

A SCHEME FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA
IN 1746.

BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

IN the acquisition of the vast domain of Canada, by the treaty of 1763, Great Britain and her American colonists realized a hope long cherished. The proximity of the Canadians to the borders of New England and New York in particular, together with the French influence over the frontier Indians, had always been considered pernicious to the interests of these English colonies and threatened their ultimate destruction, unless "some method were found to remove so bad a neighbour."¹ The reduction of this "thorn in the sides" of the neighboring English colonies had been attempted, therefore, in 1690, under Sir William Phips, and in 1711, under Sir Hovenden Walker. Phips's expedition was an expensive undertaking; cost the province of Massachusetts Bay alone above fifty thousand pounds; wrought death among many of her chosen young men, by a malignant fever that raged in the camp, and ended ingloriously. The Bay government did not for some years recover from the shock. Walker's expedition was entered into with cheerfulness by the colonists, but it, too, proved a fiasco. Apart from the cost of expeditions in time of war, the garrisoning of the frontiers involved a great annual outlay. Jeremy Dummer, in 1712, estimated the cost to Massachusetts for this maintenance as "Thirty Thousand Pounds *communibus annis*,"² which would be spared, he said, if Canada were wrested from the French.

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., p. 499. In Mass. State House, copied from Public Record Office, London. ² *Mass. Court Records*, *Idem*, p. 501.

From the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, until the open rupture in 1744, a nominal peace reigned. The declaration of war between Great Britain and France in the latter year equally involved their colonial possessions in conflict. On June 17th, 1745, Louisburg, the richest American jewel that had ever adorned the French crown, capitulated to the daring of the New Englanders under General William Pepperrell, aided by a fleet commanded by Commodore Peter Warren. The successful issue of this enterprise gave the English entire command of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thus enabled them to cut off Quebec from all hope of succor from France. It also facilitated the conquest of Canada itself.¹ The victory was hailed with acclamation throughout the colonies, and a hope was expressed that no peace negotiations should ever be set on foot with France in which the restoration of Cape Breton should as much as be mentioned.²

The Canadians were apprehensive of a British invasion, but made vigorous preparations to repress it. They learned the English plans by means of scouting parties, from the English prints, and more particularly from the English colonists captured on the frontiers by their various incursions, and whom they held in confinement at Quebec.³ While the English colonial governments were engaged in promoting levies, the Canadians sent a large detachment, of two thousand men,⁴ to take possession of the Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia, and succeeded in cutting off Governor Mascarene at Annapolis Royal from receiving intelligence for a period of six weeks. In France a formi-

¹ *Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War.* Third edition, Boston, 1758, p. 33.

² Parker's *New York Post-Boy*, No. 164, for March 10th, 1746. The article itself is dated December 28th, 1745.

³ The whole subject of rumors and French anticipatory action can be studied from *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. X.; and *Journal of Captain William Poté, Jr.*, New York, 1896.

⁴ Mascarene to Duke of Newcastle, November 12th, 1746. In *Chalmers's Papers relating to Canada*, in New York Public Library.

dable squadron was mobilized at Brest, under command of the Duke d'Anville, consisting of eleven ships of the line, three frigates, three fireships, and two bombs, having on board 6,186 sailors; also twenty privateers, and other vessels of from ten to twenty-four guns each, which were also joined by fifty-six sail of transports, laden with stores and provisions, and two tenders with artillery. "The whole fleet consisted of ninety-seven sail, having on board the two battalions of the regiment Ponthieu, the battalion militia of Saumur, the battalion of Fontenoy le Comte and a battalion of marines, in all 3,500 men, with 40,000 small arms," as well as equipment for the Canadians and Indians, who were expected to join them.¹ The Brest fleet was designed to reduce the English fort of Annapolis Royal and to recover Louisburg. Grave rumors were rife in New England that a descent would also be made upon Boston. D'Anville was heading for Nova Scotia, when a gale and thick fog separated his ships off Sable Island. Disaster followed in their track, and of the whole fleet of ninety-seven sail only fifty-six remained.² D'Anville died of apoplexy, his vice-admiral committed suicide, smallpox-caused great mortality among the soldiers and seamen, the purpose of the enterprise was abandoned, and thus France was balked in her greatest naval expedition to the coast of North America.

In the English-American provinces an expedition against Canada was looked upon by some as a chance for "fine plundering"³; while to others it appeared to afford advantages "inconceivably great to the Crown of Britain."⁴ Indeed, the original suggestions of October, 1745, comprehended the enlistment of 20,000 provincials, who should be offered, as an inducement, "the plunder of the country;

¹ Rolt's *Impartial Representation*, Vol. IV. (London, 1750), pp. 347, 348.

