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THE
CONDUCT
OF
Major Gen. SHIRLEY,
L A T E
General and Commander in Chief
OF HIS
MAJESTY'S FORCES
I N
NORTH AMERICA.
BRIEFLY STATED.



L O N D O N :

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INTRODUCTION.

THE various Attempts, which have been made to traduce Major General *Shirley's* Conduct in his late military Command in *North America*, make it needless to apologize for the Publication of the following Sheets; the sole Intent whereof is to give a plain *Narrative* of the Measures, which he pursued in the Execution of his

his

his Trust, that a right Judgment may be formed of his Behaviour in the Discharge of it ; and his Conduct stand vindicated from all Imputations of having been any ways necessary to any of the Misfortunes, which have befallen his *Majesty's* Service in the Course of the present War.

In doing this, the Author shall advance such Facts only, as will stand the Test of the *strictest* Examination.

If this Account was to have a Retrospect to the last War with *France* in *North America*, of which Mr. *Shirley* had the *chief* Direction at Land, it would open a Field of *National* Services, which were principally owing
to

to his Vigilance, Activity and Conduct : The Preservation of *Nova Scotia* from falling into the Enemy's Hands, when in the most imminent Danger of being lost ; the Acquisition of *Cape Breton* ; the *small* Number of Forces with which both Services were effected ; the *little* Expence to the Nation, with which they were attended ; the * Oeconomy used by him in making all just *Savings* to the *Crown* ; and the Effect which the Conquest then made had towards extinguishing the War, are Matters, which must be recent in the Memory of those, who are versed in the public Transactions of that Period.

* Of this the late Mr. *Pelham*, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury did him the Honour to take public Notice in *Parliament*.

But

But as it is not intended to veil Mis-
carriages, which Mr. *Shirley* may have
been guilty of during his late Com-
mand, with Merit, which might be
claimed for him from his former Ser-
vices, the Author shall confine himself
within the Compass of the *present* War,
and the Hostilities immediately pre-
ceding it.





THE
CONDUCT
OF
Major General *Shirley*.



THE *Earl of Holderness* signified his ^{1753.} Majesty's Commands to the several Governors of *North America*, ^{Aug. 28.}
“ That in case the Subjects of any

“ foreign Prince or State should
“ presume to make any Inroachments in the
“ Limits of his *Majesty's* Dominions, or to
“ erect Forts on his *Majesty's* Lands, or to
“ commit any other Act of Hostility; and
“ should, upon a Requisition made to
“ them to desist from such Proceedings, per-
“ sist in them, they should draw forth the
“ arm'd Force of their respective *Province*
“ and use their best Endeavours to repel Force
“ by Force.”

* Mr. *Shirley*, before his receiving these Orders, had gained Intelligence that the

* Then Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay*.

B

French

1753. *French* had greatly increased their Settlements upon each Side of the River *Chaudiere*, which falls into that of *St. Lawrence*, a few Miles above the City of *Quebec*; and that they were proceeding to make Settlements at about 30 Miles Distance, upon a noted * Carrying-place, that separates the Head of the *Chaudiere* from the *Kennebeck*; which last River affords the *French* a shorter Passage from *Quebec* for making Descents upon the Provinces of the *Massachusetts Bay*, and *New Hampshire*, and destroying the King's Woods there (from whence the *Royal Navy* is in a great measure supplied with white Pines for Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits) than any other Route whatever; and from which the *Indians*, during the War between them and *New England* in 1723 and 1724, had made all their Incurfions and Ravages upon the Eastern Parts of the *Massachusetts Bay*; that the *Norridgewalk Indians* inhabiting within his Majesty's Territories had given the new *French* Settlers Liberty to hunt any where in that Country, as a Recompence for the Service, they were to be of to them in Time of War with the *English*, by supplying them with Provisions and military Stores; and that the *Arresgunnticook*, *Norridgewalk*, and *Penobscot Indians* were upon the Point of breaking out into Hostilities against the *English*; wherefore in consequence of his Majesty's Orders *he* laid these several Matters

1754. Mar. 28.

* Called by the *Indians* *Warawandawanock*.

before the *Massachusetts* Assembly, and recom-^{1754.}
 mended to them the building a strong Fort near the Head of the River *Kennebeck*, above the Head Quarters of the *Norridgewalk Indians*, and to push on the *English* Settlements there in a defensible manner; in order to secure the *Province* from the Encroachments of the *French* in those Parts, and either hold the *Indians* in a due Dependence, or oblige them to abandon the River.

The Assembly, in answer to Mr. *Shirley's* April 9. Speech, told him, “ They looked upon it “ to be of absolute Necessity that the *French* “ should, at all Events, be prevented from “ making any Settlements whatever upon the “ River *Kennebeck*, or the Carrying-place at “ the Head of it.

“ That they desired *him* to order a new “ Fort to be erected about 120 Feet square, “ as far up the River above *Richmond* Fort as “ he should think fit.

“ That they desired *he* would order a suffi- “ cient Force up to the Carrying-place to re- “ move the *French*, that might be settled “ there; but that, as they apprehended their “ Success, next under Providence, would de- “ pend very much upon his taking this Af- “ fair into his immediate Care and Direction, “ they prayed him to submit to the Inconve- “ niences of a Voyage to the Eastern Parts of “ the *Province*, and there give such Orders “ as he should find necessary; and that his “ Person might be secure against any At- “ tempts

1754. “ tempts of the *French* and *Indians*, and he
 “ be enabled to effect the building the Fort,
 “ and to destroy any *French* Settlements, that
 “ might be carrying on, they would make
 “ Provision for the Pay and Subsistence of
 “ 500 Men” (which they afterwards augmented to 800) “ and that they would make
 “ ample Provision for his Voyage, and an Interview with the *Indians*, if he should think
 “ proper ; hoping that by his prudent Management those *Indians* would be convinced,
 “ that it was their Interest to continue in
 “ Peace with the *English*.”

In the Summer following Mr. *Shirley* proceeded to the Eastern Parts of the *Province* with the Troops raised for that Service, renewed a Treaty of Peace with the *Norridgewalk* and *Penobscot* *Indians* at *Falmouth*, and with their Consent built Fort *Western* and Fort *Halifax* upon the River *Kennebeck*, the former about 37 Miles from the Mouth of it, and the other about 54 ; and the Troops penetrated to the head of the *Kennebeck*, and very near the head of the Carrying-place, which divides it from the *Chaudiere* ; but found no *French* Settlements either upon the *Kennebeck* or Carrying-place, the *French* having been prevented, as appeared afterwards, from making any, by the Attempts they were engaged in upon the *Ohio*.

Of these Proceedings Mr. *Shirley* transmitted an Account to his *Majesty's* *Ministers* in *England*, and about the same Time represented

presented the imminent Danger, which he ^{1754.} apprehended the neighbouring Province of *Nova Scotia* was exposed to from the Fortifications, and other Incroachments of the *French* upon the *Isthmus*, and the *Peninsula* there, and *St. John's River* in the Bay of *Funda*, as also from the sudden Attacks, which might be formed against it from *St. John's Island*, *Louisbourg* and *Quebec*.

In answer to the former, Mr. *Shirley* receiv'd ^{Sept. 6.} in a Letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson*, then one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, his Majesty's Royal *Approbation* of the Service upon the River *Kennebeck*, with Orders to communicate it to the *Assembly*; and upon his ^{Sept. 30.} Return from that Expedition his Majesty's Orders were signified to him in another Letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson*, whereby he was directed to concert Measures with Mr. *Lawrence*, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *Nova Scotia*, for attacking the *French* Forts in that *Province*.

Mr. *Lawrence* having got Intelligence, that ^{Nov. 25.} the *French* designed to make a speedy Effort for extending their Incroachments upon the *Peninsula*, Measures were concerted (pursuant to his Majesty's Orders) between Mr. *Shirley* and him for making an Attempt early in the Spring to prevent the Execution of their Scheme, by removing them from their Forts on the *Isthmus*, and *St. John's River*; for which Purpose it being necessary to raise 2000 *New England* Men to act in Conjunction
with

1754. with such a Part of his *Majesty's Regular* Forces in *Nova Scotia* as could be spared for that Service ; and to furnish 12 Pieces of battering Cannon, military Stores, &c. necessary for carrying on such an Enterprize, Mr. *Shirley* took that Part upon him ; and in order to facilitate the raising of the Men, as well as to make a Saving to the Crown, they were inlisted under his own Command, as Colonel of the Regiment.*

Dec. 1. Mr. *Shirley* received his *Majesty's* Orders for raising a Regiment of Foot in *North America* consisting of 1000 Men, to be commanded by himself.

Dec. 8. He informed Sir *Thomas Robinson*, that he should proceed to raise 2000 Men for the Service of *Nova Scotia*, and made all necessary Preparations for carrying the proposed Expedition into Execution ; and as good small Arms were not to be procured in the *Colonies*, he acquainted him that it was absolutely necessary, that 2000 Stands should be sent from *England* in Time to arrive at *Boston* early in *April*.

* The 1st Battalion was commanded by Captain *John Winslow*, late of his Majesty's 40th Regiment, an old experienced Officer, particularly in the *American* Service, to whom Mr. *Shirley* gave a *provincial* Commission of Lieutenant Colonel upon this Occasion ; the Second by Captain *George Scott* of his Majesty's 40th Regiment, whose Qualifications for this Command in every Respect Mr. *Shirley* was acquainted with from a perfect Knowledge of his Services in *Nova Scotia* ; to whom Mr. *Shirley* likewise upon this especial Occasion gave a *provincial* Commission of Lieutenant Colonel.

By this Time Mr. *Shirley* had near com-^{1755,}
 pleted his own Regiment, as also the two ^{Mar. 13.}
New England Battaillons of 1000 each, destin'd
 for the Service of *Nova Scotia*; and having
 received Intelligence in the Summer preceed-
 ing, that the *French* design'd to build a new
 Fort, and extend their Encroachments at
Crown Point, and being of Opinion that the
 Expedition for driving the *French* of *Canada*
 out of *Nova Scotia* might give the *Colonies* a
 favourable Opportunity to form another a-
 gainst *Crown Point*, and that that Attempt
 would at the same time make a Diversion in
 favour of the Expedition in *Nova Scotia*, pro-
 posed to the four Governments of *New En-
 gland* and Province of *New York*, to carry
 one on against the *French* in that Quarter with
 upwards of 4000 Men, and particularly re-
 commended the engaging the *Indians* of
 the Six Nations in it, and that Colonel *Johnson*,
 as he had a considerable Influence over them,
 should be Commander in Chief of the Expe-
 dition; and upon this Occasion he recom-
 mended to the Government of *Pensilvania*,
 which had then some religious Scruples against
 raising Troops, to contribute *their* Quota of
 the Expence of this Expedition in Provisions;
 all which was comply'd with.

Mr. *Shirley* received a Letter from Sir *Tho-* Mar. 14.
mas Robinson acquainting him, that *Major Ge-
 neral Braddock* would soon arrive in *Virginia*
 with two Regiments under his Command, and
 directing *him*, upon *his* being notified by Mr.
Brad-

1755. *Braddock* of his Arrival, to meet him at such Time and Place, as should be most convenient for both.

Mar. 18. He received a Letter by Express from General *Braddock* acquainting him with his Arrival; that he had Orders to have an Interview with him, and desiring him to meet him as soon as he could at *Annapolis* in *Maryland*; and in the mean time he communicated to him the Plan of the Expedition under his own immediate Command against the *French* Forts upon the *Ohio*, to be carried on with the two *British* Regiments, he had brought with him from *England*, and the Irregulars of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and proposed to him for his Consideration, an Attempt to be made at the same Time for the Reduction of the *French* Forts at *Niagara* with the two Corps of the 50th and 51st Regiments, to be conducted under his Command.

Mr. *Shirley*, at the Time of receiving this Letter, was closely engaged in making the necessary Preparations for fitting out in due Time the two Expeditions against the *French* in *Nova Scotia* and at *Crown Point* (the Success of the former of which more especially depended upon the Dispatch of it) besides raising his own Regiment and the Business of his Civil Administration within his Government.

Mar. 30. As soon as he could finish the necessary Orders for carrying on the Preparations of both Expeditions in his Absence, so as that the
Nova

Novia Scotia Regiment might embark with its Artillery, Provisions, and Stores upon the Arrival of the 2000 Stands of Arms from *England* (in case that should happen before his Return to *Boston*) and he had so settled Matters among the *four* Colonies of *New England*, as to secure the Preparations of the Expedition against *Crown Point* from any Mis-carriage among them during his Absence (both which Businessses necessarily took him up to the 30th of *March*) Mr. *Shirley* then set out, the Snow lying deep on the Ground in *New England*, to meet General *Braddock*, and by the 14th of *April*, after being retarded three Days in his Journey to *New London* by tempestuous Weather, and obliged there to cross the Sound of *New York* with his Carriages and Horses, and travel almost the whole length of *Long Island* by Land, arrived at *Alexandria* in *Virginia*, where Mr. *Braddock* then was, being about 550 Miles from *Boston*.*

C

On

* The giving so particular an Account of the Time, when Mr. *Shirley* set out from *Boston* to meet General *Braddock*, of the Business, which hindered him from setting out sooner, and the Obstacles, he met with in his Journey to *Alexandria*, is occasioned by his being taxed, in a Pamphlet intitled "Geographical, Historical, Political, Philosophical and Mechanical Essays, No. 2. by *Lewis Evans*," with having, by his dilatory Proceedings, made General *Braddock* wait three Weeks at *Annapolis* and *Alexandria* for an Interview with him; which delayed his March so long as prevented his arriving at Fort *Duquesne* before the *Indians*, who attacked him at the *Monongahela*, joined the
French;

1755.

April 14.

On the same Day General *Braddock*, after a Conference with Mr. *Shirley* and Captain *Keppell*, Commander of his Majesty's Ships then in *North America*, determined upon carrying on three Expeditions to the Northward, viz. one against the *French* Forts at *Niagara*; another against their Incroachments in *Nova Scotia*; and the other against *Crown Point*; the first of them to be carried on with the Troops of the 50th and 51st Regiments, then raising, under the Command of Mr. *Shirley*; the second to be prosecuted upon the Plan, and according to the Measures concerted between Mr. *Shirley* and Mr. *Lawrence*; and that against *Crown Point* upon the Plan settled

French; and thereby occasioned his Defeat; whereas it appears by the foregoing Account, that Mr. *Shirley* used all the Expedition in meeting Mr. *Braddock*, that his Majesty's other Service, which he was necessarily engaged in at *Boston*, the Distance of the Place of meeting, and the Season of the Year would admit: In fact, General *Braddock's* March from *Alexandria*, where his Head Quarters were, was not in the least delayed by this Interview; the two last Divisions of his Troops and part of his Artillery were not moved from *Alexandria* till three Days after Mr. *Shirley's* Arrival there; and besides it is publickly known that General *Braddock* was detained by various Disappointments seven Weeks after Mr. *Shirley* left *Alexandria*; of which he complained in a Letter to Mr. *Shirley* from Fort *Cumberland*, wherein he says, "I cannot express the Disappointments, Negligence, Dishonesty, and Opposition I have met with in the Expedition under my Command, which must unavoidably retard my March a Month later than I at first intended; I most sincerely wish you may be free from these Troubles."

by

by Mr. *Shirley*: As to the Expedition against ^{1755.} the *French* Forts upon the *Ohio*, that was determined upon by Mr. *Braddock* before Mr. *Shirley's* Arrival at *Alexandria*; the two *British* Regiments being all marched from thence to *Winchester* with the Baggage, Artillery, &c. except two Divisions of the 48th, which marched in three Days after.

General *Braddock* appointed Colonel *John-son* ^{Apr. 16.} to be sole Superintendant of the *Indians* of the Five Nations, with Instructions to engage as large a Number of them as he could for his Majesty's Service in the Expedition against *Crown Point*, *Niagara*, and the *French* Forts upon the *Ohio*; and about the same time ordered Captain *King* with two independent Companies of *New York* under his Command, and Captain *Bradstreet* with two Companies of the 51st Regiment under *his*, to proceed forthwith to *Oswego* for the Protection of the Fort there, until Mr. *Shirley's* Arrival, and to strengthen it as soon as might be.

It being judged necessary by the Council ^{Apr. 17.} held at *Alexandria*, that one or more armed Vessels, of about 60 Ton each should be built upon the *Lake Ontario* for securing the Command of it; the Care of ordering that Part of the Service was committed to Mr. *Shirley*.

Mr. *Shirley* set out from *Alexandria* upon ^{Apr. 18.} his Return to *Boston*, and in passing through

1755. *Philadelphia* received a Letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson*, acquainting him with his Majesty's Approbation of his Design to raise the 2000 *New England* Men, and his Majesty's Orders to compleat them; and informing him, that his Majesty had ordered 2000 Stands of Arms to be sent to him at *Boston*.

Apr. 25. Mr. *Shirley* judging upon further Consideration, that his own Regiment, with such Part of the 51st as was likely to be raised in Time for the Expedition against *Niagara*, would not be a sufficient Force for effecting the Service under his Command upon the *Lake Ontario*, against the Opposition, which might be expected there in the Defence of so important a Place to the *French*, in his return through the Province of *New Jersey* procured an Act of the *Assembly* then sitting, for leaving the Regiment of that *Province* consisting of 500 Men (which by their late Act was confined to be employed in the Service against *Crown Point*) at Liberty to proceed under his Command to *Oswego*; which Disposition of it was afterwards confirmed by General *Braddock*.

Apr. 29. Mr. *Shirley* arrived at *New York*, where he found that the two Companies of the 51st Regiment ordered by General *Braddock* to proceed, as soon as might be, to *Oswego*, were detained for want of Money to pay the Men their Subsistence (the *Deputy Pay-master General* for the Northern District not being then arrived

arrived in *America*) and of *Battoes*; the providing of which last was committed to the Care of the Lieutenant Governor of *New York*: Wherefore, in order to dispatch Captain *Bradstreet* with the two Companies for *Oswego*, he procured Money to supply the commanding Officer of the Regiment for that Purpose: During his Stay there he likewise settled Colonel *Johnson's* * Commission and Instructions, together with the necessary Preparations for the Campaign to *Crown Point*, the Plan of Operations to be pursued, the Appointment of the necessary Officers for the *Indians* which were to be engaged in that Expedition, and other Matters relative to them, &c. as also several with the Lieutenant Governor of *New York* for supplying both *that* and the *Niagara* Expedition with Artillery and Ordnance Stores, and other things relative only to the former of them: He settled likewise, before he left *New York*, Captain *Bradstreet's* Instructions for forwarding the Building of the two Sloops upon the *Lake Ontario*, together with two small Schooners or Row Gallies of about 20 Ton each for Tenders to them; as also the necessary Orders for hiring Seamen, contracting with Builders and

* By this Commission (being a provincial one) Colonel *Johnson* was appointed by Mr. *Shirley*, Major General and Commander in Chief of the provincial Forces employed in that Expedition.

Workmen,

1755. Workmen, and for procuring Provisions and all manner of Stores for that Expedition.

It must be observed here, that when Mr. *Shirley* was first ordered to *Oswego*, the Passage thither was very little known to any but a few Officers, who had been posted at the Garrison there, and a few *Indian* Traders of *Albany* and *Schenectada*, who usually went there once a Year, in the Spring (when the Waters are high) in *Battoes*, with Goods suitable for that Trade, and returned towards the Beginning of Winter: Upon Inquiry Mr. *Shirley* found, that every thing wanted at *Oswego* must be first embarked at *New York* on board Sloops, and sent 160 Miles up *Hudson's* River to *Albany*, there landed, and transported 16 Miles to *Schenectada*; that there they must be put on board *Battoes* on the *Mohawks* River, up which they were to proceed against the Stream about 140 Miles to the great Carrying-place at *Oneida*; that the Passage up that River was rendered very difficult by a great Number of Falls, Rifts of Rocks, and Shoals, which at all times are bad, but in dry Seasons almost impassable; and that in one Part of it, within five Miles of the upper *Mohawks* Castle at *Conajobara*, there was a Fall called from thence the *Conajobara* Fall, which entirely interrupts the Navigation of the River for above a Mile, at which Place all the *Battoes* and their Cargoes were dragged by Hand over Land; that at the *Oneida* Carrying-place, where

where the Battoes leave the *Mohawks* River, ^{1755.} the Land Carriage to the *Wood Creek*, in the Spring, when the Waters are high, was four Miles across, but in the Summer eight, to the Place where the *Canada* Creek falls into the *Wood Creek*; the Road extremely bad for the most part, through Swamps and Marshes; and about 60 Miles from any Inhabitants, except only two or three *Indian* Families which resided there, and kept a few Horses and Sledges to carry over the Traders Goods; that there was no House or Place to shelter Goods from the Weather, there being no Use for one, as the Traders always secured their Goods in their Battoes, so that they could not be hurt by it; and as there generally arrived at the Carrying-place no more than two or three Battoes at a time, they could always get over in one Day: That the Navigation through the *Wood Creek* to the *Oneida* Lake, which is 28 Miles, was very difficult, the Creek being then choak'd up with great Logs and Trunks of Trees, which had fallen into it; through which a narrow Passage had been cut, broad enough only to admit one of the small Battoes to pass through at a time; that from the *Oneida* Lake to *Oswego* there were many other Difficulties in the Passage; the *Onondago* River having several bad Falls and Rifts, and particularly one Fall within 12 Miles of *Oswego*, where the whole River tumbles over a perpendicular Rock of above 16 Feet high; which occasions the Battoes to be

1755. be landed there, and dragged over a Carrying-place of about 50 Yards; that from thence down to *Oswego*, the River was very rapid and dangerous in many Places; that for almost the whole Length of the Passage from *Schenectada* to *Oswego*, being 240 Miles, the Banks of the Rivers and Creeks were covered with thick Woods and Brush, which put it into the Power of the Enemy to ambush the Battoes in their Passage whenever they pleas'd; unless Precautions were taken to prevent them; and that it would be necessary to employ at least 500 Battoes between *Schenectada* and *Oswego* to carry down the Stores and Provisions requisite for the Expedition under his Command, there being not above 20 Battoes then to be purchased or hired in the Province of *New York*.

