

THE LIFE
AND
CURIOUS ADVENTURES

OF
PETER WILLIAMSON,

WHO WAS CARRIED OFF FROM ABERDEEN, AND SOLD
FOR A SLAVE.

CONTAINING

The History of the Author's surprising Adventures in North America.

His Captivity among the Indians, and the manner of his Escape.

The Customs, Dress, &c. of the Savages.

Military Operations in that quarter.

A Description of the British Settlements, &c.

WITH

An Account of the Proceedings of the Magistrates of Aberdeen against him on his Return to Scotland; a Brief History of his Process against them before the Court of Session; and a short Dissertation on Kidnapping.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED AN

ESSAY ON THE ILLEGALITY OF KIDNAPPING
AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

376

A NEW EDITION.

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ESSAY.

HE who reads the life of Peter Williamson will find it fraught with much useful instruction. The language in which it is narrated is a sufficient proof that its author was no designing man, who intended to impose on the credulity of the vulgar, and satiate their appetite for the marvellous, by the account of his sufferings. Were not the facts sufficiently vouched for, we would almost suppose that, while reading his hair-breadth escapes, we were perusing some tale of romance, or the fanciful production of some ingenious novelist. But the tale is too true; the crime of kidnapping made more sufferers than Williamson, and Aberdeen was not the only place disgraced by this horrible traffic. It is useless—it is worse than useless—it is absolutely criminal to argue, that children of nine or ten years of age were able to indent themselves, and to implement articles of agreement which were never meant to be fulfilled—nay, where personal liberty is concerned, even although the person had arrived at the years of maturity, it is a right which he could

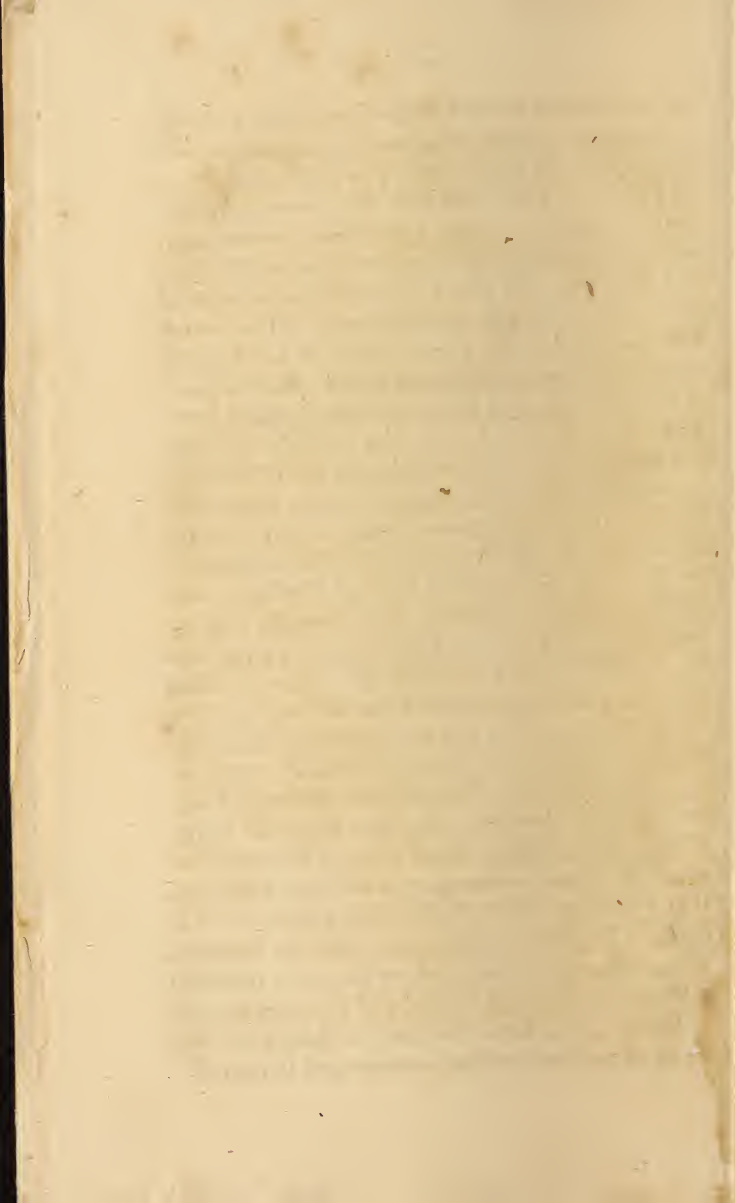
neither give nor sell; in corroboration of this I shall adduce the opinion of the celebrated Rousseau, in his treaty on the Social Compact, he thus writes, "To renounce one's personal liberty is to renounce one's very being as a man; it is to renounce not only the rights but also the duties of humanity. And what possible indemnification can be made to the man who thus gives up his all? Such a remuneration is incompatible with our very nature: for to deprive us of the liberty of will, is to take away all morality from our actions. In a word, a convention which, on the one part stipulates absolute authority, and on the other implicit obedience, is in itself futile and contradictory." Such then is a just view of those indentures for life, which were held out by the kidnappers as just and lawful. But here let us observe, that their crime assumes a blacker die when we take into consideration the circumstance that these indentures were never proposed until they had actual possession of the bodies of their victims; it matters not how this possession was obtained, whether by cajoling artifices, or absolute violence, they were in durance, and no opposition would have availed, nor would resistance have frustrated the designs of their enslavers. When the prisoners were landed in Virginia on Carolina, they discovered their true situation; driven like beasts of burden to a market place, they were exposed for sale, and given accordingly to the highest bidder, let his character or principles be what they may. Think, reader, for a moment,

that your brother, the companion of your sports, the friend of your heart, one night disappeared and was seen no more—that the grief and sorrow of your parents were bringing them fast to the grave ; and that, though years might roll, they brought no tidings of their lost child ; and that their last prayers were breathed for the ever-lost boy. And this was many a brother's—many a parent's lot. Or did chance, at some long future period, bring the doubtful intelligence that he was alive on some far distant shore—a mother's heart would yearn, and a father's grief would be in vain suppress—they would mourn for the living as the dead—to them he would be dead ; and, dreading, doubting, hoping, they would die, with the sad, yet consoling anticipation, that a few years after and they would embrace their child in that happy land where oppressors could no more part them, but where “ God the Lord would wipe all tears from their eyes.” One thought more on this subject, those who were kidnapped were persons who, having felt the blessings of liberty, would therefore be more susceptible of the horrors of slavery ; they were fit for the enjoyment of a state of liberty by education and by birth, and the awful novelty of being slaves would therefore present itself to their view in its most aggravated form. All their high hopes would be crushed, all their youthful day-dreams would vanish as airy phantoms, and the cruel reality of their hopeless situation would mock all their fancied prospects of future worldly bliss. Well may we congratulate ourselves

that these days have gone bye, and that no oppressor, however rich and powerful, can devote us at the ALTAR of SLAVERY.

It would be well if we could say as much of every class of subjects. There is a race whose only crime is their complexion, and whose only vice is their want of education—a want which their iron-hearted oppressors will not allow to be supplied—and this race is liable to tenfold greater calamities than did ever befall our infatuate fellow-citizens of Aberdeen, even when the practice of kidnapping was carried on in its most villainous extent. The slaves in the West Indies—for it is to them we allude—are the objects of the sympathy of Christendom. Already have the most of its states declared the crime of man-stealing to be piracy, and therefore punishable with death; but still the nefarious traffic is pursued, and in spite of the vigilance evinced by our cruizers, thousands are dragged from their homes to wear out a listless life of dreary solitude. In vain are laws enacted when interest and prejudice so strongly warp the minds of the planters, that justice and morality are excluded, and rapine and oppression necessarily domineer in their breasts. It has been often argued that the slaves in the West Indies are not the victims of oppression, that they are well treated, and, in many cases, that they live more comfortably than our artisans do at home. This has been particularly insisted on by Williams, in his *History of Twenty Years' Residence in Jamaica*, a work lately published. But the honour of humanity has not been vindicated by this work, publish-

ed, as it seems to have been, to serve the interests of the planters, when the united experience of good men has hitherto controverted this point; and granting that it were the case that the slaves were well treated, what does it bear against the general argument? Nothing at all; for it will not matter whether the chain with which he is fettered be made of iron or of gold, it is equally strong. The wretch who is secured with a silken cord is as much a prisoner as he who is bound with hemp. But the dawn of brighter days is at hand, and the march of Freedom will, it is to be hoped, soon overtake our hapless brother-men. To return to the life of Williamson, one additional circumstance may be mentioned, which is not recorded in the book; namely, that the Magistrates of Aberdeen once intended to appeal to the House of Lords. The Earl of Findlater, who was then patron of the city, justly thought that the magistrates had been to blame in prosecuting Williamson for having committed the crime of telling the truth; and knowing well that to carry the process farther would be but to promulgate their own disgrace, the process was abandoned; while, to lighten the expenses which had devolved upon them, he, as Judge-Admiral, conferred upon the magistrates the salvages arising from such vessels as might be thrown ashore or wrecked near Aberdeen. It is to be hoped that all who shall peruse this volume, while they sympathize with the sufferer, will, at the same time, think on the many thousand sufferers in the West Indies, and use their humble endeavour, in as far as they can, to lighten the load which their black brothers are doomed to endure.



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FRENCH AND INDIAN CRUELTY.



INTRODUCTION.

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

design, though they have not been done or transacted in my presence.

It being usual in narratives like this, to give a short account of the Author's birth, education, and juvenile exploits, the same being looked upon as necessary, or at least a satisfactory piece of information to the curious and inquisitive reader ; I shall, without boasting of a family I am no way entitled to, or recounting adventures in my youth to which I was entirely a stranger, in a short manner gratify such curiosity ; not expecting, as I said before, to be admired for that elegance of style, and profusion of words, so universally made use of in details and histories of those adventurers who have of late years obliged the world with their anecdotes and memoirs, and which have had scarce any other existence than in the brains of a bookseller's or printer's Garreteer ; who, from fewer incidents, and less surprising matter, than will be found in this short narrative, have been, and are daily enabled to spin and work out their elaborate performances to three or four volumes. That I, like them, publish this for support, is true ; but as I am too sensible, the major part of mankind will give much more to a bookseller, to be in the fashion, or satisfy their curiosity, in having or reading a new puffed up history or novel, than to a real object of distress, for an accurate and faithful account of a series of misfortunes, I have thought it more advisable to confine myself as to size and price, than by making a larger volume, miss that assistance and relief, of which I at present am in so great need.

THE AUTHOR'S BIRTH, &c.

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

In about a month's time the ship set sail for America. The treatment we met with, and the trifling incidents which happened during the voyage, I hope I may be excused from relating, as not being at that time of an age sufficient to remark any thing

more than what must occur to every one on such an occasion. However, I cannot forget that, when we arrived on the coast we were destined for, a hard gale of wind sprung up from the S. E. and, to the captain's great surprise (he not thinking he was near land), although having been 11 weeks on the passage, about twelve o'clock at night the ship struck on a sand-bank off Cape May, near the Capes of Delaware, and to the great terror and affright of the ship's company, in a short time was almost full of water. The boat was then hoisted out, into which the captain, and his fellow villains, the crew, got with some difficulty, leaving me, and my deluded companions, to perish; as they then naturally concluded inevitable death to be our fate. Often, in my distresses and miseries since, have I wished that such had been the consequence, when in a state of innocence! but Providence thought proper to reserve me for future trials of its goodness. Thus abandoned and deserted, without the least prospect of relief, but threatened every moment with death, did these villains leave us. The cries, the shrieks, and tears of a parcel of infants, had no effect on, or caused the least remorse in the breasts of these merciless wretches. Scarce can I say, to which to give the preference; whether to such as these who have had the opportunity of knowing the Christian religion: or to the savages herein after described, who profane not the gospel, or boast of humanity; and if they act in a more brutal and butcherly manner, yet it is to their enemies, for the sake of plunder and the rewards offered them. for their principles are alike; the love of sordid gain being both their motives.—The ship being on a sand bank, which did not give way to let her deeper, we lay in the same deplorable condition until morning, when, though we saw the land of Cape May, at about a mile's distance, we knew not what would be our fate.

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

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

DESCRIPTION OF PHILADELPHIA.

THIS city would have been a capital fit for an empire had it been built and inhabited according to the proprietor's plan. Considering its late foundation, it is a large city, and most commodiously situated between Delaware and Schuylkill, two navigable rivers. The former being 2 miles broad, and

navigable 300 miles for small vessels. It extends in length 2 miles from the one river to the other. There are eight long streets two miles in length, all straight and spacious. The houses are stately, very numerous (being near 3000), and still increasing, and all carried on regularly according to the first plan. It has two fronts to the water, one on the east side facing the Schuylkill, and that on the west facing the Delaware. The Schuylkill being navigable 800 miles above the falls, the eastern part is most populous, where the warehouses (some three stories high), and wharfs are numerous and convenient. All the houses have large orchards and gardens belonging to them. The merchants that reside here are numerous and wealthy, many of them keeping their coaches, &c. In the centre of the city there is a space of ten acres, whereon are built the state-house, market-house, and school-house. The former is built of brick, and has a prison under it. The streets have their names from the several sorts of timber common in Pennsylvania; as Mulberry Street, Sassafras Street, Chesnut Street, Beech Street, and Cedar Street. The oldest church is Christ Church, and has a numerous congregation; but the major part of the inhabitants, being at first Quakers, still continue so, who have several meeting-houses, and may not improperly be called the church, as by law established, being the originals. The quay is beautiful, and 200 feet square, to which a ship of 200 tons may lay her broadside. Near the town, and on the spot which separates it from the Schuylkill, where that river falls into the Delaware, is found black earth of a great depth, and covered with vegetation; and which, it is evident, has been recently left by the water. It has all the character of land perfectly new, and as yet scarcely raised from the bed of the river. This land is used for meadows, and is in great estimation. It is acknowledged, however, to be extremely unhealthy. Be-

tween that and Wilmington, the quality of the stone is quartzose ; ocher is also to be found in an imperfect state. As the advantages this city may boast of, has rendered it one of the best trading towns out of the British empire ; so in all probability it will increase in commerce and riches, if not prevented by party, faction, and religious feuds, which of late years have made it suffer considerably. The assemblies and courts of judicature are held here, as in all capitals. The French have no city like it in all America.

Happy was my lot in falling into my countryman's power, as he was, contrary to many others of his calling, a humane, worthy, honest man. Having no children of his own, and commiserating my unhappy condition, he took great care of me until I was fit for business ; and about the 12th year of my age set me about little trifles ; in which state I continued until my 14th year, when I was more fit for harder work. During such my idle state, seeing my fellow-servants often reading and writing, it incited in me an inclination to learn, which I intimated to my master, telling him I should be very willing to serve a year longer than the contract by which I was bound, if he would indulge me in going to school ; this he readily agreed to, saying that winter would be the best time. It being then summer, I waited with impatience for the other season ; but to make some progress in my design, I got a Primer, and learned as much from my fellow-servants as I could. At school, where I went every winter for five years, I made a tolerable proficiency, and have ever since been improving myself at leisure hours. With this good master I continued till I was seventeen years old, when he died ; and, as a reward for my faithful service, he left me £200 currency, which was then about £150 sterling, his best horse, saddle, and all his wearing apparel.

Being now my own master, having money in my

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

with in their incursions ; some indeed carry a bag with biscuit or Indian corn therein, but not unless they have a long march to their destined place of action. And those French, who were sent to dispossess us in that part of the world, being indefatigable in their duty, and continually contriving and using all manner of ways and means to win the Indians to their interest, many of whom had been too negligent, and sometimes, I may say, cruelly treated by those who pretend to be their protectors and friends, found it no very difficult matter to get over to their interest many who belonged to those nations in amity with us, especially as the rewards they gave them were so great, they paying for every scalp of an English person £15 sterling.

Terrible and shocking to human nature were the barbarities daily committed by the savages, and are not to be paralleled in all the volumes of history ! Scarce did a day pass but some unhappy family or other fell victims to *French chicanery* and savage cruelty. Terrible indeed it proved to me as well as to many others ; I that was now happy in an easy state of life, blessed with an affectionate and tender wife, who was possessed of all amiable qualities, to enable me to go through the world with that peace and serenity of mind which every Christian wishes to possess, became on a sudden one of the most unhappy and deplorable of mankind ; scarce can I sustain the shock which for ever recoils on me, at thinking on the last time of seeing that good woman. The fatal 2d of October 1754, she that day went from home to visit some of her relations ; as I staid up later than usual, expecting her return, none being in the house besides myself, how great was my surprise, terror, and affright, when about 11 o'clock at night I heard the dismal war-cry, or war-whoop of the savages, which they make on such occasions, and may be expressed, *Woach, woach, ha, ha, hach, woach*, and to my inexpressible grief, soon

found my house was attacked by them : I flew to my chamber-window, and perceived them to be twelve in number. They making several attempts to get in, I asked them what they wanted? They gave me no answer, but continued beating, and trying to get the door open. Judge, then, the condition I must be in, knowing the cruelty and merciless disposition of those savages should I fall into their hands. To escape which dreadful misfortune, having my gun loaded in my hand, I threatened them with death if they should not desist. But how vain and fruitless are the efforts of one man against the united force of so many, and of such merciless, undaunted, and blood-thirsty monsters as I had here to deal with. One of them that could speak a little English, threatened me in return, " That if I did not come out, they would burn me alive in the house ;" telling me farther, what I unfortunately perceived, " That they were no friends to the English, but if I would come out and surrender myself prisoner, they would not kill me." My terror and distraction at hearing this is not to be expressed by words, nor easily imagined by any person, unless in the same condition. Little could I depend on the promises of such creatures ; and yet if I did not, inevitable death, by being burnt alive, must be my lot. Distracted as I was in such deplorable circumstances, I chose to rely on the uncertainty of their fallacious promises, rather than meet with certain death by rejecting them ; and accordingly went out of my house with my gun in my hand, not knowing what I did, or that I had it. Immediately on my approach, they rushed on me like so many tigers, and instantly disarmed me. Having me thus in their power, the merciless villains bound me to a tree near the door ; they then went into the house, and plundered and destroyed every thing there was in it, carrying off what moveables they could ; the rest, together with the house, which they set fire to, was

consumed before my eyes. The barbarians, not satisfied with this, set fire to my barn, stable, and out-houses, wherein were about 200 bushels of wheat, six cows, four horses, and five sheep, which underwent the same fate, being all entirely consumed to ashes. During the conflagration, to describe the thoughts, the fears, and misery that I felt, is utterly impossible, as it is even now to mention what I feel at the remembrance thereof.

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

This narrative, O reader! may seem dry and tedious to you: my miseries and misfortunes, great as they have been, may be considered only as what

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

others have daily met with for years past; yet, on reflection, you cannot help indulging me in the recital of them; for to the unfortunate and distressed, recounting our miseries is, in some sort, an alleviation of them.

