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NARRATIVE

OF AN

Attempt Made by the French of Canada

UPON

THE MOHAQUE'S COUNTRY

Reproduced in facsimile from the first edition printed by WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1693

With an Introductory Note by
ADELAIDE R. HASSE

NEW YORK
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1903

Of this book 500 Copies on Deckle edge paper, and 25 Copies on Japan paper only are printed

Bayard's Journal: the First Book Printed in New York

By A. R. HASSE

N November 12, 1698, Lord Bellomont, then Governor of the colony of New York, wrote to the Lords of Plantations, "In the first place the printed accounts of his great exploits against the French which he published and sent into England I cannot possibly get one of them for love nor money, and I am sure he made it his business to get up all the printed copies, which is an argument with me of his consciousnesse that he had imposed a romance instead of a true narrative, and I undertake to prove the French never attacked our frontier towns during his Government." Lord Bellomont was writing of a copy of the account printed in facsimile in the following pages. Nor has a copy been seen, to be recognized, from that day until November 11, 1902, when one was discovered by the writer among Governor Fletcher's papers in the archives of the Public Record Office, London. Here it has reposed since it was forwarded by Governor Fletcher in 1693, for the copy found bears this endorsement, written in a contemporary hand, "Rec'd Sept. 26, 1693, from Coll. Fletcher."

It is not alone reasons of State, one is led to suspect, which illuminate Lord

It is not alone reasons of State, one is led to suspect, which illuminate Lord Bellomont's antipathy for his predecessor, but, as the above quotation would indicate, he was not a little piqued by the precedent Fletcher had established of the fairly modern strenuous pursuit of duty as he conceived it. For, whatever doubt there may be as to the result or the motive, either, of his undertakings, it is certain that Fletcher had no regard for time or place when an appeal to his adventurous

sympathies was involved.

Governor Fletcher has been called a soldier of fortune. Lord Bellomont was of another school. The former delighted in the vicissitudes of adventure attendant at the time upon the performance of the duties of the executive of the colony. The latter rather shrank from them. Writing of his journey to Albany in the midst of the Winter of 1693, the very journey the authenticity of the account of which his successor discredits in the paragraph already quoted, Fletcher says that he landed at Albany before noon, having ridden to Schenectady by night "upon a very ill unshod horse." Bellomont, on the other hand, "imbarques at Albany [in the height of the Summer of 1698] in the midst of a fit of the gout, by which means, and a cold taken upon Hudson's river, I had like to have dyed when I came to Albany." Governor Fletcher's movements from the time, almost, that he lands on the American shores until the Summer of 1693, are, however, too closely associated with the beginnings of the history of printing in New York, to be disregarded in a statement of the printing, disappearance and reappearance of what is claimed to be the first book to issue from a press in New York.

Within less than two weeks from the day on which Governor Fletcher took the oath of office he had dissolved, by proclamation, the first Assembly of the colony, convened by his predecessor, Governor Sloughter, and then sitting in the fourth session. About ten days thereafter, we find him writing, under date of September 23, 1692, to Lord Nottingham, "I am now going with all the secrecy I can to take a view of the Frontiers." By the tenth of the following month he has returned,

and at once engages himself in the business of calling a new Assembly, the first under his administration. Writs having been issued for a choice of representatives returnable on October 24, 1692, the governor, in submitting his written address to the House on that day, reports to that body on his recent journey to Albany, in these words: "I have visited the ffrontiers and put them into some posture of defence for this present winter. . . ." Having thus, apparently to their satisfaction, taken all the necessary precautions to fortify themselves against encroachments from the North, the governor, with the Council and House, proceeded to the consideration of equally important business, namely, the liquidation of the debts of the colony.

of equally important business, namely, the liquidation of the debts of the colony. On November 14, 1692, Governor Fletcher adjourned the Assembly to meet again in second session, on Monday, March 20, 1693. Then suddenly, in the dead of the winter of 1693, on February 14, there arrives an express in New York, directed to Governor Fletcher by Major Ingoldesby in Albany three days before. The French and their Indians are approaching to the number of 550. Upon the coming of the news Ingoldesby had, at once, set out to raise forces with which to repel the anticipated attack. Provisions had been collected and sent to Schenectady. The farmers had been called in, and the garrison at Schenectady had been strengthened, but, after having levied upon all possible resources, Ingoldesby could muster but 600 men. His Indians were becoming apprehensive, which added to his anxiety, and he ends by asking immediate aid from New York of Governor Fletcher.

It is the account of how this aid was rendered which constitutes the opening narrative of the little book printed in facsimile in the following pages, commonly known as "Bayard's Journal," and sometimes referred to as "The Lost Bradford Journal." The narrative is written in the past tense, and is signed by Nicholas Bayard and Charles Lodowick. It is followed by several corroborative accounts, by laudatory addresses of Indian chiefs, and a highly eulogistic address of the mayor and aldermen of Albany. This fact rather forces the impression that it was originally compiled at Fletcher's instigation more with the view of serving immediate ends with the authorities in England, than of producing an account with any historic pretensions. As to its political intentions, Bellomont's surmise is probably true, but his added insinuation, that it was, after all, a fiction on Fletcher's part, is controverted by the French accounts of the expedition.

The last paragraph of the opening narrative fixes Fletcher's return to New York, namely, the Thursday following Monday, the 27th of February, 1693, or March 2, 1693. This is further substantiated by the proceedings of the Council on March 3, 1693.* "His Excellency gave a short account of his progresse in the Expedicon to Albany & the ffrontiers against the ffrench what detachments & stores of ammunicon & provisions he had sent out from time to time as they did arrive and were in readynesse what successe and victory was obtained upon the Enemy being drove out of the Countrey with considerable losse dropping and leaving behinde most of the prisoners they had taken at the 3 castles of the Mohoggs who are since returned: Of his Treaty with the Indians at Albany afterwards and that he had made haste to send home the Detached men to their familyes & businesse and returned himself yesterday morning.

"All this is well approved off And the Council Did return his Excell. great Expressions of thankfullnesse for his Great fategue prudence and diligency menconing that they have not seen the like Expedicon formerly in this province. Ordered His Excell. speech to the Indians their answer & Propositions An Address of the Mayor Recorder & Comonalty of the City of Albany to His Excell. and the Journall of the proceedings of Maj'r Schuyler and the forces on the ffrontiers since the alarm of the ffrench having invaded Our Province be read. . . ."