To get over as many of these Difficulties as might be, Mr. *Shirley*, before he left *New York*, gave Orders for a Number of Carpenters to be employed at *Schenectada*, *Albany*, and *New York*, in building 500 new Battoes, which were completed in six Weeks; likewise for one Party to be employed in clearing the *Mohawks River* and *Wood Creek* from as many Obstructions in them as was possible; another to be sent to the Falls at *Conajohara*, to make a passable Road there, and another to build two Store Houses on the *Oneida Carrying-place*, at each End one; which last Party, after effecting that, proceeded to mend the Road over the Carrying-place; and widened the
the

the Passage through the *Wood Creek*, which ^{1755.} they cleared higher up than it was before, and thereby made the Land Carriage three Miles shorter.

While this was doing by People hired in the Province of *New York*, Mr. *Shirley*, soon after his Arrival at *Boston*, ordered two Companies of Sir *William Pepperell's* Regiment, then at *New York*, to be completed to 100 Men each, and to proceed to the great *Carrying-place*, there to guard the Store Houses and Passage across, and to be employed in clearing the Woods on the Sides of the Road, upon which they worked, till the rest of the Troops arrived there.

Mr. *Shirley* arrived from *New York* at *Hartford* in *Connecticut*, where he found the General *Assembly* sitting, and that a Stop was put to the raising that Government's Quota of Men for the *Crown Point* Expedition, being 1200, on Account of the *Assembly's* insisting that Mr. *Shirley* should give the commanding Officer of *their* Forces a Commission and Rank as the second in Command after *Major General Johnson*; which Point he was obliged to stay there one Night to settle with the *Governor*; after which he set out the next Morning for *Boston*.

Mr. *Shirley* reached *Boston*, where he found the 2000 Stands of small Arms, which were destin'd for the Service of the Expedition against the *French* Incroachments in *Nova Scotia*, arrived from *England*, and in five Days
 D after

1755. after all the *New England* Forces embarked for *Fort Lawrence* at *Chiegnecto*, where they arrived the 2d Day of *June*, and within seventeen Days, in Conjunction with 400 of the regular Troops of his *Majesty's* three Regiments there, attacked and reduced the *French* Forts at *Beau Sejour*, and at *Gaspereau* near *Bay Verte*, made the Garrisons Prisoners; and in a short time after, upon two of his *Majesty's* Ships of War's appearing before the *French* Fort situated on the River of *St. John's*, about three Miles above the Mouth of it, the Garrison there burst their Cannon, demolished their Works as much as they could, evacuated the Fort, and retired up the River to their other Settlements upon it.

After the Reduction of the *French* Forts, it being found necessary by Mr. *Lawrence* for the Security of the Province, to remove the *Acadians* (commonly called *French Neutrals*) out of it, and distribute them among his *Majesty's* other Northern Colonies, the *New England* Troops were employed in that Service, and remained in the *Province* to assist in its Defence till the respective Terms of their Enlistments were expired; when they insisted upon their Discharges, except a Company of 150 *Rangers*, which were raised out of them, and others, who insisted into the *King's* Regiments there.

For Mr. *Shirley's* Share in the Service of this Expedition he had the Honour to have his

his *Majesty's* Royal Approbation of it signified ^{1755.} to him in a Letter from Sir *Thomas Robinson*.

The Cloathing, Arms, Accoutrements, ^{May 20.} Camp Equipage, and Stores of the 50th Regiment (which was compleated to 1019 Rank and File by the 24th of *April*, being within four Months after its Establishment) arriv'd at *Boston*; but the Troops could not march for want of their Subsistence being paid them, the Deputy Pay-master General for the Northern District not being arrived in *America*.

The Deputy Pay-master arrived at *Boston*, ^{May 28.} and within about nine Days after (which was as soon as it could possibly be done) the Troops of that Regiment were paid their Subsistence, at two different Payments, up to the 24th of *June*.

The first Division, consisting of two Com- ^{June 9.} panies (which was as large a Party as Quarters could be conveniently found for in their Route) begun their March from *Boston* to the (Town of *Providence* in the Colony of *Rhode Island*, the other Companies following in like Divisions the four succeeding Days.

The whole Regiment sailed from *Provi-* ^{June 16.} *dence* for *Albany*, being about 450 Miles distant from *Boston*, and arrived there the 28th, and debarking on the 30th marched that Day to *Schenechtada*, where they found the *New Jersey* Regiment arrived before them.

Before Mr. *Shirley* left *Boston* the *Massachusetts* Assembly being of Opinion, that the Force

1755.

he was to carry with him to *Oswego* would not be sufficient to make a Reduction of the *French Fort at Niagara*, upon his Application passed a Vote to enable him to carry with him 500 of such of the Troops, that were raised by that Province for the Expedition against *Crown Point*, as would enlist with him, provided the other Colonies concerned consented to it; to which all except that of *Connecticut* agreed; whose Refusal prevented him from having that Augmentation of the Forces under his Command.

June 28. Mr. *Shirley* having settled all Matters relative to the Expedition against *Crown Point*, set out from *Boston*, and arrived at *New York* the 2d of *July*; soon after which the Remainder of *Pepperell's* Regiment embarked from thence for *Albany*, and proceeded directly to *Schenectada*, leaving only a Detachment at *Albany* to escort Mr. *Shirley* from thence.

July 4. Upon Mr. *Shirley's* Arrival at *New York* he found a full Stop put to the Preparations for the Expedition against *Crown Point*, with respect to the Articles of Artillery and military Stores, which the Governments of *Massachusetts Bay* and *New York* had agreed to furnish between them, depending that the Colonies of *Connecticut*, *New Hampshire*, and *Rhode Island* would pay their Proportions of the Expence; but that not being done, the Government of *New York* declined parting with
the

the Stores without actual Payment or Security ^{1755.}
given.

After having removed this Obstacle to the Expedition's proceeding, by putting into the Hands of the Government of *New York* a sufficient Quantity of the *Pensilvania* Provisions, as a Security for reimbursing them on Account of the beforementioned Articles, and advanced about 1000*l.* Sterling of his own Money towards the Expence of transporting the Artillery and Ordnance Stores, in Confidence of being reimbursed by the *New England* Colonies, he embarked for *Albany*.

Mr. *Shirley* arrived at *Albany*, and finding that the Embarkation of the *New Jersey* and 50th Regiments, and the five Companies of the 51st, which were at *Schenechtada*, together with their Provisions and the Artillery and Stores, would take up some Weeks ; which might be employed by him more profitably for his Majesty's Service in staying there to forward the Expedition against *Crown Point*, than going to *Schenechtada* to attend the Embarkation of the Troops and Stores from thence, he committed the latter to the Care of *Lieutenant Colonel Ellison*, commanding Officer there : This Embarkation was made in seven Divisions, the five first of which took up till the 23d Day of *July*, occasioned by want of Battoe-men and Slay-men with Horses at the several Carrying-places, of both which Mr. *Shirley* found himself greatly disappointed, particularly in the
County

1755. County of *Albany*; upon which his whole Dependance was for them.

This Time Mr. *Shirley* employed at *Albany* in forwarding the Expedition against *Crown Point* in every Branch of it; and in order to dispatch the Troops, supplied General *Johnson* with 50 Barrels of Gunpowder and some other Articles out of the Stores of the Expedition under his own Command, and with a Draft upon the Deputy Pay-master General for 3000*l.* Sterling, to enable him to carry as many *Indians* to *Crown Point* as he could; and having stayed at *Albany* until the first Division of the provincial Troops, consisting of 1000 Men, was in Motion upon their March towards *Crown Point*, he set out the Day following for *Schenechtada* with 30 *Stockbridge Indians* who had engaged to go with him to *Oswego*.

July 24. He arrived at *Schenechtada*, where he found *Lieutenant Colonel Ellison* had embarked but the Day before with the fifth Division of the 50th Regiment for *Oswego*; and that *Lieutenant Colonel Mercer* with five Companies of the 51st, and one of the 50th, were still remaining for want of *Battoe-men*.

July 29. Mr. *Shirley* embarked with 97 *Battoes* loaded with military Stores, Provisions and other Necessaries for the Expedition; together with about 200 Regular Troops, 150 *Battoe-men* and 40 *Indians* (having increased his *Indians* to that number at *Schenechtada*) for *Oswego*, leaving

leaving Orders for *Lieutenant Colonel Mercer* to follow him as soon as possible with the rest of the Provisions and military Stores, and the remaining three Companies of the 51st except a Detachment of a Lieutenant and 40 Men, which were ordered to remain behind for safeguarding such Battoes, as should be employed upon the *Mohawks* River (which then begun to be infested with Enemy *Indians*) in carrying Provisions and Stores for the Garrison at *Oswego*: and upon his Passage up that River he visited the two Castles of the *Mohawks* whom he addressed in the following Terms; *viz.*

“ Brethren,

“ *Colonel Johnson* will fully inform you, that with the unanimous Approbation of the Governments of the *Massachusetts Bay*, *New York*, *Connecticut*, *Piscataqua* and *Rhode Island*, I have appointed him to be Commander in Chief of 4700 *English* for the recovery of your Lands upon the *Lake Iroquois* out of the Hands of the *French*, and removing their Forts and other Incroachments from thence.

“ The principal Motives, which have induced me to appoint *Colonel Johnson* to this Command, and those Colonies to approve of it, were his distinguished Friendship for you, and the Trust and Confidence you have for many Years reposed in him: and we have therefore thought him the best Person to have the Conduct of this important Business, which so nearly concerns your Interests, committed to him.

“ But

1755.

“ But this Testimony of mine, and your
 “ Brethren’s good Disposition and affectionate
 “ Regard for you, is a small Matter in compa-
 “ rison of that, which his *Excellency General*
 “ *Braddock* the Commander in Chief of the
 “ Great *King George* your Father’s Armies
 “ upon this Continent, hath given you in the
 “ Declaration, he hath sent you in his Royal
 “ Master’s Name, his Confirmation of my
 “ Choice of *Colonel Johnson* to command that
 “ Part of the *King’s* Army which is to act
 “ at Lake *Iroquois*, and his furthar Appoint-
 “ ment of him to take the sole Management
 “ of your Affairs upon himself exclusive of
 “ all others, whom he hath forbid to inter-
 “ meddle therein.

“ Besides the Recovery of your Lands upon
 “ and near Lake *Iroquois*, and the Removal
 “ of the *French* Incroachments there, the
 “ *King* your Father hath ordered his *General*
 “ to recover your Country on the North Side
 “ of the Lakes *Ontario* and *Erie* for you from
 “ the *French*; the chief Command in the
 “ Execution of which is committed to me.

“ These Lands you well know, *Brethren*, by
 “ authentic Deeds placed among the Records
 “ of *New York*, were surrendered by your
 “ Ancestors into the Hands of the Great
 “ *King* your Father, for his *Majesty* to
 “ protect for them and their Descendants for
 “ ever.

“ Nothing therefore, *Brethren*, now re-
 “ mains wanting to restore the *Indians* of the
 leaving

“ *Five Nations* to their former Possessions, and ¹⁷⁵
 “ ancient Superiority which they maintained
 “ over the other *Indians* upon this Continent
 “ before the *French* (our and their avowed
 “ Enemies) found Means by their Artifices to
 “ break their united State, and afterwards
 “ draw some of them off from their Obedience
 “ to the *Great King* their Father, but to re-
 “ unite and strengthen his Hands in recovering
 “ his Children’s Country for them, and driv-
 “ ing the *French* out of it.”

After this, he had Conferences with them, in which he particularly pressed them to send off their Warriors, whom General *Johnson* had engaged to follow him in the Expedition against *Crown Point*, giving *Sachem Hendrique*, who commanded them, a * Commission for that Purpose ; and contented himself with obtaining from each of the Castles an Appointment of eight of their young Men, who were not engaged with General *Johnson*, to accompany him to *Oswego*.

He received an Account, as he was on his July 30.
 Passage up the *Mohawks* River, of the Defeat of the Forces under the Command of General *Braddock* upon the *Monongabela*, and Colonel *Dunbar*’s † Retreat with the Remainder
 E of

* This Commission was found in his Pocket, when he was killed.

† It is insinuated in *Lewis Evans*’s beforementioned Pamphlet, that Colonel *Dunbar*’s Retreat from *Lawrel Hill* was owing to some Orders given him by Mr. *Shirley* for that Purpose ;

1755. of them from *Lawrel Hill*, with a design to march them to *Philadelphia* and enter into Winter Quarters there as soon as he could reach it.

Aug. 8. Mr. *Shirley* arrived at the *Oneida* Carrying-place, where he found *Lieutenant Colonel Ellison* detained for want of Slay-men, and Horses to transport the Troops, Provisions, Baggage, and Stores sent in his Division, and was himself obliged to remain there on the same Account 'till the 13th of that Month.

During his Stay at the Carrying-place he sent Orders to *Colonel Dunbar* to march his Troops from *Philadelphia* to *Albany*, as soon as might be, in order to be ready there to assist either in the Expedition against *Niagara*, or *Crown Point*, as his Majesty's Service should require; or at least to cover the Country in case *Major General Johnson* should be defeated by the *French*, and prevent the Communication between *Albany* and *Oswego* from being cut off: He likewise dispatched two *Albany Men* and *Indians* to *Niagara* for Intelligence of the Strength and Motions of the Enemy, with Orders to meet him at *Oswego*; and Messengers to the *Oneida*, *Onondago*, *Cayuga*, and

pose; whereas *General Braddock's* Defeat happened on the 9th of *July*, at which Time Mr. *Shirley* was about 450 Miles distant from the *Monongabela*, and *Colonel Dunbar's* Retreat being made on the 16th, it was impossible for him to receive any Orders from Mr. *Shirley* within that time; nor did *Colonel Dunbar* receive any Orders whatever from him 'till about the middle of *August*, by which Time he had advanced far in his March to *Philadelphia*.

Sineca

Sineca Indians to let them know of his March to *Oswego*, and invite them to meet him there. 1755.

Mr. *Shirley*, before he left *Schenectada*, had received Advices from *Captain Bradstreet*, then Commandant at *Oswego*, that upwards of 1600 *French* had, at several times in the Summer, passed by in Sight of the Fort towards the Falls of *Niagara*, in their Way (as was supposed) to the *Ohio*, or else to strengthen the Garrison of *Niagara*; and that in the Month of *July*, part of them, viz. 300 *French* and 200 *Indians* had incamped within five Miles of *Oswego*, with design, as the Commandant thought, to attack it, but that finding the Garrison too strong for their Force they passed on towards *Niagara*.

On the 17th of *August* at Night, being up-Aug. 17.
 on his Passage to *Oswego* he received by Express from *Captain Bradstreet* a Letter, wherein he acquainted him, “ that he had just received Intelligence from *Cadaraqui*, [Fort *Frontenac*] of about 600 Troops, which came from *France* that Year, besides a large Body of Irregulars being got there; that another large Body of the Troops, which had lately arrived from *France*, was, together with the *General*, to be in a short time at *Cadaraqui*, and that as soon as they were arrived with a considerable Body of *Indians* (which was likewise expected) an Express was to be immediately sent from thence to *Niagara* to inform the Officer, who commanded

1755. “ manded the 500 Men, which had landed
 “ near *Oswego* in *July* last, of their Arrival,
 “ and the Day they were to set out to attack
 “ *Oswego*, that, with all the *Indians* they could
 “ collect from that Quarter, they might set out
 “ at the same time and join the *French General*
 “ at *Oswego*.”

This Account of the Designs of the *French* against *Oswego* was afterwards fully confirmed by subsequent Intelligence ; but the *Baron De Dieskau's* proceeding to *Cadaraqui* with all the Troops, that he brought from *France*, was prevented (as appeared afterwards) by *Major General Johnson's* marching against *Crown Point*.

Aug. 18. Mr. *Shirley* arrived at *Oswego* with the last Division but one of the Forces under his Command, and found the Works there, though strengthened by *Captain Bradstreet* as much as could be expected, in a very weak Condition ; the chief Strength of the Fort, which was mounted with five small Cannon of 3 and 4 Pound Ball, consisted of a Stone-Wall 605 Feet in Circumference and $3\frac{1}{2}$ Feet thick, so ill cemented, that it could not stand against Cannon of 4 Pound Shot, and was situated upon the South Edge of *Lake Ontario* on a small Eminence, which was commanded at 450 Yards Distance to the North East by an high Point of Land, on the opposite Side of the River, and by another Eminence behind it Westward at the Distance of 540 Yards ; and in this exposed State of the
 Fort,

Fort, the *French*, if not hindered by armed Vessels, might land Artillery from the Lake, within about a Mile of the Eminences. 1755.

As it appeared to Mr. *Shirley*, upon a Survey of those two high Grounds taken on the Afternoon of his Arrival, that the opposite Point on the other Side of the River was, on Account of its advantageous Situation for commanding the Harbour, and the old Fort, the most essential Spot to be secured, he ordered it to be immediately cleared of the Trees and Underwoods, with which it was thick covered; and as it seemed absolutely necessary, in the weak Condition of the old Fort, that for the Defence of the Place against the sudden Attempts, it was threatened with from Fort *Frontenac*, it should be strengthen'd as soon as possible, with such new Works, as the sudden Emergency would admit of; and as neither *that* nor the advanced Season, and the other Buildings and Works necessary to be finished at *Oswego* would allow Mr. *Shirley*, under the Circumstances he was in, to execute that Year any Plan of Fortifications, which would be defensible against heavy Artillery, he gave Orders for erecting on the Point a strong Log pallisaded Fort, capable of mounting large Cannon, and containing Barracks for 300 Men, which, from the Dimensions of its Logs, might be defensible against Cannon of 3 lb. or 4 lb. Ball; and, if it should be thought requisite to have a strong regular

1755. regular Fortification build round it another Year, be of Service, whilst the new Works were erecting : And for securing the Place to the Southward of the old Fort, he determined, as soon as Hands and Time could be spared for it, to have a small square Fort of Earth and Masonry, with four Bastions, a Rempart, Parapet, and Ditch, containing Barracks for 200 Men, built on the other Eminence ; a particular Account of all which Mr. *Shirley* transmitted in a Letter of the 19th of *September* from *Oswego*, to Sir *Thomas Robinson*, with Plans of the intended Forts.

Sept. 1. The last Division of the Forces under Mr. *Shirley's* Command, with Part of the Artillery and Ordnance Stores, arrived at *Oswego* with Lieutenant Colonel *Mercer* ; Carriages for 9 of the largest Pieces of Ordnance were to be new made (those prepared for them before his Arrival not being sufficiently fortified), several other Works to be forwarded as much as possible before he proceeded to *Niagara* ; in particular the Intelligence he had received of the Enemy's designing soon to attack *Oswego*, made it not adviseable for him to draw any considerable Part of the Forces from it in the exposed Condition, the Works were then in, until at least the new Fort erecting at the Point was inclosed, and ready to receive its Cannon ; but if all other Circumstances had favoured Mr. *Shirley's* proceeding to *Niagara*, yet from the Time of his Arrival at *Oswego* to the 18th of *September*, there had not been a sufficient

sufficient Quantity of Provisions for victualling the Garrison ten Days, at any one time in the Stores: This was occasioned by several Accidents, but principally the Lowness of the Water in the Rivers, through which they were to be carried to *Oswego*, Desertion of Battomen and Slay-men (it being the Time of Harvest), and above all by the insufficient Number of both to be found in the Country for transporting the Baggage, Provisions, Artillery, and Ordnance Stores employ'd in this Expedition, and that of *Crown Point*, which were carrying on at the same time.

At this time the State of the Intelligence concerning the Strength and Designs of the Enemy at *Niagara* and *Fort Frontenac* stood thus. 1755.
 Sept. 17.

The two *Albany* Traders and *Indians*, which Mr. *Shirley* sent from the *Oneida* Carrying-place to *Niagara*, were returned, and brought him an Account, that the Fort and Garrison there were both in a weak Condition; that the *French* told the *Indians*, who being well known to the Garrison, and unsuspected by them, were admitted into the Fort, and continued there two Days, that they had for some time expected 900 *Indians* from *Canada*, with a large Quantity of Stores, and were under Concern lest the Vessels, that were to have brought them, should be taken by one of the *English* Vessels, they having heard nothing of them for some Weeks; that the *French* had at *Niagara* 70 or 80 large Battoes, with

1755. with which they told them they intended to meet the *English* Vessels, and board them; which last Circumstance was confirm'd by another *Indian*, who had lately come from *Niagara*, and upon meeting one of the *English* Row-Gallies upon the Lake, cautioned the Commander of it against proceeding further, for that Reason.