² For the details of this fleet consult Rolt, Vol. IV., pp. 346-352; a good modern account, varying somewhat from Rolt, is by Harry Piers, in *Canadian History Readings*. St. John, N. B., 1900, pp. 68-74.

³ *Post-Boy*, No. 178, for June 16th, 1746. ⁴ *Idem*, No. 173, for May 12th, 1746.

as well as the land of the Canadians." In official quarters—and none the less among the populace—it was judged that the acquisition of Canada would secure the fish and fur trade, deprive the French of provisions and lumber for their sugar islands, greatly diminish the trade of France, secure the English possessions in America—hitherto greatly incommoded, and put a halt to the building of French war vessels, then carried on in Canada.¹ Governor William Shirley, in his speech to the Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, June 28th, 1746, told them it was but folly to consider Nova Scotia in security so long as the French continued to be masters of Canada. In the loss of that province he discerned the most fatal consequences to Massachusetts "and all His Majesty's Colonies on the Northern Continent of America."² He but spoke the truth from a bitter experience.

Soon after the conquest of Louisburg, Shirley was called there to quell the discontent which had arisen among the provincials. His mission accomplished, he returned to Boston early in December, 1745. But while at Louisburg he had concerted measures with Pepperrell and Warren, for an expedition against Canada the following year. The project was communicated to the Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the admiralty, and was well received.

The fighting strength of all Canada, according to the best available information, was judged not to exceed 12,000 men, inclusive of the regulars; and the resident Indian allies were computed to be about 900.³ The winter of 1745-1746, intervened. On March 14th, 1746, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the various American governors, that "should it be judged advisable to undertake any attempt upon the French settlements in the New World, they should take the proper measures for raising

¹ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada.*

² *Journal of the Representatives of Mass. Bay, 1746, p. 71; also the same in Mass. Court Records, Series 17, Vol. V., p. 501.*

³ *Memoirs of Last War, p. 60.*

a body of men for that purpose.”¹ This was but the suggestion of a fact soon to follow.

It is worth while to digress here, in order to observe the environment in England in which the plans for the expedition against Canada were matured. Thomas Pelham was nominally prime minister, but the parliamentary influence and superior rank of his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, placed him practically on an equality in the cabinet. The broil of English politics was hot in the cauldron. On February 11th, 1746, Pelham had resigned, but was reinstated on the 14th of that month, after Granville and Bath had failed to form an administration. This brought the two brothers, with their retinue of followers, back with increased power. “Pelham was a timid and peace-loving politician, without any commanding abilities or much strength of character.”² Lecky aptly remarks, that “the Pelham Government, though unsuccessful abroad, had acquired a complete ascendancy at home. The martial enthusiasm of the country had gone down, and public opinion being gratified by the successive deposition of Walpole and of Carteret, and being no longer stimulated by a powerful opposition, acquiesced languidly in the course of events. The King for a time chafed bitterly against the yoke. He had been thwarted in his favourite German policy, deprived of the minister who was beyond comparison the most pleasing to him, and compelled to accept others in whom he had no confidence. He despised and disliked Newcastle. He hated Chesterfield, whom he was compelled to admit to office, and he was especially indignant with Pitt, . . . whose claims to office Pelham was continually urging.”³ The perplexed monarch endeavored to extricate himself from his embarrassments, but was immediately frustrated. England had for years

¹ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada.*

² G. F. Russell Barker, in *Dict. of Nat. Biography.* Pelham died at London, March 6th, 1754, and was succeeded by Newcastle.

³ *Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., p. 423.

scattered through Europe great subsidies, which increased her debt and impaired her prosperity, without signaling any particular advantage.¹ Newcastle then, as later when he was prime minister, was "the most remarkable instance on record in which, under the old system, great possessions and family and parliamentary influence could place and maintain an incapable man" in office.² "George II. complained that he was unfit to be Chamberlain to the smallest Court in Germany, and he was the object of more ridicule than any other politician of his time; but yet for forty-six years he held high posts at the Court or in the Government. For nearly thirty years he was Secretary of State; for ten years he was First Lord of the Treasury.