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

Having at length satisfied their brutal pleasure, they sat down round the fire, and roasted their meat, of which they had robbed my dwelling. When they had prepared it, and satisfied their voracious appetites, they offered some to me; though it is easily

imagined I had but little appetite to eat, after the tortures and miseries I had undergone; yet was I forced to seem pleased with what they offered me, lest, by refusing it, they had again resumed their hellish practices. What I could not eat, I contrived to get between the bark and the tree where I was fixed, they having unbound my hands until they imagined I had eat all they gave me; but then they again bound me as before, in which deplorable condition was I forced to continue all that day. When the sun was set, they put out the fire, and covered the ashes with leaves, as is their usual custom, that the white people might not discover any traces or signs of their having been there.

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

Going from thence along by the river Susquehana for the space of six miles, loaded as I was before, we arrived at a spot near the Apalachian mountains, or Blue Hills, where they hid their plunder under logs of wood. And, oh, shocking to relate! from thence did these hellish monsters proceed to a neighbouring house, occupied by one Joseph Snider, and his unhappy family, consisting of his wife, five children, and a young man his servant. They soon got admittance into the unfortunate man's house, where they immediately, without the least remorse, and with more than brutal cruelty, *scalped** the ten-

* Scalping is taking off the skin from the top of the head; which they perform with a long knife which they hang round their neck, and always carry with them. They cut the skin round as much of the head as they think proper, sometimes quite round from the neck and forehead, then take it in their fingers, and pluck it off, and often leave the unhappy creatures, so served, to die in a most miserable manner. Some, who are not cut too deep in the temples and skull,

der parents and the unhappy children : nor could the tears, the shrieks, or cries of these unhappy victims, prevent their horrid massacre ; for having thus scalped them, and plundered the house of every thing that was moveable, they set fire to the same, where the poor creatures met their final doom amidst the flames, the hellish miscreants standing at the door, or as near the house as the flames would permit them, rejoicing, and echoing back in their diabolical manner, the piercing cries, heart-rending groans, and paternal and affectionate soothing, which issued from this most horrid sacrifice of an innocent family. Sacrifice ! I think I may properly call it, to the aggrandizing the ambition of a king, who wrongly styles himself *Most Christian* ! For, had these savages been never tempted with the alluring bait of all-powerful gold, myself as well as hundreds of others, might still have lived most happily in our stations. If Christians countenance, nay hire, those wretches to live in a continual repetition of plunder, rapine, murder, and conflagration, in vain are missionaries sent or sums expended, for the propagation of the gospel. But these sentiments, with many others, must, before the end of this narrative, occur to every humane heart. Therefore to proceed : not contented with what these infernals had already done, they still continued their inordinate villainy, in making a general conflagration of the barn and stables, together with all the corn, horses, cows, and every thing on the place.

Thinking the young man belonging to this unhappy family would be of some service to them in carrying part of their hellish acquired plunder, they spared his life, and loaded him and myself with what they had here got, and again marched to the

live in horrid torments many hours, and sometimes a day or two after. The scalps, or skins thus taken off, they preserve and carry home in triumph, where they receive, as is said before, a considerable sum for every one.

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

The horrid fact being completed, they kept on their course near the mountains, where they lay skulking four or five days, rejoicing at the plunder and store they had got. When provisions became scarce, they made their way towards Susquehana; where still, to add to the many barbarities they had already committed, passing near another house inhabited by an unhappy old man, whose name was John Adams, with his wife and four small children; and, meeting with no resistance, they immediately scalped the unhappy wife and her four children, before the good old man's eyes. Inhuman and horrid as this was, it did not satiate them; for when they had murdered the poor woman, they acted with her

in such a brutal manner, as decency, or the remembrance of the crime, will not permit me to mention; and this even before the unhappy husband, who, not being able to avoid the sight, and incapable of affording her the least relief, entreated them to put an end to his miserable being: but they were as deaf and regardless to the tears, prayers, and entreaties of this venerable sufferer, as they had been to those of the others, and proceeded in their hellish purpose of burning and destroying his house, barn, cattle, hay, corn, and every thing the poor man a few hours before was master of. Having saved what they thought proper from the flames, they gave the old man, feeble, weak, and in the miserable condition he then was, as well as myself, burdens to carry, and loading themselves likewise with bread and meat, pursued their journey on towards the Great Swamp, where, being arrived, they lay for eight or nine days, sometimes diverting themselves in exercising the most atrocious and barbarous cruelties on their unhappy victim, the old man: sometimes they would strip him naked, and paint him all over with various sorts of colours, which they extracted, or made from herbs and roots: at other times they would pluck the white hairs from his venerable beard, and tauntingly tell him, *he was a fool for living so long, and that they would shew him kindness in putting him out of the world;* to all which the poor creature could but vent his sighs, his tears, his moans, and entreaties, that, to my affrighted imagination, were enough to penetrate a heart of adamant, and soften the most obdurate savage. In vain, alas! were all his tears, for daily did they tire themselves with the various means they tried to torment him; sometimes tying him to a tree, and whipping him; at others, scorching his furrowed cheeks with red-hot coals, and burning his legs, quite to the knees: but the good old man, instead of repining, or wickedly arraigning the divine jus-

tice, like many others in such cases, even in the greatest agonies, incessantly offered up his prayers to the Almighty, with the most fervent thanksgivings for his former mercies, and hoping the flames, then surrounding and burning his aged limbs, would soon send him to the blissful mansions of the just, to be a partaker of the blessings there. And during such his pious ejaculations, his infernal plagues would come round him, mimicking his heart-rending groans and piteous wailings. One night after he had thus been tormented, whilst he and I were sitting together condoling each other at the misfortunes and miseries we daily suffered, twenty scalps and three prisoners were brought in by another party of Indians. They had unhappily fallen in their hands in Cannojigge, a small town near the river Susquehana, chiefly inhabited by the Irish. These prisoners gave us some shocking accounts of the murders and devastations committed in their parts. The various and complicated actions of these barbarians would entirely fill a large volume, but what I have already written, with a few other instances which I shall select from their information, will enable the reader to guess at the horrid treatment the English, and Indians in their interest, suffered for many years past. I shall therefore only mention in a brief manner those that suffered near the same time with myself. This party, who now joined us, had it not, I found, in their power to begin their wickedness as soon as those who visited my habitation, the first of their tragedies being on the 25th day of October, 1754, when John Lewis, with his wife and three small children, fell sacrifices to their cruelty, and were miserably scalped and murdered, his house, barn, and every thing he possessed, being burnt and destroyed. On the 28th, Jacob Miller, with his wife and six of his family, together with every thing on his plantation, underwent the same fate. The 30th, the house, mill,

barn, twenty head of cattle, two teams of horses, and every thing belonging to the unhappy George Folke, met with the like treatment: himself, wife, and all his miserable family, consisting of nine in number, being inhumanly scalped, then cut in pieces and given to the swine, which devoured them. I shall give another instance of the numberless and unheard-of barbarities they related of these savages, and proceed to their own tragical end. In short, one of the substantial traders belonging to the province, having business that called him some miles up the country, fell into the hands of these devils, who not only scalped him, but immediately roasted him before he was dead; then, like cannibals for want of other food, eat his whole body, and of his head made what they called an Indian pudding.

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

The three prisoners that were brought with these additional forces, constantly repining at their lot, and almost dead with their excessive hard treatment, contrived at last to make their escape; but being far from their own settlements, and not knowing the country, were soon after met by some others of the tribes or nations at war with us, and brought back to their diabolical masters, who greatly rejoiced at having them again in their infernal power.

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

A great snow now falling, the barbarians were a little fearful lest the white people should, by their

traces, find out their skulking retreats, which obliged them to make the best of their way to their winter quarters, about two hundred miles farther from any plantations or inhabitants; where, after a long and tedious journey, being almost starved, I arrived with this infernal crew. The place where we were to rest, in their tongue, is called Alamingo. There were found a number of wigwams* full of their women and children. Dancing, shooting, and shouting were their general amusements; and in all their festivals and dances they relate what successes they have had, and what damages they have sustained in their expeditions; in which I became part of their theme. The severity of the cold increasing, they stript me of my clothes for their own use, and gave me such as they usually wore themselves, being a piece of blanket, a pair of *mogganes*, or shoes, with a yard of coarse cloth to put round me instead of breeches. To describe their dress and manner of living may not be altogether unacceptable to some of my readers; but as the size of this book will not permit me to be so particular as I might otherwise be, I shall just observe,

That they in general wear a white blanket, which, in war time, they paint with various figures, but particularly the leaves of trees, in order to deceive their enemies when in the woods. Their *mogganes* are made of deer-skins, and the best sort have them bound round the edges with little beads and ribbands. On their legs they wear pieces of blue cloth for stockings, some like our soldiers spatter-dashes; they reach higher than their knees, but not lower than their ancles. They esteem them easy to run in. Breeches they never wear, but instead thereof two pieces of linen, one before and

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

another behind. The better sort have shirts of the finest linen they can get, and to these some wear ruffles; but these they never put on till they have painted them of various colours which they get from the Pecone root and bark of trees, and never pull them off to wash, but wear them till they fall to pieces. They are very proud, and take great delight in wearing trinkets; such as silver plates round their wrists and necks, with several strings of wampum (which is made of cotton, interwoven with pebbles, cockle-shells, &c.), down to their breasts; and from their ears and noses they have rings or beads which hang dangling an inch or two. The men have no beards, to prevent which they use certain instruments and tricks as soon as it begins to grow. The hair of their heads is managed differently, some pluck out and destroy all, except a lock hanging from the crown of the head, which they interweave with wampum and feathers of various colours. The women wear it very long twisted down their backs, with beads, feathers, and wampum; and on their heads most of them wear little coronets of brass or copper; round their middle they wear a blanket instead of a petticoat. The females are very chaste, and constant to their husbands; and if any young maiden should happen to have a child before marriage, she is never esteemed afterwards. As for their food they get it chiefly by hunting and shooting, and boil or roast all the meat they eat. Their standing dish consists of Indian corn soaked, then bruised and boiled over a gentle fire for ten or twelve hours. Their bread is likewise made of wild oats, or sun-flower seeds. Set meals they never regard, but eat when they are hungry. Their gun, tomahawk, scalping knife, powder and shot, are all they have to carry with them in time of war—bows and arrows being seldom used by them. They generally in war decline open engagements; bush fighting or skulking is

their discipline ; and they are brave when engaged, having great fortitude in enduring tortures and death. No people have a greater love of liberty or affection to their neighbours ; but are the most implacably vindictive people upon the earth ; for they revenge the death of any relation, or any great affront, whenever occasion presents, let the distance of time or place be never so remote. To all which I may add, and which the reader has already observed, that they are inhumanly cruel. But some other nations might be more happy, if in some instances they copied them, and made *wise conduct*, *courage*, and *personal strength*, the chief recommendations for war captains, or *werowances*, as they call them. In times of peace, they visit the plantations inhabited by the whites, to whom they sell baskets, ladles, spoons, and other such trifles, which they are very expert in making. When night comes, if admitted into any house, they beg leave to lie down by the fire-side, chusing that place rather than any other, which is seldom refused them, if sober ; for then they are honest ; but if drunk, are very dangerous and troublesome, if people enough are not in the house to quell them. Nor would they at any time be guilty of such barbarous depredations as they are, did not those calling themselves Christians entice them thereto with strong liquors, which they are vastly fond of ; as well as by the pecuniary rewards which they gave for the scalps. If ambition cannot be gratified, or superiority obtained, otherwise than by the death of thousands, would it not, in those who seek such airy phantoms, and are so inordinately fond of their fellow creatures lives, savour a little more of humanity, to have them killed instantly, and, if they must have proofs of murder, scalped afterwards, than by allowing and encouraging such merciless treatment, render themselves as obnoxious, cruel, and barbarous, to a humane mind, as the very sa-

vages themselves? However, they sometimes suffer by their plots and chicanery laid for the destruction of others; it often happening that the traders or emissaries sent to allure them to the execution of their schemes, rightly fall victims themselves; for, as they always carry with them horse-loads of rum, which the Indians are fond of, they soon get drunk, quarrelsome, and wicked, and in their fury often kill and destroy their tempters: a just reward for their wicked designs: nay, it had such an effect on them, that when so intoxicated, they even burn and consume all their own effects, beating, wounding, and sometimes killing their wives and children: but, in disputes among themselves, when sober, they are very tenacious of decorum, never allowing more than one to speak at a time. Profane swearing they know not in their own language how to express, but are very fond of the French and English oaths.

The old people, who are by age and infirmities rendered incapable of being serviceable to the community, they put out of the world in a barbarous and extraordinary manner; an instance of which I had, whilst among them, an opportunity of seeing practised on an old Indian. He being, through age, feeble and weak, and his eyes failing him, so that he was unable to get his living either by hunting or shooting, was summoned to appear before several of the leading ones, who were to be his judges. Before whom being come, and having nothing to say for himself, (as how indeed could he prove himself to be young?) they very formally, and with a seeming degree of compassion, passed sentence on him to be put to death. This was soon after executed on him in the following manner: he was tied naked to a tree, and a boy, who was to be his executioner, stood ready with a tomahawk in his hands, to beat his brains out; but when the young monster came to inflict the sentence, he was so

short of stature that he could not lift the tomahawk high enough ; upon which he was held up by some others, a great concourse being present ; and then, though the young devil laid on with all his strength, he was not for some time able to fracture the old man's scull, so that it was near an hour before he was dead.—Thus are they, from their youth, inured to barbarity !

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

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

After this long digression, it is time to return to the detail of my own affairs.—At Alamingo was I kept near two months, until the snow was off the ground. A long time to be amongst such creatures, and naked as I almost was ! whatever thoughts I might have of making my escape, to carry them into execution was impracticable, being so far from any plantations or white people, and the severe weather rendering my limbs in a manner quite stiff and motionless : however, I contrived to defend

myself against the inclemency of the weather as well as I could, by making myself a little wigwam, with the bark of the trees, covering the same with earth, which made it resemble a cave ; and to prevent the ill effects of the cold which penetrated into it, I was forced to keep a good fire always near the door.

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

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

As soon as the snow was quite gone, and no traces of their vile footsteps could be perceived, they set forward on their journey toward the back parts of the province of Pennsylvania, leaving their wives and children behind in their wigwams. They were now a terrible and formidable body, amounting nearly to 150. My duty was to carry what they thought proper to load me with, but they never entrusted me with a gun. We marched on several days without any thing particular occurring, almost famished for want of provisions ; for my part I had nothing but a few stalks of Indian corn, which I was

glad to eat dry ; nor did the Indians themselves fare much better, for as we drew near the plantations, they were afraid to kill any game, lest the noise of their guns should alarm the inhabitants.

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

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

Here being left, I began to meditate on my escape ; and though I knew the country round extremely well, having been often thereabouts with my companions, hunting deer and other beasts, yet was I very cautious of giving the least suspicion of such my intention. However, the third day after the grand body left us, my companions or keepers thought proper to visit the mountains in search of game for their subsistence, leaving me bound in such a manner that I could not escape. At night, when they returned, having unbound me, we all sat down together to supper on two polecats, being what they had killed, and soon after (being greatly fatigued with their day's excursion) they composed themselves to rest as usual. Observing them to be in that somniferous state, I tried various ways to see whether it

was a scheme to prove my intensions or not ; but after making a noise, and walking about, sometimes touching them with my feet, I found there was no fallacy. My heart then exulted with joy at seeing a time come that I might in all probability be delivered from my captivity, but the joy was soon damped by the dread of being discovered by them, or taken by any straggling parties. To prevent which I resolved, if possible, to get one of their guns, and if discovered, to die in my defence rather than be taken ; for that purpose I made various efforts to get one from under their heads (where they usually secured them) but in vain. Frustrated in this my first essay regarding my liberty, I dreaded the thoughts of carrying my new design into execution ; yet after a little consideration, and trusting myself to the divine protection, I set forward naked and defenceless as I was. A rash and dangerous enterprise ! Such was my terror, however, that in going from them I halted and paused every four or five yards, looking fearfully towards the spot where I had left them, lest they should awake and miss me ; but when I was about two hundred yards from them, I mended my pace, and made as much haste as I could to the foot of the mountains, when on a sudden I was struck with the greatest terror and amaze at hearing the wood-cry, as it is called, and may be expressed *Jo hau ! Jo hau !* which the savages I had left were making, accompanied with the most hideous cries and howling they could utter. The bellowing of lions, the shrieks of hyenas, or the roarings of tygers, would have been music to my ears in comparison to the sounds that then saluted them. They having now missed their charge, I concluded that they would soon separate themselves, and hie in quest of me. The more my terror increased, the faster did I push on ; and scarce knowing where I trode, drove through the woods with the utmost precipitation, sometimes falling and bruising myself, cutting my

feet and legs against the stones in a miserable manner; but though faint and maimed, I continued my flight until break of day, when, without having any thing to sustain nature but a little corn left, I crept into a hollow tree, in which I lay very snug, and returned my prayers and thanks to the Divine Being, that had thus far favoured my escape. But my repose was in a few hours destroyed at hearing the voices of savages near the place where I was hid, threatening and talking how they would use me if they got me again; that I was before too sensible of to have the least rest either in body or mind since I had left them. However, they at last left the spot where I had heard them, and I remained in my circular asylum all that day without further molestation.

At night I ventured forward again, frightened and trembling at every bush I past, thinking each twig that touched me to be a savage. The third day I concealed myself in the like manner, and at night I travelled on in the same deplorable condition, keeping off the main road used by the Indians as much as possible, which made my journey many miles longer, and more painful and irksome than I can express. But how shall I describe the fear, terror, and shock that I felt on the fourth night, when, by the rustling I made among the leaves, a party of Indians, that lay round a small fire, which I did not perceive, started from the ground, and seizing their arms, ran from the fire amongst the woods. Whether to move forward or to rest where I was I knew not, so distracted was my imagination. In this melancholy state, revolving in my thoughts the now inevitable fate I thought waited on me, to my great consternation and joy, I was relieved by a parcel of swine that made towards the place I guessed the savages to be; who, on seeing the hogs, conjectured that their alarm had been caused by them, and very merrily returned to the fire, and lay down to sleep as before. As soon as I perceived my enemies so dis-

posed of, with more cautious step and silent tread I pursued my course, sweating (though winter, and severely cold) with the fear I had just been relieved from. Bruised, cut, mangled, and terrified as I was, I still, through the divine assistance, was enabled to pursue my journey until break of day, when thinking myself far off from any of those miscreants I so much dreaded, I lay down under a great log, and slept undisturbed till about noon, when getting up, I reached the summit of a great hill with some difficulty, and looking out if I could spy any inhabitants of white people, to my unutterable joy I saw some, which I guessed to be about ten miles distance.