The Intelligence which the Parties of *Albany* Men and *Indians*, whom Mr. *Shirley*, soon after his Arrival at *Oswego*, sent to reconnoitre *Fort Frontenac*, and the Harbour, and other *Indians*, which were lately arrived from thence, gave him of the Enemy's Strength and Designs there, was as follows:

That the *French* Fort was surrounded with a Stone Wall about six Feet thick, and mounted with 'a great Number of Cannon large and small; that their Magazine had a large Number of Barrels of Powder in it; and that there were in their Harbour two Sloops of about the same Size with those of the *English*; that there was one Encampment of regular Troops near the Fort, which, from the Number of the Tents, they judged to contain about 600 Soldiers, and another large Encampment of *Canadeans*; that the *French* there told one of the *Indians*, who was a Man of Note, and in great Confidence with them, that they expected soon from *Canada* a much larger Number of regular Troops, with an Officer, they called *the General*, which were lately arrived from *France*, and that the *Com-*
mandant

mandant of the Fort told him, that then they ^{1755.} designed to make the *English* a Visit at *Oswego*, and attack it; the Truth of which was afterwards verified.

And Major General *Johnson*, in his Letter dated 1st of *September*, from the Camp at *Lake George*, acquainted Mr. *Shirley*, that some of the *Indians*, whom *he* had sent for Intelligence to *Canada*, informed him, that the *French* told them, there were 300 Canoes lately gone to *Cadaraqui* [*Fort Frontenac*].

Mr. *Shirley*, upon laying together this Intelligence, and the Account which he had before received of the Arrival of Troops from *France* that Summer, and considering these Circumstances in particular, that all Intercourse between *Fort Frontenac* and *Niagara* had been suspended for some time, and that the *French* had laid still at the former of those Places ever since his Arrival at *Oswego*, judged it probable that the Enemy's Design was, in case of his making an Attempt against *Niagara* (which, from its Distance of 150 Miles, and the advanced Season of the Year, would take up 30 Days, or more, in the Execution) to make a Descent in the mean time against *Oswego* from *Fort Frontenac*, which does not exceed 55 Miles Distance from it.

The *Strength* of the Garrison at *Oswego* was then as follows: The Number of Men fit for immediate Service did not amount to more than 1376, the Corps of which it consisted having been much reduced by Sicknes and

1755. Desertions upon their March, and since their Arrival there; and besides these Troops the Number of the *Albany* Men and *Indians*, which attended the Army, did not exceed 120.

The Accounts which Mr. *Shirley* had received of the Enemy's Garrison and Works at *Niagara* encouraged him to make an Attempt against it that Year, if possible; and as the Works of the new Fort building upon the opposite Point were so far advanced, that he hoped it might be ready in a few Days to receive its Artillery, he purposed, notwithstanding the *Onondago Indians* in particular had declared to him, that the Season of the Year was too far advanced for such an Enterprize, to proceed to *Niagara* (as soon as a sufficient Quantity of Provisions should arrive at *Oswego*) with 600 Regulars, including Gunners and Matrosses, besides the *Albany* Men and *Indians*, and a Train of Artillery consisting of one Cannon of 18 Pound Shot, four twelve Pounders, one ten Inch Mortar, one seven Inch Hoyett, two Royals, and five small Swivel Hoyetts, with the four Vessels, five Whale-Boats (being all he had), and a suitable Number of Battoes; in which case the Force remaining for the Defence of *Oswego* would have been 700 Troops fit for immediate Duty, two Cannon of 12 Pound Ball, four nine Pounders, 10 six Pounders, 6 three Pounders, and 8 Cohorns; and the Day following he convened a Council of War for their Opinion upon

upon his Intention to proceed to *Niagara* with the before-mentioned Force, on receiving a proper Supply of Provisions; and the Majority of the Members accordingly advised him thereto. 1755.

Hereupon Mr. *Shirley* ordered Preparations to be forthwith made for the intended Attempt; the 600 Troops were drafted, and held themselves in readiness to embark; the Artillery and Ordnance Stores were put on board the Sloop *Ontario*, and a Proportion of the Provisions on board the Sloop *Oswego*; and the rest ready to be put on board the Row-Gallies, Whale-Boats, and Battoes, in the latter of which it was found, that a very considerable Part of the Troops would be obliged to embark, for want of Room, in the Vessels.

Eight Battoes, containing 40 Barrels of Flour, and 13 of Bread, which were the Species of Provisions wanted, arrived at the Camp; so that there was then in Store there 14 Days full Allowance of Bread and Flour for 2000 Mouths, which, upon the best Calculation that could be made, was the whole Number of Troops, *Albany* Men, *Indians*, Workmen, and Followers of the Camp; of that Quantity Mr. *Shirley* determined to take with him to *Niagara* 21,000 Pounds of Bread and Flour, being $\frac{3}{4}$ Allowance for 700 Men for 40 Days; in which Case there would be left in Camp 8000 Pounds of Bread and Flour, being twelve Days $\frac{1}{2}$ Allowance for the Number, he should leave there,

1755.

which by the Advices he had received from the *Oneida Carrying-place* and *Mohawks River*, he had the greatest Reason to expect would, in the Space of a few Days, be augmented to a full Allowance for some Months.

For 13 Days successively before this, there had fallen immoderate Rains, and the Weather had been very tempestuous upon the Lake, which still continued, and had greatly retarded the Works of the Garrison, and increased the Number of the sick; and the *Albany Men* and *Indians* (the latter of which could not be kept from returning Home, but promised to join Mr. *Shirley* in the Spring, with great Numbers) made such strong Representations concerning the Season's being too late, especially for the Men to go to *Niagara* in small *Albany* Battoes; in which they could not possibly keep Company with the Vessels, nor secure their Ammunition and Arms from being wet, and useless to them in case of a sudden Attack, that Mr. *Shirley* found there was a considerable Uneasiness among the Officers at his Intention to proceed thither; and an Apprehension had likewise prevailed among them, from Intelligence received the Night before, that one of the *French* Vessels was seen in the Harbour of *Cadaraqui*, with its Sails bent, that *Oswego* would be taken in his Absence: Upon this Mr. *Shirley* thought proper to convene a Council of War, the Members of which declared themselves, for many Reasons assign'd
by

by them, to be *unanimously* and *clearly* of Opinion, that it was most adviseable for him to defer making any Attempt against *Niagara* until the next Year, when he might take the Advantage of an early Campaign, and not only take, but *bold Niagara*, and leave *Oswego* less exposed to the Enemy from Fort *Frontenac*; and that in the mean time, he should employ his whole Strength in finishing the Forts (one of which was not begun to be built) the Barracks, Hospital, and other Works at *Oswego*, as much as the Season of the Year would allow. 1755.

The Consideration, which had the greatest Weight with Mr. *Shirley* for desisting from the Prosecution of an immediate Attempt against *Niagara*, was, that nothing more could have been done that Year (supposing he had got the Troops and Artillery safe before it) than to dislodge the *French* and demolish their Works, as the State of his Provisions would not admit of his leaving a Garrison there during the Winter for its defence; so that an effectual Possession of that Pass could not have been taken that year; whereas in the mean time, during the Absence of the Vessels from *Oswego* (all which it was indispensably necessary for Mr. *Shirley* to have taken with him upon his Attempt against *Niagara*) it would have been in the Power of the *French* to have transported a Train of Artillery without Opposition across the Lake from Fort *Frontenac*, and have landed them either at the Place where Mr. *Montcalm* actually landed *his* in 1756, near Fort
Ontario,

1755. *Ontario*, and made themselves Masters of that Fort, especially as it was unfinished ; or near the opposite Eminence behind the old Fort *Oswego*, where the intended new Fort was not then *begun* to be built ; in either of which Cases they might not only have made themselves Masters of *Oswego*, but must have cut off Mr. *Shirley's* Return from *Niagara* ; which would have been fatal likewise to the Troops with him.

That it was actually the Scheme of the *French* to have attempted both, if Mr. *Shirley* had proceeded to *Niagara*, most authentic Proof could be given, if it was proper to make it public. All thoughts of proceeding to *Niagara* that Year being, according to the unanimous Opinion of the Council, laid aside, Mr. *Shirley* employed the whole Strength of the Workmen and Soldiers, all the time he stayed afterwards at *Oswego*, in carrying on the two new Forts and other Works and Buildings there ; an Account of which with Copies of the two Minutes of the Councils of War held the 18th and 27th of *September*, containing the Reasons for not proceeding to *Niagara*, were transmitted to *England* to be laid before his *Majesty*.

Concerning the before-mentioned two new Forts it must be observed, that they were erected without any regular Engineer at the Distance of 400 Miles from any *English* Settlement, where a further Supply of proper Workmen and Materials for strong Fortifications could

could be had, and within 65 Days, the Season in that Climate rendering it impracticable to work longer; that during half that time, they were retarded by bad Weather, in which the Men could not work, and when they could, part of their Labour was necessarily employed in finishing a Vessel then building for his Majesty's Service, in order to preserve the Command of Lake *Ontario*, and a large Hospital, and Barracks for Winter Quarters, to contain upwards of 900 Men; the Timber for all which was to be cut from the Stem, and the Ground, on which the two Forts were building, to be cleared of the Trees and Underwood, with which it was covered.

1755.

In order to expedite these Works as much as possible, before the Winter set in, Mr. *Shirley* stayed at *Oswego* until the 23d of *October*; beyond which time the great Variety of other Business of Importance in his Majesty's Service, devolved upon him after General *Braddock's* Death, and necessary to be settled and prepared for the ensuing Campaign, and which absolutely required his Presence in the other Colonies, (particularly the *Massachusetts Bay*) would not permit him to remain there.

Mr. *Shirley*, upon his going from *Oswego*, left Orders with the Commanding Officer of the Garrison to finish the two Forts in his Absence, the former of which (*Fort Ontario*) was at that time picketed round, its Barracks within a very few Days of being all finished, and was so far compleated, as to receive its Garrison,

1755. Garrison, mouut 8 of its Cannon, and take in its Ordnance Stores; so that it was defensible against any Number of Men, that the *French* could bring against it with Musquetry and Cannon of 3 or 4 Pound Ball; and the latter, (Fort *Oswego*) had three of its Bastions, and the two intermediate Courtaines (except the Parapet) finished, and the Barracks raised; the Directions left concerning which were to compleat the Parapet, and inclose the other two Sides with Pallisadoes only for that Winter; it being too late in the Season to think of finishing the Rempart and Ditch of the whole; and to assist the Commanding Officer in furnishing and strengthening these two Forts, and the other Works at *Oswego*, Mr. *Shirley* sent two of his Majesty's Engineers as early in the Spring, as he could.

As these Forts were calculated to defend the Place only against Attacks with Musquetry or small Cannon, Mr. *Shirley*, for securing it against heavy Artillery, which could be transported thither by Water-Carriage only, depended upon having a superior Naval Force on Lake *Ontario* to that of the *French*; being assured, that while his Majesty's Vessels kept the Command of the Lake, and the Officers were vigilant in their Duty, it would be impracticable for the *French* to attack *Oswego* with any thing but Musquetry, or even to carry with them a sufficient Quantity of Provisions to support them in *such* an Attempt: For this purpose he determined to have as many

many more armed Vessels built at *Oswego* as, with those built before, would be a superior Force to that of the *French* upon *Lake Ontario*; and as the *Albany* Battoes, which, before the Expedition against *Niagara*, had been the only Boats made use of in the Navigation between *Schenectada* and *Oswego*, were, though well calculated for the *Mohawks River* and *Wood Creek*, very unfit for navigating the Lakes, and keeping Company with Vessels in an Expedition upon them, Mr. *Shirley* resolved upon having 250 Whale-Boats capable of holding 16 Men each, and of a built peculiarly adapted, on Account of their Swiftness and being able to live in a great Swell, for the Service upon the Lakes, built against the next Spring.

He had, in the preceding Summer, ordered a few Whale-Boats of the ordinary Size, capable of holding eight Men (Rowers and Steerfman included) to be built at *Rhode Island*, and transported to *Oswego*; but *Captain Bradstreet* having made an Improvement upon them there, which rendered them much more serviceable upon the Lake, Mr. *Shirley* determined to have the 250 new ones built upon that Model; and as it was much doubted whether Boats of that Size could be conducted through the Rifts, Shoals, and Currents, with which the greatest Part of the Route from *Schenectada* to *Oswego* abounds, it was at first proposed to have them built at *Oswego*; but as that would have been more expensive than building them

1755. at *Schenechtada*, and the transporting in them the great Quantity of Provisions, they could contain, besides the Men, from *Schenechtada* to *Oswego* would be a further saving to the Crown, and Captain *Bradstreet* undertook to pilot such a Boat between those two Places, Mr. *Shirley* determined to make his Passage upon his Return to *Schenechtada* in one of them, that it might be ascertained whether the Navigation of the Rivers, and *Wood Creek*, through which the Passage lay, for a Squadron of such Boats was practicable or not.

Besides the beforementioned Business, in which Mr. *Shirley* was engaged during his stay at *Oswego*, there was another very material Branch of Service, which employed much of his Time and Attention there; viz. the cultivating the best Harmony and Friendship, that was possible, with the Chiefs of the *Indians*, and improving a good Correspondence with their Tribes in general.

The Importance of this Service will appear from the following Considerations, among others: The Country of the Five Nations is the Barrier of the *British* Colonies against the *French* and their *Indians* inhabiting the North Side of the great Lakes, and whilst they remain firm in the *British* Interest, they will not only be a Guard to them against the Incursions of the Enemy, but the best Body of *Indian* Auxiliaries upon the Continent for harrassing the *French* as high as *Montreal* itself, which they had once near destroyed with their own Force:

Force : on the other hand, if the *French* should become Masters of that Country, those *Indians* must of course be forc'd into *their* Interest, and in such case would be a formidable Body of Warriors for breaking up the *English* Back Settlements, especially those of *New York* and *Pensilvania* : and this has been so much the public Sense of the *English* Nation, and of the *Dutch* before them, ever since the first Settlement of *New York*, with which the Friendship of the *Five Nations* commenc'd, that it has ever been a standing Maxim of both *States* to keep those *Indians* in their Alliance : An high Proof of the national Sentiments of the *English* Government upon this Matter is, that one of the great Objects of *Queen Anne's* Ministers, at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was to bring the *French* King formally to declare in the 15th Article of it, “ that the *Five Nations* or Cantons of *Indians* were subject to the Dominion of *Great Britain* :” and in the present War the *Government* hath thought the Preservation of the Friendship of these *Indians* of so great Importance to the *Nation*, that the utmost Care was taken by them for securing that great Point, and special Instructions given for that Purpose by his *Majesty* to the *General* and *Commander in Chief* of his Forces in *North America* ; which were not confined to those Nations, but extended to the cultivating an Interest and Friendship with the Southern *Indian* s likewise.

1755.

1755.

In consequence of the Messages which Mr. *Shirley* sent from the Carrying-place at *Oneida* to Four of the *Five* Cantons or Nations of *Indians*, inviting them to meet him at *Oswego*, several of the *Sachems* and *Warriors* of the *Oneidas* met him soon after his Arrival there; as did, a few Days after, almost all the *Sachems*, and some of the *Warriors* of the *Onondagos*; likewise *Deputies* from the *Cayugas* and *Senecas*; and about the same time he received a Message from a Branch of the *Ontaiaias Indians*, who inhabit in the Neighbourhood of *Lake Erie*, and had been much concern'd in the Action at the *Monongabela* against *General Eraddock*, expressing their Disposition to lay down the Hatchet, and observe a Neutrality for the future between the *English* and *French*: and as the inducing the *Indians* of the *Five* Nations to consent to his Majesty's erecting defensible Forts near their respective Castles, within the several Quarters of their Country, to be garrison'd with *English Soldiers* for the Protection of their Wives and Children in time of War against the *French*, would be the best Means of fixing them in a firm Dependence upon the Crown of *Great Britain*, and securing their Country to be a Barrier to the *English*; and the opening a free Trade at *Oswego* with the *Indians* inhabiting the North Side of the *Lake Ontario*, and round *Lake Erie*, upon more advantageous Terms for them than the *French* could afford; and establishing an annual

nual Meeting and Council between them, and ^{1755.} the *Indians* of the Five Nations would be the most effectual Method of reclaiming those *foreign Indians* from the Interest of the *French*, (at least to a State of Neutrality) and to restore the *Indians* of the *Five Nations* to their ancient Authority and Influence over those Northern *Indians*; Mr. *Shirley* propos'd to the *Indians* of the *Five Nations*, which met him at *Oswego*, to build them Forts near their several Castles, to be garrison'd with the King's Troops; and before he left *Oswego* sent Messages to the *Messasagues*, *Chippowees*, *Outaiwaias*, and other Northern Nations, inviting them to meet him and their Brethren of the *Five Nations* at *Oswego* in the Spring following, there to consult in a general Council upon Measures for settling a mutual Friendship and Alliance, opening a free Trade and Commerce between the *English* and *Indians*, establishing a general Peace among all their Castles, and putting an End to the destructive War, which the *French* were constantly instigating them to engage in with the *English*, and with each other.

And for compassing these salutary Ends, he propos'd to the *Indians* of the *Five Nations* then with him, that they should send some of their Sachems to meet him in the Spring at *Oswego*, being the Center of their own Country; to which it was more fit, that the other Nations should come to take Law from them, than that they should go out of their own Territories, to meet those Nations.

The

1755.

The Result of the Proposal to the *Indians* of the Five Nations for building them Forts was, that the *Onondagos* and *Oneidas* in a few Days desired Mr. *Shirley* to give Orders for building Forts at their Head Castles; the latter giving him leave at the same time to fortify the great Carrying-place on their Lands at *Oneida*, as he should think proper, for securing Magazines of Stores and Provisions, and keeping open the Communication with *Oswego* during the Expedition; and though the Deputies of the *Cayugas* and *Senecas* had not then Power from their Tribes to give a definitive Answer, whilst Mr. *Shirley* was at *Oswego*; yet soon afterwards, following the Example of the *Onondagos* and *Oneidas*, they sent Messages to Sir *William Johnson*, when Mr. *Shirley* was at *Boston*, desiring they might have Forts immediately built near their respective Castles, to be mounted with Cannon and garrison'd with *English* Soldiers; as did likewise the *Tuscarora* *Indians* to him and Sir *William Johnson*, whilst Mr. *Shirley* was at *Albany*, desiring they might have Forts forthwith built; which Request was likewise renewed there by the *Oneida* and *Onondago* *Indians*; Mr. *Shirley* accordingly gave Orders to Sir *William Johnson* to cause Forts to be built for them according to a Plan which was settled by Mr. *Montresor* the King's Chief Engineer, each Fort to be capable of being defended by 40 Men, and of entertaining 120 upon an Emergency, and as * Sir *Wil-*

* Vide Appendix, No. 1.

liam Johnson inform'd Mr. *Shirley* Directions ^{1755.} were given for building Forts for all of them; and some were accordingly built.

The Effect of the Proposal to the *Indians* inhabiting the North Side of the Lake *Ontario*, and those of the Five Nations, to meet him at *Oswego* in the ensuing Spring for the Purposes beforemention'd was, that the leading Castles of the latter of those *Indians* promis'd Mr. *Shirley* to comply with it, and with regard to the Answer of the Northern *Indians*, Lieutenant Colonel *Mercer*, Commanding Officer at *Oswego*, in his Letter of the 30th of *November* 1755, to Mr. *Alexander* Secretary to Mr. *Shirley*, acquainted him, " that the
 " *Messasagues* and other neighbouring Nations
 " of *Indians* had gladly accepted of Mr. *Shirley*'s
 " Invitation ; that, was it not for the Dangers
 " on the Lake in the Winter, they would have
 " been at *Oswego* before that Time, but that
 " they might be expected early in the Spring ;
 " that he gave Mr. *Alexander* that Informa-
 " tion, that Mr. *Shirley* might be apprisd of
 " it, and either send him [Lieutenant Colonel
 " *Mercer*] Instructions, or some proper Per-
 " son to treat with them." And in his Letter
 to Mr. *Alexander* of the 11th of *December* 1755
 he says, " that he had the Pleasure to acquaint
 " him with the Success and Return of Mr. *Shir-*
 " *ley*'s Messenger to the *Messasagues*, and other
 " foreign Nations of *Indians* ; that they had
 " accepted of his Offers and Invitation ; and
 " that they would be at *Oswego* in great Num-
 " bers

1755. { “ bers early in the Spring, being disgusted with
 “ the *French* for the little Care they took of
 “ their Families in their Absence, their Breach
 “ of Promises in regard to Presents, and their
 “ Want of Necessaries to supply their Wants;
 “ that he was anxious, lest we should not per-
 “ form the absolute Promises, he had made in
 “ Mr. *Shirley's* Name, of considerable Pre-
 “ sents, and a large Quantity of Goods for
 “ Trade, as their being disappointed might
 “ be attended with bad Consequences; and
 “ that he had directed the Commissary of the
 “ Stores to transmit Mr. *Alexander* an Ac-
 “ count of the *Indian* Goods in his Posses-
 “ sion; which was greatly short of the Occa-
 “ sion, we might probably have to dispose of
 “ them; that he had signified this to Mr.
 “ *Shirley*, and doubted not of his taking care,
 “ that a proper Supply should be sent.”