On March 8, just six days after his return from the expedition which forms the subject of the narrative, we find him writing to Mr. Blathwayt "I was called from my last [letter to you] by the accts of an in fall [sic] the French and their Indians had made, on the outskirts of this province, of which I send you a narrative. . . . I send this to Boston in hopes of a passage from thence if Sr. William Phips do not intercept it." Here the use of the word narrative might seem to indicate that it was

^{*} Council Minutes, MS., v. 6, p. 174.

JOURNAL OFTHE

Late Actions

OF THE

French at Canada.

WITH

The Manner of their being Repuls'd, by His Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Their Majesties Governour of New-York.

Impartially Related by Coll. Nicholas Reyard, and Lientenant Coll. Charles Lodowick, who attended His Excellency, during the whole Expedition.

To which is added,

- I. An Account of the present State and Strength of Canada, given by Two Dutch Men, who have been a long Time Prifoners there, and now made their Escape.
- II. The Examination of a French Prisoner.
- III. His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher's Speech to the Indians.
- IV. An Address from the Corporation of Albany, to His Excellency, Returning Thanks for His Excellency's early Assistance for their Relief.

Litensed, Sept. 11th 1693. Coward Cooke.

London, Printed for Richard Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1693

a printed copy of the American edition which Fletcher was enclosing, and yet this, from subsequent developments, would not seem to have been possible. For, if the print, which we now know to be in existence, was in type on March 8, 1693, then it was either printed in Philadelphia, or Bradford must have introduced a press of some sort subsequent to his release from prison for participation in the Keithian controversy, and before Fletcher's first attendance at the council meeting of the Province of Pennsylvania.

The writer has no evidence that either of these suppositions is even probable; rather on the contrary. Bradford's type, which had been taken from him when he was put into prison, had not been returned to him on April 27, 1693, for on that day, the second of the first session of the council of the province of Pennsylvania under Fletcher's administration, Fletcher, "Upon reading the Petition of William Bradford, printer, directed to his Excell. wherein he setts forth that in September Last his tooles and Letters were Seized by order of the late Rulers, for printing some books of Controversie, and are still kept from him, to the great hurtt of his family, and prays Reliefe," ordered that Bradford's tools be restored to him. On the other hand, a printed copy must have been seen in London before the one now in the Public Record Office, because the endorsement in a contemporary hand on this copy, viz., "Received from Coll. Fletcher, 26 Sept., 1693," is of a date later than the license date of the London edition, viz. September 11, 1693, and moreover, there is the reference to the American edition in the preface of the London edition.

What seems a plausible solution is this, that Fletcher sent, early in March, a manuscript copy of his narrative to the Lords of Plantations, being the copy referred to in his letter to Blathwayt, already quoted, and that, so soon as the restoration of Bradford's tools had been effected, Bradford made arrangements to proceed to New York, and that printing was actively begun soon after Fletcher's

return on June 5, 1693.

The date usually fixed as the date of the beginning of printing in New York, viz., April 10, 1693, is assumed from the date and phraseology of the first warrant for Bradford's salary as government printer: "salary for six months ended on the 10th preceding," the warrant being dated on October 12, 1693. It was, however, on the very day commonly accepted as Bradford's active inauguration as government printer that Fletcher received notice of the command to "travail into Pennsilvania," and in pursuance of which he did actually depart on April 24, and remained absent until June 5, 1693. We have shown that Bradford's tools were not ordered to be returned to him until April 27, and we believe it likely that, immediately upon the order having been carried out Bradford repaired to New York, got his press in readiness during the month of May, and, upon Fletcher's return, began running off the acts passed in 1692, the April 29, 1693, proclamation, the address of the citizens of Philadelphia, and the Narrative, as rapidly as the type would allow. We believe this to have been more likely than that any printing was done during Fletcher's absence from New York.

On the other hand, it is no less improbable that Fletcher and Bradford may have made the return journey from Philadelphia together, for, aside from the means of exploitation which Fletcher undoubtedly foresaw in the establishment of a press near the seat of government, he was probably drawn to Bradford as a man, the cause of his solicitude being the latter's difficulties with the Quakers. Fletcher says of himself in this regard that he was "a man of arms, and not of the Quaker principle."

While it is true that on March 23, 1693, it is recorded (Council Minutes, MS., v. 6: 181), that inducements were offered to a printer to come to New York, and that the entry, in a list of the officials of New York, dated April 20, 1693, "Allowed to a printer pr. ann: £40,"* indicates that Bradford's appointment as government printer to New York had actually taken place before his tools were restored to him by the Council of Pennsylvania, the point at issue is not the date of Bradford's inauguration as government printer, but the date when the government printer began to operate his press in New York. It is this latter date which we claim is affected by the movements of Governor Fletcher.

To account for the extra copy of the Narrative in England, we may assume that

an early copy of the American edition was sent over privately by Fletcher, and that the London edition was printed, not from manuscript, but from the American print. We are led to the latter conclusion by the similarity of the typographical disposition of the contents in the two editions, and from the précis in four paragraphs on the title-page of the London edition, which is an exact duplicate of that appearing on the title-page of the American edition. The introduction of Fletcher's name in the title of the London edition would suggest his anxiety to strengthen his political position in the colonies by popular exploitation at home. His name, it will be observed, does not appear in the title of the American edition.

The copy now in the Public Record Office, London, did not leave America until the end of July, 1693, for in the same package with it were received letters dated July 31, 1693, endorsed, like the present copy of the Narrative, "Recd 26 Sept 1693 from Coll Fletcher." Having already provided his superior officers with a manuscript copy, Fletcher was probably more concerned that a printed copy should

now come before the public than before the Lords of Plantations.

The tentative claim put forward by the late Dr. Moore in 1889, in favor of Bayard's Journal as being the first book printed in New York, may now, by the discovery of the existence of a copy of the book, be established, and whatever distinction has been awarded the 1694 law book, as being the earliest book printed in New York, must now be awarded to Bayard's Journal.