. . . Intellectually he was probably below the average of men, and he rarely obtained full credit even for the small talents he possessed. He was the most peevish, restless and jealous of men, destitute not only of the higher gifts of statesmanship, but even of the most ordinary tact and method in the transaction of business, and at the same time so hurried and undignified in manner, so timid in danger, and so shuffling in difficulty, that he became the laughing-stock of all about him."³ . . . "At the same time, though a great corrupter of others, he was not himself corrupt,"⁴ presenting in his person a curious anomaly. Such was the statesman entrusted with the direct negotiations with America for the conquest of Canada

The apparent jealousy in England of the provincial prowess was expressed in the Duke of Bedford's written opinion of March, 1746. He said that no great reliance should be placed on the American troops, and feared, "after the experience we have had of them," "the Independence it may create in those Provinces toward their Mother Country when they shall see within themselves so great an Army possessed in their own Right by Conquest

¹ Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 427, 428. ² Lecky, Vol. II., p. 438.

³ Lecky, Vol. II., p. 439. ⁴ Lecky, Vol. II., p. 440.

of so great a Country." ¹ He, therefore, wished to place the chief dependence on the fleet and army to be sent from England, and to look upon the Americans as useful only when joined with them. Meanwhile, not waiting for further instructions from England, the Bay government appointed commissioners, on February 12th and 13th, who were to join with others at Albany, in a conference with the Six Nations of New York, to urge the participation of these Indians in the forthcoming project. The appointments, however, were not finally confirmed in Council until July 16th. They were Jacob Wendell, Samuel Welles, Thomas Hutchinson and John Stoddard. On July 18th, Oliver Partridge was appointed to succeed Hutchinson, "who excused himself from that service." ²

On April 9th, 1746, Newcastle despatched letters by the sloop of war *Hickingbrook* ³ to the governors of all the provinces from New England to Virginia. The packet with the royal orders reached Governor Shirley on May 26th, and he immediately forwarded the documents to the different governments by land expresses. He evinced his own interest by his personal correspondence, in which he urged co-operation. He was very zealous for the cause, and hoped that the Massachusetts Bay government would set a good example to the others. ⁴ The royal orders required the several governments to raise as large a body of men as the shortness of the time would warrant. ⁵ The King did not limit the number of men for each province, neither did he require special allotments; but he hoped and expected that the united levies would not be less than five thousand. ⁶

The scheme concerted in England varied very little from the suggestions which had been forwarded previously

¹ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada.*

² *Mass. Court Records, Series 17, Vol. V., pp. 306, 311, 509, 521.*

³ Also spelled *Hinchinbrook* in *Penn. Votes, Vol. IV., (Phila., 1774), p. 37.*

⁴ *Mass. Journal, May 29th, 1746.*

⁵ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada, April 9th, 1746.*

⁶ *Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass., Third edition, Vol. II., p. 381.*

from America. It was agreed that the land forces should be commanded by Lieutenant-General James Sinclair,¹ while Rear-Admiral Warren was to look after the royal fleet. The plan of operations was not made irrevocable. Sinclair, Warren and Shirley were entrusted with such alterations as circumstances would require or good judgment might suggest. By the original instructions the companies raised in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were to rendezvous at Albany. The command of this contingent was given to William Gooch, lieutenant-governor of Virginia; but he pleaded indisposition, and declined to serve. Governor George Clinton, of New York, who was virtually responsible for the success of this part of the plan, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel John Roberts as Gooch's successor.² From Albany these troops were to make a descent upon Montreal and lay waste the settlements on the upper St. Lawrence.

The provincials of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut were to rendezvous at Louisburg as soon as possible, where they were to await the arrival of General Sinclair, the eight battalions of regulars, and the fleet commanded by Warren. This was the main guard, which was charged with the capture of Quebec. While they proceeded up the St. Lawrence, the men at Albany were to march to Montreal. The blow was to be struck simultaneously. The plans were well laid, and gave every earnest of success.³

¹ Gen. James Sinclair (also written St. Clair), was the second son of Henry, eighth Lord Sinclair. He entered the army at an early age, and rose in the ranks, becoming lieutenant-general on June 4th, 1745, and had command of the British troops in Flanders, prior to his appointment for this Canadian expedition. He died on November 30th, 1762, while governor of Cork, Ireland.

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI., p. 314. Roberts was an experienced soldier, having served since the days of George I. He was also connected by his first marriage with the Earl of Halifax.

³ The material for a study of the scheme is ample. The chief sources are *Chalmers's Papers relating to Canada*, transcripts from original documents in the Public Record Office of England. These transcripts are now in the New York Public Library; *Memoirs of the Last War*, p. 61; Rolt's *Impartial Representation*, Vol. IV. (London, 1750), pp. 345, 346; Hutchinson's *Hist. of Mass.*, Third edition, Vol.