For carrying into Execution these Measures, so conducive not only to the attaching the *Indians* of the *Five Nations* to the *English* Interest, as well as securing their Country to his *Majesty*, and making them dependent upon *Great Britain*, but for gaining over the *Western Indians* to our Alliance, Mr. *Shirley* afterwards in the Course of the Winter gave Sir *William Johnson* particular Orders in every Article, and committed to him (as it was properly within his Department) the Care of building Forts according to such Directions, as should be given him for that Purpose, the providing proper Presents for the *Indians* at their pro-
 pos'd

pos'd Meeting at *Oswego* in the Spring (where ^{1755.} Sir *William Johnson* was likewise directed to be present) and furnish'd him with the Sum of 5000*l.* which he acquainted Mr. *Shirley* he should want for defraying those and other incident Expences; and he accordingly promis'd Mr. *Shirley* in several Letters to take the Care of these Services upon him.

In his Letters to Mr. *Shirley* of the 8th of *March* and 22d of *April* 1756, he writes thus; in the former of them he says, " Nothing can
 " be more pleasing to the Six Nations and
 " their Allies than the Promise made them
 " concerning the Article of Trade; and I
 " think nothing can deserve our Attention
 " more than that and fortifying their Coun-
 " tries and garrisoning them; for I am con-
 " vinc'd, were these two Articles settled to
 " their Mind, every thing else would go on
 " successfully; wherefore I doubt not your
 " *Excellency* will contribute all in your Power
 " towards accomplishing those two grand
 " Points." And in the latter he says, " By
 " the Copy of my Proceedings at the late
 " Meeting, your *Excellency* may have ob-
 " serv'd that agreeable to your *Instructions*, I
 " promis'd that Goods should be plenty and
 " cheap this Year at *Oswego*, in order to en-
 " courage the *Western Indians* to come there;
 " the *Indians* [*viz.* of the Six Nations] disco-
 " ver'd the utmost Satisfaction on hearing
 " this, and said, no Method could be so effec-

1755. “ tual to gain over the *Western Indians* to our
 “ Alliance; they will depend upon this Pro-
 “ mise being fulfill’d, and a Disappointment
 “ will be of very bad Consequence; I hope
 “ therefore your Excellency will bear this
 “ Matter in mind, and fall on Measures to
 “ fulfil our Engagements herein.” And in
 his Letter of *April 9th 1756*, he writes thus,
 “ As it is so difficult to get Men here to build
 “ Forts for the Six Nations, who are very
 “ pressing for them, I think it would be best
 “ to have Men from some other Government
 “ to work at them, otherwise they will not
 “ be finished in time; and until they have
 “ Forts garrisoned in their Countries it cannot
 “ be expected, they will join us with all their
 “ Force, as I am convinced they then would;
 “ their allowing Forts in their Country is a
 “ strong Indication of their Intentions to abide
 “ by us.” And in his Letter of the 8th of
March 1756, speaking of building and garri-
 soning Forts for the *Indians* of the *Six Na-*
tions in their Country, he says, “ As this is
 “ one of the most effectual Steps, which can be
 “ taken to secure them [the *Indians*] in the
 “ *British* Interest, and what the *French* have
 “ been long endeavouring at, I believe your
 “ Excellency will think with me, that they
 “ should be immediately gratified therein.”

In answer to that part of Mr. *Shirley's* In-
 structions to Sir *William Johnson*, which di-
 rected him to proceed in the Spring to *Öswe-*
go, and engage as many *Indians* of the *Six*
Nations

Nations as he could, (300 at least) to be ready there to go upon any Service, Mr. *Shirley* should order them, against the *French* Settlements upon the Lakes; as also to procure 100 of them to assist in an Expedition against *Crown Point*; Sir *William Johnson* assured him, that he would accordingly proceed to *Oswego*; and took upon him the Care of purchasing the necessary Presents for that Occasion; acquainted him in his Letter dated *May* 12th 1756, that he had apprised the *Indians* of it at a general Conference at *Fort Johnson*; and in another of his Letters, that he flattered himself he should be able to engage at the Meeting at *Oswego* the Number of *Indians*, which Mr. *Shirley* mentioned to him for the Service upon the Lakes; and in his Letter of the 22d of *April*, that he would use his best Endeavours to engage 100 of them for the Expedition against *Crown Point*: And as Sir *William Johnson*, in his Letter dated *March* 8th 1756, acquainted Mr. *Shirley*, “ that in
 “ order to enable him to purchase the Presents
 “ for the Meeting at *Oswego*, build the several
 “ Forts, arm, cloath, and provide the *In-*
 “ *dians*, which might join him, it would re-
 “ quire a considerable Sum of Money, at least
 “ as much as he had before, which was 5000l.
 “ Sterling;” Mr. *Shirley* immediately supplied him with that Sum by a Warrant upon the *Deputy Pay-master General*; and the Prices, at which the *Indians* were to have Goods at *Oswego* in Exchange for their Furs;

1755. and the Regulations of the Trade there, were settled by Mr. *Shirley* in concert with Sir *William Johnson*; so that all things necessary for carrying into Execution every Part of the Scheme for promoting his Majesty's Service both among the *Indians* of the *Five Nations* and those inhabiting on the other Side of the Lakes were provided for as far, as it was in Mr. *Shirley's* Power to do it.

Oct. 24. Mr. *Shirley* set out from *Oswego* for *Albany* in a Whale-Boat attended with some Battoes, to be ready at hand, in case making the whole Passage in it should be found impracticable, and arrived on the 27th at the *Oneida Carrying-place*; where a Deputation from the *Indians* of that Castle met him, and he stayed one Day to settle some Matters with them; particularly the building of two Forts upon the Carrying-place there, and to give Directions for the erecting of them, and on the 29th set out for the *German Flatts*, where arriving that Night he went from thence the next Morning and reached *Conajobara* by Night; from whence he set out the Day following, after having in his Passage sent the *Mobawk Indians* of the *Conajobara* Castle a Message, acquainting them with his Return, and desiring them to meet him at the lower *Mobawks* Castle at Fort *Hunter*, and having a Conference with the *Indians* there (in which they made him the strongest Promises to attend him the next Spring at *Oswego*) he arrived late at Night at Fort *Johnson*; and from thence

thence the Day following at *Schenectada* after ^{1755.} a very fatiguing Passage of nine Days from *Oswego*, and not without very imminent Danger from the Experiment he made in the Whale-Boat, as it went up a very difficult Fall in the *Oneida* River.

He arrived at *Albany*, where he was de-Nov. 4. tained until the 29th of that Month in settling the Winter Quarters and other Affairs of his Majesty's 44th and 48th Regiments then upon the Spot, and several weighty Matters relative to his Majesty's Service under his Command, necessary to be transacted there; particularly the fixing the Garrisons of Forts *Edward* and *William Henry* for the Winter, in concert with the Governor of *New York*, and Commissioners from the other Governments; and making Preparations for a Winter's Expedition against *Tionderoge* and *Crown Point*, which the Want of sufficient Ice occasioned by the mildness of the Season in the Month, when it must have been made, would not admit of being carried into Execution.

He embarked for *New York*, where he ar-Nov. 29. rived the 2d of *December*, having, before he left *Albany*, wrote circular Letters to the several Governors upon the Continent as far Westward as *Virginia*, summoning them to meet him there, in order to form a Council of War, consisting (pursuant to one of his Majesty's Instructions to him) of such of the Governors upon the Continent, and Field Officers of his Majesty's Troops, as could attend it.

The

1755.

Dec. 12.

The Council met, at which were present the *General*, who was also *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay*, the *Governors of New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Connecticut*, and all the *Field Officers*, that were not necessarily absent upon Duty with their respective Corps, either in *Nova Scotia*, at *Oswego, Schenectada*, or *Albany*; the *Governors of Virginia, New Jerseys, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire* being inevitably hindered on several accounts from being present at it.

At this Time the only practicable Entrance, which the *French* had into the *Lake Ontario* was through the River *Iroquois* (called by them a Branch of the River *St. Lawrence*) within a few Miles distance of *Fort Frontenac*, which is situated on the North East Edge of that Lake, at about 55 Miles distance from, and nearly opposite to *Oswego*; and whilst the *French* were in Possession of that Fort and the Harbour there with a free Passage into the Lake through the River *Iroquois*, together with their Harbour at *Tronto*, they had it in their Power to build Vessels of a larger Size upon the Lake than could be built in the Harbour of *Oswego*, which would not only greatly annoy any Fort, that should be erected by his Majesty at the North East End of the Pass at *Niagara*, but endanger the loss of *Oswego* itself, unless his Majesty should have at least an equal naval Force to that of the *French* upon the Lake.

From

From the best Information, Mr. *Shirley* ^{1755.} could procure, the *French* Forts and Settlements at *Niagara*, upon *Lake Erie*, and the *Ohio*, and even as far as *Missilimackinac* upon *Lake Huron* were almost wholly supported with Stores and Provisions from *Montreal* chiefly by Water Carriage through the River *Iroquois*, and across the *Lake Ontario*.

As it therefore appeared to Mr. *Shirley*, that by dislodging the *French* from *Fort Frontenac*, and their small Fort at *Tronto*, and barring up their Entrance into the *Lake Ontario* through the River *Iroquois* would cut off all their Forts and Settlements upon *that* and the *other* Lakes, and the River *Ohio* from receiving any Support from *Canada*, without which, they could not possibly long subsist; and at the same time most effectually secure *Oswego* from the Attempts of the *French*; he proposed to the Council, for their Opinion and Advice, the following Plan of Operations for the ensuing Year; *viz.*

The building more Vessels, and of a larger Force upon the *Lake Ontario*; the carrying on two Expeditions, one against the *French Settlements* on *that* Lake with 5000 Troops, and another at the same Time against *Crown Point* with 6000; the Operations in the former to begin with an Attempt against the Forts *Frontenac*, and *La Gallette*, which last is situate up the River *Iroquicis*; and the more effectually to divide the Force of *Canada*, that at the same Time an Attempt should be made against
Fort

1755. Fort *Duquesne* by Land from *Wills's* Creek by the *Western* Colonies; which would likewise probably hinder great Part at least of the Southern *Indians* in the *French* Interest from opposing our Operations to the Northward; and that a Body of 2000 Troops, after breaking up the *French* Settlements upon the *Chaudiere*, should make a Feint at the Mouth of that River, which is nearly opposite to *Quebec*, in order to alarm the *French* in that Quarter.

The Council declared their Opinion in favour of these several Operations; in particular that it was most essentially necessary, at all Events, to secure the Navigation of the Lake *Ontario*; but they were of Opinion that 6000 Troops should be employed in the Expedition against the *French* Forts upon that Lake, and 10,000 in that against *Crown Point*; and as to the proposed Attempt against *Fort Duquesne*, and Operations upon the River *Chaudiere*, they were of Opinion, they should be carried into Execution, provided it could be done without interfering with the two principal Expeditions: And after giving their Opinion upon the Points proposed to them by Mr. *Shurley*, they declared it to be their unanimous Opinion, that, considering the several Services to be carried on in *North America*, an additional Number of Regular Troops to those, his Majesty then had upon that Continent, would be necessary for effectually recovering and securing his just Rights there.

The Result of this Council was; that Mr. *Shirley*, as he had received Intelligence that the *French* were building Vessels of Force at *Frontenac*, ordered a Snow of 18 Carriage-Guns six Pounders, and 20 Swivels; a Brigantine of 14 Carriage-Guns and 12 Swivels, and a Sloop of 6 Carriage-Guns, to be built as soon as possible at *Oswego*; and determined to make Preparations for carrying into Execution the before-mentioned Plan of Operations in the ensuing Year, as far as the Forces, he should then have would permit him. 1755.

Mr. *Shirley* transmitted to his Majesty's Mi-Dec. 19. nisters Copies of the Minute of the before-mentioned Council, together with an Account of his whole Proceedings to that time; and in Answer thereto had the Honour to receive a Letter from one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, acquainting him, *That they had been laid before his Majesty; and that the new Disposition, which his Majesty had thought proper to make of the Command of his Forces in North America, was not owing to any Dissatisfaction with Mr. Shirley's Services, but that on the contrary it was his Majesty's Intention to give him a further Mark of his Royal Favour therein expressed.*

It must be observed here, that the State of his Majesty's Troops in *North America*, exclusive of those posted in *Nova Scotia*, *Newfoundland*, *South Carolina*, and the *Babama Islands*, none of which could be spared from the Defence of those Parts, was at this time

1755. as follows: The 44th and 48th Regiments, posted at *Albany* and *Schenectada* consisted of about 500 each, the 50th of about 600, and the 51st about 400, the four *New York* Independent Companies of about 180, and about 80 of the Royal Artillery, making in the whole a Body of about 2200 Men; of which there were not above 600, exclusive of the 80 of the Royal Artillery, which had been two Years in the Service; and the whole, when compleated to the Establishment of each Corps, would have made up a Body of Men not exceeding 4400.

A few Days after the Council of War was finished, Mr. *Shirley* convened the *Governors* then present at *New York*, to consult about the Number of Provincial Troops, necessary to be raised for effecting the Services, which had been there determined upon, and what Proportions of them it should be recommended to each Colony to raise; and as it was apprehended, that such an additional Number of Regulars as would compleat the 6000 recommended to Mr. *Shirley* by the Council, to be employ'd in the Operations upon *Lake Ontario*, might probably be sent from *Europe* (as in fact *Otway's* and an *Highland* Regiment were, making in the whole 900 Men, and which were landed at *Albany* by the 27th of *June* 1756, and others ordered soon to follow) they determined, that the Colonies of *Massachusetts Bay*, *New Hampshire*, *Rhode Island*, *Connecticut*, *New York*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*,
and

and *Virginia* ought to raise 10,000 Men for the Expedition against *Crown Point*, in the Proportions which had been settled at *Albany* by the Commissioners, who met there from the several Governments in 1654; according to which their respective Quotas of that Number, with a small Exceeding of 250 Men, were settled as follows; viz.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|------|--------|
| <i>Virginia</i> | — | — | 1750 | |
| <i>Maryland</i> | — | — | 1000 | |
| <i>Pensilvania</i> | — | — | 1500 | |
| | | | — | 4250 |
| <i>New Jerseys</i> | — | — | 750 | |
| <i>New York</i> | — | — | 1000 | |
| <i>Connecticut</i> | — | — | 1500 | |
| <i>Rhode Island</i> | — | — | 500 | |
| <i>Massachusets Bay</i> | — | — | 1750 | |
| <i>New Hampsbire</i> | — | — | 500 | |
| | | | — | 6000 |
| | | | | — |
| | | | | 10,250 |
| | | | | — |

These Quota's it was agreed, that the Governors then present should each of them upon their Return to their Governments, recommend to their respective Assemblies, to furnish, as early in the Spring as possible; and Mr. *Shirley* was desired to recommend it to the absent Governors of the Colonies concern'd, to do the same.

In answer to Mr. *Shirley*'s Letter upon this Occasion to the Governor of *New Jerseys*, he was assured, that that Government would

1756. continue to maintain their Regiment of 500 Men, which had been employed in the Expedition against *Niagara* the Year before; and as soon as they could spare 250 Men out of the Troops, they were obliged to keep up for the immediate Defence of their Frontiers, increase it to the full Number of the Quota allotted them for his Majesty's Service, to be employed as the *King's General* should think fit.

The Governors of *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia* in their first Answers gave Mr. *Shirley* Hopes, that the *Provinces* under their several Commands would contribute Part at least, if not the whole, of their respective Quota's, either in Men or Money, towards carrying on the Expedition against *Crown Point*; but he afterwards received Letters from them, by which he found he could have no Dependance upon any of those Governments for the least Assistance in an Expedition to the *Northward*; nor could they, as their respective Governors assured Mr. *Shirley*, be induced to carry on the proposed Expedition with 3000 Men upon their own Frontier against *Fort Duquesne*; in Expectation of their doing which Mr. *Shirley* had appointed * *Governor Sharpe* to the chief Command of it.

The Quota's of the three last mentioned *Colonies* towards completing the 10,000 Men to be raised for the Expedition against *Crown*

* Governor of *Maryland*.

Point amounted to 4250, and their Failure to raise any Part of them reduced Mr. *Shirley's* Dependence upon the Colonies for assembling a sufficient Force to carry it on, to the four Governments of *New England* and Province of *New York*, but chiefly the former. 1756.

This threw no small Difficulty upon his Majesty's Service; the *New England* Governments had supported the whole Burthen of the last Year's Expedition, except that Part, which the Provinces of *New York* and *Pensilvania* had sustained, and which was but small in Proportion to theirs. In order to raise the Number of Troops, which was determined to be employed in the Reduction of *Crown Point*, it was necessary that the five first-mentioned Colonies should furnish almost double the Number of Men, which was settled to be their just Proportion; and it was a difficult Task to press this upon them, merely because the other Colonies equally populous and interested in the Event of this Expedition, and of greater Abilities than themselves, at least that the Colonies of *New England*, refused to contribute the least Aid of either Men or Money towards it.

To increase the Difficulty, these Circumstances concurr'd.

The Resolutions of the Colonies of *Connecticut*, *Rhode Island* and *New Hampshire*, with regard to raising Men for the Prosecution of this Expedition, depended on those of the
Maf-

1756. *Massachusetts Bay*; which is generally the leading Government in *New England*.

The exhausted Circumstances of this Province in particular, which had been at a very considerable Expence in the Year 1754 on Account of the Expedition, it had carried on solely at its own Charge, upon the River *Kennebeck*, and was in Arrear 15,000*l.* to the Officers and Soldiers, it had employed in that of the last Year against *Crown Point*; the large Number of Men, which had been raised for the Reduction of that Fortres by the several Governments concerned in it, and the little that had been done towards effecting it, during the whole Campaign, had occasioned a Dissatisfaction throughout the *Massachusetts* Government; as the last mentioned Circumstance had likewise done within the Colonies of *Connecticut* and *New Hampshire*; however they still retained a general Spirit for accomplishing the Reduction of the *French* Forts in that Quarter, but pleaded their Inability to raise Money to defray the Charges of another Expedition this Year; unless they were assisted in discharging the Debt, they had contracted in the last, and endeavoured, particularly the *Massachusetts Bay*, to avail themselves of Sir *Thomas Robinson's* circular Letter to the *Governors of North America* dated the 19th of *June* 1755; whereby they were forbid by the *Lords Justices* “ to draw Bills upon the Pay-master
“ General, or his Deputy, or upon any other
“ Person

“ Person for the Discharge of such Expences, ^{1756.}
 “ as had been or might be incurred on Ac-
 “ count of the Services or Operations to be per-
 “ formed by them, or in any respect under
 “ their Direction in *North America*; and were
 “ directed upon all such Occasions to apply for
 “ such Sums of Money, as should so become
 “ necessary, and were not *properly chargeable*
 “ to the Account of their respective Govern-
 “ ments, to the Commander in Chief of his
 “ *Majesty's* Forces for the time being in *North*
 “ *America.*”

This Letter they construed to be a Power
 at least (if not a Direction) given to the *Com-*
mander in Chief of his *Majesty's* Forces to
 supply the several Governments with Money
 to discharge all the Expences, they had been
 at, the Year before in the Expedition against
Crown Point; which they insisted was ex-
 pressly given in Charge to Mr. *Braddock* as
 part of the general Expedition set on foot by
 the Crown in *North America*, and as much in-
 tended to be carried on at the *King's* Expence,
 as the particular Expeditions against the *French*
Settlements on the *Ohio*, and at *Niagara*; for
 defraying the Charges of both which it was
 known the *King's General* had drawn War-
 rants upon the Deputy Pay-masters in *Ame-*
rica; and great Part of the *Massachusetts As-*
sembly was so strongly persuaded from the
 before-mentioned Letter, that Mr. *Skirley* had
 some Direction, or at least Power given him
 to reimburse the *Colonies* concerned in the
 Expedition

1756. Expedition against *Crown Point* for their past Expences in it, that he found it necessary to make an explicit Declaration, that he had not; and took occasion to observe to them with regard to the *general* Power, which they conceived was *implied* in Sir *Thomas Robinson's* Letter for that purpose, that it was confined to such Expences, as were *not properly chargeable to the Account of the Governments in the Colonies*; but that, as the Expedition against *Crown Point* was at first concerted, and wholly undertaken by the *Colonies* concerned, at *their own* Expence, the Quota's of which they had settled among themselves, and made Provision by Acts of Assembly for defraying them; and all this was done without any previous Orders or Privity of the Crown, (though the Expedition afterwards received General *Braddock's* Approbation at *Alexandria*) there was no Colour to say that the Expences of it, *were not properly chargeable to the Account of the Governments, which had set it on foot.*

This Point was got over; but the great Obstacle of the Government of the *Massachusetts Bay*, which existed likewise in a less Degree in those of *Connecticut* and *New Hampsbire*, still remained; their Inability to raise immediate Supplies for discharging the Arrears of Pay due to its Officers and Soldiers for the last Year's Service; without doing which it was in vain for the *Massachusetts Bay* at least, where all Paper Currency was abolished, to attempt raising

ing any considerable Number of Troops in 1756.
time for this Year's Campaign.

