohawks, viz. 1. The Iroquois, commonly called the Mohawks; 2. the Oneidaes; 3. the Onondagues; 4. the Cayugaes; and 5. the Senekes. In all accounts, they are commonly called the six nations of the New York friendly Indians; the Tuscararoes, stragglers from the old Tuscararoes of North Carolina, are lately reckoned as the sixth.—I shall here reckon them as I have been informed they were formerly. 1. The Mohawks; they live upon the Mohawk's or Shenectady river, and head, or lie north of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and some part of Virginia; having a castle or village, westward from Albany forty miles, and another sixty-five miles west, and make about 160 sensible men. 2. The Oneidaes are about eighty miles from the Mohawks second village, consisting of near 200 fighting men. 3. the Onondagues, about 25 miles further, (the famous Oswego trading-place, on the Lake Ontario, is in their country) consist of about 250 men. 4. The Cayugaes, about 70 miles further, of about 130 men. And, 5. The Senekes, who reach a great way down the river Susquehanna, consist of about 700 marching fighting men: So that the fighting men of the five or six nations of

Mohawks, may be reckoned at 1500 men, and extend from Albany, west 400 miles, lying in about 30 tribes or governments. Besides these, there is settled above Montreal, which lies N. E. of Oswego, a tribe of scoundrel run-aways from the Mohawks; they are called Kohnuages, consisting of about eighty men.

The same year, *viz.* 1754, the French built two forts, one upon a river that empties itself into the Lake Erie, the other at the distance of 15 miles, on the river la Beuf, which falls into the Ohio.

Early the next year, they seized a small English fort, garrisoned by Virginians on the forks of the Monongahela, lower down the river Ohio (which the French called Fort du Quesne), with a view to possess themselves of that river*.

Soon after this seizure, a body of 1100 French and Indians attacked Major Washington, commander of the Virginia forces, who had then with him only 300 men, and obliged him to surrender upon articles of capitulation, altho', in the year 1744, the Virginians purchased these very lands of the Indians for a valuable consideration.

Since that time they built 15 more forts upon different branches of the Ohio. Whoever will compare the French incroachments with the map of the country, will see that they have fortified all the most important places upon the lakes and rivers on the back of our southern colonies, by which the intercourse between the Indians and the English could be carried on. And their scheme evidently appears to be, that when they had sufficient-

* This is one of the finest countries in America, of a fertile soil, almost destitute of inhabitants, tho' exceeding all the European dominions of Britain, France and Spain, in extent and good lands.

ly fortified themselves in these, then they would have obliged the natives to trade solely with them. Add to this, that the vigour and resolution of the French in fortifying themselves, few as their inhabitants then were, at such a distance from their country of Canada, gave the Indians a high opinion of their courage. Whereas the tame behaviour of the English, in looking quietly on, while their interest was so deeply concerned, their colonies so many and their inhabitants so numerous, produced in them a quite contrary effect. They looked on the English as dastardly cowards, on the French as brave men, and fit to be relied on for protection.

By the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix la Chapelle, it is expressly stipulated, that the French should have liberty of trading into the country of the Indians, in friendship with the English; and that the English should have the same liberty with respect to the Indians, in friendship with the French; notwithstanding of which, they plundered and murdered many of our people in the country of the Iroquois, and publicly declared they would make prisoners of all that they should find trading there for the future, and confiscate their effects. By these menaces the English traders have been deterred even in time of peace, from passing into the country of the friendly Indians, altho' before these hostilities, more than 300 traders went yearly from the small colony of Pennsylvania.

Besides these open hostilities, the French have been continually making use of every art that human policy could suggest, to seduce the Indians from their alliance with the English. The most artful of their missionaries were dispersed among them, their lowest people were encouraged to intermarry with them, their religion made use of to inspire them with the utmost abhorrence of

the English, and their priests inforce the doctrine of keeping no faith with Heretics, with too much success*.

Some differences which happened betwixt our traders and the friendly Indians, served to heighten

* The Jesuits and priests have not been idle in the service of their masters, the DEVIL and his most Christian Majesty.—They have intilled into the Indians, most detestable principles of religion.—They make them believe, that the English killed the Son of God, who came into the world to save all mankind, and destroy all evil spirits that now trouble them; and that if the English were all killed, the Son of the Good Man, who is God, would come again and banish evil spirits from their lands, and then they would have nothing to fear or disturb them. Cajoled by these diabolical insinuations of the French Jesuits, the Indians, whom the French have seduced to their interest, have from that time endeavoured to massacre all the English, in order, that the Son of God might come again on the earth, and rid them from their slavish fears and terrible apprehensions, by exterminating the objects thereof.

The Indians upon all occasions, who are under the dominion of the priests, are liable to be excited to acts of hostility against the English, even in time of profound peace. The war between the Indians and colonies of Massachusetts's Bay and New-Hampshire in 1723, and their late depredations in Nova Scotia, in which they were even supported and seconded by the French, are melancholly instances of this truth; and the numberless and unheard of cruelties they daily commit on our back settlements, too plainly discover the source from whence these calamities are derived.—The French not only excited the Indians to acts of hostility, but rewarded them likewise, by purchasing the prisoners they made at a high price, and insisted before their release on an exorbitant ransom. Their pretence was that of rescuing the poor English prisoners from the cruelties of the savages; but their real motive, was, that of encouraging the natives by making it more profitable to hunt the English, than to hunt their prey.