So soon as the governors had received the Duke of Newcastle's instructions of April 9th, they convened their several councils and legislatures, and urged immediate action. The whole number of fighting men within the participating colonies aggregated 340,000.¹ It has already been observed that the packet from England reached Shirley on May 26th. He immediately communicated the correspondence to his House of Representatives, who on the 30th of the month passed the following vote, which was read and concurred in Council and consented to by Shirley that same day. The tenor of that vote was this:

"Whereas His Majesty has been pleased to resolve upon an Expedition against his enemies in Canada, which is apprehended to be of great importance to His Majestys subjects in Great Britain as well as America; and notwithstanding the great difficulties and charges to which this Province is exposed by reason of the numerous attacks made on all parts of our Frontiers, which burthens are made much heavier by coming immediately upon the loss of so great a number of men as were killed and died in the late expedition against Cape Breton; yet this House judge it to be their duty to contribute all in their power thereunto in humble confidence that as His Majesty has determined upon it and recommended it to his Excellency the Governor to raise what men he can in this Province, with transports & provisions suitable, the charge thereof will be reimbursed by the Crown, the Costs and Difficulties whereof would otherwise be insupportable:—

"Voted that there be granted as an Encouragement to a number of good and effective men not exceeding Three Thousand to enlist Voluntiers into His Majestys service in the said Expedition against Canada, as a Bounty, Thirty Pounds in Bills of Credit of the Old Tenour, and a Blanket, for each man, and a bed for every two men, the money to be paid upon Enlistment and the Blankets & Beds delivered on embarkation. That as soon as may be a sufficient quantity of provisions be secured and a suitable number of vessels for

II., pp. 380, 381; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI.; manuscripts in the *Mass. Archives*, preserved in the State House at Boston; and the printed *Votes, Journals* and *Records* of the several colonies engaged in the expedition.

¹*Chalmers's Papers, Canada.* From a list sent by Shirley to Newcastle, in July, 1746, exhibiting the available fighting strength of the nine colonies engaged in the expedition, and showing how many men were voted and raised or nearly raised at that time.

Transports, as also a proper number of Chaplains, Physicians, and Surgeons, and a full supply of medicines, with all other conveniences for such as may be sick.

"Voted also, that His Excellency the Governor be requested, by Proclamation, to publish the above said Encouragements mentioned in His Grace the Duke of Newcastles letter of the Ninth of April last."¹

On the same day the House voted and the Council concurred, "that His Excellency the Governor be desired to appoint a day of Fasting and Prayer to implore the Divine Presence and Blessing on the intended Expedition against Canada."² Sunday intervened. On the next day, June 2d, Shirley issued the following proclamation for raising troops, viz.:—

"By his Excellency WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq^r. Captain General and Governour in chief, in & over his Majestys province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS His Majesty has been graciously pleased to order a number of Troops under the Command of the Honourable Lieutenant General S^t Clair to proceed from Great Britain to Louisbourg, with a sufficient convoy of Men of War, and with them a great part of his Majestys Troops now in Garrison at Louisbourg, and also with such Troops as shall be Levied for that purpose in his Majestys Colonies in North America to attempt the immediate Reduction of Canada; and has signified his Royal pleasure to me, as also to the Governours of the several provinces & Colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island & New Hampshire, by Letters dispatch'd from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, That the necessary Dispositions should be forthwith made for the raising as many Men within this and the abovementioned Governments as the shortness of the time will admit for proceeding on the said Expedition.

"And Whereas the Great and General Court of this province have with the utmost Chearfulness and unanimity, Voted to give all necessary & proper Encouragement for Three Thousand

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., pp. 426, 427.

² *Idem*, p. 428.

Voluntiers that shall inlist into his Majestys Service in this Expedition.

"In Obedience therefore to his Majestys said Commands
"I have thought fit with the Advice of his Majestys Council, to issue this Proclamation, in order to make known his Majestys gracious intentions & Declarations for the Encouragement of all able Bodied effective Men that are inclin'd to inlist themselves into his Service in the said Expedition, together with the further Encouragement which is offered by this Government viz^t. That the said Voluntiers will be under such Officers as I shall appoint. That they will be immediately intituled to his Majestys Pay, the Officers from the time they shall engage in his Majestys Service and the Soldiers from the respective days on which they shall be inlisted; That if provision cannot be made of Arms & Cloathing for them, by reason of the shortness of the time, a reasonable allowance will be made them in money for the same; That they shall be intituled to a share of the Booty that shall be taken from the Enemy & shall be sent back to their several Habitations when this Service shall be over, unless any of them shall desire to settle elsewhere. And for the further Encouragement of all Voluntiers that shall engage in this Service, It is provided That they shall recieve Thirty pounds in Bills of Credit of the old tenour, as a Bounty, as also for each Man a Blanket, & a Bed for every two Men; the said Bounty to be paid upon their Enlistment, and the Blankets & Beds at the time of their Embarkation or proceeding on the said Expedition: And that all such Voluntiers as shall proceed on this Expedition shall be Exempted from all Impresses for two Years after their Return.