For opening a Way to extricate those Colonies out of this Difficulty, Sir *Thomas Robinson's* Letter of the 11th of *November* 1755 to the several Governors of *New England* most opportunely arriv'd; in this Letter was signify'd to them his *Majesty's* Royal Approbation of the Zeal and Spirit, which those Governments had manifested in his Service by sending Reinforcements to *General Johnson*; and that his Majesty would "recommend to his
"Parliament to grant them such Assistance in
"Consideration of the Charges they had born,
"as their Circumstances should require, and
"would enable them vigorously to pursue the
"great and necessary Work, which had been
"so chearfully undertaken."

This Mark of his *Majesty's* Favour gave a new Spring to their Proceedings; yet it did not remove the grand Difficulty; they were still at a loss to find out Ways and Means for raising a *ready* Sum of Money; the Arrival of the 115,000*l.* Sterling, afterwards granted by *Parliament*, would have been too late to have answered the Exigencies of his *Majesty's* Service *this* Year, if they had stayed for that; in the mean time, though the Royal Declaration was looked on by the several Governments, as a sufficient Security for such Sums of Money, as were wanted, yet it was not such an one, as the Merchants would advance them upon, at least without a very large Discount.

1756.

It was propos'd therefore to Mr. *Shirley* to lend the Government of the *Massachusetts Bay* such a Sum out of the Contingent Money under his Direction, as could be spared from the other Parts of his *Majesty's* Service, and would enable them to raise such a Number of Men for their Quota this Year, as might be suitable to the Exigency of the Service, and set the other *Colonies* a proper Example.

Connecticut, next to the *Massachusetts Bay*, with regard to the Number of its Inhabitants, is the most respectable of the *New England* Colonies, and had ever maintained a close Connection with that Government upon all Occasions for the Service of the common Cause; as it did particularly at this Juncture; upon which * *Governor Fitch*, soon after Mr. *Shirley's* Return to *Boston*, sent Commissioners to advise with him upon the Part, which that *Government* should take in the Expedition.

This Colony was (as is before observed) in some Degree under the same Difficulty with the *Massachusetts* Government in respect to the raising immediate Supplies of Money for this Year's Service; and *Governor Fitch* in his public Instructions to his Commissioners directed them to make Application, on the Part of the *Colony*, to Mr. *Shirley*, to assist them with a Sum of Money, which he had likewise urged much in his Letter to him, as necessary to enable him to raise such a Quota of Men, in
time

* *Governor of Connecticut.*

time for the ensuing Campaign, as his Majesty's Service demanded. 1756.

Mr. *Shirley* finding, that if he would comply with the Request of both Governments, he might secure a Vote of the *Massachusetts Assembly* for raising 3000 Men at least, and of *Connecticut* Government for raising 2000; that on the other hand, if he refused, not only the Number raised for the Expedition against *Crown Point* would fall extremely short of their designed Complement, but this Year's Preparations be too late for the Service; and that in case the Money, which should be granted by Parliament to the *Colonies* arrived in *America* this Summer (as there seemed room to hope) such a Loan might be made out of the *Contingent* Money, without the least Inconvenience to the Government at Home, or interfering with the other Parts of his Majesty's Service in *America*, judged his Compliance with their Desire to be the most effectual, and indeed the *only* Means for making the Grant of the *Parliament* answer his Majesty's Intention in recommending it; which was "to enable the *New England Colonies* vigorously to prosecute the Expedition *this Year*," as well as to reward them for their Services in the *last*; and he thereupon made the *Massachusetts Government* a Loan of 30,000 *l.* Sterling, and *Connecticut* of 10,000 *l.* to be repaid out of their respective Shares of such Monies, as should be granted the *Colonies* by *Parliament*, upon its Arrival

1756. in *America*; and in case of its Failing to arrive by a Day prefix'd, the Repayment was secured by Taxes upon the Inhabitants: And the * *Governor of New Hampshire*, who had likewise sent a Commissioner to *Boston* to consult with Mr. *Shirley* upon the Share, which the *Province* under his Government was expected to take of the Expedition, assured him, he should be under an utter Incapacity to send any considerable Number of Troops from thence, in time for the *King's* Service this Campaign, without being assisted with a Sum of Money; whereupon Mr. *Shirley* lent that Government 3000 *l.* Sterling upon the same Terms.

The Effect of these Loans was, that the *Massachusetts Bay* finally voted 3500 Men, Officers included; which was double the Number settled to be their Proportion at the Meeting of the Governors at *New York*; *Connecticut* 2500, which was two thirds more than what their Quota was set at; and the Province of *New Hampshire* 500 Men, amounting in the whole for those three Governments to 6500; the Government of *Rhode Island* voted about the same time 500 Men as their Quota; and *New York*, which had before voted no more than 1000, was induced by this Example to augment them to 1715; of which 1315 were destined by their Act of *Assembly* immediately against *Crown Point*, and the other 400 for the same Service, as soon as the Protection of

* *Governor Wentworth.*

their own Frontier against the *Indians*, and an Engagement, which they had entered into with the Government of *Pensilvania* for carrying on an Expedition would admit of it; all which amounted in the whole to 8715. 1756.

By this means *timely* Preparations were made by the *Colonies* concerned for carrying on an Expedition to effect against *Crown Point* this Year, and such a Body of *Provincial Troops* fit for Duty *secured*, as would, according to all Appearance, if they had not been *retarded* by Circumstances, which happened *after* Mr. *Shirley's* Command expired, have marched towards *Tionderoge* by the latter End of *July*, or soon after, and when supported by such a Body of *Regular Troops*, as might have been spared for that Service, been a *sufficient* Force for the Reduction of *Crown Point* at that time: Whereas if Mr. *Shirley* had not entered into this Measure, there would have been a very inconsiderable *Provincial Army* for his Majesty's Service in the Field that Summer; which must have exposed great Part of the Province of *New York* (at least the whole County of *Albany*) to have been overrun by the Enemy: The Justness of this Observation seems fully evinced by the Loss sustained this Year of Fort *William Henry*, which was owing (if the Accounts transmitted of it from *America* may be credited) to the Want of a sufficient Number of Troops being employed for the Protection of it; and would, in all Probability, have been prevented if the
same

1756. } same Number of Provincial Troops had been raised this Year within the four Colonies of *New England*, as were raised in them in 1756.

Another Circumstance, which made it more difficult for Mr. *Shirley* to induce the *Colonies* to raise the Number of Troops, which his Majesty's Service required in 1756, than it was to raise the same Number in the *succeeding Year*, was this; Mr. *Shirley* did not know, at the time of their being raised, that they would be found with Provisions and Military Stores out of his Majesty's Magazines (though that had been ordered by the Government in *England*) but was under the Necessity of procuring them to be raised upon the Terms of being furnished with those Articles at the Charge of the several *Colonies*, whereas the *Provincial Troops*, which were demanded of the *Colonies* in the *present Year*, were raised upon the Encouragement of having their Provisions and Military Stores provided for them *at the Expence of the Crown*; which made it *more practicable* to procure a proper Number for his Majesty's Service *then*, than it was in the *Year preceding*.

It is proper here to observe, that upon the Arrival at *New York* of the 115,000 *l.* granted by *Parliament* upon his Majesty's Recommendation, to the *Colonies*, which was on the 28th of *August*, Mr. *Shirley* took care to have the 43,000 *l.* lent by him to the Colonies of the *Massachusetts Bay*, *Connecticut*, and *New Hampshire*

shire out of the *Contingent* Money, replaced in 1756. the King's Deputy Pay-master General's Hands out of their respective Shares in the *Parliamentary* Grant before he left *Boston*. *

Among the Difficulties under which his *Majesty's* Service in the Expedition against *Niagara* laboured in the preceding Year, the Impracticability of transporting the necessary Supplies of Provisions for it in time to *Oswego* was not the least; this had been owing partly to the Season's being too far advanced before that Expedition was concluded upon, partly to a difficult Navigation of 240 Miles; but principally to the Want of a sufficient Number of *Albany* and other *Battoe-men* to be found within the Province of *New York*, who were then the only Carriers employed in the Transportation of Provisions and Stores to *Oswego*, for supplying the Service in both the Expeditions then carrying on.

It was necessary at all Events this Year to surmount this Obstacle; the Preservation of the Garrison at *Oswego*, and intended Operations of the ensuing Campaign upon the Lake *Ontario*, absolutely depended upon laying in sufficient Magazines there, as early as possible in the Spring; which were accordingly all

* Mr. *Shirley's* Conduct in the Affair of this Loan, which evidently appears from the State of the several Facts abovementioned, to have been well advised for answering the Exigencies of his *Majesty's* Service under his Command, was represented from *America* in a light very much to his Disadvantage; infomuch that at his Arrival in *England*, the Repayment of it could scarcely be credited.

befpoke

1756. } bespoke and order'd by Mr. *Shirley* before he left *New York*; and as it was to be expected that the *French* would use their utmost Efforts to cut off our Convoys of Provisions and Stores upon their Passage; none but very strong ones ought to be intrusted with the Transportation of them.

To compass this Point by securing a sufficient Number of Battoe-men to be constantly ready for the Service, Mr. *Shirley* ordered 40 Companies of them to be raised, consisting of 50 Men each, a Captain, and another Officer under him, subject to military Discipline, to be arm'd with Mulsquets and Hatchets; the whole to be under the general Direction and Command of one Officer, who should personally attend the Execution of his Duty in every Branch of it, by Water as well as at Land; so that these Battoe-men being thus arm'd, and distributed into Companies, under the before-mentioned Command, formed a Body of 2000 Men, not only useful for transporting Provisions, Stores, &c. but for manning the Whale-Boats upon the Lake; and, upon any Emergency which might require it, for serving as a Reinforcement by Land to the Garrison at *Oswego*.

Men proper for this Service were difficult to be found, as none but those who had been used to Battoes, or other small Craft, were fit for it; the *Albany* Men, who were almost the only People used to the Service, were many of them worn out, and not to be depended on;

on; but it was necessary to raise them at any rate; for without them the Service proposed on Lake *Ontario* could not be carried on; and these Battoe Companies had this Advantage, that they would be a Protection to themselves, as well as to the Provisions and Stores they had in Charge; and spare the Army the infinite Labour of marching Troops backwards and forwards for the Protection of the Convoys; they were of themselves, while doing their Duty as Battoe-men, a very large patrolling Guard upon the Rivers and Lakes for keeping open the Communication between *Albany* and *Oswego*.

By the first of *April* their whole Number was compleat, tho' it was necessary to collect them from every Part of the Continent; several Companies being raised to the Eastward of *Boston*; two at *Cape Cod* and *Nantuckett* composed intirely of Whale-men, several in *Connecticut*, *New York*, *New Jersey*, and *Pensilvania*, and some even from *Maryland* and *Virginia*; their Ufesulness in both Capacities, as Battoe-men and Soldiers, soon appeared; they went unmolested, tho' large Parties of the Enemy had laid in wait several Weeks to attack them, until the third of *July*; when a Party of them was attacked by a superior Number of *French* and *Indians*, whom they repulsed; and after pursuing great Part of them into a Swamp, drove them out of it, and killed many of them; and by this means very

1756. } large Magazines were laid in at *Oswego* by
 May.

Many things were necessary to be provided for the *Crown Point* Expedition, which could only be had from the Eastern Colonies; Mr. *Skirley* accordingly prevailed upon those Governments, whilst he staid at *Boston*, to supply them, besides *Provisions* and *military Stores*; which at that time they were to raise at *their own* Expence: The Experience of the last Year had shewn, that the Northern Parts of the Province of *New York* could not furnish a Number of hired Horses or Carriages sufficient for the Transportation of the Necessaries for *one* Expedition: To remedy this Defect, the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* agreed to send by Land, across the Country, to *Albany* (to which Place all the Provisions and Stores of the Army were to be transported by Water) 200 Ox-Carts, with four Oxen and two Horses to each; *Connecticut* about 100 more, and *Rhode Island* about 50; these, after greatly reducing the Land Carriage between *Albany* and *Fort Edward*, were found, while properly employed, sufficient for transporting all the *Provincial* Stores of the Army: A suitable Number of Battoes and Flats were also ordered to be built for those Parts of *Hudson's* River above *Albany*, where Use could be made of Water-Carriage; several Companies of Carpenters were sent to *Fort William Henry*, to build a Number of large Boats and two arm'd Sloops,

Sloops, for transporting the Army over Lake *George*; in the mean time a Train of Artillery and Ordnance Stores were preparing at *Boston* and *New York*, and at the former Place two Artillery Companies of 100 Men each were raising and exercised every Day: And besides these, Mr. *Shirley* raised a *Ranging Company* of 60 Men, to be employed in scouting Parties upon Lake *George* and Lake *Champlain*, for gaining Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions, destroying their Cattle and Out-Magazines, intercepting their Provision Battoes, and surprizing their Parties of Boats upon either of the Lakes; to be commanded by an Officer who had before signaliz'd himself in that kind of Service. 1756.

These were the Preparations, which were making during Mr. *Shirley's* Stay at *Boston* for the *Provincial* Army, design'd for the Attack of *Crown Point*: He had at the same time the *Regular* Forces to recruit, and to provide for the building and manning of Vessels at an inland Place 430 Miles distant from the Sea, and accessible chiefly thro' Rivers filled with Shoals and Riffs, and over Carrying-places of Rock and Swamps; all creating infinite Labour, and consequently requiring a Variety of Preparations and great Numbers of Hands to transport the Necessaries for building the Vessels and maintaining them and the Troops on Lake *Ontario*.

Provisions and Stores of all Kinds for the Army and Navy were preparing, during the

1756. Winter, at *New York*; 700 *Battoes* for transporting Provisions to *Oswego* were building at *Schenectada*, besides the 250 *Whale-Boats* before-mentioned, which were absolutely necessary for an Expedition on *Lake Ontario*, especially as it was impracticable to put all the Troops, which were to be employed in it, on board the Vessels.

Feb.

Forty Carpenters and Sawyers set out for *Oswego* by land through the *Indian Country* to prepare the Timber for building the Vessels upon *Lake Ontario*, as did about 100 more in *March* following; but were unfortunately hindered on their way, for near a Fortnight, by a Party of *Canadeans* and *Indians* having surpris'd and burnt * *Bull's Fort* at *Wood Creek*, and destroyed the Garrison, which consisted of 30 Men.

As Mr. *Shirley* imputed this Misfortune to the Remissness and Negligence of the *Indian Parties* employed by Sir *William Johnson*, he took Notice of it to him; and finding by his Answer that these *Indians* would be of little Service, unless mixed with *English Rangers* in their scouting Parties, he informed him that he should raise out of the *New England Troops* then daily expected to return from *Nova Scotia*, three Companies of such Rangers to be employed jointly with the *Indians*, more especially

* This Party did not venture to make any Attempt against the Fort built at the other End of the Carrying-place, but retired immediately after having done the Mischief at *Bull's Fort*.

pecially for protecting the *Great Carrying-place* at *Oneida*, which, on Account of its being the most essential Pass for securing the Communication between *Albany* and *Oswego*, and for keeping large Magazines of Provisions and Stores, had long been threatened with an Attack from the Enemy: In Answer to this, Sir *William Johnson* observed to Mr. *Shirley*, that this was the Method, which the *French* always practised with *their Indians*: And in a subsequent Letter to him dated 10th of *May* 1756, he writes thus, “ I wish the Companies of Rangers, your Excellency mentions, were ready to go upon Duty, when I would hope to be able to join *Indians* with them; and unless this Method takes place, I despair of the Communication to *Oswego’s* being cured.”

In the Spring, as soon as the Season would permit, the Stores and Provisions of both Armies were sent to *Albany*, and moving on from thence to *Oswego* and *Lake George*; and at *Oswego* were building a Snow Brigantine and Sloop of the Force before-mentioned.

After having settled every thing with the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* relative to the *Crown Point* Expedition; and issued his Warrant for impressing a sufficient Number, to compleat the 3500 Troops voted by the *Massachusetts* Assembly, Mr. *Shirley* set out for *Albany*. Apr. 26.

By the first of *May* the 44th, 48th, and 50th Regiments were computed to amount,
one

1756. one with another, to 900 each, and the 51st to about 700.

May 6. Mr. *Shirley* arrived at *Albany*, and found the Provincial Troops beginning to assemble; their Provisions and Stores in great forwardness, and small Forts building between *Albany* and Fort *Edward* for protecting the Magazines, as the Stores were carrying up; as also Sloops, Flats and Boats building at Fort *William Henry* on Lake *George*; Captain *Rogers* with his Company of Rangers were on their return from a Scout towards *Crown Point*, where they had been to gain Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions, and intercept their Convoys with his Whale-Boats; for which Service Mr. *Shirley*, having found the great Success and Usefulness of this Company, ordered three other Companies of the same Kind to be raised; and in particular raised one of 45 *Stockbridge Indians*.

By this time, in the Place of the Fort at *Wood Creek*, which in *March* was surpris'd and burnt by the Enemy, another was built, being a regular Square with four Bastions of Pickets and Earth thrown up on the Berm for Defence against Musquetry, and a dry Ditch of 15 Feet wide and 12 deep; the *Great Carrying-place* which in the Beginning of last Year was a Portage of eight Miles Land Carriage, was now reduced to one Mile by clearing out the *Wood Creek* up to a Place called the *Stair Kill*, where another * Fort was built for

* Fort *Newport*.

Pro-

Protection of the Stores brought there to be laden into the Battoes ; the Course of the *Wood Creek* was *shortened* by cutting through some great Bends or Windings in it ; and as it was in some Places flat and shallow, Dams were erected to raise the Water ; so that the Battoes might at all times float with very little Obstruction ; which before they could not do in dry Seasons ; this Work was done by a Company of Carpenters and Pioneers, which Mr. *Shirley* sent for that Purpose from *Boston* early in the Spring under the Direction of Captain *Bradstreet* ; the Garrison on the *Oneida Carrying-place* was 504 Men strong, exclusive of Commissioned Officers, and able to defend it (especially with the Assistance of scouting Parties of *Indians*) against six times their Number, as they could only be attacked with small Arms ; a small Work secured with Pickets was erected at *Burnets Field*, the upper Settlement on the *Mohawks* River, for protecting the Magazines there against a Surprise from *Indians* ; and three of the *New York* Independent Companies computed at about 200 Men were posted in the Neighbourhood ; 150 Men were posted at *Conajobara* Falls about 50 Miles above *Schenectada* for guarding the Carrying-place there, upon which was built a small Work : besides these, Mr. *Shirley* had ordered a Fort to be built at the great Falls (about 12 Miles from *Oswego*) which was accordingly begun, but could not be immediatly proceeded in for want of Hands ; and the 2000 Battoe-men under
 Captain

1756. Captain *Bradstreet* were passing and repassing with the Stores and Provisions to *Oswego* without Interruption.

The foregoing Account will shew the State of Affairs at the time of Mr. *Shirley's* coming to *Albany*; he had by this time, from common Report, private Letters, and Public News-Papers, heard that he was to be superseded in his Command; but he had yet no Account of it from any *Minister* of State, or other Person in Authority; he had sent home Copies of the Minutes of the Council of War, held at *New York* in the Winter, which arrived there about the 20th of *January*, but had received no Answer either in Approbation or Disapprobation of the Plan of Operations, he had transmitted for Consideration; this left him in Uncertainty, whether it would be adviseable for him to proceed to carry his Plan into Execution, so far at least as it was practicable with the Force he had, lest it should interfere with *that*, which his *Successor* might be charged with; however, since he had received no Disapprobation of it, as he might have done, if it had not been approved, he thought it his Duty to carry on his Preparations for that and every other Part of his *Majesty's* Service, as fast as possible for the ensuing Campaign, until he should be relieved in his Command.

May 25. Under these Circumstances Mr. *Shirley* thought it expedient for him to be assisted with the Opinion of a Council of War upon what might

might be the most adviseable Measures for him to take for his Majesty's Service in the Situation he was in ; and accordingly called one at *Albany* the 25th of *May*, at which were present all the *Field Officers* of his Majesty's Troops, who were at such Distance from Head Quarters, as made it possible for them to attend, with the *Deputy Quarter-master General* and the *Chief Engineer* : at this Meeting, Mr. *Shirley* informed the Members, that he had called them together to have their Opinion and Advice upon several Matters relative to his Majesty's Service in the ensuing Campaign, and in order to set them in a proper light for their Consideration he first acquainted them with the Plan of Operations determined upon in the Council of War held at *New York* the 12th, and 13th of *December* last, (at which none of them were present) and informed them, that he had transmitted that Plan to *England* to Sir *Thomas Robinson* to be laid before his Majesty.