This pleasure was in some measure abated by my not being able to get among them that night ; therefore, when evening approached, I again recommended myself to the Almighty, and composed my weary mangled limbs to rest. In the morning, as soon as I awoke, I continued my journey towards the nearest cleared lands I had seen the day before, and about four o'clock in the afternoon arrived at the house of John Bell, an old acquaintance, where, knocking at the door, his wife, who opened it, seeing me in such a frightful condition, flew from me like lightning, screaming into the house. This alarmed the whole family, who immediately fled to their arms, and I was soon accosted by the master with his gun in his hand. But on my assuring him of my innocence as to any wicked intentions, and making myself known (for he before took me to be an Indian), he immediately caressed me, as did also his family, with a deal of friendship, at finding me alive ; they having all been informed of my being murdered by the savages some months before. No longer now able to support my fatigued and worn-out spirits, I fainted and fell to the ground. From which state having recovered me, and perceiving the weak and famished condition I then was in, they soon gave me some refreshment, but let me

partake of it very sparingly, fearing the ill effects too much would have on me. They for two or three nights very affectionately supplied me with all necessaries, and carefully attended me until my spirits and limbs were pretty well recruited, and I thought myself able to ride, when I borrowed of these good people (whose kindness merits my most grateful return) a horse and some clothes, and set forward for my father-in-law's house in Chester county, about 140 miles from thence, where I arrived on the 4th day of January, 1755; but scarce one of the family could credit their eyes, believing, with the people I had lately left, that I had fallen a prey to the Indians.

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

The news of my happy arrival at my father-in-law's house, after so long and strange an absence, was soon spread round the neighbouring plantations, by the country people who continually visited me, being very desirous of hearing and eagerly enquiring an account of my treatment and manner of living among the Indians: in all which I satisfied them. Soon after this my arrival, I was sent for by his excellency Mr Morris, the governor, a worthy gentleman, who examined me very particularly as to all incidents relating to my captivity, and especially in regard to the Indians, who had first taken me away, whether they were French or English parties. I assured his excellency they were of those who professed themselves to be friends of the former; and informed him of the many barbarous and

inhuman actions I had been witness to among them, on the frontiers of the province; and also that they were daily increasing, by others of our pretended friends joining him; that they were all well supplied by the French with arms and ammunition, and greatly encouraged by them in their continual excursions and barbarities, not only in having extraordinary premiums for such scalps as they should take and carry home with them at their return, but great presents of all kinds, besides rum, powder, ball, &c. before they sallied forth. Having satisfied his excellency in such particulars as he requested, the same being put into writing, I swore to the contents thereof, as may be seen by those who doubt of my veracity, in the public papers of that time, as well in England as in Philadelphia. Having done with me, Mr Morris gave me three pounds, and sent the affidavit to the assembly, who were then sitting in the state-house at Philadelphia, concluding on proper measures to check the depredations of the savages, and put a stop to their barbarous hostilities on the distressed inhabitants, who daily suffered death in a most deplorable condition; besides being obliged to abscond their plantations, and the country being left desolate for several hundred miles on the frontiers, and the poor sufferers could have no relief, by reason of the disputes between the governor and the assembly. The former was led by the instructions of the proprietor, which was entirely against the interest of the province, so that it caused great confusion among the people to see the country so destroyed, and no preparations making for its defence.

However, on receiving this intelligence from his excellency, they immediately sent for me. When I arrived, I was conducted into the lower house, where the assembly then sat, and was there interrogated by the speaker, very particularly, as to all I had before given the governor an account of. This

my first examination lasted three hours. The next day I underwent a second for about an hour and a half, when I was courteously dismissed, with a promise that all proper methods should be taken, not only to accommodate and reimburse all those who had suffered by the savages, but to prevent them from committing the like hostilities for the future.

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

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

ceeded through the same by New York, Middletown, Mendon in Connecticut, to Boston, where we arrived about the end of March, and found the regiment ready to receive us.

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

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

The pier is at the bottom of the bay, 2000 feet long, and runs so far into the bay, that ships of the greatest burden may unload without the help of boats or lighters. At the upper end of the chief street in the town, which comes down to the head

of the pier, is the Town House, or Exchange, a fine building, containing, besides the walk for merchants, the Council Chamber, the House of Commons, and a spacious room for the Courts of justice. The Exchange is surrounded with booksellers' shops that have a good trade—here being five printing-houses, and the presses generally full of work, which is in a great measure owing to the colleges and schools in New England; and likewise at New York and Philadelphia, there are several printing-houses lately erected, and booksellers constantly employed, as well as at Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, Barbadoes, and the Sugar Islands.

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

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

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

In this city, learning military discipline, and waiting for an opportunity of carrying our schemes into execution, we lay till the first of July; during all which time, great outrages and devastations were committed by the savages in the back parts of the province. One instance of which, in particular, I shall relate, as

being concerned in rewarding, according to desert, the wicked authors thereof.

Joseph Long, Esq. a gentleman of large fortune in those parts, who had in his time been a great warrior among the Indians, and frequently joined in expeditions with those in our interest, against the others. His many exploits and great influence among several of the nations, were too well known to pass unrevenged by the savages against whom he had exerted his abilities. Accordingly, in April 1756, a body of them came down on his plantation, about 30 miles from Boston, and, sculking in the woods for some time, at last seized an opportunity to attack his house, in which, unhappily proving successful, they scalped, mangled, and cut to pieces, the unfortunate gentleman, his wife, and nine servants; and then made a general conflagration of his houses, barns, cattle, and every thing he possessed, which, with the mangled bodies, were all consumed in one blaze. But his more unfortunate son and daughter were made prisoners, and carried off by them to be reserved for greater tortures. Alarmed and terrified at this inhuman butchery, the neighbourhood, as well as the people of Boston, quickly assembled themselves to think of proper measures to be revenged on these execrable monsters. Among the first of those who offered themselves to go against the savages, was James Crawford, Esq. who was then at Boston, and heard of this tragedy; he was a young gentleman who had for some years paid his addresses to Miss Long, and was in a very little time to have been married to her. Distracted, raving, and shocked as he was, he lost no time, but instantly raised 100 resolute and bold young fellows, to go in quest of the villains. As I had been so long among them, and was pretty well acquainted with their manners and customs, and particularly their sculking places in the woods, I was recommended to him as one proper for his expedition; he immediately applied to my officers, and got liberty for me. Never did I go on any enter-

prise with half that alacrity and cheerfulness I now went with this party. My wrongs and sufferings were too recent in my memory to suffer me to hesitate a moment in taking an opportunity of being revenged to the utmost of my power.

Being quickly armed and provided, we hastened forward for Mr Long's plantation on the 29th, and after travelling the most remote and intricate paths through the woods, arrived there the 2d of May, dubious of our success, and almost despairing of meeting with the savages, as we had heard or could discover nothing of them in our march. In the afternoon, some of our men being sent to the top of a hill to look out for them, soon perceived a great smoke in a part of the low grounds. This we immediately and rightly conjectured to proceed from a fire made by them. We accordingly put ourselves into regular order, and marched forwards, resolving, let their number have been what it might, to give them battle.

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

Great as our joy was, and flushed with success as we were at this sudden victory, no heart among us but was ready to burst at the sight of the young lady. What must the thoughts, torments, and sensations of our brave captain then be, if even we, who knew her not, were so sensibly affected! For, oh! what breast, though of the brutal savage race we had just destroyed, could, without feeling the most exquisite

grief and pain, behold in such infernal power, a lady in the bloom of youth, blest with every female accomplishment that could set off the most exquisite beauty! Beauty, which rendered her the envy of her own sex and the delight of ours, enduring the severity of a windy, rainy night! Behold one nurtured in the most tender manner, and by the most indulgent parents, quite naked, and in the open woods, encircling with her alabaster arms and hands a cold rough tree, whereto she was bound, with cords so straitly pulled that the blood trickled from her finger ends! Her lovely tender body, and delicate limbs, cut, bruised, and torn with stones and boughs of trees, as she had been dragged along, and all besmeared with blood! What heart can even now, unmoved, think of her distress, in such a deplorable condition; having no creature, with the least sensations of humanity, near to succour or relieve her, or even pity or regard her flowing tears, and lamentable wailings!

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

During this pleasing, painful interview, our men were busily employed in cutting, hacking, and scalping the dead Indians; and so desirous was every man to have a share in wreaking his revenge on them, that disputes happened among ourselves, who should be the instruments of further shewing it on their lifeless trunks, there not being enough for every man to have one wherewith to satiate himself: the captain observing the animosity between us on this occasion, ordered that the two divisions should cast lots for this bloody, though agreeable piece of work: which being accordingly done, the party whose lot it was to be excluded from this business stood by with half-pleased countenances, looking on the rest; who, with the utmost cheerfulness and activity, pursued their revenge, in scalping, and otherwise treating their dead bodies as the most inveterate hatred and detestation could suggest.

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

The account she gave of their disastrous fate and dire catastrophe, besides what I have already mentioned, was, that the savages had no sooner seen all consumed, but they hurried off with her and her brother, pushing, and sometimes dragging them on,

for four or five miles, when they stopt; and stripping her naked, treated her in a shocking manner, whilst others were stripping and cruelly whipping her unhappy brother. After which, they, in the same manner, pursued their journey, regardless of the tears, prayers, or entreaties of this wretched pair; but with the most infernal pleasure, laughed and rejoiced at the calamities and distresses they had brought them to, and saw them suffer, until they arrived at the place we found them; where they had that day butchered her beloved brother in the following execrable and cruel manner: they first scalped him alive, and after mocking his agonizing groans and torments, for some hours, ripped open his belly, into which they put splinters and chips of pine trees, and set fire thereto; the same (on account of the turpentine wherewith these trees abound) burnt with great quickness and fury for a little time, during which, he remained in a manner alive, as she could sometimes perceive him to move his head, and groan.—They then piled a great quantity of wood all around his body, and consumed it to ashes.

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

Marching easily on her account, we returned to the captain's plantation the 6th of May, where, as well as at Boston, we were joyfully received, and rewarded handsomely for the scalps of those savages we had brought with us. Mr Crawford and Miss Long were soon after married; and, in grati-

tude to the services we had done them, the whole party was invited to the wedding, and nobly entertained; but no riotous or noisy mirth was allowed, the young lady we may well imagine, being still under great affliction, and in a weak state of health.

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

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

mainder, did not arrive until the 31st. Here we found Colonel Schuyler with his regiment of New Jersey provincials, who had arrived there some time before. A short description of a place which has afforded so much occasion for animadversion, may not here be altogether disagreeable to those unacquainted with our settlements in that part of the world.

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

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

Nor will it in this place be improper to give some

account of our friends in those parts, whom we call the Mohawks, viz. the Iroquois, commonly called the Mohawks, the Oneiadaes, the Onondagues, the Cayugaes, and the Senekaes. In all accounts they are called the Six Nations of the New York Friendly Indians; the Tuscaroroës, stragglers from the old Tuscaroroës of North Carolina, lately are reckoned as the sixth. I shall here reckon them as I have been informed they were formerly.—1. The Mohawks: they live upon the Mohawk's or Schenectady river, and head or ly north of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and some part of Virginia; having a castle or village, westward from Albany 40 miles, and another 65 miles west, and about 160 fencible men.—2. The Oneiades, about 80 miles from the Mohawks second village, consisting of about 200 fighting men.—3. The Onondagues, about 25 miles further, (the famous Oswego, a trading place on the lake Ontario, is in their country) consisting of about 250 men.—4. The Cayugaes, about 70 miles further, of about 130 men: and, 5. the Senekaes, who reach a great way down the river Susquehana, consist of about 700 marching, fighting men: so that the fighting men of the five or six nations of Mohawks may be reckoned at 1500 men, and extend from Albany, west 400 miles, lying in about 30 tribes or governments. Besides these, there is settled above Montreal, which lies N. E. of Oswego, a tribe of scoundrels, runaways from the Mohawks; they are called Kahnuaes, consisting of about 80 men. This short account of these nations I think necessary to make the English reader acquainted with, as I may have occasion to mention things concerning some of them.

It may not be improper here also, to give a succinct detail of the education, manners, religion, &c. of the natives. The Indians are born tolerably white; but they take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion by anointing themselves with

grease and lying in the sun. Their features are good, especially those of the women. Their limbs clean, straight, and well proportioned, and a crooked and deformed person is a great rarity amongst them. They are very ingenious in their way, being neither so ignorant nor so innocent as some people imagine: On the contrary, a very understanding generation are they, quick of apprehension, sudden in dispatch, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and in labour assiduous. The world has no better marksmen with guns, or bows and arrows, than the natives, who can kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and wild beasts running; nay, with such prodigious force do they discharge their arrows, that one of them will shoot a man quite through, and nail both his arms to his body with the same arrow.

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

Some assures us the Indians worship the images of some inferior deities whose anger they seem to dread; on which account, the generality of our travellers denominate the objects of their devotion devils; though, at the same time, it is allowed, they pray to their inferior deities for success in all their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other necessaries of life. It appears too, that they acknowledge one Supreme Being; but him they adore not, because they believe he is too far exalted above them, and too happy in himself, to be concern-

ed about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They seem also to believe in a future state ; and that after death, they will be removed to their friends who have gone before them, to an Elysium or Paradise beyond the Western Mountains : others again, allow them either no religion at all, or at most, very faint ideas of a deity ; but all agree that they are extravagantly superstitious, and exceedingly afraid of evil spirits. To these demons they make oblations every new moon, for the space of seven days ; during which time they cast lots, and sacrifice one of themselves, putting the person devoted to the most exquisite misery they can invent, in order to satisfy the devil for that moon ; for they think, if they please but the evil spirit, God will do them no hurt.

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

Being now at Oswego, the principal object that gave at that time any concern to the Americans, I shall, before I continue my own account, give a short recital of what had been done in these parts, in regard to the defence and preservation of the

fort and the colonies thereabouts, before I came, upon such authorities as I got from those who had been long at Oswego, and I can well depend upon for truth.

General Shirley, in 1754, having erected two new forts on the river Onondaga, it seemed probable that he intended to winter at Oswego with his whole army, that he might the more readily proceed to action the ensuing spring. What produced his inactivity afterwards, and how it was that fort Oswego was not taken by the French in the spring 1755, are things my penetration will not enable me to discuss. But Oswego is now lost, and would have been so in the spring of 1755, if more important affairs had not made the French neglect it. At this time the garrison of Oswego consisted only of 100 men, under Captain King. The old fort being their only protection, which mounted only eight four-pounders, was incapable of defence because it was commanded by an eminence directly across a narrow river, the banks of which were covered with thick wood.

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

A resolution was now taken to make the fort larger, and erect some new ones; to build vessels upon the lake; to increase the garrison; and provide every thing necessary to annoy the enemy, so as they might render the place tenable. Captain Broadstreet arriving on the 27th of May at the fort, with two companies, some small swivel guns, and the first parcel of workmen, made some imagine that a stop would be put to the French in their carrying men in the sight of the garrison; yet they still permitted eleven more French batteaux to pass by,

though we were then superior to them in these boats, or at least in number. The reason our forces *could not* attack them was, because they were four miles in the offing, on board large vessels, in which the soldiers could stand to fire without being upset; and our batteaux, in which we must have attacked them, were so small, that they would contain only six men each, and so ticklish, that the inadvertent motion of one man would upset them. No care, however, was taken to provide larger boats against another emergency of the same kind. At Oswego, indeed, it was impracticable for want of *iron work*; such being the provident forecast of those who had the management of affairs, that though there were smiths enow, yet there was at this place but one pair of bellows, so that the first accident that should happen to that necessary instrument, would stop all the operations of the forge at once.

The beginning of June, the ship-carpenters arrived from Boston, and on the 28th of the same month the first vessel we ever had on the lake Ontario was launched and fitted out. She was a schooner, forty feet in the keel, had fourteen oars, and twelve swivel guns. This vessel, and 320 men, was all the force we had at Oswego the beginning of July, and was victualled at the expense of the province of New York. Happy indeed it was that the colony provisions were there; for so little care had been taken to get the king's provisions sent up, that, when we arrived, we must have perished with famine, had not we found a supply which we had little reason to expect.

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

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

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

A little diligence being now made use of, about the middle of September, four other vessels were got ready, viz. a decked sloop of eight guns, four pounders, and thirty swivels; a decked schooner, eight guns, four pounders, and twenty-eight swivels; one undecked schooner of fourteen swivels, and fourteen oars, and another of twelve swivels and fourteen oars; about 150 tons each.

On the 24th of October, with this armament, and

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

The captain that was with us observing this, as soon as we had got the others over the most difficult falls, ordered two besides myself to go and help her forwards. Accordingly I got into her, in order to

steer her, whilst my two comrades and her own crew dragged her along. When we got her into any cataracts, I remained in her to fasten the ropes and keep all safe whilst they hauled her up; but drawing her to the summit of the last cataract the ropes gave way, and down she fell into a very rapid and boisterous stream, where, not being able by myself to work her, she stove to pieces on a small rock, on which some part of her remaining till morning, I miraculously saved myself. Never was my life in greater danger than in this situation, the night being quite dark, and no assistance to be obtained from any of my comrades, though many of them, as I afterwards learned, made diligent search for me; but the fall of the water rendered the noise that they, as well as myself, made, to be heard by one another, quite ineffectual.

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

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

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

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

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

A little, indeed, may be offered in vindication of the General, in regard to the numberless delays of this campaign: viz. That it took some time to raise the two regiments which were in British pay, as the name of enlisting for life is somewhat forbidding to the Americans (a few of whom, as well as myself, made our agreement for three years; but soon after that time, I doubt, we must have depended on his pleasure for our being discharged, according to our contract, had it not fallen out otherwise.) The unusual dryness of the summer rendered the rivers down to Oswego in some places impassible, or very difficult for the batteaux to proceed; and it was whispered that a gentleman lately in an eminent station in New York, did all in his power to hinder the undertaking, from a pique to the General. By these disadvantages, he was detained at Albany till August; and even when he did reach Oswego, he

found himself put to no little difficulty, to maintain his ground for want of provisions: and the men being so reduced, more than once, to short allowance, as you have seen, became troubled with the flux, and had not any thing necessary; not even rum sufficient for the common men, to prevent the fatal effects of that disorder.