In the opening sentences of this account, the statement was made that no copy of the Journal had been seen to be recognized until the discovery of the present copy. The inferred reservation relates to the Calendar of Documents, etc., published in 1847 by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in which the address made by the citizens of Philadelphia to Governor Fletcher is recorded as being deposited in the Public Record Office, and in the same volume in which the present copy of Bayard's Journal was found.

NARRATIVE

Of an Attempt made by the

French of Canada UPON THE MOHAQUES COUNTRY

Being Indians under the Protection of their Majesties Government of New-York.

To which is added, 2. An Account of the present State and Strength of Canada, given by two Dutch men, who have been Prisoners there, and now made their escape.

2. The Examination of a French Prisoner His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher's Speech to the Indians.

3. The Answer of the five Nations of the Mohaques to his Excellency.

5. Proposals made by the four chief Sachims of the five Nations, to his Excellency.

And his Excellency's Reply thereto.

And his Excellency's Reply thereto.

6. An Address from the Corporation of Albany to his Excellency, returning Thanks for his Excellency's early Assistance for their Relief, &c.

A Journal kept by Coll. Nicholas Beyard and Lieut. Coll. Charles Lodwick, who attended his Excellency in this Expedition.

Unday, the 12th of February, 1692, about ten a Clock at night, an express from Lieut, Coll. Beekman of Uulfter County, gave his Excellency an account of Advice from Albany of the French and Indians, confilting of 550 being within 20 miles of Schenectady on the 8th instant, an hour before day, ready to fall upon the two first Castles of the Mohaques.

Whereupon his Excellency ordered the Collonol of the Militia of the City of

New-York todraw outhis Regiment the next Morning ... Munday the 13th, Orders were fent to Coll. Courtland of Rings Gounty, and Coll, Willer of Queens County, to detatch out of their Regiment's hundred and fifty men, to be forth-with ready to imbarque at the Ferry. About

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About eight a Clock in the Morning the City Regiment being under Arms, his Excellency on Horse-back, at the head of the Regiment, demanded, Why were willing to sollow him to the Frontiers against the Enemy 2. They unanimously threw up their Hats, and cryed, One and all. Upon which the Collonol was ordered to detach 150 of the first men, to be under the Command of 3 Captains, with their Subalterns, ready at the first Beat of Drum, and dismissed the Regiment, and ordered all Sloops for Transportation to be secured. About ten a Clock his Excellency did send the express forward to Coll. Beekman, with orders to get all the Horses in the County of Ulster together in readiness, to carry his Excellency and the Detachments from King some to Albany by Land, in ease the River was not open, and to sorward any Confirmation of the News to his Excellency.

Triesday the 14th, by break of day came an express from Major Ingoldsby, confirming the former News, and that the two first Castles were taken by the French and Indians. Whereupon eight Sloops were ordered, with necessary Provisions and Amunition to go round the Fort, and be ready to fail, and the Detachment of the City Regiment did immediately imbarque. About four a clock afternoon the Tide offering, his Excellency attended with the Officers of the Detachments, and several

Volunteers, did imbarque and fer sail.

Friday the 17, about 9 a clock his Excellency arrived at Albany, being 50 leagues distant from New-York, with five of the Sloops, having met with much Ice in the

River, which gave some difficulty; the rest arrived towards evening.

As foon as they came on shore, his Excellency ordered Capt. Schuyler to march so of the mon for Schenettady; about 1 r a clock his Excellency followed, with 25 Morse, leaving Instructions with Coll Beyard to serward all the rest of the Detachments, as they did action, in the Amunition and Provisions.

About 3 a clock afternoon, his Excellency met Major Ingoldsby about 8 miles from Schenettady, on his return for Albany, having gone from thence to visit Schenettady that morning. His Excellency arrived at Schenettady, being 20 miles from Albany, about 5 a clock. About 9 a clock at night Capt. Schuyler, with his men arris

ved, and found Provisions & Quarters in readiness for his men

Saturday morning the 18th, by break of day the men were ready to be transported over the River but a violent Storm did hinder their Transportation till afternoon, and fundry Indian Women loaden with Provisions, were sent along with them. This day about Noon Major Merrit, with the rest of the City Detachment, did at rive at Schenestady, and were immediately furnished with Quarters, Amunition and Provisions, ready to march next morning.

Sunday the 19th, by break of day, the rest of the Forces that were fit to march, did attempt to get over, but great Quantities of loose Iced id hinder, till as out ten a clock the Ice settling, they got over it on soot, which in two hours was dispersed, and the River open again. This partly carried a further supply of Provisions and

Amunition.

Munday the 20th, by break of day, those of the City Detachments, who were not able to march the day before, being refreshed, his Excellency detached from the Garrison of Schenestady, so many of them as made 42 who did immediately march with 3 Horses loaden with Provision and Amunition.

About 2 a clock afternoon arrived at Schenettady Capt. Stillwell, with the Detachment of Kings County, confisting of 50 men, who were ordered to refresh themselves till next morning, and three Horses with Provisions ordered to be in ready.

ness to attend them.

Tuesday the 21st, the Horses being carried over the River, and the men ready to to be transported, came an express from Major Schuyler, giving intelligence of his being near at hand on his Return, who arrived about 4 a cleek afternoon, upon which the men and Horse were remanded, and sent back to their own homes. There marched by his Excellency's order (to joyn Major Schuyler) since his arrival 208. effective men, besides Guides and Carriers of Supplyes, with considerable quantities of Provisions and Amunition, which are since returned.

Wednesday the 22d his Excellency returned for Albany, accompanied with Major Schuyler, and several of the Forces come from pursuit of the Enemy, and arrived

about 3 a clock afternoon, much distaissted at the Enemies escape.

His Excellency did order Major Schuyler, with some other Officers, to give the

Journal of their Action in the Woods.

At 4 a clock arrived Coll. Willow at Albany, with 120 men from Queens County, who were next morning remanded home to their Habitations, together with the rest of the Detachments. At night his Excellency sent to call those Indians that were returned from the Fight, to meet him next morning at Albany.

Thursday the 23d, a Proclamation issued, requiring all the out Farmers to draw themselves into Neighbourhoods, for their better security against the sculking

Enemy, and to fortify with Stockadoes.