Mr. *Shirley* then acquainted the Council with the State and Strength of the Garrison and Works at *Oswego* ; which last he had then the utmost Reason to think were finished, having sent *two Engineers* there early in the Spring, for that Purpose ; with the State and Number of the Troops then on their March for further strengthening that Garrison ; the State and Strength of the Navy built and building on the Lake ; the State of the Works and Garrisons at the several Posts between

1756. *Albany* and *Oswego*; the State of Provisions and Stores at those Posts and at *Oswego*; the State and Number of the armed Battoe-men employed in the Transportation of Provisions and Stores, and with the Expectations he had from Sir *William Johnson's* Letters of Assistance from the *Indians*, together with an Account of the *French* Naval Force and Garrisons on *Lake Ontario*, according to the best Intelligence he had been able to obtain.

He then proceeded to inform them of the State and Strength of his *Majesty's* 44th, and 48th Regiments, and Independent Companies of *New York*, as also of the *Provincial* Forces destined for the Expedition against *Crown Point*, with the Number of those, that were then assembled, and of those expected soon to join them; of the State and Forwardness of the Stores and Provisions for that Army; and of the State and Condition of *Forts Edward* and *William Henry*, with the Intelligence he had obtained of the Strength of the Enemy at *Crown Point*, *Tionderoge*, and their advanced Post on *Lake George*; he then proceeded to observe, that the Number both of Regular and *Provincial* Troops fell short of that judged requisite by the Council of War at *New York* for carrying on the Services designed on *Lake Ontario*, and against *Crown Point*; and that it appeared to him that both could not be carried on at the same time with a Probability of Success, without more Troops from *England*, of which there was then no
 Certainty:

Certainty: He therefore desired their Opinion and Advice upon the Disposition of the 44th, and 48th Regiments, which were then the only Regular Troops not employed in Garrison; and in their giving that he desired they would consider

1st. What Number of Troops, they were of Opinion, would be sufficient to put *Oswego* in a proper State of Defence, and to keep open the Communication between *Albany* and that Place.

2dly. Whether if the 44th, and 48th Regiments, should be employed upon the *Lake Ontario*, together with what might be spared for that Service out of the 50th, and 51st Regiments and the *New Jersey* Regiment, and the four Independent Companies of *New York* with the four Companies daily expected from *North Carolina*, would be a sufficient Force for attempting the Reduction of the *French* Forts, at *Niagara*, or on *Lake Ontario*; and (in particular) whether it would be adviseable to leave the Covering of the Country Northward of the City of *Albany*, and *Albany* itself to the *Provincials* raised for the Expedition against *Crown Point*.

3dly. Whether if the 44th, and 48th Regiments should be employed in Conjunction with the before-mentioned Provincial Troops, to attempt the Reduction of the *French* Forts at *Tionderoge* and *Crown Point*, they would be a sufficient Force for that Service.

The Council, after debating and consider-

1756. ing these Matters, gave it as their unanimous
 Opinion :

1st. That 1300 Men would be sufficient for putting *Oswego* into a proper State of Defence ; and that for keeping open the Communication between *Schenectada* and *Oswego*, it would be necessary to have 550 Men distributed in the several Parts between those two Places ; and as they had Reason to think from the late Desertions, that the 50th, and 51st, and the *New Jersey* Regiment, together with the four *New York* Independent Companies and the Companies expected from *North Carolina* could not be depended upon at present for producing above 2000 Men fit for Service, they advised Mr. *Shirley* to employ the whole of those Corps, in securing *Oswego*, and its Communication with *Albany*.

2dly. That the 44th, and 48th Regiments, together with what could be spared out of the before-mentioned Regiments and Companies for attempting the Reduction of the *French* Forts at *Niagara*, or on the *Lake Ontario*, were not a sufficient Force for that Service ; in giving their Opinion upon which Point they referred themselves to that of the Council of War held at *New York* on the 12th and 13th of *December* last, which was composed of the principal Governors upon the Continent, and his Majesty's Field Officers then present, who were unanimously of Opinion that 6000 Troops at least were necessary for that Purpose ; and they were also of Opinion that it

was

was not adviseable to leave the securing of the ^{1756.} Country to the Northward of the City of Albany, together with that City, to the Provincial Troops raised for the Expedition against Crown Point.

3dly. That the 44th and 48th Regiments, with the *Provincials* appear'd to be, according to the Intelligence of the Enemy's Strength, a sufficient Force to attempt the Reduction of the *French Forts at Tionderoge and Crown Point*; but that for the present those two Regiments should remain, where they were then encamp'd, and that immediate Preparations should be made for joining them with the *Provincials* in the Reduction of *Crown Point*; that being the only way at present, where they could be of use in annoying the Enemy.

As the Sentiments of the Council fell in with Mr. *Shirley's*, and in particular their proposed Disposition of the 44th and 48th Regiments put them in a Situation of being ready to be made use of in such manner as Mr. *Shirley's* Successor in the Command should find most consistent with the Plan of Operations, which might be committed to *him*, he thought it most adviseable for his *Majesty's* Service to act accordingly, and gave Orders that the 44th and 48th Regiments should remain in their present Encampments.

As to the 50th and 51st, and *New Jersey* Regiments, with the Independent Companies of *New York*, they were continued likewise in their Posts, as the Council of War advis'd; and as the *Carolina* Companies were not yet arrived,

1756. arrived, 150 of the 44th Regiment were posted at the *Conajohara* Falls; and 70 more at the *Mohawks* Castle, two of the Posts on the *Mohawks* River: The *Battoe*-men, who were then about 2000 in Number, were (except 200) constantly employed in transporting Provisions to *Oswego*, where by the first of *July* there was sufficient for 5000 Men for several Months; the other 200 were employ'd in getting up the Provisions and Stores to *Sarabotoga*; which were also compleated by the first of *July*.

About the time of holding the last Council of War, Engineers were sent by Mr. *Shirley* to view the Works at Fort *Edward* and Fort *William Henry*, by whose Accounts of them it appeared, that the Plans were bad, and those not half executed, that of Fort *Edward* especially; whereupon Mr. *Shirley* order'd Plans for their Amendment to be laid before him, which were settled by the Engineer in Chief, and sent two Engineers to each of the Forts, to put them into a State of Defence.

June 7. While these Proceedings were carrying on Colonel *Webb* arrived from *England* at *New York* 7th *June*, and in a Letter, dated the Day after, acquainted Mr. *Shirley*, that he should set out in a Day or two for *Albany*, and would use all the Dispatch in his Power to relieve him, inclosing two Letters at the same time from one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, dated the 13th and 31st of *March*, in the latter of which Mr. *Shirley* received

ceived his Majesty's Orders to repair to *Eng-* 1756.
land.

On the Receipt of this Letter from Mr. *Webb*, Mr. *Shirley* directed the Preparations to go on as he had before ordered, and prepared to give his *Successor* a compleat Account in Writing of the State of every Part of the Service under his Care, that he might lose no time, after being relieved, in proceeding to *England* as soon as possible, agreeable to his Majesty's Commands; but he was not reliev'd till Major General *Abercrombie's* Arrival.

On the 20th of *June* Mr. *Shirley* received June 20.
Advice, that Major General *Abercrombie* was arrived at *New York*, with *Otway's* and the *Highland* Regiments.

On the 25th General *Abercrombie* arrived at June 25.
Albany, in Company with Colonel *Webb*, and the Day following took upon him the *chief* Command.

Mr. *Shirley* gave General *Abercrombie* a very June 27.
particular Account in Writing of the State of every Part of his Majesty's Service under his Care, with the Strength of the Regiments, Garrisons, and Works, and laid before him every Paper he had in his Possession, which might give him any Light into his Majesty's Service; and as far as was consistent with Politeness, gave him his Sentiments concerning the most adviseable manner of employing the Troops in the ensuing Campaign.

In particular, as Mr. *Shirley* was of Opinion, upon the Arrival of *Otway's* and the
Highb-

1756. *Highland Regiment from England*, that some of the Regular Forces might be spared, not only to strengthen *Oswego*, but even to act offensively upon *Lake Ontario*; and that if two Battalions of them should be employ'd there, they might with the 2000 *Battoe-men*, and what might be spared from the Garrison at *Oswego*, and the Troops posted between *Schenectada* and that Place, together with the *Indians*, which *Sir William Johnson* had engaged to have been ready to act at *Oswego*, and the Naval Force which would by that time be equipped and fitted out there, make a sufficient Force to attempt the Reduction of *Fort Frontenac*, or at least *Niagara*, he signified his Sentiments upon this Point to General *Abercrombie* as plainly as he could, without obtruding his Advice upon him, in the two following Paragraphs of his Letters to him of the 27th and 29th of *June*, in the former of which he wrote thus: "It may not be improper to observe here, that it would be of very great Importance to his *Majesty's* Service, if a successful Attempt could be made this Campaign against the *French* Fort at *Niagara*, for this Reason in particular (among others), that the losing or gaining the *Indians* to the Interest of the *English* seems very much to depend upon the Activity and Success of our Operations *this* Year upon *Lake Ontario*:" And in the latter he told him, "He should have observed, in his Letter dated the 27th Instant, that the
" Opinion

“ Opinion contained in the Minute of the ^{1756.} Council of War held at *Albany* the 25th of *May* concerning the Insufficiency of his Majesty’s Forces in *North America* to carry on Attempts against the *French* Settlements, both at *Crown Point* and *Niagara* that Summer, was founded upon the Consideration of the Number of his Majesty’s Regular Troops, which were actually there at the time of holding that Council, and consisted only of the 44th, 48th, 50th, 51st Regiments, and four Independent Companies of *New York*, and without any regard had to *Otway’s* and the *Highland* Regiments, which were since arrived ;” and of this Mr. *Shirley* made mention in one of his Letters to his Majesty’s Ministers.

Captain *Bradstreet* had set out early this Month from *Schenectada* with the second Lading of Provisions and Stores for *Oswego* ; at which Time Mr. *Shirley* gave him Orders, that immediately upon the Delivery of them there, he should make an Attempt against the *French* Settlement at † *La Gallette* up the River *Iroquois* (from whence their *Indian* Parties had done great Mischief) with his Battoe-men and some Troops with Artillery from the Garrison, provided the Commanding Officer there should be of Opinion, he could spare any for that Service ; but as Mr. *Shirley*, upon his receiving Advice of Mr. *Webb’s* Arrival at *New*

† This Place is called by the *Indians* *Affwegoichi*.

1756.

York, had it much at heart that Captain *Bradstreet* should return to *Schenectada* as soon as possible for his *Successor's* Orders; and especially to carry a Reinforcement to the Garrison at *Oswego*, in case he should think proper to send any, together with the Remainder of the Cannon, naval Stores and Seamen for the new Vessels on Lake *Ontario*, he dispatch'd an Express after Mr. *Bradstreet*, which was followed by two other Letters countermanding his former Orders to him, and directing him to return to *Schenectada* as soon as possible, after delivering his Provisions and Stores at *Oswego*.

It is proper to observe here, that it appears from the Minutes of the Council of War held at *Albany* the 25th of *May* last, and Mr. *Shirley's* Letter to Major General *Abercrombie* dated the 27th of *June*, that the Land and Naval Forces, to which Mr. *Shirley* had determined to trust the Defence of *Oswego*, were to consist of a Garrison of 1300 Troops, 550 more to be posted at the several Passes between *Oswego* and *Albany* for guarding the Magazines, and keeping open a Communication between those two Places, two Vessels of 10 Carriage Guns each, and two small Schooners (us'd as Row-Gallies) of 10 Swivels each, all built in the Year 1755; three Vessels built in the succeeding Spring and Summer design'd to mount, one of them 18 Cannon, one 14, and the other 6, which two last are in the Minutes of the Council held at *Albany* by mistake said to carry

10, and 8 Cannon, 250 Whale-Boats ca-^{1756.}
 pable of navigating the Lake *Ontario*, and
 holding 16 Men each, and 2000 Battoe-men,
 which, though raised immediately for that
 Service, yet as they were arm'd with Musquets
 and Hatchets, and marshall'd in Companies of
 50 Men each commanded by two Officers,
 could be serviceable likewise for manning the
 Whale-Boats or doing Duty at Land, as his
 Majesty's Service might require; and that be-
 sides this Force Mr. *Shirley* depended upon a
 large Body of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*
 which Sir *William Johnson* was to have assem-
 bled at *Oswego* this Summer, to be ready
 for such Service as they should be ordered
 upon.

As to the Expedition against *Crown Point*,
 it appears by the same Minutes of Council, that
 before the Arrival of *Otway's* and the *Highland*
 Regiments, and the gaining Intelligence of the
 Design of the *French* to attack *Oswego* that
 Summer, Mr. *Shirley* had determined to have
 prosecuted it that Year (in case any Accident
 should have prevented the timely Arrival of
 the *Earl of Loudoun* or the other *General Offi-*
cers sent by his Majesty to take upon them the
Chief Command in North America until his
Lordship's Arrival) with the Provincial Troops
 computed to consist of 7000 Men, Officers
 included, one Company of Rangers, 100 *In-*
dians expected from Sir *William Johnson*, and
 his Majesty's 44th and 48th Regiments, and
 the beforementioned Company of *Stockbridge*

1756. *Indians* consisting of 45 Men commanded by
 Indian Officers.

That the beforementioned Forces would have been sufficient for the Services, to which they were respectively destined, and most probably have effected them if they had not been prevented by Measures taken since the *Expiration* of Mr. *Shirley's* Command, will appear from the following Observations.

The old Fort at *Oswego* was surrounded with a strong Breast-work of Earth, having a Ditch thrown up on the outside and mounted with about 20 Cannon; and Fort *Ontario*, tho' nothing had been done to strengthen it since Mr. *Shirley's* Departure from *Oswego* (except surrounding it with a Ditch not quite finish'd) was, as hath been before observ'd, picketed with Logs from 3 to 4 Foot thick, capable, according to the general Opinion, of resisting a 3 lb. or 4 lb. Shot, and mounted with eight Pieces of Cannon, and some Cohorns, and upon the whole was defensible against an Attack of almost any Number of Men with small Arms, that could be supposed to be brought against it.

The *Naval* Force designed for the Protection of *Oswego* was, according to all Accounts, (as will herein after more fully appear) much *superior* to that which the *French* were preparing for Lake *Ontario*, and consequently *sufficient* to have kept the Command of the Lake, and *prevented* the *French* from landing any large Number of Men, with Artillery and
 Stores

Stores near the Forts, particularly Artillery, ^{1756.} without which *Oswego* was not to be taken.

As to the Garrison, which was to consist of 1300 Troops, it might have been reinforced with such a Number of the Battoe-men, as any Emergency of the Service could, according to the best Accounts, we have had of the Enemy's Strength in that Quarter, either before or since the Loss of the Place, be reasonably supposed to have required ; and if in addition to this Force, a considerable Body of the *Indians* of the Six Nations had been assembled at *Oswego*, ready to act against the *French* in the Defence of their own Country, as Mr. *Shirley* had the utmost Reason to expect, it is not credible that the *French* would have made any Attempt against *Oswego* that Year.

As to the Sufficiency of the Forces destin'd for the Expedition against *Crown Point* ; that seems to be put out of question by the unanimous Opinion of the before-mentioned Council at *Albany* upon that Point ; and the Design's being continu'd of prosecuting it with an equal, if not an inferior Force, after Mr. *Shirley* was relieved from the Command ; and by the Orders given for marching the *Provincial* Troops from Fort *William Henry* upon that Service ; not being countermanded 'till News was received of the Loss of *Oswego*.

With regard to the State, which *Oswego* was in, and the Progress made in the Expedition against

1756. against *Crown Point* by the 26th of *June*, the Day on which Mr. *Shirley's* Command expired, they were as follows :

There were in the Garrison at *Oswego* and posted at the several Passes between *Schenectada* and that Place, his Majesty's 50th and 51st Regiments, and two of the Independent Companies of *New York* with the *New Jersey* Regiment, and four *Provincial* Companies of *North Carolina*, consisting in the whole of upwards of 2000 Rank and File ; which exceeds the Number determined in the Council of War at *Albany*, to be sufficient for the Garrison and Passes by 150, besides Sailors, Ship Carpenters and Workmen : the old Fort was defended with the Works and Cannon beforementioned, as was likewise Fort *Ontario* : and by the first of *July*, there were, according to the best Accounts given of the Provisions in the Magazines at those Places, a sufficient Quantity there for 5000 Men, for upwards of four Months ; about two thirds at least of which were at *Oswego*.

The two Vessels built in 1755, and one of the Row-Gallies (the other having been taken by the *French* some time in *June* 1756, upon Lake *Ontario*) were compleatly equipp'd for the Lake ; two of the three new Vessels built in the same Year were launched the third of *July*, as was the other on or about the 12th ; all the naval stores were arrived at *Oswego* by the 2d of

of *July*, except 24 of the * Cannon, and some 1756. running Rigging, which had † waited at *Conajohara Falls* and the *Oneida Carrying-place* ever since the 24th of *June* for Captain *Bradstreet* upon his third Passage from *Schenectada* to *Oswego*, without whose Convoy they would have been exposed to the greatest Risque, or rather Certainty of being taken by the Enemy before they had been landed at the last mentioned Place; the 250 Whale-Boats designed for *Lake Ontario* were built, and the 2000 Batomen raised by the 1st of *April*, and about 200 of the Boats arrived at *Oswego* by the Middle of *May*, where they lay ready for Service on the *Lake*.

And as to the Preparations made for carrying the Attempt against *Crown Point* into Execution, they were so far advanc'd, when Mr. *Shirley* delivered up the Command, that the Troops both *British* and Provincials destin'd for that Service, with their Provisions, Artillery and Stores, and the Vessels and Battoes necessary for their Transportation to the *advanced Post*

* Mr. *Shirley* having acquainted the Lords of the Admiralty with the building of the new Vessels, and that Cannon would be wanted from *England* for them, their Lordships accordingly sent Cannon in his Majesty's Ship *Sterling Castle*; but that not arriving 'till the latter End of *August*, Mr. *Shirley*, after waiting as long as he safely could, in expectation of the Cannon from *England*, purchas'd them at *New York*, in time for them to have been transported to *Oswego* before they were wanted there.

† Vide Declaration of *James Crawford* and *Edward Brooks*, No. 2. in Appendix.

1756. of the *French* upon *Lake George*, which is about five Miles on this Side of *Tionderoge*, and 30 beyond Fort *William Henry*, were in such Readiness, that the Provincial Troops, which on the 26th of *June* amounted to 6775, inclusive of all Officers, those of the Field and Staff excepted, and in *July* were increased to 6905, might, as Major General *Winslow*, Commanding Officer of the Provincials, informed Mr. *Shirley*, have begun their March for that Place by the End of the first Week in *July*; and before the 25th of *June*, Provisions for 2500 Men for four Months were sent to *Sarabzoga*, which is within seven Miles of Fort *Edward*, and there deposited for the Use of his Majesty's *Regular Troops*, who also might, according to all appearance, have been ready to have marched by the 7th of *July*.

Concerning this Expedition it is proper here to observe, that on the 30th of *June*, a Conference was held at Mr. *Shirley's* Apartments at *Albany*, at the Desire of Major General *Abercrombie*, between himself, Mr. *Shirley*, Colonel *Webb*, Major General *Winslow*, and Colonel *Gridley*, Chief Engineer of the Provincials: At this Meeting General *Abercrombie* proposed to Mr. *Winslow*, that upon the Provincials leaving Fort *Edward*, and Fort *William Henry*, and marching to *Tionderoge*, the *Regular Troops* should move up to those Forts, and be ready there to support or assist them, in case they should want it, and ask'd him and Colonel *Gridley* how a Junction of the *Regular Troops* with

with the *Provincials*, would in such case be lik'd by the latter: upon this both those Officers assured General *Abercrombie* in the strongest Terms, that a Junction would, in such case be perfectly acceptable to the *Provincial* Troops; and that they could be answerable in this respect for every Officer among them.

This Mr. *Winslow* in his Letters to the *New England* Governments giving an Account of the Meeting and Conference at it, calls *the Settlement of the Plan* [meaning the Plan for an Attempt against *Crown Point*] and mentions it as *extremely acceptable* to the *Provincials*; and in his Letter to Mr. *Shirley* dated the 2d of *August* he writes thus: “ Your Excellency
 “ may remember, that the Day you left *Al-*
 “ *bany* when there was a Convention of Of-
 “ ficers, and I had the Honour to be present,
 “ the Plan was settled, that the whole of the
 “ *Provincials* were to proceed forward, and to
 “ endeavour the Removal of the Incroach-
 “ ments made by the *French* on his Majesty’s
 “ Territories, and that the *Regulars* should pos-
 “ sels the Posts, that we then occupy’d, and
 “ have a Force at Fort * *William Henry* to assist,
 “ or sustain us, as Occasion should require;
 “ which was then agreeable to us all con-
 “ cern’d; and in this Situation we remain’d
 “ till the 14th of *July*, when we made our
 “ grand March from † *Half Moon*.

* Vide Extract of Capt. *Bradstreet*’s Letter to Mr. *Shirley*, No. 3. in Appendix. † Vide the same Extract.