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the success of the French in the reduction of the Indians in our interest; for the Delaware Indians having, by this time, become acquainted with the nature of our commerce, possibly by means of the French, they detested the roguery of some of the traders; whereupon they lodged many grievous complaints to Col. Weiser, the interpreter between them and the English, of the injurious and fraudulent usage they had received for several years backwards, from the English, who had cheated them out of their skins and furs, not giving one quarter of their value for them. They likewise remonstrated, that whereas hunting was the chief way or art they ever had to earn a livelihood by, game was now become very scarce, because the whites practised it so much on their ground. Col. Weiser, their interpreter advised them to bring down their skins and furs to Philadelphia themselves, promising that he would take proper care to see their goods sold to advantage. Whereupon they did so, in pursuance of his instructions, and finding it their interest, resolved to continue in the way he had chalked out for them; for now they were supplied with every thing they wanted from the merchant's shops at the cheapest rates. And thus it plainly appeared to the Indians that they had been long imposed on by the traders, and therefore they were determined to have no more dealings with them. This conduct and shyness of the Indians was very disagreeable to several gentlemen of the province, who were nearly interested in that species of commerce.

In the years 1753 and 1754, some of the traders had the assurance to renew their friendship with them, when, instead of remitting them cloaths and other necessaries, as had been usual and were more proper for them, they, with insidious promises of doing them justice for the future, carried them
large

large quantities of rum in small casks, which they knew the natives were fond of, under colour of giving it them *gratis*. In this manner were the Indians inveigled to renew their commerce with the traders, who, while they were intoxicated with the liquor they had given them, took the opportunity of going off with their skins and furs: but the natives recovering from the debauch, were so inspired with revenge against the traders, that they killed a great many of them, and went directly over to the French, who had been courting their friendship for years before. Thus, by the villainy of a few traders, we not only lost a very valuable trade, but from this source sprung all the miseries and calamities, which our back settlements have suffered by the depredations and unheard of cruelties of the Indians, whose tempers, when exasperated with resentment, are more savage than hungry lions, instigated further by the more barbarous subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, who encouraged them to kill and destroy all the English they should meet with, and to spare neither man, woman, nor child. And as a further inducement to commit those most savage cruelties, the French give them a reward of 15 *l.* Sterling for every scalp the Indians bring them.

The Indians met with prodigious success in all their attempts to plunder and depopulate a naked and unresisting province. And finding no rub in their way to retard their progress, and still fired with revenge, and the hopes of spoil, they proceeded with a most determined resolution to ravage the whole country, and utterly to destroy the English. They were joined soon after by several other tribes of Indians, and the number of our friendly Indians have been every day since that time diminishing, partly by our neglecting them, and partly by the encouragement they meet with.

with from the French. At last these unsufferable depredations and uncommon barbarities committed on the frontiers, roused the Philadelphians to meet and consider what proper methods might be taken to stem the torrent, before it should overspread the whole province, as they had no reason to expect any assistance from the Governor, or Assembly, who had been shamefully in dispute for three years before, about passing a bill for granting 60,000 l. to his Majesty's use, and had then come to no conclusion. The result of this meeting and consultation of the merchants in Philadelphia, was to raise the sum of 70,000 l. among themselves, which was accordingly done, and carried into execution with the greatest spirit and alacrity, as being resolutely bent to exert the utmost of their abilities to defeat the hellish intentions of their enemies. And in 1755, being something less than six weeks after this necessary and laudable scheme for raising money was proposed, a body of 2000 volunteers assembled themselves together under arms, and marched directly to the relief of the inhabitants of the back settlements, building fortifications in diverse places on the frontiers, which put a great stop to their proceedings. But these vigorous measures and spirited resolutions were too long delayed, several hundreds of innocent families in the mean time having lost their lives, in a manner the most deplorably cruel.

The preparations made by the French for the execution of the plan they had formed, were carried on with such great secrecy, that none of the English inhabitants knew any thing of their designs till the year 1754, when some French deserters from Fort du Quésne, taken up by our Indians, as they were strolling among the woods, and brought to Philadelphia, made the discovery, giving a very intelligible account of their intended attacks upon
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the British settlements, with many other particulars of great importance, and no less danger.

Notwithstanding this imminent danger that threatened the province of Pennsylvania in particular, yet the indolent Assembly was not roused from the lethargy and inactivity they remained in; but vainly hoped the enemy would confine their attacks to Virginia. The defence of this province, with many other things previous thereto, of no small importance, were neglected till the last moment, especially the very necessary one of courting the friendly Indians, and effecting a solid and durable peace with them.

In this manner the Governors and Assemblies in the different governments, spun out their time in fruitless delays and debates, notwithstanding the imminent danger that threatened from the defeat of Maj. Washington near Will's-Creek on the frontiers of Virginia, and the daily progress of the enemy, penetrating into the heart of the country, and massacring and destroying the poor inhabitants *.