"Given at the Council Chamber in Boston the second day of June 1746, in the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France & Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith &c^e.

W. SHIRLEY.

By order of his Excellency the Governour,
with the Advice of the Council,
J. WILLARD Sec'y

God Save the King

A true Copy Examined ꝑ Sam Holbrook Dep. Sec'y

[ENDORSED:]

"His Excy Gov^r. Shirley's Proclamation for raising
Troops for the intended Expedition ag^t. Canada
June 2^d. 1746.——" ¹

¹ *Mass. Archives* Vol. 72 (Military Series 6), pp. 718-720.

On June 3d a joint committee from the House of Representatives and the Council was chosen to provide "a sufficient quantity of Provisions, a suitable number of vessels for transports, as also a proper number of Chaplains, Physicians and Surgeons, and a full supply of medicines with all other conveniences for such as may be sick." It was also urged that in procuring the provisions and other necessities, the preference should be given to the produce of the Bay government. The House selected the Speaker and Messrs. Welles, Hubbard, Skinner, Hall, Russell, Thomas Foster, James Otis, Col. Heath, and Captains Pickman and Partridge, to whom the Council added John Osborne, Jacob Wendell, Thomas Berry, Samuel Watts, Ezekiel Chever, James Bowdoin, John Wheelwright and Andrew Oliver.¹ Acts for supplying the treasury with large sums of money were enacted in June.² But at first the House hesitated in this policy, until urged by Shirley in vigorous language. In his message of June 10th, referring to their vote "for staying any further proceedings in relation to the providing Transports and other necessaries for the troops," he said, "Gentlemen, this last Vote seems to me to confound and frustrate all your former proceedings, unless you have some other practicable methods in view . . . than I am at present apprized of. You are sensible, Gentlemen, the Transports and Provisions must be had some way or other; and if there be any other way in which you expect they will be provided, I think it is fit I should know it. We have already lost much time by this interruption, and I desire we may now retrieve it, by the most vigorous proceedings; or else the most proper season for action will be irreparably lost."³ The objectionable "Order to the Committee of War above refer'd to, was withdrawn by the Direction of both Houses,

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., pp. 430, 431.

² *Idem*, pp. 433, 435, 436, 442, 444, 456, 463.

³ *Mass. Court Records*, *idem*, pp. 445, 448.

and the Committee left to proceed according to their first Instructions."

On June 14th, the following message from the House was sent to Shirley by the hand of Samuel Adams and others, *viz.*:—

"May it please your Excellency.

"It being represented that divers Children under sixteen years of age have been received and allowed to enlist in the Expedition against Canada, by the Officers who have Beating Orders, this House have thought it their duty to lay this grievance before your Excellency. They look upon this practice with greater concern, because it not only brings great distress and difficulty on Parents and Masters, but it is apprehended to be likely to be very pernicious, and should it become general, must be fatal to the important enterprize they are designed to serve. We are persuaded these things are done without your Excellencys leave and knowledge; but as these complaints are become numerous and still increasing; We humbly request Your Excellencys interposition herein, that the Families to which such Children belong may live in quiet at home, & the Forces raising may go with strength and courage abroad." ¹

To this complaint Shirley replied in a message, on June 21st, in which he recommended the appointment of a Muster Master for reviewing the troops, to prevent misapplication of the bounty and "ineffectiveness of those that are really enlisted." ²

The wages of the officers of the transports were according to the following rates: for masters of double decked vessels, five pounds per month; for masters of single decked vessels four pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence; for mates, four pounds; and for boatswains and carpenters of double decked transports, three pounds, ten shillings per month. ³

Each soldier was provided with a tin flask in which to carry water during marches, and was allowed for his billeting five shillings per week from the time of his enlistment

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, *idem*, pp. 464, 465. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 480.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 524; *cf.* also with earlier vote, p. 490.

until August 6th, except for such time as he should be on the march, when he would be allowed eighteen pence per day, "accounting twenty miles for one days travel."¹

The provisions for transports and soldiers were ordered to be kept apart and to be distributed equally under particular supervision;² but the House unanimously non-concurred with the desire of the Council that "both Soldiers and Seamen be allowed Beer, Rum or Molasses, as will be most suitable to the season of the Year; and that the Committee of War provide accordingly." It is not clear whether ideas of economy or temperance were responsible for this ruffle of opposition.