1756. The whole of *Otway's* and the *Highland*
 June 30. Regiments landed at *Albany*; and Mr. *Shirley*
 embarked that Evening for *New York*, where
 he arrived the 4th of *July*; and upon Major
 General *Abercrombie's* and Colonel *Webb's*
 pressing him to wait there till the *Earl of Lou-*
down's Arrival, being persuaded, as they told
 him, that his having an Interview and per-
 sonal Conference with him would be a great
 Satisfaction to his *Lordship*, and might pro-
 mote his Majesty's Service, he determined to
 stay at *New York* for that Purpose.

July 3. Captain *Bradstreet* having delivered the se-
 cond Lading of Provisions at *Oswego* set out
 with the *Battoes* upon his Return to *Schenec-*
tada, in order to transport the Remainder of
 the Artillery and Stores of all Kinds, with such
 Troops as it should be thought proper to em-
 bark for *Oswego*, as also what Seamen should
 be ready for him; and what Provisions he
 could take in besides: On the same Day his
 first Division of *Battoes* was fired upon in the
 River *Onondago* by a large Body of *French* and
Indians, which had been waiting some time
 with a Design to surprize and cut them off
 their Passage to *Oswego*, and killed about
 thirty of his *Battoe-men*; upon this Occa-
 sion Mr. *Bradstreet*, who was a little behind
 this Division, was obliged to betake himself
 with a handful of Men to a small Island in the
 River opposite to the Enemy, a considerable
 Number of whom he repulsed, with much
 Bravery and good Conduct, in three Attempts
 to

to land on the Island; and afterwards with about 250 of his Men, attacked a Body of about 500 of them in a Swamp, from whence he drove them into the River with a considerable Slaughter; and the Action ended in a complete Rout of them with the Loss of great Part of their Provisions, Firelocks, scalping Knives, Hatchets, Blankets, &c. 1756.

Mr. *Bradstreet* arrived at *Schenechtada*, having gained Intelligence from his Prisoners, that the *French* were forming a large Encampment at about 32 Miles Distance from *Oswego*, and designed soon to attack it; and upon his Arrival at *Albany* Major General *Abercrombie* had an * Account given him of it, whereupon he gave Orders for Colonel *Webb* (now Major General *Webb*) and the 44th Regiment to hold themselves in Readiness to march to *Oswego*; but their Embarkation was retarded, and the *Battoes* detained at *Schenechtada*, until the 12th of *August*; which was till within two Days of the Enemy's coming before *Oswego*, by which means it was deprived, at the Time of its being attacked, of the Benefit of near one half of its naval Force, for want of Cannon and Seamen, the Service of the *Whale-Boats* and Companies of *Battoe-men*, which would, in all Probability, (as will herein after more fully appear) have saved it from being lost; especially

* Vide Appendix, No. 4.

1756. if the Garrison there had been reinforced with the 44th Regiment; the whole of which Defence (allowing the Battoes a Passage of 12 Days) it *might have had* 17 Days at least before the Arrival of the *French* there, if that had not been prevented by the Detention of the Battoes 30 Days at *Schenectada*.

Aug. 9. Mr. *Shirley* arrived at *Boston*, and in a few Days after sent the Earl of *Loudoun* two Companies of Rangers consisting of 60 Men each, raised chiefly out of the *New England Troops*, returned from *Nova Scotia*; and finding that the *Massachusetts* Government had in his Absence failed to raise their full Quota of Men for the Expedition against *Crown Point*, being 3500, and that there was a Deficiency of 600, upon his first meeting the *Assembly* represented to them the ill Consequences of such Neglect, and let them know that he should issue new Impress Warrants for *compleating their Troops*; which they most readily acquiesced in, and returned him their public Thanks for; and Mr. *Shirley* issued his Warrants accordingly, with Orders for marching the Men, as fast as raised, to *Albany*, there to follow the *Earl of Loudoun's Orders*: And, during his Stay at *Boston*, did every thing in his Power to promote his *Majesty's* Service under his *Lordship's* Command.

Another unfortunate Circumstance was, that a very considerable Part of the Battoe-men, whose Serviceableness not only by Water, but in an Action by Land, had been so lately experienced,

perienced, was † *discharged* soon after their 1756.
Return to *Schenectada*.

The Accounts, which have been given of the Detention of the Battoes at *Schenectada*, stand thus.

General *Abercrombie*, after his Arrival at *Albany*, and before the *Earl of Loudoun's* at *New York*, sent written Orders to Mr. *Livingston*, one of the Persons employed by Mr. *Shirley*, to furnish Provisions for the Troops, *forbidding* him to make any further Supplies.

Captain *Bradstreet*, in his Letter to Mr. *Shirley* dated *Albany July 16th 1756*, acquainted him, *that he was to return to Oswego with Provisions and Stores, together with Colonel Webb and the 44th Regiment*; and in another Letter, dated *Albany July 24th*, says, “ I should
“ have set out some Days ago for *Oswego* with
“ the 44th Regiment, and Colonel *Webb*, but *no*
“ Care being taken to send Provisions for them
“ to *Schenectada*, they cannot move until a
“ large Quantity is sent there, which I fear
“ will take some time :—Notwithstanding
“ every thing's being so forward at *Oswego* for
“ proceeding upon Action, by all Appearances
“ nothing will be done that way, without the
“ *French* make it a Visit, which, by my In-
“ telligence, is more than probable, if *proper*
“ Care be not taken.”

Mr. *Murray's* Account of this Matter is contained in his Declaration upon Oath dated

† Mr. *Abercrombie* had then the chief Command.

September

1756. *September 4th 1756, which is here inserted*
verbatim, viz.

“ I *John Murray*, of *Rutland*, in the Pro-
 vince of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New Eng-*
 land, Esq; declare, that I was at *Albany* in
 the Province of *New York*, from the 1st
 to the 10th Day of *August* last, during
 which Time I was conversant with the Of-
 ficers and other Persons belonging to the
 Forces under the Command of my Lord
Loudoun, and that then it was the public
 and common Talk that the Reasons of Co-
 lonel *Webb's* Delay to set out with the 44th
 Regiment under his Command for *Oswego*
 to reinforce the Army there was, that as
 Mr. *Kilby* and others had contracted to vic-
 tual all his Majesty's Forces in *North Ame-*
rica, he would not receive any of the Pro-
 visions, that were provided for the said Army
 by Messrs. *Livingston* and *Morris*, who were
 the late Contractors, and as I the Decla-
 rant understood, had a large Quantity of
 Provisions then at *Albany* ready to be deli-
 vered for the Use of the Troops: And I the
 Declarant further say, that there was a ge-
 ral Uneasiness during the Time of this Dis-
 pute concerning the receiving of Messrs.
Livingston's and *Morris's* Provisions, lest
 they should suffer at *Oswego* by this Delay;
 and I also declare, that Colonel *Webb* march-
 ed from *Albany* about the 8th or 9th of *Au-*
gust, when, as I understood, Lord *Loudoun*
 had agreed to receive all the Provisions, which
 “ were

“ were provided by said *Livingston* and *Morris*, and that out of the same the said Regiment that was to proceed to *Oswego*, was, as I understood, actually supplied, and further say not. 1756.

Sept. 4th, 1756.

John Murray.”

And Mr. *Leake*, Commissary General of Stores and Provisions for his Majesty's Forces in *North America*, in his Letter to the *Earl of Loudoun*, dated *Albany* 2d *October*, 1756, and which was transmitted by his Lordship to *England*, says thus, “ When it was thought necessary to send the 44th Regiment, and others towards *Oswego*, there were Orders to send to *Schenectada* 400 Tierces of Bread, and 300 Barrels of Pork, I acquainted Major General *Abercrombie*, that there were not in Store of the Provisions contracted for by General *Shirley*, above 20 Casks of Bread ; and for the Pork, there was not near that Quantity ; and that there was of it, being dry salted, and most of the Barrels left were none of the strongest, being *designed* to be served out there ; upon which he was pleased to give me an Order on Mr. *George Saul*, Agent to the * *Contractors*, for the above Quantity of Bread and Pork, which was accordingly sent to *Schenectada* with all possible Dispatch.”

Upon the foregoing Accounts given by

* The present Contractors.

Captain

1756. *Captain Bradstreet, Mr. Murray, and Commissary Leake*, it may be remarked :

That they all conspire to shew that the *Battoes* were *detained* by reason of *some* Difficulty relating to the *Provisions*, which were to be furnished upon this Occasion.

That *Commissary Leake's* Account, though it seems from the Date and Tenour of it to have been given by way of Answer to that, which is contained in *Murray's* Declaration, does not impugn it ; for though it is said in his Letter that there “ was not *in Store* of the “ *Provisions contracted* for by *General Shirley* “ above 20 Casks of Bread, and not near that “ Quantity of Pork,” yet *Messrs. Livingston* and *Morris* might have *then* had at *Albany* a Quantity of *Provisions*, though not contracted for by *Mr. Shirley*, ready for an immediate Supply upon that Emergency ; and though it is said in *Mr. Leake's* Letter, “ that *General* “ *Abercrombie* gave him an Order upon *Mr.* “ *Saul*, Agent to the Contractors, for the be- “ fore-mentioned 400 Casks of Bread, and “ 300 Casks of Pork, and that they were “ accordingly sent to *Schenectada* with all “ possible Dispatch ;” yet it does not appear when those *Provisions* arrived at *Schenectada* ; whether in time to supply the Troops and *Battoe-men* for their Passage to *Oswego* ; or whether they were not at last supplied out of *Messrs. Livingston's* and *Morris's* *Provisions* ; as is expressed in *Murray's* Declaration ;—

Likewise

Likewise that what is said in Mr. *Leake's* 1756. Letter concerning the Condition of the Pork, and some of the Casks then in Store of the Provisions, which had been *contracted* for by General *Shirley*; viz. "that the Pork was "dry salted, and the Casks none of the best," was no reason for its not being made use of upon such an *Emergency*, as the Pork and Bread then wanted was for *present* spending: Also that it does not appear by Commissary *Leake's* Letter, that there was not then any *Flour* in Store at *Albany*; which might have served the Troops, Battoe-men, &c. in lieu of Bread.

That it appears by *Commissary Leake's* weekly * Return of Provisions in Store at *Albany* made to Mr. *Shirley* June 19, 1756, (which was the last Return made to him during his Command, and but six Days before Major General *Abercrombie* took the chief Command upon him) that there was *then* in Store there, among *other* Species of Provisions, 97 Tierces of Bread, 376 Barrels of Flour, and 719½ Barrels of Pork; and after the Expiration of Mr. *Shirley's* Command, it is needless to say, it was no longer incumbent upon *him* to take care that the Stores of Provisions at *Albany* were duly supplied.

That the essential Articles wanted upon this *Emergency* at *Oswego* were the Cannon, Seamen, Battoe-men, and 44th Regiment, which

* Vide Appendix, No. 7.

1756. were all *then* waiting for Transportation; for as to Provisions, there was at that time in the Magazine of *Oswego* a sufficient Quantity to subsist 5000 Men for several Months; besides a considerable Quantity at the Passes between *Schenechtada* and *Oswego* destined for the latter of those Places; so that all the Provisions wanted at *that time* was the necessary Quantity for supplying the Regiment and Battoe-men in their Passage, the Number of both which was, according to the Account given of that Matter, now reduced to about 2000 Men by the Dismission of Part of the Battoe-men.

And it may be further remarked that the 400 Tierces of Bread and 300 Barrels of Pork, which *Commissary Leake* says in his Letter “there was Orders to send to *Schenechtada*, “when it was thought necessary to send the “44th Regiment and others towards *Oswego*;” and for which it therein appears that the Troops, Battoe-men, &c. were detained 30 Days at *Schenechtada*, were at least four times the Quantity of those Species of Provisions, that was wanted for their *whole* Passage from thence to *Oswego*; allowing them 12 Days for it; which was a time full sufficient, as they ought, upon that pressing Occasion, to have made forced Marches.

To conclude this Point, when it is considered. 1st, What the State of Provisions at *Albany* was at the time of Mr. *Skirley*'s delivering up the Command, according to the last Account given him by Mr. *Leake* the proper Officer.

2dly,

2dly, That Mr. *Abercrombie*, when in the Chief Command, forbid the Persons employed by Mr. *Shirley*, when proceeding in the Course of their Supplies, to provide for any more. 3dly, That when Intelligence came of the Danger, *Oswego* was in, all the Provisions wanted on that Emergency was only what would be sufficient to subsist the Troops and Battomen in their March up to it. 4thly, That the Provisions, which were then in Store at *Albany*, taking the lowest Account of that matter, might with ease in that plentiful Country, in a very short time, have been increased to the full Quantity necessary on that great Occasion, by any Persons engaged in that Service. 5thly, That the Troops and Battomen were continued waiting at *Schenectada* for Provisions so long, that they must certainly have there spent above double the Quantity, which was necessary to carry them to *Oswego*; and 6thly, That the Provisions at last ordered, and which the Troops and Battomen waited for, were four times as much as were necessary to subsist them in their whole Passage thither. When these things are considered, it will manifestly appear that the Detention of the 44th Regiment, and Battomen with the Seamen, Cannon, and Stores destin'd for *Oswego*, upon which the Loss of it ensued, cannot justly be charged upon Mr. *Shirley*.

The *Earl of London* arrived at *New York*, July 23. where on the same Day Mr. *Shirley* gave his Lordship Accounts of the State of his Majesty's Service at the time of his being relieved in the

1756. Command, in the same Manner, that he had done to General *Abercrombie*.

July 26. His Lordship embarked for *Albany*, and arrived there the 29th of the same Month.

Aug. 9. Major General *Webb* left *Albany* in order to proceed to *Oswego*; but the Troops (as hath been before observed) did not *embark* till the 12th.

At this time the State of the *English* Naval Force on Lake *Ontario* stood thus; the *Ontario* mounting 6 four Pounders, 2 Howitzers and 12 Swivels, a small Schooner Row Galley mounting 10 Swivels (both built in 1755); a new Brigantine mounting 14 Cannon, 4 and 6 Pounders, and 12 Swivels, and a new Sloop mounting 6 Cannons 4 and 6 Pounders, and 12 Swivels (built in 1756) all well found, provided with Necessaries, and manned with 90 able Seamen, and 130 Soldiers distributed in the three largest, were compleatly equipped and fitted out for the Lake; the Sloop *Oswego* (one of the Vessels built in 1755) which mounted 8 Carriage Guns and 12 Swivels, was laid up for want of Cannon and Seamen, those belonging to it being taken out for the Use of the new Brigantine; the new * Snow (built in 1756)

* The Bar of *Oswego* has generally from $7\frac{1}{2}$ Feet to 8 Feet Water over it, and this Vessel was 22 Feet broad and 80 Feet long upon Deck, and when loaded drew but $7\frac{1}{2}$ Feet of Water; Captain *Shirley*, then Commander of the *Mermaid*, the Station-Ship at *Boston*, took great Pains in drawing a Plan fit for this Purpose; and though her Draught of Water was so small, yet she was thoroughly able to carry 18 six Pounders, besides Swivels.

launched on the 12th of *July*, and compleatly finished as one of his Majesty's Sloops of War, and pierced for 18 Guns 6 Pounders, could not go upon the Lake for want of her Cannon, Shot, and Seamen, which (as hath been before observed) was waiting at the Great *Oneida Carrying-place* for Captain *Bradstreet* on his next Passage to *Oswego*. 1756.

The *French* Naval Force at that time (according to the Accounts given of it by the *English* Carpenters and Seamen, who were carried Prisoners to *Cadaraqui* in their Vessels after the taking of *Oswego*) consisted of a Schooner of 16 Guns, 4 and 6 Pounders, no Swivels, the great Guns being old, Honeycomb'd Cannon, with large Touch-holes, which they were obliged to load without Board, and having very bad Tackling: a Vessel of 12 Guns in the same Condition, and in as bad Order; two small ones of 6 Cannon, of the Bigness of Swivels in Carriages, and as badly found as the large ones; no spare Ropes on Board any of them; their Seamen Ordinary, and not above 20 of them in the four Vessels.

After the Appearance of the *English* Brigantine upon the Lake, none of the *French* Vessels appeared there, till after the Garrison was made Prisoners; at which time they came to *Oswego*, not venturing before to come from behind the Island off * *Portland Point* even to cover the *French* General's Landing.

* *Portland Point* is about 18 Miles to the Eastward of *Oswego*.

1756.

Lieutenant Colonel *Mercer*, Commanding Officer at *Oswego*, having received repeated Intelligence that the Enemy had some Place or Camp about 30 Miles to the Eastward of *Oswego*; and particularly on the 6th of *August*, that there was a large Encampment of *French* and *Indians* at about 12 Miles distance from *Fort Ontario* to the *Eastward*, dispatched an Express Boat, with an Account of it in a Letter to the *Commanding Officer* upon the *Lake*, who was then out upon a Cruize to the *Westward* with the Brigantine and two Sloops; letting him know that he intended the next Day to send 400 Men in Whale-Boats to visit the Enemy, and desiring him to keep to the *Eastward*, as much as he could, in order to cover the Men in the Boats, and hinder the Enemy from approaching nearer; but instead of complying therewith, they returned the next Day to *Oswego*, and in endeavouring to enter the Harbour, the Brigantine was driven by a Gale of Wind upon rocky Ground, where she lay beating about 18 Hours, and was afterwards forced to heave down, in order to have a false Keel.

Aug. 7. Monsieur *Montcalm*, the *French General*, having Intelligence given him of the Situation of the *English* Vessels, that the Brigantine was stranded, and the other two returned into Harbour, took the Opportunity of transporting and landing his Artillery and Troops in Boats, within a Mile and an half of *Fort Ontario*; which, as the *French Officers* declared
after

after *Oswego* was taken, he could not have done, had our Vessels been out to the Eastward. * 1757

Their Artillery, for drawing which they transported 35 Horses, consisted of about 32 Pieces of Cannon from 12 to 24 Pounders, several large Brass Mortars and Hoyets (among which was the Artillery taken from General *Braddock* at the *Monongakela*) and were all brought in Battoes from *Portland Point*, as they could not have been transported by Land from thence, on Account of the great Number of Swamps, drowned Lands, and Creeks in the Way; their Forces consisted of about 1800 Regular Troops, 2500 *Canadeans*, and 500 *Indians*.

As disadvantageous Accounts have been given of the Behaviour of the Garrison of *Oswego* (which consisted of Part of his Majesty's late 50th and 51st Regiments, and the *New Jersey* Regiment of Irregulars, during the time of the Siege; it is a Point of Justice due to those Troops to set their Behaviour in a true Light; which makes the inserting a particular Journal of the Siege unavoidable; that being the most unexceptionable Method of doing it.

' About Noon the Enemy began the Attack Aug. 11.
' of Fort *Ontario* with the Fire of their Mus-
' quetry, which was returned with small Arms
' and eight Cannon from the Fort, and Shells
' from the other Side of the River: The Gar-

* Vide Appendix, Numbers 5, 6.

' rison

1756. Garrison on the West Side of the River was this Day employed in repairing the Battery on the South Side of the old Fort; and that Night the Enemy were employed in making their Approaches to Fort *Ontario* (which they did by breaking Ground and intrenching) and in bringing up their Cannon against it.

This Morning the Enemy renewed the Fire of their small Arms on Fort *Ontario*, which was continued all Day, and returned from the Fort in the same Manner as the Day before.

At Day-break this Day a large Number of Battoes were discovered on the Lake in their Way to join the Enemy's Camp, on which the two Sloops were again sent out with Orders to get between the Battoes and the Camp; but before they came up, the Battoes had secured themselves under the Fire of the Cannon at the *French* Camp, whereupon the Sloops came in again towards Evening; the Garrison on the West Side were this Day employed as the Day before, and in the Evening a Detachment was made of 100 Men of the 50th and 126 of the *New Jersey* Regiment under the Command of *Col. Schuyler* to take Possession of the *Fort on the Hill to the Southward of the old Fort, and under the Direction of the Chief Engineer, who were to put it into the best State of Defence they could: in which Work they were employed all the following Night.

* This was an essential Part of the Defence of *Oswego*, but nothing was done towards finishing it after the Winter, that Mr. *Shirley* left *Oswego*.

' The Enemy continued their Approaches to ^{1756.}
 ' Fort *Ontario*, and notwithstanding the con- ^{Aug. 13^d}
 ' stant Fire kept upon them from the Fort, and
 ' the loss of their Chief Engineer, who was
 ' killed in the Trenches, about ten o'Clock that
 ' Morning, had a Battery of Cannon ready to
 ' open within 60 Yards of it; an Account of
 ' which the Commandant of the Fort imme-
 ' diately sent to Lieutenrnt Colonel *Mercer*;
 ' about twelve o'Clock Colonel *Mercer* sent
 ' them Orders to evacuate that Fort, first de-
 ' stroying their Cannon, Ammunition, and
 ' Provisions; about three the Garrison quitted
 ' the Fort and managed their Retreat so, as to
 ' pass the River and join the Troops on the
 ' West Side without the loss of a Man; these
 ' Troops being about 370 were immediately
 ' ordered to join Colonel *Schuyler* at the Fort
 ' on the Hill to the Southward of the old Fort,
 ' and employed all the following Night in en-
 ' deavouring to compleat the Work of that
 ' Fort; in the Morning of this Day the large
 ' Brigantine being off the Rocks and repaired
 ' a Detachment of about 20 Men of the Gari-
 ' son was put on board her and the two Sloops
 ' in order to go out immediately, but the Wind
 ' continuing to blow directly into the Harbour
 ' rendered it impossible for them to get out be-
 ' fore the Place was surrendered: This Night,
 ' as well as the Night before, Parties of the
 ' Enemy's Irregulars made several Attempts to
 ' surprize the advanced Guards and Entries on
 ' the West Side of the River, but did not
 ' succeed

1756. succeed in any of them. On the East Side of the River the Enemy were this Night employed in bringing up their Cannon and raising a Battery against the old Fort; the Garrison keeping a constant Fire of Cannon and Shells on them from thence and the Works about the Fort; the Cannon which most annoyed the Enemy, were four Pieces which were reversed on the Platforms of an Earthen Work, that surrounded the old Fort, and which was intirely enfiladed by the Enemy's Battery on the opposite Shore; in this Situation, without the least Cover, the Train assisted by a Detachment of 50 of the 50th Regiment behaved remarkably well.