* The cause of the French being so successful, notwithstanding the smallness of their number, is owing to their being unanimous under one command, viz. the Governor of Canada, who is as absolute there as his master the Tyrant of France: whereas the English colonies (Georgia and Nova Scotia excepted), are divided into eleven distinct governments, in each of which no measure can be taken but by the General Assembly; and being independent of each other, they generally disagree about the Quotas of men and money, which they should respectively contribute; and of this the late situation of our affairs in N. America is a melancholly proof; for notwithstanding the common danger, no two governments agreed on any one measure, nor had one government separately acted with any degree of vigour except that of Massachusetts-bay, till the expedition against Crown Point in the 1755, was set on foot under Gen. Johnson.

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The Assemblies waited with more than common patience for the arrival of Gen. Braddock from England with 2000 regular troops, who arrived in Virginia in March 1755, and proceeded with his whole army to a place called the Little-Meadows, about 20 miles beyond Fort-Cumberland at Will's-Creek ; and while on his march forward, 9th July, within five miles of Fort du Quesne, he was suddenly attacked by a party of French and Indians, who, unseen, fired from the woods, and soon put his troops in confusion : and after rallying again were totally defeated, with the loss of 300 men killed, and between 4 and 500 wounded ; the most of whom being much disabled, could not be carried off the field of battle, but were cruelly scalped by the Indians, and left to expire in torment ; and afterwards were eaten by the wild hogs, with which the whole country abounds. In this engagement, besides Gen. Braddock, who died three days after of his wounds, there was killed on the spot, the brave Col. Sir Peter Halket, universally lamented ; being a foldier of undoubted courage, and a gentleman of a humane disposition. The number of officers killed in this engagement was 31, and 46 wounded, many of whom were men of more military skill than he who commanded them : and tho' cowardice or disaffection cannot be imputed to Gen. Braddock, yet his behaviour on the march, and his conduct on the day of battle, makes it plainly appear, that he was no experienced General, and that he understood not what he was going about : For a number of Delaware Indians, who were in our interest, four or five days before the engagement, having come and offered their service to him, he very imprudently refused their proposals of scouring the woods and beating up the ambuscades, of the French and their Indians ; telling them, he had brave Englishmen enough to fend all the French
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and Indian sons of b——s in America, to hell, and that he wanted none of their assistance. Upon this bad treatment, they immediately went over to the French General at Fort du Quesne, and informed him, that the British troops were within a few miles of the place; the French General mustered up all his forces, and advanced as far as the Great Meadows, where they lay in ambush till the arrival of Gen. Braddock, and having posted their Indians in different corners of the woods, the moment our men entered the clear field, they were surprised on every side by a sudden fire from those in ambush, succeeded by the dreadful cries and war-whoops of the Indians, which was a greater shock to our troops than the execution done by their fire. Notwithstanding this, such was the obstinate temper of the General, after seeing the men in a moment almost cut to pieces and put in confusion, that he would not permit them to retire or advance in small parties, as the case required, but rallied again in one body, and was totally defeated. He was a man, (tis too well known and believed) by no means of quick apprehension, could not conceive when the Indians offered him their assistance, that such people could be of any service to him, treating it as an absurdity to suppose that Indians would ever attack regulars: so that despising the enemy too much, no care was taken to instruct the men to resist the Indians peculiar mode of fighting *. Col. Halket was shot dead about an hour after the first encounter. Those who were near him, say, he fell with a smile in his

* Their method of fighting, when the situation admits of an ambuscade, is to lie down on their faces behind a bush, and cover themselves with moss, so that it would be difficult to discover them at the distance of a few paces: then having fired in this posture, they turn themselves on their sides, load again, and repeat the fire, without throwing themselves by standing up.

countenance

countenance, which they ascribed to the inward satisfaction of his having strongly advised against the imprudent step to which he fell a victim.

Braddock's unexpected defeat, seemed to rouse the Assembly of Pennsylvania from their lethargy. They now concurred with the Governor, who issued a proclamation, declaring the Delaware-Indians, and those concerned with them, to be traitors and rebels to his Britannic Majesty, and offered the following rewards for taking or killing any of these Indians, *viz.* 150 dollars for a male prisoner, and 130 dollars for the scalp of a male above 12 years of age; 130 dollars for a female prisoner, and 50 dollars for the scalp of a female above 12 years of age. Vigorous measures were now thought of; expeditions were planned 1. against Niagara and Frontenac, 2. Crown Point, and 3. against the forts built by the French on St. John's-river in the Bay of Fundi. The expedition against Niagara was to be under the command of Gen. Shirley; that against Crown-Point, to be commanded by Gen. Johnson, and the third expedition under Gen. Monckton's command; the first of which however was given up, as Governor Shirley's forces amounted to no more than 2,500 men, principally recruits, wholly unacquainted with military service and discipline. The troops employed in the expedition to Crown-Point, set forward, and arrived at Lake-George on September 7. 1755, where Gen. Johnson received intelligence by some Indian scouts, that the enemy, to the number of 2000 men, was marching to attack another of our encampments at the great carrying-place, under the command of Col. Blanchard. The Colonel was acquainted of their design by a letter from Gen. Johnson, who detached 1000 men with 200 Indians, under the command of Col. Williams, to attack them in their march; but Col. Williams was beaten back