Fryday the 24th, his Excellency received an Address from the Corporation of Albany, congratulating his fafe return, and returning Thanks for his early Affist-

ance with his Personal Presence for their Relief, &c.

Saturday the 25th, the Indians being arrived last night, and giving their attendance, this morning his Excellency, being accompanied with the Magistrates of this City, and the Souldiers and Militia in Arms, came to the City Hall, and made his Speech to the Indians, which was interpreted to them by the Interpretes Helle. In the afternoon they gave their Answer to his Excellency by the same laterpretes.

Sunday the 26th, about 8 a clock in the morning, four of the chief Sachims came to his Excellency, with some further Propositions, which he immediately answer'd

to their Satisfaction.

Munday the 27th, his Excellency caused a Proclamation to be published, prohibiting the selling of Rum to the Indians, and did imbarque for New York, where he arrived Thursday morning following, and was received with such Expressions of Joy and Thankfulness, as the place could afford.

Nicholas Beyard, Coll. Charles Lodwick, Lieut. Coll.

N Obedience to his Excellency's Command, Peter Schuyler Mayor, with the other Officers under his Command, give this following Account of their proceedings fince the first Intelligence of the Enemy's descent into the Country of the Mohaques.

February the 8th, being Wednelday, about 2 a clock afternoon, we had the alarm from Schenestady, that the French and their Indians had taken the Mohaques Castles; soon after we had the News, that a young man, called Jan Baptist van Eps, (taken at Schenestady 3 years a go) was run over from the French, as they were to attack the first Castle of the Mohaques, and come to Schenestady, who related, that the French were 350 Christians and 200 Indians. Major Ingoldes by sent forth-with his French were 350 Christians and 200 Indians. Major Ingoldes by sent forth-with his Warrants, to command in the Farmers of Capt. Genits and Capt. Tunis's Companies

nics of Militia. This night Lieut. John Schuyler and Cornea Abeel with 55 Horse

marched to Schenectady.

February 9. Cornet Abeel came express from Schenettady, and desired that Major Schuyler or Major Wessels might be sent thither to pacifie the Indians, who were enraged that no Christians went out in pursuit of the Enemy. Upon which Major Schuyler at his own request was permitted to go that Evening. As soon as Major Schuyler arrived there, he fent out scouts to spy the Forts, and the Enemies motion, and withal to go & warn the Tionondoge Indians of the Enemies coming, but they having gone 12 miles, returned, about 12 a clock at night, faying, they could not. get over the River.

Feb. 10. Major Schuyler sent Lieut. Johannes Schuyler and Lieut. John Sanders, and fix more to view the Mobaques Fort that was possessed by the Enemy, who brought. news, that the French were in both the Forts; of all which he gave advice to Major

Ingoldsby at Albany.

Feb. 21. Major Schuyler sent 10 Christians and 40 Indians to lie near the Enemy, and to watch their motion, who made a small Fort to retreat into, and so spyed

what the Eenemy did.

Feb. 12. News was brought to Schenectady by some of the said Scouts, that they had heard firing at the Mohaques Forts, which was supposed the Tionondoge Indians against the French; which News Major Schuyler sent forward to Albany. Whereupon Major Ingoldsby detached about 200 men out of the several Companies of the Militia Fuzileers and Troop, commanded by Capt. Peter Matthews, Capt. Arent Schuyler, Capt. Benj. Phips, Capt. Kihad van Renslaer, and Capt Tho. Gartin, who arrived at Schemes of about a clark afternoon and joyned Major Schuyler: The Waggons with Bread arrived that night. This day our Scouts brought us the News, that the French were there still, & that they had also cut off the third Castle of the Mohaques, called, Tionondoge, and that none of the upper Indians were come down; all which was advertised to Major Ingoldsby forthwith, and Major Schuyler fent to him for Orders to marela.

Feb. 13. This morning having received no answer of the said Express, Major Schuyler sent another for Orders to march, and being pressed with the Indians, who threatened else to desert us, was sorced to march the men over the River without Orders, which came about 4 a clock in theafternoon, when most of the men were got over the River. This very time we had News by our out Scouts, that the French had burnt the Mohaques three Castles, and were marched away, which Major Schuyler ordered Licut. Toung to signific to Major Ingoldsby We marched 12 miles that evening, being 273 Christians In the night about 10 a clock one of our Scouts came in, and told us, that 600 of our uppermost Indians were coming down; Major Schurl r forthwith sent the same Messenger, that brought us the News, to Major Ingoldsb, and desired that Provision and Amunition should be sent after us, not knowing what the Indians might have occasion for.

Feb 14. About 1 or 2 a clock in the morning we decamped, and marched to the small Fort which was made by our 50 Scouts, about fix a clock in the morning, where we had advice. that the Enemy was not above eight mile from us; upon which Lieut. Harme van Slyk and two Indians were fent to discover the Enemy, who brought us word, they were marched; two Indians came to us with News, that there were 300 of our upper Indians within 20 mile of us, whereupon we sent two Indians back to haften them up, and to let them know we were there to jovn them. We sent out three Mohaques to discover the Enemy; about 4 a clock in the afternoon we decamped, and marched to the place where the Linemy had lain the night

Feb. 14. In the morning two of our Indian Scouts returned (the third being rut) over to the Enemy) who brought us news they had feen the Enemy within ren miles. Cur Indians came up with us about 12 a clock, being 290 Men and 80ys. some Armed, and some without Arms, a Consult being hady we matched about 4 a clock, and encamped all together, having marched about ten miles that after-This night a Confult was held, and Spyes fent to discover the Enemy.

Feb. 16. We marched early in the morning, and having gone ten miles, found the place where the Enemy had lain two nights before; we halted there, an Oneyde Indian came from the Enemy, being sent to our Indians to debauch them over to the French, which Messenger we did not think fit to send back, being one of the Prisoners taken at Tionondoge. We fent an express to Major ingoldity to acquaint him that the Enemy had built a Fort, and were resolved to fight us, and sent for Supplies of Provision, Amunition and Men. We marched on toward the Enemy, and met with one of our wounded Indians, who informed, that the Enemy stayed for us in a Fort; upon which we marched about two miles, where a Christian Boy (Arnaut the Interpreters Son) came to us, who had been three years a Prisoner among the French, he gave account, that the Enemy were about 6 or 700 men, and within three miles, we marched forward to find some convenient place to encamp, and to fortifie our felves from the Enemy that night; we had Scouts out (Christians and Indians) all night to watch the Enemics motion, who brought ac-

count in the morning that we were within a mile of their Fort.