Aug. 14. At Day-break the Garrison renewed the Fire of their Cannon on that Part of the opposite Shore, where they had the Evening before observed the Enemy at Work in raising a Battery; and the Enemy returned the Fire from a Battery of 10 Cannon 12 Pounders, and were preparing one of Mortars and Hoyets; about nine o'Clock this Morning 2500 of the Enemy passed over in three Columns from the East to the West Side of the River, in order to attack the Garrison on that Side: Upon this Lieutenant Colonel *Mercer*, on being informed that the Enemy were passing the River and not knowing their Number, ordered Colonel *Schuyler* with 500 Men to oppose them; which would accordingly have been done, had not Colonel *Mercer* been killed by a Cannon Ball a few Minutes after:
 ' About

' About ten o'Clock the Enemy's Battery of ^{1756.}
 ' Mortars was ready to play, all the Garrison's
 ' Places of Defence either enfladed or ruined by
 ' the constant Fire of the Enemy's Cannon;
 ' 2500 of their Irregulars and *Indians* on their
 ' Backs ready to storm it on that Side, and 1750
 ' of their Regulars ready to land in their Front
 ' under the Fire of the *French* Cannon: The
 ' Garrison (which did not consist of above 1050
 ' Men) was in this Situation when Lieutenant
 ' Colonel *Littlebales*, who succeeded Colonel
 ' *Mercer* in the Command, called a Council of
 ' War, who were, with the *Engineer*, unani-
 ' moufly of opinion, that the Works were no
 ' longer tenable, and that it was by no means
 ' prudent to risque a Storm with such unequal
 ' Numbers.

' On beating the Chamade the Fire ceased
 ' on both Sides, but the *French* improved this
 ' Opportunity to bring up more Cannon and to
 ' advance the main Body of their Troops within
 ' Musket-shot of the Garrison, and every thing
 ' was prepared for a Storm; hereupon two Of-
 ' ficers were sent to the *French* General to know
 ' the Terms, he would grant; upon which he
 ' made Answer, that the *English* were an Enemy
 ' he esteemed; that none but a brave Nation
 ' would have thought of defending so weak a
 ' Place so long, against such a strong Train of
 ' Artillery and superior Numbers; that the
 ' Garrison might expect whatever Terms were
 ' consistent with the Service of his most Chri-
 ' stian Majesty.'

During the whole Time of the Siege the

1756. Soldiers behaved with a remarkable Resolution and Intrepidity against the Enemy, exerting themselves to the utmost in the Defence of the Place, in every Part of Duty; and it was with great Reluctance, that they were persuaded by their Officers to lay down their Arms after the Garrison had capitulated, some of them being so strongly bent against it, as to suffer themselves to be knocked at Head by the Enemy, rather than to submit to it. *

Immediately after the Surrender of *Oswego*, the *French* demolished the Works there and embarked with their Prisoners, Provisions, Artillery and Booty for Fort *Frontenac* in their Way back to *Montreal*.

From this Account of the Siege it appears, that *Oswego* would not have been taken by the Forces, which the *French* brought against it, without a Train of Artillery.

That a Train of Artillery could not have

* Soon after the Surrender of *Oswego* the following Account of it was sent in a public Letter to be laid before the Assembly of the *Northwest's Bay*, viz. "that Fort *Ontario* was abandoned after being fired on with small Arms two Days, without even having one Cannon brought up to it."

Reports were likewise propagated and gained Credit in *England*, that the 50th and 51st Regiments consisted of transported Convicts and *Irish Roman Catholics*, who, by their *mutinous* Behaviour, had contributed to the Loss of the Place; this might be shewn in every Part to be mere Calumny; but the *real* Behaviour of the Troops in the Defence of the Place sufficiently confute it.

Reports were likewise propagated greatly to the Disadvantage of the *Officers* of both Regiments; but their known Characters, and the Behaviour of several of them, upon other Occasions, in his *Majesty's* Service, as well as this, are sufficient to vindicate their Honour.

been transported there but by *Water Carriage* 1756.
across the Lake.

That from the Behaviour of the *French* Vessels upon the Lake, and by the *Confession* of the *French Officers* themselves after the Surrender of *Oswego*, the *English* Vessels, which were actually fitted out before the Siege, were of sufficient Force to have prevented the *French* from transporting their *Artillery* to *Oswego*; and consequently if the new *Snow* and *Sloop* *Oswego* had been in a Condition to have acted upon the Lake, it would have rendered it absolutely impracticable for the Enemy to have brought their *Artillery* to *Oswego*, even without the occasional Assistance of the *Whale-Boats*.

That at all Events, if, in Addition to the five arm'd Vessels, the Garrison had been strengthen'd with 1000 *Battoe-men*, and with the *Indians* depended on from * *Sir William Johnson* (all which was the Force design'd, and preparing by *Mr. Skirley* for the Protection of the Place) or even without those *Indians*; in all Probability *Oswego* would have been preserv'd: But if in Addition to this Force, the Garrison had been still further strengthen'd with the 44th Regiment, as it doubtless ought to have been upon receiving Intelligence of the Enemy's intended Attack, that must have put the Security of the Place out of all doubt.

And with regard to the Expedition against

* *Sir William Johnson* did not proceed from *Ondarago* to *Oswego* as he was directed and had promised to do.

1756. *Crown Point*, it appears, that if the Provincial Troops and * 2 Regiments of Regulars, which was the Force destin'd by Mr. *Skirley* for that Service, had proceeded in it by the Middle of *July*, which was the Time when the Provincials *actually begun* their March from *Half Moon*, and the 48th Regiment from *Albany* (in which Case they would have come before *Tionderoge* in the Absence of Mr. *Montcalm* and his 4500 Men, that were *then* upon *Lake Ontario*) they would, in all Probability, have been strong enough to have succeeded in their Attempt against the Force, which the Enemy could *then* have for the Defence of their Forts in that Quarter:—It is apparent, that the *French* had such Apprehensions from Mr. *Montcalm's* being so much in haste to destroy the Works at *Oswego*, and return with his Forces towards *Crown Point*:—But if the Attempt against *Crown Point* had not been effected before Mr. *Montcalm's* Arrival there to strengthen *that* and *Tionderoge*, yet it must have drawn such a Part at least of his Forces from the Lake, as would not only have prevented his making any Attempt against *Oswego*, but have put it into the Power of the Troops posted at *Oswego* and the Passes between that and *Albany*, when strengthened with the 44th Regiment and Companies of Battomen, in conjunction with our *whole* Naval

* Tho' the 44th Regiment was destin'd at last for *Oswego*, which would have prevented its proceeding to *Crown Point*, according to its first Destination; yet, there were *Ottway's* and the *Highland* Regiments to supply its room.

Force,

Force, to have made a successful Attempt at ^{1756.} *least* against *Niagara*, if not against *Fort Frontenac*:—One of the most essential Points in the Plan concerted by *Mr. Shirley* at *New York* for carrying on one Expedition against the *French* upon *Lake Ontario*, and another against *Crown Point* in 1756 was, that *both* Attempts should be made at the *same* Time: And *Experience* seems to have evinced how right such a Proceeding would have been in this Case.

The Defection of the *Indians* of the *Five Nations*, those of the *Mohawks* only excepted, who now make but make an inconsiderable Part of their Number, followed the Misfortune at *Oswego* so closely, that it has been looked upon as the necessary Consequence of it; and imputed to *Mr. Shirley* by those, who have endeavoured to fix the Blame of the Loss of *Oswego* upon him: It is therefore necessary for his Vindication in this Point to state the Measures, by which these Cantons or Tribes of *Indians* were lost.

After the Loss of *Oswego* the *Oneida Carrying-place* was, from its Situation, the principal Pass below it, not only for covering the *English* Settlements upon the *Mohawks River*, and even the City of * *Albany* itself, but for keep-

* The City of *Albany* is so commanded by circumjacent Hills in that Part of it, which lies next to the *Mohawks River* and *Indian Country*, that it cannot be made defensible against the Incurfions of the Enemy from that Quarter.

1756. ing hold of the *Indian Country*, especially that of the *Oneidas*, *Tuscaroras*, and two Castles of the *Mohawks*, and putting it into the Power of the *English* to recover *Oswego* itself: one of the Reasons why the greatest Part of these *Indians* have been of late wavering in the Interest of the *English* is, that they had conceived an Opinion, that the *French* would, by their continual Artifices for gaining Ground upon the *English* Settlements, finally become *Masters* of the Country; which hath given these *Indians* some Dread of them; so that the only possible Method left for retrieving the bad Effects, which the late Blow sustained at *Oswego* must have made upon them, and for preserving them in a Dependance upon the Crown of *Great Britain*, was to convince them at this Crisis, that the *English* were determined to keep Possession of *their Country* against the *French*, notwithstanding the late Misfortune at *Oswego*, and effectually protect them, if they remained faithful, or if otherwise, to curb them: The general Disposition, which all these *Indians* had lately manifested, to put themselves under the more immediate Protection of the *English* by pressing Mr. *Sbirley* to have Forts built for them at their respective Castles, and garrison'd with *English* Troops for their Defence against the *French*, afforded a favourable Opportunity for doing this; it was therefore of the greatest Importance, after the Loss of *Oswego*, to have fortified

fortified and secured the Pass at *Oneida* as ^{1756.} strongly as was possible.

It has been before observed, that on the 12th of *August* General *Webb* marched from *Schenectada* with the 44th Regiment, *Battoemen*, &c. destined for *Oswego*.

The * Commanding Officer at the *Great* Aug. 17. *Carrying-place* received the first News of *Oswego's* being taken, and immediately dispatch'd an Account of it by Express to General *Webb*, who was then advanced as far as the *German Flats*, and in the mean time made what Preparations he could for defending that Pass at *Oneida*, where there then was about 500 Troops posted.

He received Orders from General *Webb*, in Aug. 19. Answer to his Letter, to employ as large a Party as he could spare in obstructing the Passage of the *Wood Creek* for 24 Miles, by felling of Trees across it.

Some *Indians* complained to the *Commanding* Aug. 20. *Officer* at the *Carrying-place* of this Proceeding; which they observed was stopping the Communication between them and their Brethren of the Five Nations, and asked, whether the *English* intended to forsake them, and give them up to the *French*.

On the same Day, a few Hours after this Complaint was made, General *Webb* arrived at the *Oneida Carrying-place*, with the 44th Regiment, and Part of the three Independent

* Major *Craven* of Sir *William Pepperell's* Regiment.

1756. Companies of *New York*, and immediately sent out fresh Parties to assist in stopping up the Passage of the *Wood Creek*.

Upon the Arrival of the 44th Regiment at the *Carrying-place*, there were about 1500 *Regular Troops* there, which, together with the *Battoe-men*, *Seamen*, &c. made upwards of 2500 fighting Men; and Sir *William Johnson* was then marching thither with the *Albany Militia*.

A few Days after General *Webb* encamp'd, and an *Intrenchment* and *Breast-work* were thrown up, for fortifying of which they had upwards of 28 *Cannon* upon the Place.

About this time repeated Intelligence was received, that the *Enemy* had left *Oswego*, and were marching back towards *Crown Point*.

Aug. 30. The *Battoes* at the *Oneida Carrying-place* were ordered to be loaded with all the *Stores*, *Cannon*, *Ammunition*, and *Provisions*, which were there.

Aug. 31. All the *Forts* at the *Carrying-place* were ordered to be pulled down, burnt, and destroyed.

The *Troops* and all the other *Forces* retreated to the * *German Flats*, where they arrived the Day following, and to which Place Sir *William Johnson* had advanced with the *Militia*, but upon Notice of General *Webb's* Retreat from the *Carrying-place*, had dismissed

* The *German Flats* is upwards of 50 Miles from the *Oneida Carrying-place* towards *Schenectada*.

them ;

them; and it was observed that whilst the Troops were there, the *Indians* frequently insulted the Sentries on their Posts at Night, by upbraiding them with the loss of *Oswego*, and the Destruction of the Forts at the *Carrying-place*. * 1756.

The further Effect, which these Proceedings had upon the *Indians* is contained in the following *Declaration* made by an intelligent Person of good Credit, *viz.* “ That he personally knew many of the *Indians of the Six Nations* by seeing them at their Castles and at *Oswego*, where they came as Friends to the *English*, and had frequent Conferences with *General Shirley*, and in his Absence with the Commanding Officer of the Garrison; that he was taken Prisoner at *Oswego*, and carried to *Quebec*, where he resided *fourteen Months*, and left it *October* the 4th 1757; that during his stay there he heard it commonly affirmed by the *French*, that the *Indians*, who used to be in the *English* Interest, had, since the Loss of *Oswego*, and the *English* quitting immediately afterwards the *Great Carrying-place* at *Oneida* been joining the *French*; and that he saw and spoke with at *Quebec*, many Scores of the *Indians* of the *Oneidas*, *Tuscaroras*, *Onondagos*, *Cayugas*, and *Senecas*, all of the *Six*

* The foregoing Account of the March to the *Oneida Carrying-place* and *Retreat* from thence is founded upon the Journal of these Proceedings taken by an Officer upon the Spot.

1756. “ Nations, whom he knew, and had seen at
 “ *Oswego* at their Head Quarters, and who did
 “ then profess themselves *Friends* to the *Eng-*
 “ *lish*; he further declares, that two Officers
 “ formerly of Colonel *Schuyler*’s Regiment,
 “ who were taken Prisoners last Summer on
 “ *Lake George*, when employed upon a Party
 “ under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel
 “ *Parker*, told him at *Quebec*, that there were
 “ between *three* and *four hundred Indians* of
 “ the before-named Tribes among the *Enemy*’s
 “ Party, which took them Prisoners.”





A P P E N D I X.

N° I.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Johnson to Major General Shirley dated Fort Johnson, 22d April 1756.

“ I Have agreed with a Person to build a
 “ Fort for the *Oneidas*; and I expect it
 “ will be soon put in hand: I am about agree-
 “ ing with another Person for one for the
 “ *Onondagos*, the *Senecas*, the *Aughquageys* and
 “ *Scobaree Indians*, who have all applied to
 “ me for Forts; I think with your *Excellency*
 “ that they are a *necessary*, and will be found,
 “ I doubt not, a *very useful Measure*.”

N° II.



N° II.

*The Declaration of James Crawford and
Edward Brooks.*

*J*ames Crawford and Edward Brooks belonging to a Company of Men employed to clear *Wood Creek* for making a free Passage from *Schenechtady* to *Oswego*, declare that they left *Oswego* the 3d of *July* last, that there was about fourteen hundred Troops, and about one hundred Carpenters there at that Time, and the Garrison was very healthy, there being not more than four or five Men then ill; that there was a strong picketed Fort on the North Side of the River *Oswego* called *Fort Ontario* mounted with several Pieces of Cannon and Swivels, and was garrisoned with about three or four hundred Men; that there was likewise three Vessels in *Lake Ontario* well fitted, and two more to be launched that Day they came away; in three Days after they left *Oswego* the Snow then on the Stocks was likewise to be launched, and that at the great Carrying-place was twenty-four Cannon six Pounds for the aforesaid Vessels which was brought there the twenty-fourth of *July*, and remained there for
Colonel

Colonel *Bradstreet's* Arrival, to be transported
to *Oswego*.

Boston, Sept. 6th, 1756.

JAMES CRAWFORD.
EDWARD BROOKS.

Province of the } *Suffolk* *fs.*
Massachusetts Bay. } *Boston, Sept. 6th, 1756.*

The abovenamed *James Crawford* and *Edward Brooks* personally appeared before me the Subscriber, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for said County, and made solemn Oath to the Truth of the above Declaration by them subscribed.

DAN. HENCHMAN.



N^o III.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Bradstreet to
Major General Shirley, dated Albany 16th
July 1756.*

“ THE 48th Regiment is gone from hence
“ to-day for Fort *William Henry*; and
“ the *New England* Troops, &c. left the *Half*
“ *Moon* Yesterday.”

N^o IV.



N° IV.

*Extract of the Declaration of Mr. Kirkland,
late Surgeon of the 51st Regiment.*

“ UPON my Arrival at *Albany* from
 “ *Oswego* on the 11th of *July* I gave
 “ General *Abercrombie* a particular Account
 “ of the State of that Place, and the Danger
 “ it was in of an Attack from the *French*,
 “ having, before I left *Oswego*, received In-
 “ telligence that the *French* were collecting
 “ their Troops towards that Place ; which
 “ Information was likewise afterwards con-
 “ firmed by some *French* Prisoners, we had
 “ taken in the Action with the *French* upon
 “ the River *Onondago* : I also delivered Ge-
 “ neral *Abercrombie* at the same time, several
 “ public Letters and Accounts, which were
 “ sent by me from *Oswego* ; upon which the
 “ 44th Regiment was ordered to hold itself
 “ in Readiness (with the *Battoe-men* under
 “ Captain *Bradstreet*) to march for *Oswego* at
 “ an Hour’s Warning.”

N° V.



N° V.

Extract of a Letter from an Officer in his Majesty's 50th Regiment of Foot, who was taken Prisoner at Oswego, to Major General Shirley, dated Dartmouth Dec. 20th 1756.

“ THIS only I think my Duty to de-
 “ clare, that I heard the *French* Of-
 “ ficers say, that they were greatly afraid that
 “ the *English* Vessels, which were actually
 “ fitted out for the Lake and much superior
 “ to theirs (as they said) would have obstruct-
 “ ed and hindered them in transporting their
 “ Artillery and landing it; and that they did
 “ not know what the Consequence would
 “ have been, if our Vessels had kept out to
 “ the *Eastward*, that they landed their Ar-
 “ tillery in Battoes, and that they constantly
 “ dragged their Battoes on Shore every Day
 “ for fear of our Vessels, and proceeded in the
 “ Night on that Account.”



N° VI.

Declaration of an Officer of Major General Sir William Pepperell's late Regiment, who was sent by Lieutenant Colonel Littlehales, Commanding Officer at Oswego, with a Flag of Truce to the Marquis de Montcalm commanding the French Forces at the taking of Oswego, and was by him detained as an Hostage, during the Ratification of the Capitulation, in the French Camp, viz.

“ **T**HAT he heard the *Marquis of Mont-*
 “ *calm* and several other *French Of-*
 “ *ficers* declare, in the way of Discourse with
 “ him, that they took the Opportunity of the
 “ *English Brigantine's* being on Ground and
 “ the other *Vessels* being in Harbour to tran-
 “ sport their Train of Artillery across the Bay
 “ in *Battoes*, which would have been next to
 “ impossible to have been brought any other
 “ way, as they afterwards found, owing to the
 “ Shore and the Situation of *Fort Ontario*,
 “ where they begun the Attack.”

N° VII.

N^o VII. *A RETURN of Provisions in Store at ALBANY June 13th, received since, issued to the Troops, sent away, and what remains in Store, to 19th June 1756.*

| | Bread Tierces | Flour Barrels | Pork Barrels | Live Cattle | Rum | | Butter Firkins | Peafe Buifels | Candles Boxes | Salt Barrels | Number of Oars | Painted Cloths | Cafes Boat Sheets |
|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| In Store June 13 th ——— | 283 | 501 | 381 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 133 | 31 | 304 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 42 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 29 | 22 | 22 | 1342 | 36 | 2 |
| Received since ——— | — | 724 | 395 | 33 | — | 103 | 12 | 24 | — | — | — | 30 | — |
| | <u>283</u> | <u>1225</u> | <u>776$\frac{1}{2}$</u> | <u>136</u> | <u>31</u> | <u>407$\frac{1}{4}$</u> | <u>54$\frac{3}{4}$</u> | <u>53</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>22</u> | <u>1342</u> | <u>66</u> | <u>2</u> |
| Issued to the Troops ——— | 40 | 3 | 29 | 2 | — | 1 | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sent to the Half Moon ——— | 146 | 846 | 28 | — | — | 294 | 7 | 21 | — | 9 | — | 66 | $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | <u>186</u> | <u>849</u> | <u>57</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>295</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>66</u> | <u>$\frac{1}{2}$</u> |
| In Store June 19 th ——— | 97 | 376 | 719 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 134 | 31 | 112 $\frac{1}{4}$ | 47 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 30 | 22 | 13 | 1342 | 66 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

To his Excellency
General SHIRLEY, &c.

ROBERT LEAKE,
Commiffary.