in about an hour and a half, and retired behind a breast-work of trees that had been thrown round Gen. Johnson's encampment. A little after, the French made a grand attack, and their Indians and Canadians squatted on the flanks of the English, who handled them roughly on all sides, and galled them with some field-pieces for six hours; when the English and their Indians jumped over the breast-work, pursued the enemy, and made a great slaughter, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was Baron Dieskau the French General. In this battle, old Hendrick, the great Mohawk Sachem, was slain fighting like a lion, whose son being told of his father's death, giving the Indian groan usual upon such occasions, and suddenly putting his hand on his left breast, swore his father was still alive in that place, and stood there in his son. The death of old Hendrick, who was adored by the Indians, so much exasperated them against the French, that it was with difficulty Gen. Johnson prevented the fury of their resentment taking place on the body of the French General Dieskau; whom they would have sacrificed without ceremony, but for the interposition of the General, who is himself an Indian Sachem, and held very much in esteem by the Indians. For this signal service, he was created a Baronet of Great Britain. After this victory over the French, Gen. Johnson, whose army was increased to 6000, for want of a sufficiency of provisions, was obliged to give over the expedition to Crown Point, after building two forts on Lake-George, called Fort-Edward and Fort William-Henry.

Col. Monckton in pursuance of his plan, on the 16th June, attacked and took Beaufejour within the Isthmus of Chignecto, and next day another fort and magazine surrendered. This expedition was assisted by Capt. Rous, who with a small squadron sailed up the river St. John's, which he reduced,
and

and sent some thousands of French neutrals to be distributed among the Southern British colonies.

Great preparations were made early in the year 1756, for the campaign on Lake-Ontario, for the attack of Niagara and Fort Frontenac, on the north-west-side of the Lake opposite to Oswego, which had been laid aside the preceeding year. Part of the army arrived at Oswego after several skirmishes with the French and Indians; but the greatest part was yet to come, owing to the dilatory proceedings of Gen. Shirley, who had the direction of this expedition, and who impatiently waited for the arrival of, and daily expected Lord Loudon from England, who was made Commander in Chief of the forces in N. America. In the mean time the Governor of Canada having got notice of the preparations we were making to attack Niagara and Frontenac, gathered together a great army, as if for the defence of these forts. Five thousand men, 1500 whereof were regulars, under the command of the Marq. de Montcalm, set out so secretly on an expedition against Oswego, that on the 6th August they arrived within three leagues of that fort: before they were discovered, Col. Mercer who commanded at the fort, having intelligence of their march, sent notice to Capt. Bradley, who commanded some of our ships on the Lake Ontario, to endeavour to stop the progress of the French on the Lake; but these ships unfortunately were drove a shore near Oswego in a hard gale of wind, by which means M. Montcalm, who got notice thereof by the Indians, had an opportunity of transporting his heavy cannon within a mile and a half of the fort, which he could not otherwise have done. On the 11th, the fort was invested, and after a siege of three days, was obliged to surrender upon articles of capitulation, and the whole garrison, consisting of 1400 men, were made prisoners of war. There

were in the fort, when taken, an incredible quantity of provisions and warlike stores; 100 pieces of cannon, 14 mortars, seven stout ships in the harbour, and the military chest, which fell into the enemy's hands.

A little before the surrender of the fort, Col. Mercer the commanding officer was killed, and all the loss we sustained during the siege, was only two officers, one serjeant, one drummer, and four private men killed, and two or three wounded; but after the capitulation, which promised the most humane treatment, the savage Indians rushed into the hospital among the sick, and, most horrible to relate! scalped and destroyed near 300 of them in the most cruel and infernal manner. This would appear to have been owing to the neglect of the French, in not placing proper guards at the hospital-doors. But I am well informed, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation, that the French General had previously promised the Indians for their service the plunder of the place, besides the usual reward for every scalp, which was afterwards paid them. Many reflexions were thrown out both in America and Old England, against the officers who had thus surrendered the fort when it was so well provided with all sorts of necessaries; but, I say, very unjustly; for where the fortifications were weak, what could such a small army do against four times their number? And why the fortifications were not sufficient, is not to be imputed to the officers who were in it at its surrender; because our army was scarcely arrived there, when the French laid siege to it.

When Lord Loudon arrived, which was not till the end of July, and took the command from Gen. Shirley, he found our forces in too bad a condition to proceed on any enterprize, the season being too far advanced; therefore he only directed his thoughts to the assistance of Oswego, which

he heard was invested by the French : for this purpose, he sent Col. Bradstreet with the batteaux and provisions, as also the rest of the troops which had been destined for the expedition against Frontenac and Niagara, to proceed to the relief of Oswego ; but when Col. Bradstreet arrived at the great carrying-place, he received the news that Oswego had surrendered. Now, had Col. Bradstreet set out only a month sooner, which he might have done, had he not been detained at Schenectady, waiting for the 44th regiment to march with him, I am confidently of opinion, Oswego would not have been taken ; because, by means of the batteaux he had along with him, he might have hindered the approach of the French, and prevented their bringing any cannon to bear on the fort ; and at the same time, we might have got time to have put the fort in a better posture of defence. .

In this place I cannot omit mentioning, that notwithstanding what has been said of the behaviour of the officers of the 50th and 51st regiments of Great Britain, I must, with the greatest truth, say, that they behaved like brave men, and in a particular manner, Capt. James Campbell, and Ensigns Hickes and Evern, who with the greatest spirit and alacrity, assisted the private men at the great guns*.