Heb. 17. We decamped, and marched toward the Enemy; with Scouts before us; and did not take a direct line, but went round, for fear of an Ambuscade, and came in fight of their Fortabout eight a clock in the morning, where our Scouts came and shewed us where the - nemy lay, upon which all the Officers were commanded to take their Posts, and make ready to engage, being 250 Christians, and 290 Indians, the Friendy seeing us, gave three Ideas, which we answered with de many, and as loud as they, and made the Woods ring; our Indians went to work to fall Trees and fortifie, but the Enemy fallyed out immediately, we engaged them, and beat them back into their Fort, our Indians fell to work again, and defired our Christians to help, which they did; the Enemy sallyed out with all their strength a second time, encouraging their men, crying, They Run, we will cut them all off, and get their Provisions: We received them briskly, & beat them back into their Fort, with the loss of several of their men : Our men fell to work again about she Fort; the Enemy sallyed out the third time, but were as well repulsed as before, and beat into their Fort, with confiderable loss, our Indians bringing feveral of their Heads and Scalps into our Fort; after this the Enemy was quiet, and we finished our Fort; as soon as this Skirmish was over, we sent an Express to Major Ingoldsky, to acquaint him what had passed, praying him to hasten our Recruits with Provision and Amunition, for that greatest part of our men had not had any Provision in two days time; we sent out Scouts of Christians and Indians all that night, to discover the Enemy's motion, and lay all night in our Fort; it was extream bad cold fnowy weather.

Feb 18. Being cold stormy Weather, and Snow, insomuch that we could scarce fee any Tract, our cours came in this Morning, which gave account that the Enemy were in their Fort, some being still popping at our People. Aboutninea clock an Indian that left the French in their Fort told us, He thought the Enemy would Retreat, that they were packing up their Baggage. Upon which Major Schuler ordered the Captains to draw out their men to march round the Enemy's Fort to stop them; but the same time had an account they were fled; he commanded the Office cers to pursue them, and to hinder their Retreat, till Men and Provisions came up, but the Men wanting Provision, refused to march; the Officers, with 66 Christian's and some Indians pursued the knemy till they had made a small Fortification, but the Officers not having men to engage them, nor to make a Fort, returned back, leaving two Officers with 40 men and 100 Indians to watch their motion, expect-

ing our Provision to come up that night

Feb. 19. About 7 a clock in the morning we had an account, that our Provisions were near at hand, which came up to us about nine or ten a Clock, with 80 men, commanded by Capt. Simms; the Provisions being immediately distributed among the men, those that were first served, were commanded away after the Enemy. with five Bisketsa man: About four a clock, the van being commanded by Capt. Peter Matthews and Capt. Areut Schuyler, came up near the rear of the Enemy, the Scouts tellingus, the Enemy were within less than an English mile; we desired the Indians to joyn with us to fall upon their Rear, till the rest of our men came up. fending in the mean time to our People, to march up in all hafte, but the Indians halted, and could not be perswaded to march, the Mobagues being most unwilling. because the Enemy had dropt several Prisoners, who told them, that if they pursued zhem, they would kill all their Wives and Children, whom they had Prisoners; after an hours Consultation of the Indians, most of our men came up, we marched with all speed, thinking to overtake the Enemy before they got to the River side, but there being a flake of Ice in one part of the River, and all open above and below, the Enemy got over before we got up: We encamped by the River side that Night.

Feb. 20. In the morning Major Schuyler resolved to march over the River, to pursue the Enemy, ordering the Officers to get the men ready for that purpose, but many of the men being wearied with fazigue, their Shoes being quite wore out, and Provisions searce, were not able to make any further pursuit. But that which did most of all discourage us, was, that the Indians had great averseness to pursue or fall upon the Enemy, because of their Wives and Children; whereupon

we marched back.

In this Engagement we lost four private Souldiers, & four Indians, two Officers and twelve Christians, and Indians wounded; and we had an account by some of our Indian Prisoners that made their escape, that we killed of the Enemy 33. whereof we found but 27, among which was their Commandant, one Captain, and two others Officers, with two of their commanding Indians, and 26 wounded. We ressued between forty and fifty Prisoners.

Since their Retreat we are informed by divers of the Prisoners, who come home daily, that all our men Prisoners except sive, have made their escape, or are set ar liberty, and but few Women and Children left with them, not being able to carry the Prisoners off, by reason of their wounded men, whereof they carry thirteen.

As we did not hear, so we could not expect that your Excellency should in so Short time (at that season of the Year) be advanced so near us as to Schenettady, and that so considerable Supplies could be so speedily got together: And we observed it was no small encouragement to our Indians to see your Excellency at the head of 300 men, besides Volunteers, for our Relief, and theirs; of which we are all sensible.

Peter Schuyler, Major. Poter Matthews, (apt.) SK. V. Renselaer, Capti Arens Schuyler, Capi. Si Benj. Phipps, Capi.

The Examination of Andries Casparus & Cornelius Classe van den Bergh, both Dutchmen, taken before his Excellency Benj. Fletcher, Governour, who have made their escape from Canada, who were Prisoners there, and have been 22 days by the way.

He said Cornelius Classe van den Bergh was taken at Canactagiere in July 1691. a little before the Mayor, Peter Schuyler went to Canada, and Andres Caspares who was gone out with some of our River Indians last fall to hunt, and withal to fee how the far Natians, called, the Turchtuicks lived, was taken last March by a party of Turchtuicks and Davaganhaes, and brought to a Castle where said Indians lived; and was there to be burnt and eat by faid Indians, from whence he run away that very day he received his cruel Sentence, and was fixteen days in the Woods, and came to a place where Monsieur Tontys People were making a Fort, and the faid Manf. Tonty and Monf. La Free brought him to Canada.