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

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

Great things being expected from him, he arrived early in the spring at Virginia, with a considerable land force; and Fort du Quesne seemed to be our's, if we did but go and demand it. The attacks designed against Niagara and Fort Frederick, at Crown Point, were planned in the winter, and the troops employed against the French in Nova Scotia, embarked at Boston in April. Let us view the events, besides those already mentioned. General Braddock was ready to march in April. But, through ignorance or neglect, or a misunderstanding with the governor of Virginia, had neither fresh provisions, horses, nor waggons provided; and so late as the latter end of May, it was necessary to apply to Pennsylvania, for the most part of those. This neglect created a most pernicious diffidence and discredit of the Americans, in the mind of the Ge-

neral, and prevented their usefulness, where their advice was wanted, and produced very bad effects. He was a man (as it is now too well known and believed) by no means of quick apprehension, and could not conceive that such a people could instruct him; and his young counsellors prejudiced him still more, so as to slight his officers, and what was worse, his enemy; as it was treated as an absurdity to suppose the Indians would ever attack regulars: and, of course, no care was taken to instruct the men to resist their peculiar manner of fighting. Had this circumstance been attended to, I am fully persuaded 400 Indians, about the number that defeated him, would have given him very little annoyance: sure I am, 400 of our people, rightly managed, would have made no difficulty of driving before them four times that handful, to whom he owed his defeat and death.

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

The General continued inactive, from the time he left Oswego, to March 1756, when he was about to resume the execution of his scheme to attack Frontenac and Niagara. What would have been the issue of this project, neither myself nor any other person can now pretend to say, for, just at this crisis, he received orders from England to attempt nothing till Lord London should arrive, which was said should be early in the spring. However, his Lordship did not get there until the middle of

July, so that by this delay time was given to the Marquis de Montcalm (Major-General Dieskan's successor) to arrive from France at Canada with 3000 regular forces, and take the field before us.

But to return from this digression to other transactions. When I was pretty well recovered again, I embarked on board a vessel from Albany for New York; where, when I arrived, I found to my sorrow Captain John Shirley, the General's son, had been dead for some time. He was a very promising worthy young gentleman, and universally regretted. His company was given to Major James Kinnair, who ordered that none of his men should go out on the recruiting parties, as was at first intended by his predecessor; but that the private men should either return to Oswego, or do duty in the fort at New York. Not liking my station here, I entreated the General, who was now arrived, for a furlough, to see my friends at Pennsylvania, which he, having then no great occasion for me at New York, granted for three months.

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

New York is a very fine city, and the capital of the province of that name: it contains about 3000 houses, and near 9000 inhabitants. The houses are all well built, and the meanest of them said to be worth £100 sterling, which cannot be said of the city of the same name, nor of any other in England. Their conversation is polite, and their furniture, dress, and manner of living, quite elegant. In drinking and gallantry they exceed any city in America.

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

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

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

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

The damages which these counties had sustained by the desertion of plantations, is not to be reckon-

ed up, nor are the miseries of the poor inhabitants to be described; many of whom, though escaping with life, were, without a moment's warning, driven from these habitations, where they enjoyed every necessary of life, and were then exposed to all the severity of a hard winter, and obliged to solicit their very bread at the cold hand of charity, or perish with hunger, under the inclement air.

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

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

At the Great Cove in Cumberland, at Tulpehocken in Berks, and in several other places, their barbarities were still greater, if possible. Men, women, children, and brute beasts, shared one common destruction; and where they were not burnt to ashes, their mangled limbs were found promiscuously thrown upon the ground; those appertaining to the human form scarce to be distinguished from the brute!

But, of all the instances of the barbarities I heard of in these parts, I could not help being most affected with the following: One family, consisting of the husband, his wife, and a child only a few hours old, were all found murdered and scalped in this manner: The mother stretched on the bed,

with her new-born child horribly mangled and put under her head for a pillow, while the husband lay on the ground hard by, with his belly ript up, and his bowels laid open.

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

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

Yet even during all this time, this province (had things been properly ordered) need but, in comparison to her strength, have lifted her foot and crushed all the French force on their borders; but unused to such undertakings, and bound by non-resisting principles from exerting her strength, and involved in disputes with the proprietors, they stood still, vainly hoping the French would be so moderate as to be content with their victory over Braddock, or at least confine their attacks to Virginia; but they then saw and felt all this was delusion, and the barbarities of the Indian parties headed by French officers: Notwithstanding all which, they continued in domestic debates, without a soldier in pay, or a penny in the treasury. In short, if the enemy had then had but 1500 men at the Ohio, and would have attempted it, no rashness could have

been perceived in their marching down to the city of Philadelphia.

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

“ BRETHREN,

“ We are once more come among you, and sincerely condole with you on account of the late bloodshed, and the awful cloud that hangs over you and over us. Brethren, you may be undoubtedly assured, that these horrid actions were committed by none of those nations that have any fellowship with us, but by certain false-hearted and treacherous brethren. It grieves us more than all our other misfortunes, that any of our good friends the English should suspect us of having false hearts.

“ BRETHREN,

“ If you were not an infatuated people, we are 300 warriors firm to your interest ; and if you are so unjust to us, as to retain any doubts of our sincerity, we offer to put our wives, our children, and all we have into your hands, to deal with them as seemeth good to you, if we are found in the least to swerve from you. But, brethren, you must support and assist us, for we are not able to fight alone against the powerful nations who are coming against you ; and you must this moment resolve, and give us an explicit answer what you will do : For these

nations have sent to desire us, as old friends, either to join them, or get out of their way, and shift for ourselves. Alas ! brethren, we are sorry to leave you ! We remember the many tokens of your friendship to us : But what shall we do ? We cannot stand alone, and you will not stand with us !

“ BRETHREN,

“ The time is precious. While we are here consulting with you, we know not what may be the fate of our brethren at home. We do, therefore, once more invite and request you to act like men, and be no longer as women, pursuing weak measures that render your names despicable. If you will put the hatchet * into your hands, and send out a number of your young men, in conjunction with our warriors, and provide the necessary arms, ammunition, and provisions, and likewise build some strong houses for the protection of our old men, women, and children, while we are absent in war, we shall soon wipe the tears from your eyes, and make these false-hearted brethren repent their treachery and baseness towards you and towards us.

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

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

It was some time, however. before the assembly could be brought to consent to any vigorous mea-

* See the note under Tomahawk—p. 16.

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

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

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

We arrived the 26th of December at Bethlehem, in the forks of the river Delaware, where, being kindly received by the Moravians, we loaded six waggons with provisions, and proceeded on to the Apalachinn Mountains, or Blue Hills, to a town called Kennorton-head, which the Moravians had deserted on account of the Indians. Fifty of our

men, of whom I made one, were ordered before the rest, to see whether the town was destroyed or not. Disposing them to the best advantage, we marched on till we came within five miles of the place, which we found standing entire.

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

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

We would have got there in very good order, had it not been for a river we had to cross, and the weather being so excessively cold, our clothes froze to our bodies as soon as we got out of the water. However, with great difficulty we reached the town, and got into the church, with the loss of 27 men. There we made as good preparations for our defence as possibly we could, making a great fire of the benches, seats, and what we could find therein, to dry our clothes, not esteeming it the least sacrilege or crime, upon such an emergency.

The Indians soon followed us into the town, and surrounding us, tried all methods to burn the church, but our continual firing kept them off for about six hours, until our powder and ball were all expended. In the night they set several houses on fire; and we, dreading the consequences of being detained there, resolved to make one bold effort, and push ourselves through the savage forces, which was accordingly done with the most undaunted courage.

The enemy fired continually on us during our retreat, and killed many of our men, but in their confusion many of themselves also, it being so very dark that we were not able to discern our own party, so that only five of us kept together, and got into the woods; the rest, whom we left behind, I doubt, fell sacrifices to the savages.

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

The Captain enquiring our success, I gave him the melancholy detail of our unfortunate expedition; upon which, an express was immediately sent to the Governor with the account, who ordered 1600 men to march the next morning for the same place, under the command of General Franklin, not only to bury the dead and build a fort there, but to extirpate the savages who infested these parts, and were too powerful for our small number under Captain Davis.

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

On the 9th of January 1756, we were reinforced by General Franklin and his body, and the next day set out again for Kennorton-head; where, when we arrived, to our great consternation, we found little occasion to bury our unhappy comrades, the swine (which in that country are vastly numerous in the woods) having devoured their bodies, and nothing but bones strowed up and down were to be seen. We there built a fort in the place where the old

church had stood, and gave it the name of Fort Allen ; this was finished in six days, and in so good a manner, that 100 men would make great resistance against a much greater number of Indians.

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

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

The day after this scheme was put into execution, we met with a small party which we put to the rout, killing fourteen of them. We then made all possible dispatch to save some houses we saw on fire, but on our nearer approach found our endeavour in vain ; John Swisher and his family having been before scalped and burnt to ashes in his own house. On the following night, the house of James Wallis underwent the same fate, himself, wife, seven children, and the rest of the family, being scalped, and burnt therein. The houses and families of Philip Green and Abraham Nairne suffered in the like manner. Nor did the cruelty of these barbarians stop here, but attacked the dwelling-house of George Hunter, Esq. a gentleman of considerable wealth, and a justice of the peace, who made a brave resistance, and rather than fall into the hands of these miscreants, chose to meet death in the

flames, which he, his wife, and all his household, consisting of sixteen in number, did with the utmost bravery, before any assistance could be received from our General, who had dispatched 500 of us for that purpose, on an express being sent to him that morning.

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

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

Notwithstanding our vigilance, these villains, on the 15th, attacked the house of James Graham, but by Providence, he with his wife, who had just lain in, and the young infant in her arms, (with nothing about her but her shift) made their escape to Fort Allen, about fifteen miles distant. The child perished by the way, and it was matter of wonder to the whole garrison to find either of them alive; indeed, they were in a deplorable condition, and we imagined they would expire every moment. The wife, however, to our great astonishment recovered, but the husband did not survive above six hours after their arrival.

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

Tedious and shocking would it be to enumerate half the murders, conflagrations, and outrages committed by these hellish infidels; let it suffice, therefore, that from the year 1753, when they first began their barbarities, they had murdered, burned, scalped, and destroyed above 3500; above 1000 whereof

were unhappy inhabitants of the western part of Philadelphia. Men, women, and children, fell alike a prey to the savages; no regard being had by them to the tender entreaties of an affectionate parent for a beloved child, or the infant's prayers in behalf of his aged father and mother. Such are the miserable calamities attendant on schemes for gratifying the ambition of a tyrannic monarchy like France, or the weak contrivances or indolent measures of blundering ministers or negociators.

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

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

He having under his command 280 provincials, destined against the Ohio Morians, against whom nothing had been attempted, notwithstanding their frequent incursions and murders, penetrated 140 miles through the woods, from Fort Shirley on Juniata river to Kittanning, an Indian town on the Ohio, about 25 miles above Fort du Quesne, belonging to the French. He soon joined the advanced party at the Beaver-Dams; and on the fourth evening after, being within six miles of Kittanning, the scouts discovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or four Indians at it. At that time it was not thought proper to attempt sur-

prising these Indians, lest is one should escape, the town might be alarmed. Lieutenant Hogg, therefore, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them until day-break; and our forces turned out of the path, to pass their fire, without disturbing them.

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

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

when, having lost three of his men, the rest, as he lay wounded, abandoned him and fled, the enemy pursuing. Lieutenant Hogg died soon after of his wounds.

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

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

And, pursuant to agreement some months before, the four governments of New England, in conjunction with New York (which last furnished 1300) had now assembled 8000 men (for the attack of Fort Frederick) at Albany, 150 miles N. of New York, and about 130 from Crown Point, under the command of General Winslow. But many people dreading the cruelty of the French, were not so very eager to join them this year as the last; an impress therefore of part of the militia was ordered in New York government. To prevent which, subscriptions were set on foot to engage volunteers by high bounties; so loath were they, that some got nine or twelve pounds sterling to enlist.

The 41th, 48th 50th, and 51st regiments of Great

Britain were destined for the campaign on the great lake Ontario, and mostly marched for Oswego, thence to be carried over in 200 great whale boats, which were then at the lake, and were built at Schenectady on Mohawk's river, and were long, round, and light, as the batteaux, being flat-bottomed and small, would not answer the navigation of the lake, where the waves were often very high. They were then, at last, intended to attack Fort Frontenac, mentioned before, and the other French forts on the lake. Upwards of 2000 batteaux men were employed to navigate the batteaux, each a ton burthen, laden with provisions and stores from Albany by the Mohawk river, then through Oneyda lake and river, down to Oswego. There were likewise 300 sailors hired and gone up from New York (as I found, when I arrived there) to navigate the four armed ships on the lake, built there, as I have before mentioned, the last year, for the king's service, and two others were then building; smiths, carpenters, and other artificers, having gone there for that purpose some weeks before. Such were the preparations and armaments for this campaign; but how fruitless to our disgrace, was soon known all over the world!

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

wretched manner, sent with the next batteaux to Albany to get it cured.

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

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

A day or two after being at Oswego, the fort was

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

I cannot here omit recounting a most singular transaction, that happened during this my second time of being there, which, though scarce credible, is absolutely true, and can be testified by hundreds, who know and have often seen the man : in short, one Moglasky, of the 50th regiment, an Irishman, being placed as centinel over the rum which had arrived, and being curious to know its goodness, pierced the cask and drank till he was quite intoxicated ; when, not knowing what he did, he rambled from his post, and fell asleep a good way from the garrison. An Indian skulking that way for prey (as is conjectured) found him, and made free with his scalp, which he plucked and carried off. The sergeant, in the morning, finding him prostrate on his face, and seeing his scalp off, imagined him to be dead ; but on his nearer approach, and raising him from the ground, the fellow awaked from the sound sleep he had been in, and asked the sergeant what he wanted. The sergeant, quite surprised at the strange behaviour of the fellow, interrogated him, how he came there in that condition ? he replied,

he could not tell; but that he had got very drunk, and rambled he knew not whither. The sergeant advised him to prepare for death, not having many hours to live, as he had lost his scalp. *Arrah, my dear now,* cries he, *and are you joking me?* for he really knew nothing of his being served in the manner he was, and would not believe any accident had happened him, until seeing his clothes bloody, he felt his head, and found it to be too true, as well as having a cut from his mouth to his ear. He was immediately carried before the Governor, who asked him how he came to leave his post? he replied, *that being very thirsty, he had broached a cask of rum and drank about a pint which made him drunk? but if his Honour would forgive him he'd never be guilty of the like again.* The Governor told him it was very probable he never would, as he was now no better than a dead man. However, the surgeons dressed his head there, as well as they could, and then sent him in a batteau to Albany, where he was perfectly cured; and to the great surprise of every body, was living when I left the country. This, though so extraordinary and unparalleled an affair, I aver to be true, having several times seen the man after this accident happened to him. How his life was preserved seems a miracle, as no instance of the like was ever known.

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

Going up the river Onondago towards Oswego, the batteaux men were, on the 29th of June, attacked near the falls, about nine miles from Oswego, by 500 French and Indians, who killed and wounded 74 of our men,

before we could get on shore, which, as soon as we did, the French were routed, with the loss of 130 men killed and several wounded, whom we took prisoners.

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

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

On the arrival of these forces, a new brigantine and sloop were fitted out; and about the same time, a large snow was also launched and rigged, and only waited for her guns and some running rigging, which they expected every day by Colonel Broadstreet; and had he returned in time with the cannon and batteau-men under his command, the French would not have dared to have appeared on the lake; but Colonel Broadstreet happened to be detained with the batteaux at Schenectady for above a month, waiting for the 44th regiment to march with him. The dilatoriness of this embar-

kation at Schenectady cannot be imputed to Colonel Broadstreet, because Gen. Shirley waited with impatience for the arrival of Lord Loudon Campbell from England; and when his Lordship landed at New York, he, in a few days after, proceeded to Albany, where his Lordship took the command of the army from General Shirley, and upon comparing, and considering how bad a situation his forces, and the different governments upon the continent were in, his Lordship, with the advice of several other experienced officers, thought himself not in a condition to proceed on any enterprize for that season, no farther than to maintain our ground at Oswego; for which purpose, Colonel Broadstreet was immediately ordered off with the bateaux and provisions, as also the aforesaid regiments; but before Broadstreet arrived at the great carrying place, Oswego was taken, with all the ships of war, although our naval force was far superior to the French.

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

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant General of New France, whilst he provided for the security of the frontiers of Canada, was principally attentive to the lakes. Being informed that we were making vast preparations at Oswego for attacking Niagara and Frontenac, he took and razed, in the month of March, the fort where we had formed our principal magazine; and in June following, destroyed on the river Chonenan or Oswego, some of our vessels, and made some prisoners. The success of these two expeditions encouraged him to act offensively, and to attack us at Oswego. This settlement they pretended, and still insist on, to be an encroachment, or invasion, which we had made in time of profound peace, and against which, they said, they had continually remonstrated, during our blundering negotiating Lawyer's residence at France. It was at first, say they, only a fortified magazine; but, in order to avail themselves

of its advantageous situation in the centre almost of the French colonies, the English added, from time to time, several new works, and made it consist of three forts, as above described.

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

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

Colonel Mercer, who was then commanding officer of the garrison at Oswego, having, on the 6th of August, intelligence of a large encampment of French and Indians, about 12 miles off, dispatched one of the schooners, with an account of it, to Captain Bradley, who was then on a cruise with the large brigantine and two sloops; at the same time desired him to cruise as far to the eastward as he

could, and to endeavour to prevent the approach of the French on the lake: but meeting the next day with a small gale of wind, the large brigantine was drove on shore near Oswego, in attempting to get into the harbour—of which misfortune the Indians immediately gave M. de Montcalm, the French General, notice, who took that opportunity of transporting his heavy cannon to about a mile and a half of the fort, which he could not otherwise have done, had not there been some neglect on our side.

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

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

This day and the next, the enemy were employed in making gabions, fasciscons, and fascines, and in cutting a road across the woods, from the place of landing, to the place where the trenches were to be opened; and the second division of the enemy arriving on the 11th in the morning, with the artillery and provisions, the same immediately landed without any opposition. Though dispositions

were made for opening the trenches on the 10th at night, which was rather a parallel of about 100 toises in front, and opened at the distance of about 60 toises * from the foss of Fort Ontario, in ground embarrassed with trunks of trees.

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

The next morning (the 12th) at day-break, a large number of French batteaux were discovered on the lake, in their way to join the enemy's camp: on which, Colonel Mercer ordered the two sloops to be again sent out, with directions to get between the batteaux and the camp; but before our vessels came up, the batteaux had secured themselves under the fire of their cannon.

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

The enemy on the east side continued their approaches to the fort Ontario, but, with their utmost efforts, for a long time they could not bring their cannon to bear on it. However, drawing their

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

cannon with great expedition, next morning (the 13th) about ten o'clock, to a battery erected within sixty yards from it, they played them very hotly on the garrisons notwithstanding the constant fire kept on them, and the loss of their principal engineer, who was killed in the trenches. A council of war was immediately held, by the officers of General Pepperel's regiment, who, observing the mortars were beginning to play, concluded it most adviseable to quit Fort Ontario, and join Colonel Schuyler's regiment at Fort George or Fort Rascal; and an account of this latter battery being sent to Colonel Mercer, by the commandant of the enemy, ordering him to evacuate the fort, they accordingly did, about three in the afternoon, destroying the cannon, ammunition, and provisions therein, and managed their retreat so as to pass the river, and join the troops at the west side, without the loss of a man. These troops, being about 370, were immediately ordered to join Colonel Schuyler, which they accordingly did, and were employed all the following night in completing the works of that fort.