On June 28th, 1746, Shirley delivered to both Houses his most important speech in connection with this affair, and after its conclusion the "Great and General Court or Assembly" was adjourned until July 15th. Although quotations from it have already been given, it is reproduced here in all of its original quaintness, and worthily exhibits the spirit of the times.

"Gentlemen of the Council & House of Representatives.

"The present necessary business of the Court being so far dispatched as to admit of a short Recess, I have thought proper to adjourn you for some time, that so the Committee of War may have more leisure to make needful preparations for the Expedition, and the rest of the Members an opportunity to encourage and promote the Levies for the same in their respective Counties; which I accordingly now recommend to you as a matter of the greatest importance to His Majestys service and the general advantage of His Colonies in North America, & to the future prosperity of this Province in particular.

"The near situation of the French to our borders, and their influence over the Indians have always been thought most pernicious to the interests of these Colonies and to threaten their final Destruction unless some method should be found to remove so bad a neighbour from us. And therefore in every war with that Nation some design has been laid and attempts made for compassing this end.

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, idem, p. 514. ² *Ibid.*, p. 491.

“To demonstrate this to you I need only transcribe the following extract from the late Mr. Agent Dummer's letter upon that subject in 1712, in which he says,—‘I am sure it has been the cry of the whole country ever since Canada was delivered up to the French, *Canada est delenda*; they always looked upon it as a Carthage to the Northern Colonies, which if they did not destroy it would in time destroy them. Of this they were so apprehensive in the year 1690, that they came unanimously into a great and expensive undertaking against it, under the command of Sir William Phips, but meeting with an unaccountable train of disappointments, returned without doing any thing. This enterprize cost the single Province of the Massachusetts Bay above fifty thousand pounds, which together with the loss of abundance of their chosen young men, by a malignant fever that raged in the Camp; and several disasters that happened in the way home, gave that Province so deep a wound that it did not recover itself in many years after. However about five years agoe observing their French neighbours to increase and grow more and more formidable every day, they resolved to make them an other visit; but not thinking themselves strong enough to deal with Canada, they were content only to make an attempt on Port Royal, which was accordingly done, but most unhappily miscarried. Yet, far from disheartened by these misfortunes when Her Majesty about three years after signified her gracious intentions to reduce Canada and desired them to get ready their Quota, it can't be expressed with what cheerfulness they came into it. They raised their men immediately, clothed them handsomly and disciplined them for the service, and had laid up Magazines of provisions both for their own and the Queens Troops then shortly expected. And, altho the Court altered their measures, did not proceed on that design, yet the Colonies and particularly New England were at near the same charge as if they had. The next year they raised a body of Troops again, which commanded by Coll. Nicholson and joined by five hundred Auxiliaries from hence, made an other attack on Port Royal, and carried it, as every body knows. Thus that poor country, exhausted by so many (and all but one fruitless) enterprizes, besides the oppressions of a twenty years French and Indian War, that has lain heavy upon them, yet did this summer past furnish more than the Quota assigned them for this late fatal expedition. I shall add one thing more, that over and above these extraordinary articles, the standing yearly charge of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay to maintain their Barrier against the enemy, is Thirty Thousand Pounds *com-*

munibus annis, which they would be eased if Canada were taken.'

"Such, Gentlemen, have ever been the general sentiments and apprehensions of the People of New England concerning Canadas remaining in the hands of the French; and I may add to M^r. Dummers remarks, that we ought never to think His Majesty's possession of Nova Scotia in security, whilst the enemy is suffered to continue Masters of Canada; and should it ever be our misfortune to see that Province reduced by them and added to Canada, it requires no extraordinary share of penetration to discern what must be, in a short time, the fatal consequences to this and all His Majestys Colonies on the Northern Continent of America.

"Through the signal favour of Divine Providence to us, Annapolis Royal was indeed in the year immediately preceeding the last, saved from falling into the enemys hands, and the last year the Fortress of Louisbourgh with the Island of Cape Breton and its Dependencies reduced to the obedience of His Majesty: an atchievement worthy of the English name, and which must always be remembered to the lasting honour of the Province that undertook it, and of their troops which so bravely executed it; yet these are but single steps towards procuring the lasting Welfare & Tranquility of these Colonies. For since the reduction of Cape Breton, I suppose we have had greater numbers of Indians continually harrassing us in all parts of our Frontiers, and have been obliged to keep more men in pay for our defence, than at any other time in former wars; and the ravages and cruelties of the enemy in murthuring & captivating our People, driving them from their Settlements, killing their Cattle, destroying some thousands of acres of Grain upon the ground, depopulating almost a whole Country in one of the neighbouring Colonies, and putting us to an immense charge, with so little success on our side, as not in the least to dispirit the enemy; I say these things considered, if no other measures be taken but the carrying on such a defensive War, a few years continuance of that alone, must work the inevitable destruction of this Province.