The said Prisoners say, that the French informed them, that there were ten Ships come from France with Provision and Amunition, but no men, scarce so many as could fail their Ships, that they had brought 120000 pound of Flower, and 160000

pound of Pork, also some great Guns, and two Morter Pieces.

That there is a Fortbuilt below Quebeck, in a narrow Passage where Ships must pass; the French spoke of two Forts (but an Engage man told him only of one Port) and twelve Guns in each Fort. They had 1600 Souldiers three year ago, of which 1000 are killed and taken; this is besides 200 Inhabitants who are killed.

The faid Cornelis has lived all this while at the Governour of Mont Royal his House, called Monsieur d'Cellier, & judges there are about 400 men in Mont Royal with Souldiers and all, altho' the faid Monsieur d' Cellier often told them, they had 700 men there.

The Inhabitants feem to be much wearied of the War, and cry much for Peace, and pray that God would turn the Prince of Orange's heart, and incline him to make

Peace, for it is his fault that all these Miseries are come upon them.

There is a man come over with those Ships to be Mons. A' Cellier's Cook, who says, that the English had fallen upon the French Fleet unawares, and done them some damage, and pursued them to Brest, and if they had come but a quarter of an hour sooner, they had taken Brest, and all the Province of Brittanine

The French have lost this Summer 37 French and 70 Indians at one time, going up the Falls to Ottawawa, and at a second time they lost 30 French the same way,

and often times smaller Parties killed by our Indians.

The said Andres Casparus says further, that when he came to the French House. after he had escaped from the Indians, the French tyed homewo dayes, but he being fo lean and mager, having had no food all that time, but it Eggs he found in a Turkies Nest, and & Swan eggs he found in another place, so that the French did unty him. About eight days after Monsteur Tonty came (who is in the manner of Governour among them) and he went down with faid Tonty to Ottawawa, which was 200 Leagues from that place; the faid Tonty departhed about 25 or 30 great

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Canows full of Beaver to Canada; and after they had been two days from Ottamawa. they met one Monsieur de Lille, who had been out a skulking upon the great River. and had taken two Prisoners, who told that 700 of our Indians lay at a carrying place on the great River, waiting for the Ottawana Company, and 200 were near Mont Royal Island upon the same design. They stopt said Company till M. Tenty feat for them back, and resolved to go to Canada with 200 men Indians and French without Beavers, in which Company the faid Andres Casparus came, being reckoned 300 Leagues between Ottamana and Canada. As soon as the said Andries came to Mont Royal, M. Tonty delivered him to the Governour of Mont Royal, who put him in Prison four days, and then released him to work in his House; but as foon as he got out, consulted with his Comrade Carnelis to run away, which they did accordingly. After they had been about a moneth or five weeks together in said M. d Celliers house, the said Andries says, he saw a great prodigious Quantity of Beavers at Ottamana; an Inhabitant of Canada, called Jaques de Tallie, told him, he had 2000 Beaver of his own there, and that there was as many Beavers now in Ottawana as would load 200 Canows to Canada, and each Canow generally holds nine or ten hundred Beavers; which the faid Andries doth credibly believe to be true, there being none gone from thence to Canada in a great while.

There is a Fort at Ottawana burnt by accident this spring, where Monf. la Free had the Command, wherein was great store of Beavers and Peltry, and several

Goods and Merchandize.

This is the Account the said two Prisoners gave at Albany the 4th of Ostober, 1692. and is entred down from their Mouthes, by his Excellency's Command.

Robert Livingstone.

The Examination of foachin Lebert, a French Man of Canada, and Native of Mont Royal, taken before his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, at Albany the 4th of October, 1692.

Hat he lived at Prerie de lay Magdelain. That it is 60 Leagues from Mont Royal to Quebeck. That Mr. de Cellier is Governour of Mans Royal. That there is 2000 men carrying Arms in his Government, Souldiers and Inhabitants. That the Town of Mont Royal is inclosed with Stockadoes. That there is 53 pieces of Canon, Brass and Iron, eight Companies of Souldiers, unequal in number, 50

men being the most.

That the Fort of Magdelaine contains 23 Families, 400 men in Arms, 2 pieces of Canon, and & Patteraroes. There is 200 men in the Indian Fort, called, Ganawagne. That there is ten Men of War arrived at Quebeck, from France, laden with Amunition, & that he saw the said Ships. That he hath been taken 43 days, and says, that the day before his being taken he being at Mr. Celliers house, he saw a Canow arrive there from Mr Le Count, sent to Mr Cellier to demand the Collers of Beeds, which are usually presented at the concluding a Peace, the which occasioned him to say there was Ambassadours coming to treat a Peace.

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Upon the Objection made, That there could not be so many People in Canada he says, that the two French men that were sent to Tork some time since, being now at Canada, did inform Mr. Le Count, that the English had assembled all their Nations, with a design upon Canada, which obliged Mr. Le Count to raise all the men he could possible, which was that Number he said. And says, he knows nothing more.

His Execellency Benjamin Fletcher's Speech to the Indians: at the State-House in Albany, February 25, 1692.

BRETHREN,

T is not unknown to some of you, that I came last October into these parts upon no other occasion than to view the Fronteers, and put them in the best posture I could, to secure us and you, from the Attempts of the French and their Indians, our Enemies and yours. And in order to this I sent a supply of Amunition, Artillary, and Christian Souldiers, sufficient to prevent any Insult from our Enemies. and it had the effect I expected, for they durft not face the weakest of our Garrisons. I came now for your Relief, and have lost no time; the same day that I had an account from hence that our Enemies were in this Country, I put my felf on board a Sloop, and brought with me 150 Christian Souldiers, besides Volunteers, and arrived here before I could be expected; I then immediately marched to Schenattady, from whence I fent you supplies of 200 and odd men, Amunition, Provision, &c. with which those that joyned you before, under the Command of Major Schuyler, might have secured an entire Victory, and prevented the French and their Indians from any possibility of getting back to their own noures, but it has pleased God to order it otherwise. I had also 200 Christians more upon their march, who arrived here, and would have been a considerable Reinforcement to us, but the Action being over, I commanded them back to their former Refidence, till further Orders. It is obvious to me, and I believe to you all, that this Calamity is fallen on you by your own faults. I could never suppose my Brethren, the Mohaques, would be so supine and careless, as to suffer the French, and their Indians. to enter their Castles These men that have an Enemy near, must sleep without the least Resistance. with Arms in their Hands, and one eye open, that is, they must keep Scouts and Spyes, so as never to become a prey to their Enemies, by their own negligence. I mustadvise you, that for the suture, you keep strict watch, so that I may have timely notice of the Enemy's motion, and you will then see how easily they will be defeated.