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

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

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

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

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

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

doom came on so unexpectedly, that his loss was universally regretted.

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

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

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

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

ARTICLE I.

“ The garrison shall surrender prisoners of war,

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

ARTICLE II.

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

ARTICLE III.

“ They shall remain prisoners of war, until they are exchanged.”

Given at the Camp before Oswego,
August 14, 1756.

MONTCALM.

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

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

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

The quantity of stores and ammunition we then had in the three forts is almost incredible. But of what avail are powder and balls if walls and ramparts are defenceless, and men sufficient to make use of them; in short, the French by taking this place, made themselves masters of the following things, all which were immediately sent to Frontenac, viz. seven pieces of brass cannon, nineteen, fourteen, and twelve pounders; forty-eight iron cannon, of nine, six, five, three, and two pounders; a brass mortar of nine inches four-twelfths, and thirteen others of six and three inches; forty-seven swivel guns; 23,000lb. of gunpowder; 8000lb. of lead and musket ball; two thousand nine hundred and fifty cannon balls; one hundred and fifty bombs of nine inches, and three hundred more of six inches diameter; one thousand four hundred

* Colonel Campbell and Capt. Hamilton are at present in Scotland, the former resides near Glasgow, and the latter in Edinburgh.

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

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

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

During this our captivity, many of our men, rather than lie in a prison, went out to work and assist the French in getting in their harvest, they

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

Eighteen soldiers were all the guard they had to place over us, who, being greatly fatigued with hard duty, and dreading our rising on them, which, had we had any arms, we might easily have done, and ravaged the country round, as it was then entirely defenceless; and the town's people themselves fearing the consequences of having such a number of men in a place where provisions were at that time very scarce and dear, they thought of sending us away, the most eligible way of keeping themselves from famine, and accordingly put 1500 of us on board a vessel for England.

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

As soon as Oswego was taken, our only communication from the Mohawk's river to the lake Oneida was stopt up, by filling the place at Wood's Creek with great logs and trees for many miles together. A few days afterwards, the forts at the great carrying place, and then our most advanced post into the country of the Six Nations, which I have before given a short account of, (and where there were at that time above three thousand men, including one thousand two hundred batteau-men, and which still

gave the Six Nations some hopes that we would defend their country against the French), were abandoned and destroyed, and the troops which were under the command of General Webb retreated to Burnet's Field, and left the country and the Six Nations to the mercy of the enemy.

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

The consequences of the destruction of our forts at the great carrying place, and General Webb's retreating to Burnet's Field, is now, alas! too apparent to every one acquainted with American affairs. The Indians of the Six Nations undoubtedly looked upon it as abandoning them and their country to the French, for they plainly saw that we had no strong hold near them, and that (by the place at Wood's Creek being stopped) we could not, if we would, afford them any assistance at Onondago, Cayuga, and the Senekea's country, which were their chief castles; that the forts begun by us in those countries were left unfinished, and therefore could be of no use to them, and which, if we had kept the carrying place we might have finished, and given them still hopes of our being able to defend.

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

The fine country on the Mohawk's river down to Albany, was by this step left open to the ravages of

the enemy, and an easy passage opened to the French and their Indians into the provinces of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by the way of Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, which were before covered by our settlements on the Mohawk's river, and the Six Nations.

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

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

No people on earth have a higher sense of liberty, or stronger affection for their relations. When of-

fended they are the most implacable vindictive enemies on earth, for no distance of place or space of time will abate their resentment, but they will watch every opportunity of revenge, and when such opportunity offers, they revenge themselves effectually.

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

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

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

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

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

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

the country will soon become desolate ; for nobody will venture their lives to settle on the back parts, unless the Indians are our friends.

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

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

When last in London, I remember to have heard some coffeehouse politicians, chagrined at the devastations they made on our back settlements, say, that it would be an easy matter to root out the savages by clearing the ground. I answer, that the task may seem easy to them, but the execution of such a scheme on such a track of land would be so difficult, that I doubt whether there are people enough in Great Britain and Ireland to accomplish it in a hundred years' time, were they to meet with no opposition ; but where there is such a subtle enemy to deal with, I am afraid we should make

but little progress in reducing the Indians, even allowing the country to be all cleared, as there are hills and other fastnesses to which the Indians can retire, and where they would greatly have the better of every attempt to dislodge them. The only way I would advise is, to keep friends with the Indians, and endeavour to prevail on them to settle in the same manner as the planters do, which they will be more easily brought to, if the French are excluded from Canada. For, notwithstanding their wandering way of life, I have the greatest reason to believe they have no dislike to an easy life. And as they will have no temptations to murder, as they had when stirred up by the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, they will soon become useful members of society.

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

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

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

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

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

The Indians, finding the ill effects of this trade, began to complain. Wherefore laws were made, prohibiting any from going to trade with them with-

out a licence from the Governor, and it was also made lawful for the Indians to stave the casks, and spill what rum was brought among them—but this was to little purpose; the Indians had too little command of themselves to do their duty, and were easily prevailed upon not to execute this law; and the design of the former was totally evaded, by men of some character taking out licences to trade, and then employing under them persons of no honour or principle, generally servants and convicts transported hither from Britain and Ireland, whom they sent with goods into the Indian country to trade on their account. These getting beyond the reach of the law, executed unheard-of villanies upon the poor natives, committing crimes which modesty forbids to name, and behaving in a manner too shocking to be related.

At every treaty which the Indians held with the English they complained of the abuses they suffered from the traders, and trade as then carried on. They requested that the traders might be recalled, but all to no purpose. They begged in the strongest terms that no rum might be suffered to come among them; but were only told they were at liberty to spill all rum brought into their country. At this time little or no pains was taken to civilize or instruct them in the Christian religion, till at length the conduct of traders, professing themselves of that religion, gave the Indians an almost invincible prejudice against it. Besides, as these traders travelled among distant nations of the Indians, and were in some sort the representatives of the English nation, from them the Indians formed a very unfavourable opinion of our whole nation, and easily believed every misrepresentation made of us by our enemies. There are instances in history where the virtues and disinterested behaviour of one man has prejudiced whole nations of barbarians in favour of the people to whom he belonged; and is it then to be wondered

at if the Indians conceived a rooted prejudice against us, when not one, but a whole set of men, namely, all of our nation that they had an opportunity of seeing or conversing with, were persons of a loose and abandoned behaviour, insincere and faithless, without religion, virtue, or morality? No one will think I exaggerate these matters who has either known the traders themselves, or who has read the public treaties.

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

At present, a favourable opportunity presents for doing it effectually. All those who were engaged in this trade are, by the present troubles, removed from it; and it is to be hoped that the legislature will fall upon measures to prevent any such from ever being concerned in it again. This is only the foundation upon which we can expect a lasting peace with the natives. It is evident that a great deal depends upon the persons who are to be sent into the Indian country; from these alone the Indians will form a judgment of us, our religion, and manners. If these then, who are to be our repre-

sentatives among the Indians be men of virtue and integrity, sober in their conversation, honest in their dealings, and whose practice corresponds with their profession, the judgment formed of us will be favourable; if, on the contrary, they be loose and profane persons, men of wicked lives and profligate morals, we must expect that among the Indians our religion will pass for a jest, and we in general for a people faithless and despicable.

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

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

OF NEW ENGLAND.

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

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

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

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

OF NEW YORK.

THE situation of this province is between 72 and 76 W. long. and between 41 and 44 N. lat. being about 200 miles in length, and 100 miles in breadth. The lands in the Jerseys and south part of New York are low and flat; but as you ascend twenty or thirty miles up Hudson's river, the country is rocky and mountainous. The air is much milder here in winter than in New England, and in summer it is

pretty much the same. The produce and trade of New York and the Jerseys consist in cattle, and a good breed of horses. They have plenty of wheat and other grain, such as Indian corn, buck-wheat, oats, barley, and rye. It abounds also with store of fish. They supply the sugar islands with flour, salt beef, pork, salt fish, and timber planks, in return for the produce raised there.

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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

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

I intend to conclude this argument in a few words, and shall endeavour to do justice on both sides by adhering strictly to truth. Know there-

fore, that within these late years, the Indians, being tolerably acquainted with the nature of our commerce, have detected the roguery of some of the traders, whereupon they lodged many and grievous complaints to Colonel Weiser, the interpreter between them and the English, of the injurious and fraudulent usage they had received for several years backwards from white people, who had cheated them out of their skins and furs, not giving them one quarter their value for them.

Likewise they remonstrated, that whereas hunting was the chief way or art they ever had to earn a livelihood by : game was now become very scarce, because the whites practised it so much on their ground, destroying their prey. Colonel Weiser, their interpreter, advised them to bring down their skins and furs to Philadelphia themselves, promising that he would take proper care to see their goods vend- ed to their advantage. Whereupon they did so, in pursuance of his instructions, and finding it their interest, resolved to continue in the way he had chalked out for them : for now they were supplied with every thing they wanted from the merchants' shops, at the cheapest rates. And thus it plainly appeared to the Indians that they had been long imposed on by the traders, and therefore they were determined to have no more dealings with them. This conduct and shyness of the Indians was very disagreeable to several gentlemen of the province, who were nearly interested in that species of commerce.

Accordingly in the year 1753 and 1754, some of the traders had the assurance to renew their friendship with them, when, instead of remitting them clothes and other necessaries as had been usual and were most proper for them, they, with insidious purposes, carried them large quantities of rum in small casks, which they knew the natives were fond of, under the colour of giving it them gratis. In

this manner were the savages inveigled into liquor by the whites, who took the opportunity, while they were intoxicated, of going off with their skins and furs; but the natives, recovering from the debauch, soon detected the villany, and in revenge killed many of the traders, and went directly over to the French, who encouraged them to slay every English person they could meet with, and destroy their houses by fire, giving them orders to spare neither man, woman, nor child. Besides, as a farther incitement to diligence in this bloody task, they promised the savages a reward of £15 sterling for every scalp they should take, on producing the same before any of his Most Christian Majesty's officers, civil or military.

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

OF MARYLAND.

THIS country extends about 150 miles in length and 137 miles in breadth. The lands are low and flat next the sea; towards the heads of rivers they rise into hills, and beyond lie the Apalachian mountains, which are exceeding high. The air of this province is excessive hot some part of the summer, and equally cold in the winter, when the north-west wind blows; but the winters are not of so long duration here as in some other colonies adjoining to it. In the spring of the year, they are infested with thick heavy fogs that rise from the low lands, which render the air more unhealthy for English constitutions; and hence it is that, in the aforesaid season, the people are constantly afflicted with agues.

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

OF VIRGINIA.

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

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

and children, to 100,500, and, including servants and slaves, to twice that number.

OF CAROLINA.

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

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

OF NOVA SCOTIA.

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

OF CANADA.

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

ropean constitutions. And so much for the provinces in North America.

IT is now high time to return to the embarkation at Quebec. Five hundred of us, being to be sent to England, were put on board *La Renomme*, a French packet-boat, Captain Dennis Vitree, commander: we sailed under a flag of truce, and though the French behaved with a good deal of politeness, yet we were almost starved for want of provisions. One biscuit, and two ounces of pork a day, being all our allowance; and half dead with cold, having but few clothes, and the vessel being so small that the major part of us were obliged to be upon deck in all weathers. After a passage of six weeks, we at last, to our great joy, arrived at Plymouth, on the 6th of November 1756. But these our troubles and hardships were not, as we expected, put a period to for some time; scruples arising to the Commissaries and Admiral there about taking us on shore, as there was no cartel agreed on between the French and English, we were confined on board, until the determination of the Lords of the Admiralty should be known; lying there in a miserable condition seven or eight days, before we received orders to disembark, which, when we were permitted to do, being ordered from thence, in different parties, to Totness, Kingsburgh, Newton Bushel, Newton Abbot in Devonshire, I was happy in being quartered at Kingsbridge, where I met with such civility and entertainment, as I had for a long time been a stranger to.

In about four months we were again ordered to Plymouth dock, to be draughted into other regiments; where, on being inspected, I was, on account of the wound I had received in my hand, discharged as incapable of further service, and was allowed the sum of six shillings to carry me home to Aberdeen, near the place of my nativity. But find-

ing that sum insufficient to subsist me half the way, I was obliged to make my application to the honourable gentlemen of the city of York, who, on considering my necessity, and reviewing my manuscript on the transactions of the Indians herein before mentioned, thought proper to have it printed for my own benefit, which they cheerfully subscribed unto. And after disposing of several of my books through the shire, I took the first opportunity of going in quest of my relations at Aberdeen, where I received very barbarous usage and ill treatment, occasioned by complaining against the illegal practice of *kidnapping*, in the beginning of my book, which I shall hereafter finally describe in the following pages.

A DISCOURSE ON KIDNAPPING,

With proper directions for tradesmen and others, to avoid slavery, when transported from their native country, by the instigation of perfidious traders.



To make the subject of the ensuing pages the more accurate and distinct, I shall, in the *first place*, begin with the proceedings of the Magistrates of Aberdeen, when I arrived in that town in June 1758, after having completed the period of my slavery, as related in the beginning of this narrative. No sooner had I offered this little work to sale in that town, which was then my only means of subsistence, than I was arraigned on a summary complaint at the instance of the Magistrates, before their own tribunal, and carried by three or four town officers to the bar of that tremendous Court of Judicature. The complaint exhibited against me contained in substance, "That I had been guilty of causing print, and of publishing and dispersing this scurrilous and infamous libel, reflecting greatly upon the characters and reputations of the merchants in Aberdeen, and on the town in general, without any ground or reason, whereby the corporation of the city, and whole members thereof, were greatly hurt and prejudged; and that, therefore, I ought to be exemplarily punished in my person and goods; and that the said book, and whole copies thereof, ought to be seized and publicly burnt." Such was the tenor of the complaint; and instead of allowing me an opportunity of taking advice, in time to prepare for my defence, I was hurried before them, and

concussed by threats of imprisonment to make a declaration of a very extraordinary cast, and dictated by themselves ; bearing, that “ I had no ground for advancing and uttering the calumnies mentioned in my book against the merchants in Aberdeen, *but the fancy I took in my younger years, which stuck on my memory, though I did not find that I had reason so to do ; nor did I believe these things to be true ;* and that I was willing to contradict, in a public manner, what I had so advanced,” &c.

After eliciting this declaration, the Magistrates, without adjournment, “ appointed me to find caution to stand trial on the said complaint at any time when called for, and imprisoned till performance ; and ordered all the copies of my book to be lodged in the clerk’s chamber.” My books were accordingly seized, and myself committed to the custody of the town-officers, who conducted me to jail, and where I must have lain till next day, had not my landlord bailed me out. Next forenoon the Magistrates proceeded to sentence on their own complaint ; and accordingly, they ordained the offensive leaves of all the copies of the said book to be cut out, and publicly burnt at the market-cross by the hands of the common hangman, the town-officers attending and publishing the cause of the burning ; that I should give in a signed declaration of much the same tenor with the former, begging pardon of the magistrates and merchants in the most submissive manner, and desiring this my recantation to be inserted in the York newspapers, or any other newspapers they should think proper : and also, ordained me to be incarcerated in the tolbooth, till I granted the said declaration ; and amerced me in ten shillings sterling, under the pain of imprisonment ; and immediately after to remove out of town.”

Such was the sentence of the Magistrates of Aberdeen against me, every particular of which wa

forthwith put in execution in the most rigorous manner. Had these judges had the least reflection, they must have been conscious, that, in every step of their procedure, they were committing the grossest abuse. The complaint was made by their order and direction, and served at their own instigation, by which means they were first the accusers, and afterwards the condemners. The subject of it was so irrelevant, that they must have been sensible they were prosecuting an innocent man, for relating the melancholy particulars of his life, which ought to have rendered him rather an object of their protection than of their malice. The facts he had set forth in his book, relating to the original of his misfortune, were so flagrant, that, had he sued for it, he was entitled to redress against the authors of his miseries, from those very magistrates who now had the cruelty to aggravate them, by inflicting additional hardships. To pretend ignorance is a very lame excuse. He must have been a very youthful magistrate in 1758, who could not remember some circumstances of a public branch of trade carried on in 1744. It is inconceivable, that, of a whole bench of magistrates, no less than six in number, not one was of an age capable of recollecting what had happened only fourteen years before; nor is it to be presumed, that, of almost all the inhabitants of Aberdeen, they alone, who had the best access to know the traffic of the town, should remain ignorant of a commerce, which was carried on in the market-places, on the high streets, and in the avenues to the town, in the most public manner. Neither of these suppositions will easily gain credit. The magistrates are commonly of such an age, and ought to be men of such reflection, as to render the first impossible; and the second, for the reasons given above, is equally incredible. Every impartial person must therefore be persuaded, that the magistrates were not unacquainted with that illicit

species of trade openly carried on in that city about the year 1744, and prior to that period. To prove that there was such an infamous traffic, I appeal to the depositions of several witnesses, some of whom shared in the calamity by the loss of their children and other relations. These I have subjoined, as they occur in the proof taken on my part.

DEPOSITIONS OF WITNESSES,

ON THE PART OF

PETER WILLIAMSON.

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Alexander King depones, that he knew the deceased James Williamson, in Hirnley, in the parish of Aboyne; that the said James Williamson had a son, named Peter Williamson, whom the deponent knew when he was a boy; and he seeing the said Peter Williamson immediately at his emitting this deposition, he is very sure that he is the identical Peter Williamson, whom he knew when he was a boy. Depones, that some years before the battle of Culloden, it was the general report of the country, that when the said Peter Williamson, the pursuer, was a little boy, going with a clipped head, he was taken at Aberdeen, and carried to Philadelphia, along with several other boys. Depones, that, about that time, the deponent had a conversation with the said James Williamson concerning his son Peter, who told the deponent several times, that he came into Aberdeen seeking his

son Peter, but they would not let him near hand him. Depones, that the said James Williamson told the deponent, that his son Peter was in custody in a barn at Aberdeen. and they would not let him speak to him ; and afterwards, the said James Williamson told the deponent, that the merchants of Aberdeen had carried away his son to Philadelphia, and sold him for a slave. Depones, that he heard in the country by report, that John Elphinston, merchant in Aberdeen, and one Black a merchant there, whether James or George he does not remember, did deal in that way of carrying away boys. And farther depones, that the said James Williamson told him, the deponent, that his son Peter was carried away without his consent, and he saw the father shed many salt tears on that account.