About the same time that Oswego was taken, Fort Granville on the back of Pennsylvania, was also taken by a party of French and Indians from the Ohio.

Thus ended this campaign without one memorable action by the British, except the destruction of a small town of the hostile Indians on the Ohio, cal-

* Capt. Campbell is at present in Scotland, and resides near Glasgow. Messrs. Hickes and Evern, are gentlemen of New-England born, the former of whom is presently at Dalkeith, four miles south of Edinburgh.

led Kittanning, 25 miles above Fort du Quesne; where they killed about 40 of these people, with Capt. Jacobs their chief*.

After the taking of Oswego, the French had a free communication from Canada to the Mississippi without interruption, and became thereby masters of the Lake Ontario, as they were before of all the other Lakes. And the only communication we had from the Mohawk's river to the Lake Oneida, was stopp'd up, by filling the carrying-place at Wood's Creek with logs and trees for many miles: the consequence of which was, our being obliged to destroy our forts at the great carrying-place then our most advanced post in the country of the Six Nations, where there were at that time above 3000 men, including 1200 batteaux-men, who retreated under the command of Gen. Webb to Burnet's field. The consequence of this was very terrible to our American affairs; for the Indians of the Six Nations undoubtedly looked upon it as abandoning them and their country to the French: for they plainly saw, that we had no strong hold near them, and that by the place at Wood's Creek being stopp'd up, we could not afford them any assistance at Onondaga, Cayuga, and in the country of the Senekas; which were their chief castles. That the forts begun by us in these countries, were left unfinished, and therefore could be of no use to them; and which, had we kept the carrying-place, we might have finished, and still given them hopes of our being able to defend them; but despairing of our being further serviceable to them, those Iroquois who were before our friends, and some of the others, deserted us, and joined the French; the consequence of which was soon after

*Peter Williamson is in possession of Capt. Jacobs's night-cap, which he got in a present from Benjamin Franklin Esqr. of Philadelphia.

felt by the loss of Fort William-Henry on Lake-George. The French built several more forts, particularly one at the head of Lake-George, called Ticonderoga.

Thus the fine country on the Mohawk's-river, down to Albany, was left open to the ravages of the enemy, and an easy passage opened to the French and their Indians into the provinces of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, by the way of Susquehanna and Delaware-rivers; which were before covered by our settlements on the Mohawk-river and the Six Nations. We left the French without the least fear of our being able to hinder their passage, through Lake-Ontario and Lake-Erie, to the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the southern country; and the most inhuman barbarities were exercised on the inhabitants of these frontiers, by the French and their Indians. A change of the ministry in England soon brought on new measures. The affairs of America were by this time become very serious: large supplies of troops were sent Lord Loudon from Old England, who with what troops he already had, and those that should afterwards arrive, was ordered to proceed for Halifax from New-Jersey by sea, and there wait the arrival of Admiral Holbourne, who was at sea with a powerful fleet, to attempt the reduction of Louisburg; but by the time the Admiral arrived, the season for such an expedition was too far advanced, and besides the garrison was strengthened by a powerful fleet that arrived there from France for its defence. Lord Loudon was soon after forced to return to New-York; and not long after, divested of the command.

During these transactions, M. Montcalm, the French General, seized the opportunity of Lord Loudon's absence at Halifax, to attack the forts which had been lately erected on Lake-George.

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On the 2d August, this active officer, at the head of 10,000 men, regulars, Canadians and Indians, invested Fort William-Henry, which was garrisoned with 2,500 men, commanded by Lieut.-Col. George Monro of Otway's foot. The Lieutenant Colonel made a brave defence till the 9th, when, having no prospect of relief from Gen. Noble, who then lay at Fort-Edward, he was obliged to surrender, on condition of being allowed to march out with the honours of war, and engaging not to serve against the French for 18 months. The French scandalously broke the capitulation, allowing their Indians to plunder the baggage belonging to the garrison, and scalp and murder many of the men in cold blood.

Thus this campaign of 1757, likewise ended manifestly to the disgrace of the British nation; but the next began to wear a more favourable countenance, owing to the vigorous measures of our wise minister at home. Expeditions were now planned, and properly supported; the consequence of which has been, *first* the taking of Louisburg in 1758, by Adm. Boscawen and Gen. Amherst; *second*, the taking of Fort Frontenac, the same year, by Col. Bradstreet, and recovering all the ships we lost at Oswego, besides a prodigious quantity of provisions and military stores; and *third*, the abandoning of Fort du Quesne on the approach of Brig. Gen. Forbes Nov. 24: the said year; *fourth*, the abandoning of Ticonderoga, and *fifth*, Crown-Point, on the approach of Gen. Amherst; *sixth*, the taking of Fort Niagara by Gen. Johnson, after defeating the French army near that place; and lastly, the glorious reduction of Quebec, by the troops under the command of the brave Gen. Wolfe, supported by a fleet of his Majesty's ships, commanded by Admirals Saunders, Holmes and Durell, all in the year 1759.

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The above account of the war I have wrote, principally to shew what part the Indians bore in it, and that their friendship is not to be neglected, nor their power to be despised; for if we will consider narrowly, we will find that they have been the principal cause of all the advantages the French have gained over us in N. America.