"And now Gentlemen, affairs being brought to this Crisis with us, and His Majesty having, in compassion to the distress'd circumstances of his good subjects of these Provinces, ordered so strong an Armament for the Reduction of Canada, at a time when he has so much occasion to employ both his land and sea Forces in Europe, justly expecting that we, who will reap so large a part of the happy fruits of its success, should join to the utmost of our power in promoting this great design, especially as His Majesty has been graciously

pleased (besides all the other benefits allowed to our troops in the former Expeditions against Canada and Nova Scotia) to take upon himself the payment of & charge of cloathing the Forces in this Expedition; I say upon due consideration, I hope you will act your parts at this important conjuncture with Vigour and Resolution, not only in your Legislative capacity whilst you are together, but in the short time of your Recess among your neighbouring Towns in the Countrey, by encouraging the enlistments for His Majestys service in the present Expedition to the utmost of your power."¹

Since Massachusetts Bay took the lead among the colonies, an elaboration of her proceedings seemed to be pertinent. We turn now, yet with greater brevity, to observe what preparations were being made by the other governments, each of which gave special inducements, in one way or another, to favor an enlistment.

New Hampshire voted to enlist one thousand men, though some authorities suggest that only five hundred took the field. Yet Governor Wentworth, in his requisitions to England for reimbursement, said his province raised seven hundred and thirty-three men, and that his Assembly had voted sixty thousand pounds for defraying expenses.²

Rhode Island voted three companies of one hundred men each, inclusive of officers—a standard for companies required by the royal instructions—and gave a bounty to each man of fifty pounds, in bills of public credit of the old tenor; a suit of clothes valued at twenty-six pounds of the old tenor; “a small arm and cartouch box, over and above His Majesty’s pay, and the share of booty taken”; also “tents for the land forces, and a suitable bed and blanket for every two men.” She expended, in addition to the bounty, £76,083 11s. 4d., New England currency, which reduced to sterling, at the rate of £750 currency for £100 sterling, equalled £10,144 19s. 6d.;³

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, idem, pp. 498-502.

² *Chalmers's Papers, Canada; Memoirs of Last War*, p. 62.

³ *R. I. Records*, Vol. V., pp. 172, 175, 177, 236.

and was reimbursed to the sum of only £7507 4s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.¹

In May, 1746, the Governor, Council and Representatives of Connecticut, in General Court assembled, voted to furnish "six hundred able-bodied effective men, or more if they shall offer themselves," but at the June session increased the number to one thousand men, inclusive of the officers. The bounty and other allowances offered at the May session were also materially increased in June, "for the encouragement of such men voluntarily to enlist themselves"; yet, in case the number should fall short, the remainder were ordered to "be imprest to go into said service." The war committees of the several towns were given additional instructions. Jonathan Trumbull and Hezekiah Huntington were appointed "to provide, in the best and most reasonable manner, such good fire-locks, cutlasses, cartouch-boxes and belts as may be wanted." Andrew Burr, Thomas Welles, Hezekiah Huntington, Gurdon Saltonstall, John Fowler and Jabez Hamlin were entrusted, as commissaries, "with full power by impressing, or otherwise, to provide sufficient transports for said troops and sufficient provisions at present for their subsistence five months from the time of their embarkation, and also to provide cloathing, beds and other necessaries."² Officers were chosen for the regiment in May and June,³ and it was ordered that proclamations be issued "for the keeping days of Fasting and Prayer to Almighty God, for his protection, blessing and assistance in the expedition."⁴

The regiment was at New London early in August, awaiting orders to embark for Louisburg; and when the Assembly observed at its October session that the late season of the year presaged a delay for some time to come, they voted "that his Honour the Governour of this Colony be desired, and he is hereby desired, to advise the colonel

¹ *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island.* Edited by G. S. Kimball; Vol. II. (1903), pp. 98, 99.

² *Public Records of the Colony of Conn.*, Vol. IX., pp. 211, 231, 232.