John Wilson depones, that he knew, and was well acquainted with James Williamson in Hirnley, and with all his children, particularly his son Peter Williamson. Depones, that the said Peter Williamson having gone to Aberdeen, as the deponent was informed, he was carried away therefrom to the plantations ; and when his father and friends missed him, they made search for him many ways in the country, but could not find him ; and the said James Williamson went to Aberdeen in search of him, and, upon his return, he told the deponent that he had been at Aberdeen seeking his son Peter, but could not find him, and was informed that he was taken up at Aberdeen, and carried to the plantations. Depones, that he believes, when the said Peter Williamson was amissing, he was about eight or ten years of age, and was a stout boy ; and the deponent seeing the said Peter Williamson immediately at emitting this deposition, he is sure that he is the identical person whom he knew, before he went away, to be James Williamson's son, and was at the said Peter Williamson's baptism.

Francis Frazer of Findrack, Esq. depones, that,

about 20 years ago, he knew the deceased James Williamson, living in Upper Balnacraig, in the parish of Lumphanan, and that he heard the said James Williamson lived formerly in Hirnley, in the parish of Aboyne. Depones, he knew several of the said James Williamson's children, and he heard it was the practice of some of the merchants of Aberdeen to kidnap young children, and send them to the plantations to be sold for slaves. Depones, he heard in the country that the said James Williamson, or his wife, had gone into Aberdeen, and one of their sons, called Peter Williamson, had followed, and that James Smith, saddler in Aberdeen, had picked the said Peter; and the deponent heard he was either put in prison, or put on board a ship, till the ship sailed. Depones, it was the voice of the country, that James Williamson and his wife regretted, or made a clamour for the loss of their son, not knowing what was become of him.

Robert Reid depones, that, to the best of his remembrance, he came to Aberdeen in the year 1740, to see his sister; that his sister proposed to the deponent to go to a barn, to see the country boys who were going over to Philadelphia, and to carry home to their parents some accounts of them; that the deponent accordingly went over, and heard music and a great noise in said barn, but the deponent refused to go in, because it occurred to him that he had heard in his own country that many boys had been decoyed by particular artifices of merchants (and he has heard John Burnet named) to go over to America. Depones, that he was told that the number of boys in the said barn was between thirty and forty. Depones, that some time after this the deponent's mother refused to allow the deponent to go into Aberdeen, and mentioned as the reason of this refusal, that the son of one Williamson, a tenant of Lord Aboyne's, in Hirnley, and who lived within two miles of her, was amissing.

Isabel Wilson depones, that she went to Aberdeen in the year 1740, and lived there for seven years and a half, and that she heard it frequently reported in Aberdeen, that many young people of both sexes were decoyed by the artifices of merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet and John Elphingston, to engage to go over to America. That she once went into a malt-barn to see one Peter Ley, who had engaged to go to America, and might be about thirty years of age: that, upon that occasion, she saw the barn full of boys and men, to the number of fifty and upwards, as she believes, and that they had a piper amongst them; and that particularly she saw two young boys, called Elsmies, whom she knew, and who were the sons of a widow woman there; the youngest of whom appeared to her to be about ten years of age, and the eldest about fourteen years. Depones, that after she left Aberdeen and went back to her own country, she has heard James Williamson, tenant of Lord Aboyne, in the town of Hirnley, frequently complain that a son of his had been amissing, and he did not know what became of him.

Margaret Reid depones, that, about the year 1740 or 41, she heard that many young boys were decoyed by merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet, to go over to America; and that, about that time, one Peter Ley, and two brothers of the name of Elsmie, who lived in Aboyne, in the deponent's neighbourhood, were amissing, and were much regretted by their mother, and who were believed to have been carried over to America. Depones, that, in the parish of Aboyne, they were generally afraid to send their boys on errands to Aberdeen, for fear they should be carried off. Depones, that she did not know the age of the said two Elsmies, but from their appearance the one might be ten or twelve, and the other seven or eight years. Depones, that James Williamson, tenant in Hirnley of Aboyne, had a son who was amissing, whose name was Peter, and who the deponent knew very

well at that time, and who in the year 1740, might be nine or ten years of age, in the deponent's opinion ; that in that year he was sent into Aberdeen to be under his aunt's care, his mother being dead : That soon thereafter he was amissing, and the deponent has frequently heard his father regret him very much, who went into Aberdeen in search of him, but could not find him ; and that it was the general opinion of the country, and the opinion of his father also, that he was carried over to America.

George Johnston depones, that he was sent over to Virginia by an uncle, to be put under the care of a friend there ; that the ship in which he sailed was called the *Indian Queen*, Captain Ferguson, commander ; and the said ship sailed from Aberdeen, and had above sixty boys on board, under indentures to serve for a number of years in Virginia : That, as the deponent has been frequently informed, many of these boys were engaged by different artifices to enter into the said indentures, without the consent of their parents ; and the deponent particularly knows, that there were two brothers went over in the said ship, viz. James and William Sheds, the eldest of whom was about fifteen years of age, and the other about six years ; that these two brothers were bought by one John Graham, in Quantigo Creek, in Virginia ; that the eldest served out the time of his indenture, which was five years, and the youngest was adjudged to serve the said John Graham until he was twenty-one years of age. Depones, that he has been well informed, that James Abernethy, John Elphinstone, and John Burnet, merchants in Aberdeen, were very much employed in engaging boys as aforesaid. Depones that he knows that six or seven of the boys before-mentioned were sold in Virginia to different masters ; one of them, named Thomas Whitehead, was sold to the deponent's master ; that one of them, called James Shed, the youngest of the two Sheds above-mentioned, was sold to a

planter within three miles of where the deponent lived; that he deserted his master's service, was apprehended and whipped for so doing, and adjudged to serve for a year longer than otherwise he was obliged to do, he having deserted his service for the space of a month. Depones, that he knows that in the year 1745, there came a ship from Aberdeen to Virginia, and that he was particularly acquainted with Thomas Whitehead above-mentioned, who, upon recollection, he remembers came over a passenger in that ship, and not in the ship before-mentioned; that the said Thomas Whitehead acquainted the deponent, that he was engaged by James Abernethy, merchant in Aberdeen, to go to Virginia to serve there. Depones, that the boys brought over as above, and engaged to serve in Virginia, are in use to be maintained by their masters during the time of their service; and at the end of their service to get 50s. sterling, and have no other encouragement. Depones, that during their service, they are commonly very harshly used by their masters, and kept upon a very coarse diet, so that they are often forced to desperate measures, and to make away with themselves. Depones, that he returned to Britain in the end of the year 1745, and soon thereafter came to Aberdeen: and that there several of the parents of the children that had gone over with him, came to the deponent, and with great anxiety inquired after their children; and particularly one Helen Law asked the deponent about her son, and at the same time poured out a great many curses upon the said James Abernethy for decoying young boys and sending them to America, and particularly her own son; and this she did in presence of the said James Abernethy. And depones, that the deponent was sent down by his master, along with John Spriggs, to bring up the said Thomas Whitehead, together with several others of the boys that came along with him, in or-

der for sale. Depones, that he never saw the pursuer in Virginia, but has good reason to believe he was there, not only because some of his nearest relations had told him so, but that himself had conversed particularly with him, with regard to several persons and places there, of which he gave a just and true account.

Alexander Grigerson depones, that he and another boy (whose name he does not remember) were coming from the Mill of Crathy, where they had been seeking their meat, and near to a birch wood near to the Kirk of Crathy, three countrymen on horseback came up with them, but the deponent knew none of them; and they asked the deponent and the other boy that was along with him, if they would go with them, and they would clothe them like gentlemen, and said very kind things to them; but the deponent, being older than the other boy, made answer, that they would go along with them; for it struck the deponent in the head, that perhaps he and the other boy were to be carried abroad, in respect of a rumour prevailing in the country, that young boys were carried abroad at that time. Depones, that upon their refusing to go along with the said three men, they said they would force them, and thereupon alighted from their horses; and while the said three men were tying their horses to growing trees, he, the deponent, and the other boy, ran away into the wood, and hid themselves into a thick bush, and the three men followed them, but did not find them, though they passed by within three yards of them; and the deponent heard one of them say, "Go you that way, and I shall go this way, and if we can find them in this bush, we can easily take them up." Depones, that he and the other boy stayed about half an hour in the bush, till they found the said three men were gone away, and then he, the deponent, and the other boy, went back to the Mill of Crathy.

Margaret Ross depones, that about 17 years ago, she had a son, named James Ingram, then about twelve years of age, whom she sent an errand to Aberdeen, and who at that time was taken up by Alexander Gray, merchant in Aberdeen, in order to be carried to the plantations ; that he was detained in Aberdeen about eight days, but had liberty to go through the town with other boys, and they used to go in companies, beating the drum. Depones, that, on Sunday thereafter, she came to the chapel in the Gallowgate to hear worship, and she saw her son there, and got hold of him, and carried him home with her to Loanhead, which is about half a mile from Aberdeen. Depones, that she kept her said son at home for some time, until four men came out of Aberdeen for him, in the night time, while the deponent and her husband were in bed, and their son James lying at their feet. Depones, she knew none of these four men, but they told they were come from the said Alexander Gray, and wanted to carry the said James Ingram into Aberdeen. Depones, that when her son heard them saying so, he wept and shed tears ; and they insisting, caused him to rise out of bed, and go along with them to Aberdeen, and his father followed them ; and she was told by her husband, they went to Alexander Gray's house. Depones, that next day, the said John Ingram, her husband (as he informed the deponent,) came into Aberdeen, and met with Alexander Gray, and sought back his son ; who said to him, that if he would pay seven pounds Scots, for the expence of maintaining his son while he was with Alexander Gray, in that case he should get back his son ; but their circumstances could not allow them to pay the said seven pounds. Depones, that thereafter she came into Aberdeen, and met with Provost Aberdeen, who was then Provost of the town, and represented the case to him, and he sent for Alex. Gray, to come to the town-house and speak with the Provost. Depones, that when he came, the Provost asked him, if he had a boy of the deponent's with him ? to which

Alexander Gray answered, that he had a boy, one James Ingram; whereupon the Provost said to him, that he did not think it right to take up any person's child without consent of parents, to which Alexander Gray answered, that the boy complained that his mother was not good to him; and the Provost replied, that a parent could not correct a child out of time, and desired that the deponent should get her son; whereupon Alexander Gray asked, who would pay his charges for maintaining the boy while he had him? at the same time Gray said, he had given off the boy to one Mr Copland, in the Gallowgate. Depones, that the Provost sent an officer for Mr Copland, who could not be found that day; but the Provost desired the deponent to go home, and return the next day to the town-house, and she should get her son. Depones, that on her return, the Provost sent for Mr Copland, and ordered him to give the deponent her son; and he asked, who would pay the charges of him? and the Provost replied, that when his father grew rich, he would cut stones for him, he being a stone-cutter to his employment. Depones, that Mr Copland went along with her to a barn at the backside of the town, where her son and several other boys were, the door thereof was open, and James Ross, an officer, standing thereat. Depones, that several of the boys came out of the barn, calling to Mr Copland for shoes and other necessities that they wanted, and her son came to the door to her, and Mr Copland desired to take from him a striped waistcoat that he had given him, which was taken from him accordingly, and the deponent put a plaid about her son above his shirt, and carried him home with her. Depones, that she kept her son at home a considerable time with herself, thereafter he went into Aberdeen, and was taken up (as she was informed) by one Lunan in Aberdeen, who went over with boys, a trader to the plantations. Depones, that before her son went away, he was put

into the tolbooth of Aberdeen, and kept there for several weeks by the said Mr Lunan; and the deponent went twice or thrice to the tolbooth and saw her son there, and gave him her blessing before he went away, and she never saw him since. Depones, that when she went into Alexander Gray's shop, who caused first to apprehend her boy, to seek him back, the said Alexander Gray took her by the shoulders, and thrust her out of his shop. Depones, that at the aforesaid time, when her son was taken up and carried away, provisions were very dear and scarce, and many were difficulted to get their bread, but the deponent and her husband were in a condition to have maintained her son, and never consented to his being carried off. John Ingram depones,—conform to the said Margaret his spouse.

William Jamieson depones, that in spring 1741, and for some years before and after, the deponent resided with his family in the town of Old Meldrum, which he reckons to be twelve computed miles from Aberdeen; that the deponent had a son named John, who was, in the spring 1741, between ten and eleven years of age; that about that time the said John his son having been amissing from his house, the deponent was informed by the neighbours in Old Meldrum, the day after he was amissing, that they saw a man, whom they said was a servant to John Burnet, late merchant in Aberdeen, who was commonly called Bonny John, with the deponent's said son, and two other boys much about the same age, travelling towards Aberdeen, and that his son would be sent to the plantations: that in two or three days after receiving this information, the deponent went to Aberdeen, where he found the said John Burnet, who told him that he had several boys, but did not know whether the deponent's son was amongst them; but said, that though he was, the deponent would not get him back, because he was engaged with him: that the deponent upon this left Mr Bur-

net, and went down to the shore, where he had been informed the boys were out getting the air; that when he came there, he observed a great number of boys, he thinks about sixty, diverting themselves; that they were attended by a man, who the deponent was informed by the people of the town was employed for that purpose by the said John Burnet; that this man had a horsewhip, and the deponent observed him striking the boys therewith when they went out of the crowd. Depones, that he observing his own son John among the boys, and called upon him; that the boy came unto him and told him, that he would willingly go home with him if he was allowed; that immediately upon this the person who was Mr Burnet's overseer, came up and gave the boy a lash with his whip, and took him by the shoulder and carried him amongst the rest, and immediately drove them off, and carried them to a barn, where the deponent saw them locked in by the fore-mentioned overseer, who put the key in his pocket: that the place where the boys were standing when the deponent spoke with his son as above deponed on, was on the shore, and the deponent thinks, as far distant from the fore-mentioned barn as from the Writer's Court to the Netherbow Port; that when the boys were marching up to the barn, the deponent kept pace with the overseer, who followed immediately after the boys, entreating of him to get liberty to speak to his son; who answered him, that he should get leave to speak to him by and bye, when they were come to the barn; but when they came there, the overseer locked the door, as above mentioned, and refused the deponent access: that the deponent never saw his son after this: that the deponent, in passing through the town of Aberdeen, after his son was locked up from him, was told by several trades people and others to whom he had told the story of his son, that it would be in vain for him to apply to the magistrate to get his son libe-

rated; because some of the magistrates had a hand in those doings as well as the said John Burnet; upon which the deponent went home. That in summer thereafter, the deponent came up to Edinburgh, to take advice what he should do in this matter, being certainly informed by the voice of the country that the ship on board of which his son was put had sailed for Maryland about a fortnight or so after that day when the deponent was at Aberdeen, and saw his son as before mentioned. That after the deponent came up to Edinburgh, he was recommended to the deceased Mr William Seton, writer to the signet, who gave him a libelled summons against the said John Burnet, before the Lords of Council and Session, for restitution of the deponent's son: that none of the messengers in Aberdeen would execute the summons against John Burnet, because they would not disoblige him for any thing the deponent could give them; which obliged the deponent to send a messenger from Old Meldrum to Aberdeen: that the deponent having insisted in this summons, the said John Burnet applied to the late Earl of Aberdeen, who sent for the deponent's father, his tenant, and the deponent's father came and carried him to the house of Haddo, where the Earl and John Burnet were at that time: that at this meeting it was agreed, that the said John Burnet should give the deponent his bond to restore his son to him within the space of a twelvemonth, under the penalty of £50 sterling: that the deponent did not get the said bond, but that the Earl of Aberdeen promised that he would cause John Burnet to grant the bond: that the deponent thinks, to the best of his remembrance, this meeting was in the end of summer 1742: that shortly thereafter Lord Aberdeen died, and the deponent having enlisted as a soldier, was sent over to Flanders, where he served some years, and upon his return John Burnet was become bankrupt, and had left the country;

and the deponent knows not whether his son is dead or alive, having never heard of him since he was carried from Aberdeen, and never got the bond before mentioned from John Burnet.

George Leslie depones, that about the year 1742, it was the current report that Hugh Mackie, stabler in Aberdeen, was employed by John Burnet, merchant in Aberdeen, for taking up boys, that they might be carried to the plantations. Depones, that the said Hugh Mackie, with a gang of five or six boys along with him, was at the back of the Gallowgate, where the deponent was working as a mason's servant, and they observed a boy coming down the street, they took hold of him but the boy struggled and got out of their grips; whereupon Hugh Mackie kicked the said boy with his foot, and turned him into the loch, and the boy being hurt, was confined in the house of Harry Black, stabler, for eight or ten days, till he recovered; but the deponent does not know what became of that boy afterwards.—Depones, that he saw a parcel of boys and girls confined in a barn in the Green, before they were sent to the plantations. Depones, that he believes they were of different ages, from ten to fifteen years.

Christian Findlater depones, that some years before the battle of Culloden, Hugh Mackie, stabler in the Gallowgate of Aberdeen, and James Wilson, stabler there, were employed for taking up boys to be sent to the plantations; and one time he saw the said Hugh Mackie driving a parcel of boys before him down the Gallowgate, with a staff in his hand, and she has seen him chasing boys in at closes. Depones, she saw some boys looking out at the window of a barn in the Green, and she reckons they were kept there till they should be sent to the plantations; and she heard there were other places in town where boys were kept until they should be sent away. Depones, that, according to her knowledge and belief some of these boys would have been twelve years of age, others of them thirteen, and some above and some less; and she saw among them,

lads from the Highlands of the size of men, and women also ; and the boys generally strapping boys.— Depones, that she heard one Mr Copland, in Aberdeen, was concerned in employing Hugh Mackie and James Wilson for the above purpose.

Robert Brand depones, that about the month of June 1758, he, the deponent, saw James Thomson, Dean of Guild's officer, carrying out of George Mackie's house (where Peter Williamson was quartered at that time) a parcel of books, bound or stitched in blue paper ; the deponent does not know the number of them. Depones, that thereafter he saw a servant maid of George Mackie's coming down stairs of Mr Mackie's house, after the town officer had come out of it, and the deponent asked her what was the matter ; and she answered him, that it was the town officers carrying away Mr Williamson's books to the clerk's chamber, where Mr Williamson was himself, this was the second burden of them.