I hope it is now apparent to you, that the great of King of England is ready to apply his Arms for your detence, when you confider, that in a very few days I amcome personally to your Assistance, with scar 400 Christian Souldiers. I have had the Honour to bear Command unser the great King of England, my Master, where I have seen the French sty before his victories Atms; and last Summer is pleased God to add to his Victories, by the deseat and destruction of their Fleets in which most of their Ships were burnt or sink.

I came now in great hafte, and brought no Presents with me, but design (by the blessing of God) to be with you at the beginning of Summer, to give you something to wipe off your Tears for the Brethren that are lately soft, to renew the thing to wipe off your Tears for the Brethren that are lately soft, to renew the intent Covenant Chain, and to give you surther Assurances of the Great King of antient Covenant Chain, and to give you surther Assurances of the Great King of

England's Favour, and of my own Readiness upon all occasions to appear as his

Servant, for your Protection against our Enemies and yours.

My present care now is, to provide for the Mobaques Nation, about which I have given my directions to Major Schuyler, who will appoint them a place for their Residence; I have also ordered some Corn for their present support, which they will receive from him. I must add, that it concerns your Honour & Reputation so make some brisk attempt upon our Enemies, and this with what secrecy and expedition you can, that those People may see you retain the antient Courage of your Ancestors, and I do not question but God will give you success by a severe Revenge on our Enemies and yours.

I am informed, that your Young Men have killed the Horses of some Christian Souldiers, who were upon the same service with you (it is not Brotherly) and I desire for the future, you will take care to prevent such Outrage, that the antient Covenant Chain may be preserved inviolably on your parts, as it will be on the

part of my Master, the great King.

To conclude, I must tell you, that I doubt there is some false Brother among us, who keeps intelligence with our Enemies, concealing their designs, and exposing ours; if you have one French man among you, he will be true to his Country by betraying you. I have order'd you some Bread and Bear, and desire you will drink the Healths of my great Mr. and Mrs the Victorious King and most Illustrous Queen of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, and all their Majesties Territories in America; and so bid you farewell.

Brother Cayenquirago, which fignifies a great swift Arrow, a Name the five Nations have given his Excellency, because of his speedy arrival here, with so many Men for their Relief, when the Enemy had fallen upon the Mohaques Country.

Hen we arived at Schenettedy, after our march against the Enemy, you was pleased to desire us to come hither where we heard to Come of the pleased to desire us to come hither, where we heard you, Great Smift Arron, speak, and participated of your Favours, we acknowledge that the Enemy, the French of Canada have fallen upon our Brethren, the Mohaques, and destroyed their three Castles, which we can attribute to nothing else but their not hearkening to the great . wift . rrow's good Advice, which was to keep good Guard and out Scouts.

We return you, Brother great swife Arrem, our hearty Thanks for your care in providing for the Mohaques, that they may not starve, nor bein want in this extremity.

Brother, great swift Arrow, You propose to us the attacking the Enemy in their Country, to shew them that we have not lost the Courage of our Ancestors; we return you our hearty Thanks for your good Encouragement, for we are in a manner drunk with the Blood lately thed by them. It is not usual for us, while we are in that grief and annixity, as now we are, to proceed to revenge our felves of the Enemy; you have lost your Blood as well as we, there or that Blood ought to be revenged unanimously by both sides.

Brother, Grest Swife Arreir, You recommend us to go and attack the Enemy

The Answer of the Five Nations, viz. the Mohaques, Oneydes, Onondages, Cayouges and Sinnekes, To his Excellenty Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in chief of their Majesties Province of New York, &c. in Albany this 25th of February, 1692. Sadeganaktie, Suchim of the Onondages, Speaker. Interpreted by Hille, the Interpretefs.

where they are at home in Canada, but you are acquainted with us of old, that it hath alwayes been our Custom, first to bewail & condole the Death of them killed by the Enemy; for we are all one Heart, one Blood, one Soul; nevertheless we defign to go out and to fall upon the French, but we must first secure our Casties, sinte we know, that the Governor of Canada is intended to send out a considerable party. but whither we know not.

Brother, Great Smift Arrow, While you pressus to go and attack the Enemy of Canada by Land, we expect, according to the many Promises and Engagements made to us, to hear of a confiderable Force to go with great Guns by Sea. that the Enemy might be assaulted both ways, and soover-come; we press this the harder, because a great part of our strength is now broke, and therefore take it not amiss that we push this point of taking Canada by Sea, since its impossible to be done by Land alone.

Brother, Great Swift Arrow, We return you our hearty Thanks, that you are so ready to affilt us upon any occasion, and for the good advice to be watchful, and keep out good scouts and spyes; it is probable, that we would have done a great deal more damage to the Enemy had we been so well provided with all sorts of Amunition, as the Indians of Canada are; but some of our men have Guns, and no Powder nor Ball, and some but Bows and Arrows, as Major Schuyler saw, when we came up to him; but the Governour of Canada supplies his Indians with all forts of Arms and Amunition, which we found now when weengaged them.

We pray you, Great Swift Arrow, to have a careful Eye over us, fince this party of the French that has destroyed the Mohaques Castles, is but part of his strength, be as working with the Ottawans and Domaganhaes Indians, where he has a great Magazeen, and supplies them with all sorts or Amunition, and we fear that that force

will come down upon us still.

Brother, Great swift Arrow We return you thanks for remembring our dead, and that you will condole their death, when you come up in the beginning of Summer, but you can expect no Return from us, being in so mean a capacity and condition.

Brother, Great Swift Arrow, You inform us of the great Victory that our Lord of Lords (meaning the great King of England) has got upon the French, the common Enemy at Sea, which is admirable, and all the Nations are heartily rejoyced at it, and we hope that the great God that has his Seat above the Heavens, will give the same success to our great Lord of Lords Arms in this part of the World, over his and our Enemies, the French of Canada.