Thus we have at last made ourselves masters of Quebec, and all Canada must fall of course. I here take the opportunity of giving it as my opinion, that we must either keep Canada, or be for ever harraßed by the incroachments of the French. If we restore it we shall be as bad as ever, unless we keep up a force in time of peace, sufficient to check the depredations of the Indians as well as the French. For if the treaty of Utrecht could not keep them from incroachments, what reason can we have to suppose any future treaty will be better observed? After having seen the French carrying on a regular plan of usurpation in N. America for these 50 years past, shall we be so weak as to believe they will now lay it aside? Canada, so far only as belongs to them in property, is scarcely worth their regard; for it is a cold inhospitable climate, and the trade scarce can detract the expence of the colony. If they ask it back, it is only with a view of continuing their old plan, since, from their incroachments, it is evident they grasped at the possession of all N. America. The tobacco of Virginia and Maryland, for which they pay a very large sum in Europe yearly, is a great temptation. The reduction of 500 leagues of sea coast full of people, would be an inestimable treasure to them, on account of the prodigious quantity of European manufactures consumed by such a multitude, and the number of hands employed at home in these manufactures. A deal of money would be saved them by getting all their naval stores from
their

their own colonies, which from Canada alone is not so easy, on account of the dangerous navigation of the river St. Lawrence, and its being frozen in the winter-time. These are reasons which, I hope, will influence the legislature of Great Britain to insist upon the keeping of Canada, which will be of greater advantage to Great Britain than it has ever been to France; for being possessed already of all the sea-coasts, as also of Hudson's Bay, we shall have all the fur-trade in our possession, which, on the exclusion of the French from North America, will be more considerable than it is; because the Indians will have greater liberty of hunting, and on a greater tract of land; the beavers, &c. will have more room to increase, and then all the European nations will be obliged to buy their fine hats from us.

If we should people Canada, and give plantations *gratis*, as we did last war *, and help the first settlers

* At the reduction of our forces upon the conclusion of the last peace, Lord Halifax formed a project to augment our colony at Nova Scotia, by giving tracts of land to such officers and soldiers as were willing to go over and settle there. This scheme the government adopted, and began to execute it in 1749, and the Lords commissioners of trade and plantations issued a proclamation, by which 50 acres of land were offered to every soldier and sailor who would settle in that part of America, without paying any rent or service during ten years, and no more than one shilling *per annum* for the 50 acres afterwards. To every soldier or sailor, who had a wife and children, ten acres more were offered for every individual in his family, and for any increase that should afterwards happen, the same conditions. To each subaltern officer, 80 acres, and 15 more for each of his family. 200 acres to each ensign; 300 to each lieutenant; 400 to each captain; 600 to each officer in rank above a captain, and 30 acres more for every person in his

settlers till they begin to take root, the advantage to Britain will still be greater; for as her subjects multiply in her colonies, her strength is the greater, besides the advantage to Britain by the additional consumpt of her manufactures.

It is the constant practice of trading nations to strive to rival one another in trade, by underselling one another at market, and where there is the greater sale, the goods can be afforded the cheaper; for they cannot be made where there is little view of sale. The stripping France of Canada is a great hurt to her trade, in so far as relates to the consumpt of her manufactures, which were formerly consumed in that colony; and its being a cold climate makes it the more valuable in this point,

his household. The government also engaged to transport and maintain the new settlers one year at its own expence, and to furnish them with such arms, provisions, utensils, implements, and tools, as should be necessary to put them in a condition to clear and cultivate their lands, to build them habitations, and commence a fishery. The same conditions that were offered to soldiers and sailors, were also offered to all carpenters and other handicraft men; and surgeons were offered the same conditions as an Ensign.

This proclamation was published in March, and in the beginning of May following, 3750 persons embarked, who established themselves on the borders of the bay of Chebueto, and built a city which they called Halifax in honour of the projector. In the month of October the same year, 350 houses were built, and before the end of the winter many more.

The parliament has allowed very considerable sums for the increase and establishment of this colony. The same year in which the first settlers were embarked, they granted 40,000 *l.* Sterling, for the charge of that embarkation and other expences; and since then, very considerable sums have been granted every year, and in one year to the extent of near 100,000 *l.* Sterling.

and

and the decrease of her shipping to those places, is another advantage to Great Britain.

If any part of Canada is to be given back, I would wish Quebec may not, nor any of the other forts taken from the French; if we do, I am afraid, the consequence will be fatal: for this reason, the French have comparatively so diminished the power of Great Britain to their Indians, and magnified that of his Most Christian Majesty, that the Indians are made to believe the French King is the greatest prince on earth, and that King George is a poor petty prince. Even our own Indians, who perhaps know something more of the matter, yet from our unaccountable tame behaviour, in suffering so long the depredations of the French and Indians, had so bad an opinion of our courage, that, with them, we long went under the pusillanimous characteristic of women. Our late glorious successes have not yet had the effect to bring back to our interest those who had revolted from us, the cause of which is not owing to obstinacy, or the remembrance of our former neglect of them, but to the insidious politic contrivances of the French; for the French thinking that our conquests will be delivered back again at the next peace, as Louisburg was at the last, to keep up their credit with the Indians in their interest, have falsely and politically made them believe, that his Most Christian Majesty will force King George to deliver them all back again, without striking a blow. And to prove the truth of what I here lay down, I shall insert the extract of a letter from Albany in New-York, November 23. 1759.