George Mackie depones, that two or three of the town officers came to the deponent's own house, and he saw them carry away all the copies of the said pamphlets or books, and the said Peter Williamson was along with the officers, and they were carried to the town-house. Depones, that he saw some of these drop by the way, as the officers were carrying them to the town-house, but he does not know how many copies were so dropped, neither did he see Peter Williamson take up any of the dropt copies. Depones, that when Peter Williamson was appointed by the magistrates to find bail for his appearance to stand trial on the complaint against him, at the instance of the Dean of Guild and Procurator Fiscal, and when he was put in prison till he should find the said bail, he, the said Peter Williamson, sent for the deponent to speak to him and to bail him : Accordingly the deponent came up the tolbooth stair, and found him confined in that part of the prison opposite to the door of the court-room, and the deponent spoke to the said

Peter Williamson through the bars of the door of the place where he was confined ; and that the said Peter Williamson desired the deponent to become bail for him, and he the deponent became bail for his appearance before the Magistrates, and he thinks he signed something for that purpose, and thereupon the said Peter Williamson was set at liberty ; and the deponent had him over to his house, and presented him before the Magistrates the next day. Depones, that after the Magistrates had pronounced sentence against the said Peter Williamson, he came over to the deponent's house, and told the deponent, that he had been threatened to sign a paper, obliging himself to go out of the town, and that if he did not sign the paper, he was threatened to be again imprisoned ; thereafter, the said Peter Williamson hurried himself away out of the deponent's house in less than a quarter of an hour, leaving behind him some of his baggage, which he desired to be sent after him to Newcastle, and which the deponent sent to him accordingly. Depones, that he was an inhabitant of Aberdeen from the year 1740, and that about the year 1741, downward to the year 1744, it was a custom for several of the merchants of Aberdeen to carry on a trade of transporting young boys and women to the plantations, of different ages.—Depones, that he knew the persons after-named were concerned in that way of trade, viz. George Garioch, John Elphingston, John Burnet, Alexander Gray, Lewis Gordon, and Andrew Logie, all merchants in Aberdeen, and James Smith, saddler there.

James Rattray depones, that some more than three years ago, the pursuer, Peter Williamson, was in Aberdeen, and being carried before the Magistrates by the town-officers, the deponent, as he understood Peter Williamson was a stranger, having been several times in company with him before that day, he went into the court-house, where he heard

the clerk and some of the Magistrates, but cannot particularly say which of them, challenge the said Peter Williamson for selling and distributing the pamphlet libelled, reflecting upon the merchants of Aberdeen as kidnappers, and that they used very rough language to the said Peter Williamson, but he does not remember the expressions, not having given great attention thereto, at least, the expressions have now escaped his memory. Depones, that before the deponent left the court, he saw the pursuer carried off by the town-officers, by order of the court, but knows not where they carried him to, further than that next day, or the day thereafter, the deponent happening to be in the house of George Mackie, inn-keeper, he was informed by the said George Mackie, that Peter Williamson was obliged to leave the town; and that he, the said George Mackie, had become bail to present him to the Magistrates any time within six months, under a penalty; and that both Mackie and his wife said to the deponent that he had been very ill used by the Magistrates.

DEPOSITIONS OF WITNESSES

ON THE PART OF

THE MAGISTRATES.



George Garioch, merchant in Aberdeen, depones, that about the year 1740, and forward for some years, several of the gentlemen merchants in Aberdeen, were in use to indent servants for America: and if any young boys or girls of under-age were so indented, and that any of their parents or relations came to claim them back, even after they were indented and attested, they were, so far as the deponent knows or remembers, delivered back to their parents or relations, upon paying up what money the merchant had disbursed on their account. Depones, that he was informed, that, unless a servant was attested, their indentures were of no avail, and which was his own opinion. Depones, that several servants were indented in the years 1740 and 1741, at which time provisions were scarce in this country; that many servants were turned off from their masters, who could not afford them daily bread for their work, which forced sundry persons to come from the country to Aberdeen and indent; and on that account, the deponent himself, at that period, indented several out of charity, and, for the above reasons, believes he was the first, at the

time of scarcity, that began to indent such servants. And being interrogated by the said Peter Williamson, whether or not he employed people to go and inlist such kind of servants through the country; or if all the servants he inlisted about that period, came to the deponent's house, voluntarily, to be indented by him? depones that he never employed persons to go and bring persons to be indented as servants at his house, but such as he indented came of themselves, or with their companions, voluntarily to him; and that some of those who had indented he has afterwards discharged without exacting any money of them. And being further interrogated by the said Peter Williamson, whether or not there were any boys or children, from eight to fourteen years of age, that indented themselves with the deponent; or did their parents, after they were indented, come and demand them back from you after they were indented? or did you not send over boys of that age, after they desired themselves to be released, or that their parents or relations had come and demanded them back? and were any of such young boys or children offered up by their parents or relations to you to be indented for scarcity of bread, who were to your knowledge the master of such servants who dismissed them as before said? and whether or not did you sell such indented boys in America—for what number of years, and what sums did you receive for them? depones, that he never indented any boy or girl of eight or ten years of age, except when the parents of such children indented with him likewise. Depones, that he never sent off any boys or girls of under age indented with him, that had been demanded back by their parents or friends. Depones, that never did he indent any boys or girls in town without their parents consent. Depones, that several servants were indented as aforesaid to the deponent, who told the deponent they were turned off by their masters for

want of bread ; but does not remember the name of their masters. Depones, that he went not to America himself, but that their indentures were sold there from £5 to £8 sterling ; that such as were of under age might be indented for five or six years, and such as were of full age only for four.

Alexander Gordon, shipmaster in Aberdeen, depones, that it has been a practice for to indent servants to be carried from Aberdeen to the plantations in America, from the year 1735, downward to the year 1753 ; and that during the foresaid period, he has been concerned himself in that trade of indenting, for his own account, and of his owners, servants from Aberdeen, and carrying them over to the American Plantations, in different ships, commanded by him on different voyages, viz. in the brig *Diligence*, to Philadelphia, and the *Ruby*, to Virginia and Maryland. Depones, that he has carried over boys, but not under fourteen years of age, and that no indentures can be taken for servants of fourteen years of age to continue longer than the servants attain the age of twenty-one years, by the custom of Maryland ; and that the price he generally received for such servants, in Maryland and at Philadelphia, amounted to about £10 sterling over head.

Alexander Gray, merchant in Aberdeen, depones, that it was a custom nineteen or twenty years ago, and since, that several merchants in the town of Aberdeen, were in the practice of hiring boys, girls, and other servants, attested before the Magistrates of Aberdeen, or some other justice of peace, to be carried to America or other of his Majesty's Plantations, to be disposed of there. *Causa scientiæ*, the deponent dealt in that way himself.

Helen Law depones, that about the year 1740, 1741, 1742, and since, several of the merchants of Aberdeen were in practice to inlist boys to be indented to carry over as servants to the plantations,

viz. George Black, Alexander Gray, George and Andrew Gariochs, Mr Copland, James Abernethy, John Elphingston, all merchants in Aberdeen, and Captain Robert Ragg, shipmaster, and James Smith, saddler there ; and that these several merchants have employed the deponent to furnish diet to boys and servants that had indented with them. Depones, that about seventeen years past the month of May last, the deponent was employed to furnish diet to a parcel of boys and servants that were afterwards carried over from Aberdeen to the plantations by the said Captain Robert Ragg. Depones, that there were nine of the young boys, whom she dieted at that time, that were never confined, but that several of the big boys and men, who were threatening to run off, that were afterwards confined in prison, or in the workhouse of Aberdeen, for some short time before Capt. Ragg sailed. Depones, that among the boys that were never confined and dieted at her house there was one boy named Peter M^cWilliam, who would have been upwards of twelve years of age, a long stowie clever boy (by which she means a growthie boy). Depones, that these boys came not at all at one time to diet with her ; she began with some of them a little after Martinmas, and they were continuing to come to her till within a day or two before the sailing of the ship in May thereafter ; and that their weekly board was twenty pence a week for each ; and that the boy Peter M^cWilliam was some weeks dieted by her. Depones, that there were four or five of those boarded with her that were delivered back by the merchants to their friends, on paying the charges they had cost the merchants. Depones, that for five weeks before the ship commanded by Captain Robert Ragg sailed from the harbour of Aberdeen, she lay at the key of Tory, and the boys were carried over to the ship : during which space the deponent went over and hired a house at Tory, in which she

made their diet, and carried it to them on board the said ship during that space: and the deponent was informed that the reason why the ship lay at Tory, was, that she was neeped, and had no water to carry her over the bar. And being further interrogated, if Peter Williamson, whom she now sees before her, is the identical person that dieted at the time aforesaid with her, then named Peter M'William? depones, that she cannot swear that he is the same person, for several of these boys returned from the plantations a few years after, whom she did not know again when she saw them, by reason of the change at that time. Depones, that she had a son of her own that the year before had been carried over by James Abernethy, merchant in Aberdeen, whom she had asked back, and Mr Abernethy agreed at three different times to deliver him back to her; but he was resolute to go, and went accordingly. And being interrogated by the said Peter Williamson, whether or not the deponent was not always in use to ask leave of the keepers on board of the ship for the boys to come ashore any time when they lay at Tory, and such liberty was only obtained on the said Helen Law's obliging her to return them back on ship board? depones, that she did ask leave of the keepers on board of the ship for some of the said boys to come ashore with her, which she accordingly obtained, and did become bound to return them back to the ship, and and on her verbal obligation or promise, she was allowed to bring some of them even over to the town of Aberdeen with her, and always returned them again on shipboard. Depones, that she knows nothing about their parents consenting to their indentures, as some might have had parents and some of them none, and severals of them were begging their bread through the town. But depones, that when any of their parents and relations claimed them,

they were given them by the merchants on paying their charges.

James Robertson, stabler in Aberdeen, depones, that about seventeen years past the month of May last, the deponent was employed by James Smith, saddler, as keeper of several young boys, the youngest of whom would have been about ten years of age, and some of them sixteen and upwards, who were indented, and their indentures attested by the Magistrates of Aberdeen, to be carried over to the plantations in America, along with other servants, both men and women of full age, also indented and attested by the Magistrates of Aberdeen, to be shipped on board a ship lying at the harbour of Aberdeen, then commanded by Captain Robert Ragg, ship-master in Aberdeen, and which ship was carried over to Tory, where she lay and received the said boys on board of her. The deponent was some time afterwards employed, by the said James Smith, to go over and stay on board the said ship, as a keeper of the said boys and other servants, to the best of his remembrance, for the space of twelve or fourteen days, till the ship sailed, and he went with them in said ship out of the harbour, till the ship was in the road before Aberdeen, from whence he returned back to the town of Aberdeen. Depones, that during the time that the said James Robertson was on ship-board as above, there was also another keeper, named Robert Adam, along with him, employed likewise to take care of the said boys and servants. Depones, that all the night they were confined, and put to their beds in the hold of the ship, but all day had liberty to go upon the deck, and even to play them ashore, their keepers always looking after them; and some of them allowed to go to Helen Law's house, to help her on board with victuals for themselves and others. Depones, that among the boys under the deponent's and the other keeper's care, there was a boy of

about fourteen years of age, who was called Peter M'William. Depones, that Peter Williamson, whom he sees presently before him, is the same person that was then named Peter M'William, as he presently apprehends, but will not swear positively that he is the same person; for that Peter M'William had black brows, and was pock-marked, and so is Peter Williamson whom he now sees; but does not remember any boy then aboard called Peter Williamson; and that Peter M'William was a stout, clever, rough lown, and very ill to guide.

James Smith, saddler in Aberdeen, depones, that to the best of the deponent's memory, about nineteen or twenty years ago, but cannot be absolutely positive about the precise time, he was employed by John Elphinstone, merchant in Aberdeen, and Captain Robert Ragg, shipmaster in Aberdeen, and Mr Walter Cochran, town clerk depute of Aberdeen, in partnership with them, to make leather caps, and pay for diet, and to pay tailors for clothing furnished to several young boys and other servants that had entered into indentures: attested before the Magistrates of Aberdeen, with the above-named Captain Robert Ragg, to be carried from Aberdeen to America, to be disposed of at Philadelphia. Depones, that he accordingly furnished the said servants with leather caps, and paid for their clothing and diet, for all which he was afterwards repaid by the above gentleman. Depones, that among those servants that were so indented, there was one boy named Williamson, of about 12 years of age, and another boy of the same surname, of about 13 or 14 years of age, to the best of the deponent's knowledge and remembrance: but depones he does not know any of the said boys Christian names. Depones, that he has not in his custody any accounts or writings relative to the servants that were sent from Aberdeen to the plantations in the year 1753: but depones, that the account

wards a sloop came down very soon, and carried them up to Philadelphia.

From these vouchers it appears, that the trade of carrying off boys to the plantations in America, and selling them there as slaves, was carried on at Aberdeen, as far down as the year 1744 with an amazing effrontery. It was not carried on in secret, or by stealth, but publicly, and by open violence. The whole neighbouring country were alarmed at it. They would not allow their children to go to Aberdeen for fear of being kidnapped. When they kept at home, emissaries were sent out by the merchants, who took them by violence from their parents, and carried them off. If a child was amissing, it was immediately suspected that he was kidnapped by the Aberdeen merchants; and upon inquiry, that was often found to be the case; and so little pains were taken to conceal them, when in the possession of the merchants, that they were driven in flocks through the town, under the inspection of a keeper, who overawed them with a whip, like so many sheep carrying to the slaughter. Not only were these flocks of unhappy children locked up in barns, and places of private confinement, but even the tolbooth and public workhouses were made receptacles for them, and a town officer employed in keeping them. Parties of worthless fellows like press-gangs, were hired to patrol the streets, and seize by force such boys as seemed proper subjects for the slave trade. The practice was but too general. The names of no less than fifteen merchants, concerned in this trade, are mentioned in the proof: and when so many are singled out by the witnesses, it is hardly to be imagined it should be confined to these only, but that they must have omitted many, who were either principals or abettors and decoys in this infamous traffic. Some of the witnesses depone, that it was the general opinion, that the Magistrates themselves had a hand in it. But what exceeds

every proof, and is equal to an acknowledgement, is, that from a book of accounts, recovered on leading the proof, recording the expences laid out on a cargo of these unfortunate objects, it appears, that no less than sixty-nine boys and girls were carried over to America along with me, all of whom suffered the same fate of being shipwrecked, and many of them, that of being sold as slaves.

After such a demonstration of my veracity, and the maltreatment I had formerly suffered, the reader, it is believed, cannot but reflect with some degree of indignation on the iniquitous sentence of the Magistrates of Aberdeen, and commiserate the dismal situation to which I was reduced in consequence of that tyrannical decision. Stript at once of my all, and of my only means of subsistence, branded with the character of a vagrant and imposter, and stigmatized as such in the Aberdeen Journal, banished from the capital of the country wherein I was born, and left to the mercy of the wide world, loaded with all the infamy that malice could invent. What a deplorable situation this! I could not help considering myself in a more wretched state, to be reduced to submit to such barbarities in a civilized country and the place of my nativity, than when a captive among the savage Indians, who boast not of humanity.

Conscious of my own integrity, and fired with resentment at the indignities poured upon me by this arbitrary decree, I was, by the advice and assistance of some worthy friends, induced to raise a process of oppression and damages against these my judges, before the Court of Session, the supreme tribunal of justice. And as the Lord Ordinary was pleased to allow both parties a proof at large, under the sanction of his authority, I ventured to revisit the city from which I had been formerly banished, where, in spite of all the disadvantages with which power, wealth, and influence could overwhelm me, I was

enabled to lead such a proof, as convinced that most honourable and impartial Bench to which I now appealed, that I had met with the highest injury and injustice, and induced them to decern a suitable redress. For the satisfaction of the reader, the substance of this proof is subjoined, as before mentioned.

The following pages, when duly considered, will be obvious to the meanest capacity as the subject is intirely calculated to open the eyes of the deluded poor, many of whom have suffered tribulation for the loss of their children, whom the ties of nature bind every Christian parent to preserve and cherish as their own lives: For as it is absurd to imagine that any parent, though in ever so necessitous a condition, would dispose of their own flesh and blood to strangers, who make a prey of innocent children, to accumulate their ill gotten wealth, and support their grandeur, by conveying the unhappy victims to the remotest parts of the globe, where they can have no redress for the injuries done them, these cautions are offered to prevent their falling into the snare.

Sensible I am, that what I have already said against my first persecutors, quadrates with the truth in every particular, and that many unfortunate persons have been involved in misery, and decoyed into slavery and bondage as well as myself. Separated from their dearest relations, and obliged tamely to submit to the caprice and chastisement of arbitrary masters, who have less pity and compassion on them than on their beasts of burden.—Hard fate to suffer all this! Harder still to be prosecuted for telling the interesting tale! I speak this by woe-ful experience, as well as from the knowledge of the hard fate of several young people, in the neighbourhood of my nativity whether I had gone in quest of my relations. After so long an absence, my personal appearance must no doubt recall to the me-

mory of my friends, the manner of my being carried off in my infancy, and they must receive me with wonder and amazement, whom they had for many years deemed for lost. The satisfaction my presence gave them, of which they had been so long deprived, it is not to be expressed ; and the comfort I enjoyed in the prospect of seeing my nearest relations, was in some degree a solace for the miseries I had undergone. But, even in this, hard fortune pursued me still, and my troubles were not yet at an end. New enemies started up, who, as if the abettors of those who laid the snare for me when a child, now contrived a new species of captivity for me, when I was a man. They begrudged me my liberty, and the freedom I took to relate my misfortunes ; in order therefore to suppress a disagreeable truth, they again deprived me of it for a time : destroyed my means of subsistence, and loaded me with infamy and reproach ; from which, thanks to the justice of my cause and the integrity of my judges, I have at last been honourably delivered. *Kidnapping*, a species of trade followed by these monsters of impiety for the lust of gain, may be compared to the practices of the savages formerly mentioned, who, to gratify their propensity to mischief, cut, mangle, burn, and destroy, all the innocent people they can catch. And surely the guilt of the kidnappers must be much greater than that of the savage race, who boast not of humanity. If the latter commit such crimes, it is against those they imagine to be their enemies, for the sake of plunder ; but the former are void of all excuse. What then can some of the *worthy* merchants of Aberdeen say for themselves. Prompted by avarice, and despising the laws of God and all civilized nations, have they not been guilty of this atrocious crime ! And does not the blood of the innocent, several of whom have died under the hands of their cruel masters, cry against them for vengeance ? Certain it is that

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this execrable practice of kidnapping was put in execution from the year 1740 and downwards, by several merchants in that city, some of whom, for reasons too well known, have since deserted their country. I remember that much about that time, there were idle fellows employed by those traders, to cajole and decoy men, women, and children, to serve in the plantations in America. The poor deluded parents being ignorant of the nature of the traffic, and equally ignorant how or where to apply for redress, were obliged to rely on the fair promises of the merchants whose delusions proved fatal to many of the unhappy victims, who were even come of age, and much more so to infants from six to fourteen years, who were incapable to contract for themselves, and transported without the knowledge or consent of their parents.—These were left to lament the loss of their children; many of them without the consolation of knowing what had become of them, and who could only imagine that an untimely end had been their fate. Such, it is to be supposed, were the dreadful apprehensions that filled the eyes of my aged parent with tears, from whom I was thus separated in my nonage. What heart can be unmoved with pity at the relation of so dismal a tale? Who can think, without horror, on these monsters of impiety, who could make a traffic of their fellow creatures in a Christian country, almost as openly as is practised on the coast of Guinea? *Quis talia fundo temperit a lachrimis?* And here the following queries occur, which will tend to explain the meaning of kidnapping.