We pray that you would be pleased to acquaint our great Lord of Lords, who lives over the great great Lake, of our mean Condition, and what posture we are in, and how easy it is to destroy Canada, if all our great Lord of Lords subjects in shele Collonies would unite and joyn together, with some Ships that carry great Guns, which our great Lord of Lords can easily spare us, after this late Victory over the French at Sea.

We defire that you would be pleased to order a Smith to be with us in our Counary to repair our Arms, that we may detend us from the French.

His Excellency replyed, That he hoped they were sufficiently satisfied of his readiness to assist them, and that the Force the Franch had now sent was the most they could make; and if they would but keep out scouts, and advertise his Excellency timely of the Enemies coming, his Excellency does not doubt, with the strength he has in his Province, to deal with the Governour of Canada, and all his Power.

The Governour granted their Request of the Smith to be in their Country to re-Proposals pair their Arms.

Proposals made by four of the chief Suchims of the five Nations, to his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, in Albany the 26th of February, 1692.

Brother, Great swift Arrow, TE are come to acquaint you, that one of our men has last night in a drunken fit, killed an Indian that came over from the French, at which we are much concerned, and therefore come to see how our Brother great swift Arrow selents it.

We desire that you would be pleased to prohibit the selling of Rum while the War is so hot, since our Souldiers cannot be kept within Bounds, if they be drunk.

Brother great swift Arrow, We answered your Excellency's Proposals yesterday, but had not time to consult with that deliberation as we ought, and if therefore there be any thing omitted, or if we failed of our duty, we beg that you would be pleased to pardon that omission; for we must declare in behalf of all the Nations. that we are fingularly obliged to you, Brother great fwift Arrow, for your so extraordinary dispatch and suddain arrival here for our Relief, with so considerable a Force, the like never having been done before, whereby we fee your readiness and allacrity to help and affift us. And we do alfo return you thanks for leaving your directions with Major Schuyler to take care of the Mohaquas Nation. We are thankfull for your kind expressions, to be so ready to come for our Relief, and that you warn us to come and acquaint you as foon as we fee the Enemy a coming a far off, not doubting of your Power to proted us, since we have seen a sufficient proof of that already by this late Expedition.

Brother great fuffe Armer, Woods and we want a narrow enquiry as foon as we

come into our Country, about the French Prisoners, who we supect may betray us: we have had two bouts with the Onedeys about the Priest Miles that is among them,

and we intend to try the third time.

We desire that you, Brother great swift Arrow, may come up as soon as the Bark

is loose upon the Trees, since we have a design upon the Enemy.

We forgot to answer you in that business about the Young men killing the Horses. we acknowledge, its not Brotherly, but very ill done, and as soon as we come into our Country we will take fuch methods that it may be prevented, by Sinding out them that have done it, causing them to make Satisfaction.

His Excellency replyed, that he was much concerned that they should exercise cheir Arms one against another, while there is an Enemy in the Field, and hopes they will for the future endeavour to prevent such Irregularities: That they may be now sufficiently convinced how ready the Arms of the great King of England is co succour them; & that his Excellency, for his own part will never spare to expose his terson for their security. That the Rum shall be prohibited upon their Request; and that the most he requires of them, is to be vigilent and careful, and not furter themselves to be surprized, and then they need not tear the French.

To his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of their Majesties Province of New-York, Vice-Admiral of the same.

The Humble Address of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonality of the City of Albany.

May it please your Excellency; E are extreamly sensible of your Excellency's special Care, not only for the In particular for the extraordinary Regard taken for this Cuy, being the utmust Erontier thereof, leated near One Hundred and Fifty Miles up in the Country, whileft the same was attacked by the Energy of Canada, who had surprized and burnt the three Castles of the Mohaques, killed divers of their fighting men, and lead in Captivity apwards of 130 Women and Children, and that your Excel-Inter should within two days after notice received from hence, make that dispatch as to be here so suddainly with 300 men, and sufficient Provisions and Stores of War for our immediate Relief, which was more than ever could be expected

an this Winter Season.

We therefore out of a deep sence of your Excellency's unparralleled Affection to and Care for us, cannot but entered out Gives ingmy only of your Excellency, and beg of you to accept our Unfeigned Thanks, affuring your Excellency, as we shall never forget your extraordinary care of us, so shall we ever admire and beg the continuance of your excellency's benigne Government over us; and fince the Mohaques Nation is wholly dispersed by the Energy's burning all their three Castles, and our Farmers live stragling up and down the Gountry, in great danger to be cut off by the skulking Indians, We pray that your Excellency in your Wildom will be pleased to order some convenient place where the Remnant of said Nation may be convened together, and fortified for any attack of the Enemy, and that the Firmers may be ordered to fortifie themselves in Companyes rogether, that the Enemy may not have an advantage of them.

And we humbly beg your Excellency to believe, we are always ready to venture our Lives and Fortunes for their Majeities Service, the Defence of this Province, and with all chearfulness and allacrity shall endeavour, when-ever it lies in our Power, to demonstrate our true Affection to your Excellency in particular, and

to approve our felves,

Your Excellency's most Dutiful, And most Obedient Servants,

Peter Schuyler, Mayer,
L. vinus V. schaick, Alderman,
Rymen Barentse, Afistans.

Zurch Wessells, Recorder,
Evert Banker, Alderman,
Johannis Roseboom. Rymen Barentle, Afistans.

The House of Representatives for the Province of New-York, Wednesday A. M. March 22. 1693. Ordered,

Hat the Thanks of this House be given unto his Excellencys for his favourable Speech, and his Care of the Frontiers of this Province, by the great Dispatch he made in His Personal Appearance there, upon the late Invasion of the French.

Ordered, That Mr. Wessells, Mr. Pell, Mr. Kipp, Capt. Whitehead, Mr. Russand, Mr. Theunissen, Mr. Tuthill, and Mr. Barnes do wait upon his Excellency and Council with this Message.

By Order of the House of Representatives,

fames Graham, Speaker.

FINIS.

Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Anno 1693.

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An Awa of the Wheney of the Hones when I wan he was supen time of the Whoney was found that the standard of th

BYAVE SERVAL OF