“ Cayenquiquoa and Rattle-Snake Sam, two Mohawk Indians, came here yesterday; they were about 18 days ago at Oswegatchie, in Canada, on a visit to some relations, who have been many years settled with the French. They say, the
endeavour

endeavoured to persuade this relations, and the other Mohawks at Ofwegatchie, to leave the French in good time, and return to their own country, telling them, that the English, formerly women, were now all turned into men, and were as thick all over the country as the trees in the woods; that they had taken the Ohio, Niagara, Cadaraqui, Ticonderoga, Louisburg, and now lately Quebec; and that they would soon eat up the remainder of the French in Canada, and all the Indians that adhered to them." But the French Indians answered, "Brethren, you are deceived; the English cannot eat up the French; their mouth is too little, their jaws too weak, and their teeth not sharp enough. Our Father Onontio (that is the Governor of Canada) has told us, and we believe him, that the English, like a thief, have stolen Louisburg and Quebec from the great King, while his back was turned, and he was looking another way: But now he has turned his face and sees what the English have done, he is going into their country with a thousand great canoes, and all his warriors; and he will take the little English King and pinch him till he makes him cry out, and give back *what he has stolen, as he did about ten summers ago* *, and this your eyes will soon see." The same notion and prejudices we find are industriously spread among the six nations. God grant nothing to confirm them; for the Indians have no idea of exchanging conquests, or of delivering up what is once taken, but from motives of fear or weakness; and they know little of what passes in other parts of the world.

If we deliver up our conquests in North America, I am afraid, the consequences will be dreadful;

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* Alluding to the last peace, when Louisburg was restored.

I tremble at reading the above letter, the authenticity of which I have reason to know: What may not our Indians believe afterwards of what the French may pretend to prophecy, when they see things come to pass as erroneously predicted by the above letter? they will think we were forced to deliver up our conquests *; they will fly to that nation whom they think the bravest, as to a place of safety. The French being thus strengthened, by the alliance of the whole Indians of America, thus seduced by their false prophecies, will soon be in a condition to execute that plan which has cost them so much time and money in forming. They have never yet had any regard to treaties: They will be always increasing their force in Canada; and when they shall be prepared to attack us, be assured they will do it effectually; for their former miscarriages will teach them, by experience, not to begin a thing of this nature again till they have well considered the end.

I shall conclude with the best description of the Indians, their way of living, &c. in my power: having been myself a planter on the back-settlements of Pennsylvania for many years; and, in the year 1754, had my plantation ravaged and destroyed by the Indians, myself taken prisoner, and every moment in danger of my life for three months, that I was forced to live with them in one of their villages, and from whom I made a most

* A Sachem of one of the tribes of the six nations publicly reproached the English, at a conference betwixt the commissioners from the British government and the six nations, at Albany. Addressing themselves to the commissioner, You talk, said he, of your strength; where do we see it? The French build forts, and keep them when they have done; the English do not hinder them; the French behave like men, the English like women.

most wonderful escape, as may be seen in a book published by me, intitled, *French and Indian Cruelty*.

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

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

when such an opportunity offers, they revenge themselves effectually.

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

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

They have never the foresight to provide necessities for themselves; they look only to the present moment, and leave to-morrow to provide for itself. They eat of every wild beast which they kill, without distinction. They always prefer game to vegetables; but when they cannot get venison, they live on roots, fruits and herbs. They destroy a great deal of meat at a time when they have it in their power, and when they leave any, be it never such a great quantity, it is ten to one if any of them will take the trouble to carry a pound of it, but will rather leave it behind them; yet notwithstanding this extravagance,

travagance, such is their temper; and they are so inured to hardships, that if they cannot conveniently get at food, they can, and actually do fast sometimes for near a week together, and yet are as active as if they lived regularly. All their spare time is taken up in contriving schemes to succeed in their intended expeditions. They can never be taken in a pursuit by any European. They will travel 70 miles a day, and continue for months together, as I have reason to know from experience, and they are sure to bring their pursuers into a snare, if they are not wary, and have some Indians on their side to beat the bushes. When they are overtaken with sleep, they light a great fire round them, and sleep with their feet to the fire, which prevents the wild beasts from falling upon them; for wild beasts have a natural aversion to fire; nor is it easy for an enemy to discover them in this condition; for the country is one continued tract of thick wood, overgrown with brush-wood, so that you cannot see the fire till you be within a few yards of it. They have nothing covering them from the inclemency of the severest weather but a blanket put upon them, something in the shape of a Highlander's plaid.

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

When they are to attack a plantation, they never come out till night, and then they rush instantly upon the farms, &c. and destroy every thing, as well men, women and children, as beasts; then they fall to plunder, and return to their lurking-holes till another opportunity of plunder happens, when they renew their attacks in the same manner; so that if some method is not taken to draw them

into our interest, our colonies will be in a continual alarm, and the country will soon become desolate ; for no body will venture their lives to settle on the back parts, unless the Indians are our friends.