I. Whether or not, when children are either carried off by force, or decoyed by fraud, without the consent, or without the knowledge, of their parents, in a state of infancy, or under the years of pupilarity, and incapable of entering into an indenture, may not this be called KIDNAPPING?

II. Whether or not the shutting these children up

in prison, or places of confinement, in order to make sure of them as a prey, and conceal them from their parents, is not contrary to law, and an atrocious crime?

III. If these proceedings were agreeable to law, and the inclination of the persons so imprisoned, what occasion was there for confinement? When a person inlists himself in any service as a volunteer, where is the necessity of putting him in prison? But,

IV. If these proceedings were contrary to all laws human and divine, what punishment can be inflicted adequate to the crime?

My betrayers well knew the impracticability of making children abide by any obligation, extorted from them, or any agreement to which they were decoyed; and therefore they confined us in barns, on board ships, and other convenient places; and, to make our time pass away the more insensibly, and free of reflection, they entertained us with music, cards, and other childish diversions, till such time as they had got their compliment, and the ship was ready to sail.

Various were the arts and stratagems made use of to inveigle these unhappy creatures. Some were ensnared by receiving a trifle of money, and then told they were fairly inlisted. Others were tempted with the bait of great promises, being told that they were going to a country where they should live like gentlemen; that they should ride in their coaches, with several negroes to attend them; that they should possess large plantations of their own, and soon be in a condition to come home and visit their friends with great pomp and grandeur. By these specious and artful insinuations, many unthinking giddy youths were seduced into slavery, relying on promises which were meant only to ensnare and not to enrich them. Some were carried off from their parents by violence, and whipt into the flock, like strayed sheep going to the shambles. All these methods, and many more, were practised in this execrable branch of traffic, of which the reader will

find a proof to his conviction, by perusing the depositions formerly inserted.

How far these specious promises were fulfilled, will appear from the treatment we met with when landed in America. On our arrival there, our merchant, or supercargo, who had the charge of us, took the earliest opportunity to dispose of us to the planters, some of whom will buy ten, others twenty, to labour in their plantations and cultivate their ground. Thus were we driven through the country like cattle to a Smithfield market, and exposed to sale in public fairs, as so many brute beasts. When thus maltreated by our countrymen, what reason had we to expect better usage from our new masters, whose property we now were? Luckily for me I fell into the hands of one of my own countrymen who had undergone the same fate himself, and who used me in a more tender manner than many of my companions in slavery had to boast of. No thanks however to my Kidnappers; for if the devil had come in the shape of a man to purchase us, with money enough in his pocket, it would have been as readily accepted as of the honestest and most humane man in the world. Besides, these children are sometimes sold to barbarous and cruel masters, from whence they often make an elopement, to avoid the harsh usage they daily meet with; but as there is scarce a possibility of making a total escape, they are generally taken and brought back, and for every day they have been absent, they are compelled to serve a week, for every week a month, and for every month a year; they are besides obliged to pay the cost of advertising, apprehending, and bringing them back; which often protracts their slavery four or five years longer. But a more shocking case often occurs; some of these poor deluded slaves, after groaning for some time under the yoke of tyranny and oppression, with only a distant prospect of relief, in order to put an end to their bondage, put a period to their lives at the same time. What a dismal reflection this, to be the instrument of

driving an innocent helpless creature to despair, and ruining him both in soul and body.

The planters themselves are generally of an idle indolent disposition, not caring to fatigue themselves with work. As soon therefore as they can raise 20l. or 30l. they purchase servants from the European merchants, whom they make slaves, some for four or five, others for seven years. These they send to the woods, or employ in other kinds of hard labour, and oblige them to perform a certain task of work in a day; in which if they fail, they are severely punished by their masters, who review their work at night. Nor dare the servant, when he is thus chastised, presume to vindicate himself, for fear of giving a new offence to this unrelenting tyrant, whose humour must be indulged, even at the expense of strokes and blows. This is generally the case throughout the different Colonies in North America; but more especially in Maryland and Virginia. These two are the best markets to which our European merchants can resort for the sale of their illicit cargoes of slaves. Here they may barter them for tobacco, the staple commodity of these colonies, upon which they have an immense return of profit.

The servants in Maryland are mostly convicts, who have been banished their native country for misdemeanors; yet some of them, when their period of slavery is over, acquire plantations of their own, and are very expert in raising tobacco, and in the other branches of trade in that country. They frequently contract with their correspondents in Europe, to send them over men, women, and children, to be employed in the culture of their plantations: But the fallacious promises of the undertakers here are so pernicious to those whom they engage, that they generally prove their destruction. By their manner of cajoling, they induce those ignorant creatures to believe, that when they indent themselves for four or five years, to serve in the plantations, they are to have high wages, paid annually in their mother country; but when these

deluded persons come to make the experiment, they will find it quite the contrary. Be assured, you will meet with no such entertainment in any part of America; for you must serve your indented time agreeable to the laws of the country, without one farthing of allowance, but at the discretion of your master; and it is well if you are furnished with clothes sufficient to cover your nakedness.

Besides, you who indent yourselves in this manner, labour under another disadvantage; for, in that country, they are of opinion (and a natural presumption it is), that when men and women, come to the age of maturity, wilfully and deliberately agree to transport themselves as slaves for any number of years, they must have been guilty of some notorious crime; those therefore, who come over in this manner, are looked upon as in the black class of convicts, who for fear of a prosecution at home, take this step to prevent a discovery of their vices. For some time, honest people, who had engaged to serve in that country, suffered considerably on this account, both in their characters and fortunes, as these renegadoes were allowed to be evidences against them, and to swear away their reputations. But this has at last been debarred by the laws of the country, as none are allowed this privilege unless they bring along with them a certificate, signed and attested by persons of character and repute, bearing that they were descended of honest parents, and that nothing criminal or dishonest can be laid to their charge; this being approved of and recorded in the books of a Court of Justice, the person's oath is then deemed legal.

From hence it appears, that numberless inconveniences and disadvantages attend the person who, though of an age capable to dispose of himself, by foolishly listening to the deceitful promises of these recruiters for slaves, at once stakes his happiness, his liberty, and perhaps his life. You will perhaps be told, that you are going to a country flowing with milk and

honey. These, it is true, are to be had in great plenty in America; but before you come to enjoy them, you will find that you must wade through an ocean of labour and fatigue, and that out of the sweet cometh forth bitterness. Whereas, if you are possessed but of three or four pounds to pay your passage, and are of an ingenious disposition, whether in mechanics, commerce, agriculture, or manufactures, you are certain not only of handsome bread, but, by moderate frugality and industry, of making a genteel fortune in a few years.

A short History of the Process between Peter Williamson and the Magistrates of Aberdeen.

IN the introduction to the former discourse of kidnapping, I fairly stated the case betwixt the Magistrates of Aberdeen and me, without disguising the truth in any the most minute particular. I therefore appeal to the unbiassed judgment of the candid reader, whether, after the unmerited maltreatment I suffered from the arbitrary proceedings of these magistrates, merely for relating a simple but disagreeable fact, I say, I submit it, whether I was not entitled to sue for redress before a higher tribunal. The motives or principles upon which they acted in the irregular prosecution against me, in which they were both my accusers and judges, I shall not pretend to determine; but from the proof before inserted, the reader will hardly be at a loss to form a conjecture. In order to ascertain the power of a magistracy, it is necessary to have recourse to the original institution of it. That liberty, which the constitution of this country considers as its favourite object, is the result of the equipoise which our laws

have established between the authority of magistrates and the rights of the people. As the relative duties of society must be enforced by the magistrate, and compliance with the law exacted from the citizens by means of his authority, all the power that is necessary for these salutary purposes is vested in him; and in the due execution of it he is not only entitled to the protection of the laws, but is an object of its veneration. Yet the same principles that have thus armed him with authority for the benefit of society, have wisely imposed upon him a restraint from abusing it. Sensible that authority improperly used may become the most dreadful instrument of oppression, the law has not only declared wilful malversation in office to be a crime, but to those who have suffered by the proceedings of magistrates, whether through inattention or ignorance (for ignorance is never blameless in a magistrate), it has given an action of oppression and damages for reparation of the injury the private party has suffered.

In this light did I consider the harsh sentence of the Magistrates of Aberdeen against me, p. 109. Had they acted according to the established forms of all courts of justice, their proceedings would at least have had some colour of regularity, though their sentence would not have been less iniquitous.

Why was not I complained of by a party having interest in the cause? Why was not the complaint served upon me, and I appointed to give in answers? Why were not the legal *inducix*, or days, allowed me to prepare for my defence? All these forms were neglected or despised. The magistrates themselves instigated the complaint; they proceeded to judge upon it without service: without allowing *induciæ*; and without answers. It is evident, therefore, they acted not as magistrates, but as private oppressors.

Banished from the capital of the county wherein I was born, and stript of my all, I now bethought

myself where or how to apply for redress. In this view I pursued my journey to Edinburgh; but ignorant of the law, and unacquainted with any of its members, equally destitute of money and friends, and labouring under the reflections which the calumnious advertisement published by the magistrates threw on my character, I was utterly at a loss to whom, or in what manner, I should apply to for direction. From this dilemma, however, I was soon relieved by the assistance of kind Providence, who threw me in the way of a gentleman versant in the law, a gentleman of knowledge, character, and integrity, by whose advice I was conducted, and by whose interest I was supported from the infancy to the conclusion of my process. On a fair relation of my grievances, the injuries I suffered appeared to him so flagrant, that he did not hesitate a moment to declare his opinion that I was not only entitled to ample damages from my persecutors, but that the Court of Session would find no difficulty to award these, with full costs of suit. It is unnecessary here to take up the reader's time in running over minutely the different steps of the process from the beginning; suffice it to say, that a process of oppression and damages was commenced at my instance against the Magistrates of Aberdeen, wherein the Lord Ordinary allowed both parties a proof of the facts alleged on either side. And accordingly a proof was taken, partly at Edinburgh, and partly at Aberdeen, of which the reader has seen a specimen in the preceding pages. I shall only observe here, that my personal presence being necessary on this occasion at the last mentioned place, I set out from Edinburgh for Aberdeen in September 1760, and though I had not the least knowledge of, or connection with any single evidence I might bring, yet the trade of kidnapping was so flagrant in that country, and had left such an impression on the minds of the people, that I was under no diffi-

culty to bring a complete proof of the practice, by a number of persons who had suffered by it, being deprived of their children.

And here I cannot forbear doing justice to the conduct of the gentleman whom I named as commissioner, to take the depositions of the witnesses on the part of my opponents. During the various steps of procedure in leading the proof, wherein I met with all the obstructions that the malice of my enemies could throw in my way, he acted a most candid and ingenious part.

After a short dependence, the cause at last came to be advised in course before the Court of Session, by memorials on the proof; when, after hearing of parties at the bar at full length, their Lordships were pleased, on the 2d of February 1762, to pronounce the following interlocutor:—

“ The Lords having advised the state of the process, testimonies of the witnesses adduced, writs produced, with the memorials given in *hinc inde*, and having heard parties procurators thereon, find the libel relevant and proven; and find the defenders, conjunct and severally, liable to the pursuer in damages, and modify the same to the sum of £100 sterling, and decern; and find the defenders also, conjunctly and severally, liable to the pursuer in the expenses of this process, and of the extract of the decret, as the same shall be certified by the collector of the clerk’s fees; for which the Lords declare the defenders to be personally liable, and that the same shall be no burden upon the town of Aberdeen; and ordain an account of the said expenses to be given in; and ordain the account book mentioned in the state, and produced upon oath by Walter Cochran, and signed by the Lord President, of this date, to remain in the hands of the clerk of this process, till further order of the Court.”

Against this interlocutor the magistrates presented a reclaiming petition, craving either to be

assoilzied from the process ; or, at least, that the damages awarded should be modified. To this petition is subjoined the following curious letter :—

Copy of a Letter from William Davidson and James Jopp, late Bailies of Aberdeen, to Walter Scott, Writer to the Signet.

SIR,

Aberdeen, February 4, 1764.

WE are very sorry to find by yours of 30th past, that there is a sentence pronounced against us in Williamson's process, whereby we are deemed to pay to him a very large sum out of our private pockets.

We think it necessary to inform you, that our conduct and intentions, with regard to our sentence against him, have been entirely misunderstood. We can with the greatest integrity declare, that at the time of pronouncing this sentence, neither of us knew, directly or indirectly, that Walter Cochran, the depute clerk, was any ways concerned in transporting boys to America, or that there ever was in being the book he produced in the proof: that neither of us had never any interest or concern in such trade; that we never knew, and did not believe, that any men and boys were ever transported from Aberdeen to America contrary to law: that we considered the paragraph in Williamson's book respecting the merchants of Aberdeen to be a very calumnious and reproachful aspersion on them, which they did not deserve: that Williamson himself had the appearance of being an idle stroller, and could give no good account of himself, and had procured this pamphlet to be composed for him, of such shocking circumstances, in order the more easily to impose upon, and draw money from the credulous vulgar: and, upon the whole, we had no motive of interest, either on our own account, or any person whatever, or any prejudice against Williamson

(having never before seen or heard of him), to induce us to pronounce the sentence against him : that we did it purely, as what we judged material justice to vindicate the character of those we believed to be innocent, and were unjustly reflected upon : and whatever in the sentence appears to their Lordships to be either oppressive or illegal, proceeded entirely from error in judgment, and not from any sinister design ; so that however far the sentence has been wrong, we are ready most freely to make any declaration that may be necessary, that it proceeded from the most innocent intention.

Under these circumstances, you will easily perceive how much we were surprised on reading yours, giving account of the sentence against us ; and how hard a thing it is to be decerned to pay a sum of money, as a fine, for doing what we considered to be our duty.

You will therefore lay this before the lawyers, in order they may the better form a reclaiming petition. We must think our case very hard, if their Lordships do not grant us redress in this matter.

We are, &c.

W. DAVIDSON.
JAMES JOPP.

This letter, however, did not avail their cause. It was in vain to deny their being in the knowledge that such an illicit species of traffic was carried on by some of the merchants in Aberdeen, when it is done in so public a manner, that the meanest resident in the city observed it; when the *fama clamorosa* of *Kidnapping* overspread the whole country, so that the poor people, whose business led them frequently to town, were afraid to carry their children along with them, lest they should be picked up, and transported to the Plantations. In the end, they insinuate that their sentence against me proceeded from an error in judgment, and not from any sinister design; and that they were willing to make any declaration necessary, to evince the innocence of their intentions. But if a sentence calculated for the suppression of truth, and to prevent the detection of a commerce the most illegal and most destructive of society, can be said to proceed from no sinister design, then every sentence that has a tendency to screen the guilty, and encourage those monsters who make a traffic of the persons and liberties of their fellow creatures, must be accounted innocent. The whole of the procedure of the Magistrates against me appears to have been directed to this single end. From this view, they *first* caused the whole impression of my book to be seized, and those offensive tell truth leaves to be burnt that they might not revive the memory of this villainous trade, and rise in judgment against their brother merchants. Second, in order to make the surer work of it, they extorted from me the declaration inserted, p. 109 under the terror of imprisonment; and caused publish the same in the newspapers, in order to stigmatize my character, and brand me with the infamy of being an imposter and a liar. And, lastly, they banished me the city, lest I should retract my declaration, and have an opportunity to spread the truth of my former assertions. Their schemes, however, had an

effect the very reverse of what they intended. Instead of suppressing the truth, their proceedings have proved the means of bringing it to light, and confirming it by indubitable evidence; and so opening a scene of the grossest impiety, barbarity, and wickedness.

To the above reclaiming petition, answers were given in on my part; and the Lords, after re-considering the merits of the cause, were pleased to adhere to their former interlocutor. Thus ended this process of oppression, carried on by a poor man, against the Magistracy of one of the most opulent and most respectable boroughs in Scotland.

It is the peculiar happiness of this land of liberty to be blessed with a Supreme Court, wherein is justice dispensed with an equal hand to the poor and rich; wherein the cause of the King and the Beggar is weighed in the balance of equity and law, and decided in favour of him whose scale preponderates. Happy is that nation whose judges are men of integrity, uninfluenced by power, unbiased by party, and untainted by corruption! Such become the Guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, the protectors of the innocent, the scourges of the guilty, the supporters of the weak, and the terrors of the tyrant and oppressor. Such are the members of that honourable tribunal to which I appealed my cause, who redressed my grievances, and allowed me such compensation for those acts of violence and oppression which I had suffered from the tyrannical prosecutors, as they in their wisdom, thought just and equitable. Nor must I omit to pay a tribute of gratitude to those worthy and learned Gentlemen who appeared in my cause at the bar, and who nobly exerted themselves in opening up and displaying that scene of oppression and lawless persecution wherewith I had been harassed, and that without any prospect of fee or reward. In particular I must acknowledge my obligations to that learn-

ed Lawyer, who was assigned me as Counsel by their Lordships, when my circumstances could not afford the price of a consultation. He generously embarked in my cause, and force of argument, law, and eloquence, exposed the injustice done me, and the weakness of my opponents' reasonings, in such a light, that my plea became as clear as noon-day, and obvious to the meanest capacity.

I shall trouble the reader no further on this subject, my chief intent in publishing this narrative of my Process being to warn the Gentlemen in power and station, not to abuse them by a lawless exercise of their authority against the poor and innocent; for they may be assured, that power will not sanctify oppression, nor will justice be hood-winked by riches. On the other hand, the weak and friendless need not despair of obtaining redress, though groaning under the yoke of tyranny: let them have but the resolution to apply to the College of Justice; Providence will throw friends in their way, their oppressors shall hide their heads, and the cruelties they have committed be retaliated upon them.

A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF
THE INDIAN TOMAHAWK.

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

the handle of it to smoke by; an instrument of such beneficial service entirely regained him the confidence of the Indians, and was much more prized than the former, with the whistle at the end. It is now become useful in many branches of their business. In time of war they carry it with them under their belts, and when victory inclines to their side, after firing their guns, they rush upon their enemies with it, fracturing and cleaving their skulls; very seldom failing killing with the first blow. They are also very dexterous in throwing it, and will strike an object at fifty yards distance. They also employ it in cutting wood, and in barking trees, at the season when they make their canoes. On the handle of the tomahawk they record the occurrences of war. When the warriors are sent to fight, they cut as many notches on the handle of the hatchet to know their number by. Their wounded are also marked down, with the number of prisoners they take from the enemy, each in a different manner; so that, at the close, they are enabled to form an estimate of the success of every expedition. Their tomahawk is also the register of their time; the returns of the moon and remarkable events are therein distinguished, as will appear upon conversing with any of their wise men, who will account for themselves for 6000 moons past.