The Indian manner of fighting is quite different from that of other nations. They industriously avoid all open engagements ; and besides ambuscades, which I have already mentioned, page 14, their principal way is bush-fighting, in the exercise of which they are very dexterous ; for as I have already said, the back-country being one continued wood, except some few spots cleared for the purpose of husbandry by our back-settlers, the Indians squat themselves down behind the trees, and fire their muskets at the enemy ; if the enemy advances, then they retreat behind other trees, and fire in the same manner ; and as they are good marksmen they never fire in vain, whereas their pursuers seldom hit.

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

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

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

But if they were unpractised in the arts of more civilized nations, they were also free from their vices. They seemed perfect in two parts of the ancient Persian education, namely, in shooting with the bow, and speaking truth. In their dealings they commonly exchange one commodity for another. Strangers themselves to fraud, they had an entire confidence in others. According to their abilities, they were generous,

rous and hospitable. Happy, thrice happy had they been, if, still preserving their native innocence and simplicity, they had only been instructed in the knowledge of God, and the doctrines of Christianity. Had they been taught some of the more useful parts of life, and to lay aside what was wild and savage in their manners!

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

From this time the natives began to be treated as a people of whom an advantage might be taken. As the trade with them was free and open, men of loose and abandoned characters engaged in it, and practised every fraud. Before the coming of the white people, the Indians never tasted spiritous liquors, and, like most barbarous nations, having once tasted, became immoderately fond thereof, and had no longer any government of themselves;

selves. The traders availed themselves of this weakness; instead of carrying our cloaths to cover the naked savages, they carried them rum, and thereby debauched their manners, weakened their constitutions, introduced disorders unknown to them before, and in short corrupted and ruined them.

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

At every treaty which the Indians held with the English, they complained of the abuses they suffered from the traders, and trade as then carried on. They requested that the traders might be recalled; but all to no purpose. They begged in the strongest terms, that no rum might be suffered to come among them; but were only told they were at liberty to spill all the rum brought into their country. At this time, little or no pains was taken to civilize or instruct them in the Christian religion, till at length the conduct of the traders, professing themselves of that religion, gave the Indians an almost

most invincible prejudice against it. Besides, as these traders travelled among distant nations of the Indians, and were in some sort the representatives of the English, from them the Indians formed a very unfavourable opinion of our whole nation, and easily believed every misrepresentation made of us by our enemies. There are instances in history, where the virtue and disinterested behaviour of one man, have prejudiced whole nations of barbarians in favour of the people to whom he belonged; and is it then to be wondered at, if the Indians conceived a rooted prejudice against us, when not one, but a whole set of men, namely all of our nation that they had an opportunity of seeing or conversing with, were persons of a loose or abandoned behaviour, insincere and faithless, without religion, virtue or morality. No one will think I exaggerate these matters, who has either known the traders themselves, or who has read the public treaties.

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

of Philadelphia lately treated, demanded and expected of us.

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

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

 The Irish-man scalped alive at Oswego, was afterwards cured by Dr. James Kirkland, chief Surgeon of the regiment, a native of Scotland, and residenter at Gogar, within three miles of Edinburgh. See *French and Indian Cruelty*.

A particular description of the INDIAN-TOMAHAWK.

THE hatchet or axe, which the Indians call a Tomahawk, is used by them in many different employments. This instrument in its present form, is said to have been the invention of the great William Penn, first proprietor of Pennsylvania. The tools used by the Indians, when he came among them, were made of stone; which were of little use in cutting wood. He procured a Tomahawk, and a scalping knife; and employed European smiths to make such after the Indian pattern: which was accordingly done. The Tomahawk was made like a plasterer's hammer, with a whistle in the handle, to give an alarm in case of danger: by this, and such like inventions the name of Penn became famous among them. The Indians he found much addicted to smoking tobacco; but for want of a better method, they smoked through leaves twisted up into a kind of a pipe. Seeing this he distributed several gross of English tobacco-pipes among them, which pleased them for the instant; but unused to such brittle ware, the pipes would not stand their rough usage, but quickly broke; which lost Penn his credit among them, as they concluded themselves defrauded, since pipes so easily broke, they esteemed of no service.

Father Penn, as they called him, was hereupon obliged to restore the Indian goods he had received in exchange for the pipes; and was glad to make speedy restitution to prevent bad consequences. He then caused the Tomahawk to be made to hold tobacco in the head of it, with a hole drilled thro' the handle to smoke by: an instrument of such beneficial service, entirely regained him the confidence of the Indians; and was much more prized than the former with the whistle at the end.

It is now become useful in many branches of their business; in time of war they carry it with them under their belts, and when victory inclines to their side, after firing their guns, they rush upon their enemies with it, fracturing and cleaving their skulls; very seldom failing of killing with the first blow. They are also very dexterous in throwing it, and will strike an object at 50 yards distance.

They also employ it in cutting their wood, and in barking trees, at the season when they make their canoes.

On the handle of their tomahawk they record the occurrences of war. When they send their warriors to fight, they cut as many notches on the handle of the hatchet to know their number: by these are likewise notches cut according to their loss in battle: their wounded are also marked down, with the number of prisoners they take from the enemy, each in a different manner. So that at the close, they are enabled to form an estimate of the success of every expedition.

Their tomahawk is also the register of their time: the returns of the moon, and remarkable events are thereon distinguished; as will appear upon conversing with any of their wise men, who will account for themselves for 6000 moons past.