³ *Conn. only Records*, Vol. IX., pp. 213, 214, 236, 237. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

or chief officer of the said regiment to offer a furlough to the said souldiers, that they may retire to their respective places of abode until they shall have his Majesties orders for mustering again."¹ This order was carried out by Governor Law, but as late as the year 1750, this resolve caused some trouble by being "interpreted as expressing disrespect to his Majesty's orders, and tending to disadvantage the then intended expedition." It even threatened to jeopardize the reimbursement promised by the mother country, but the action of Connecticut, it is certain, was prompted by a desire to economize the Crown's expenses, as well as to sustain the welfare of the colony.²

A census of New York, taken in 1746, shows that the white males between the years of sixteen and sixty numbered but 12,522, exclusive of Albany County, which could not be computed because of the enemy.³ Nevertheless this province provided one thousand six hundred men, and also four "independent" companies of one hundred men each. It also conciliated the Five Nations of Indians, through the instrumentality of Col. William Johnson, whom the Indians themselves had chosen to be their colonel.⁴ Governor Clinton was personally active in conferences with the Indians, but at the same time was at loggerheads with his Assembly, who made him much trouble. On November 9th, 1747, he reported to Newcastle that "about £55,000 sterl." would cover all expenses incurred and to be liquidated.⁵

Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey, died on May 21st, 1746, whereby the government devolved upon the Honorable John Hamilton, the eldest member of the Council.⁶ On June 12th Hamilton addressed the Council

¹ *Conn. Colony Records*, idem, p. 257. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 575, 576.

³ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI., p. 392. New York's official action in behalf of the scheme can be studied from *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of New York*, Vol. II. (New York, 1766). ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 409. For muster rolls see, *Second Annual Report of the State Historian of New York*. Albany, 1897, pp. 617-639.

⁶ *N. J. Votes*, of the given date.

and General Assembly and communicated Newcastle's letter of instructions to Morris, relative to the intended expedition. He also forwarded immediately the remaining letters of the packet to the governor of Pennsylvania. The Assembly expressed themselves as grateful to His Majesty for his "paternal Care," as shown by the proposed expedition, which also proved to them that His Majesty was "not unmindful of the Welfare and Preservation even of his remotest Subjects."¹ New Jersey voted five hundred men, and by its appropriations impaired its own treasury. Col. Peter Schuyler, who commanded the New Jersey companies, also advanced some thousands of pounds "out of his own estate" to keep his men together.² But in doing so he reaped the displeasure of New York's governor, who bitterly complained to the mother country, asserting that Schuyler's action had caused desertions and mutiny among the unpaid provincials.³

The Legislature of Pennsylvania was controlled by Quakers, who, while affirming allegiance to the King's commands, so far as their religious persuasions would permit, objected to being "concerned in war-like Enterprises."⁴ In this they were seconded by the German Mennonites, a sect of Pennsylvania pietists, who were also advocates of non-resistance. Governor George Thomas, therefore, raised four hundred men, without an act of government, and clothed, armed and equipped them on his own credit.

Maryland voted, "to encourage 300 able bodied Freemen to enlist . . . and to transport them to the Place of Rendezvous,"⁵ who were ready for the field by July 25th. As no arms could be purchased in Maryland at the time, the House, to prevent delay, consented to supply "out of

¹ *N. J. Votes*, June, 1746. ² *Ibid.*, June 13th, 1746, and Jan. 7th, 1748.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1748; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI., pp. 341, 349, 351, 357; *Chalmers's Papers, Canada*.

⁴ *Penn. Votes*, Vol. IV. (Phila., 1774), p. 38.

⁵ *Maryland Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly*.

the public Magazine of this Province, on condition of the like Quantity being again replaced for the Use of the Public," the following equipment: "300 Muskets, with Slings and Bayonets, 300 Cartouch Boxes with Belts, 6 Drums, 9 Half Pikes, and 6 Halberts."¹ These things were accordingly removed from the public magazine, but had not been replaced as late as June 22nd, 1747, when the new governor, Samuel Ogle, was urged to remedy the condition. But Maryland rejected the request of Shirley for appropriations toward the conciliation of the Six Nations, in the following words:—

"We have considered the Letters from Governor Shirley, laid before us by your Excellency, and cannot with any Colour of Reason burthen the People of this Province upon every Suggestion of private and unknown Persons, who would willingly provide for themselves; or of Governors of distant Provinces, who, no doubt, would ease those under their respective Governments, at the Expence of others. The People of Maryland have lately been at great Charge in providing for, and sending to Albany, three hundred Men for his Majesty's Service; which, with the Consideration of a weighty public debt now due, will we hope render us excused on the subject Matter of those Letters; and the more so, as it is well known we can hardly find Means for the necessary Supplies of our own Domestic Affairs."²

Maryland did not advance anything for the pay of her contingent, but voted £5399 19s. 8d. for levying and maintaining them in Maryland and transporting them to Albany with provisions.³

Virginia, though given special honors, in the person of Governor Gooch, contributed a very unequal proportion. She could raise only one hundred men, and even they were not ready before the middle of August. In October, 1746, this Virginian contingent still lay encamped within the fort at New York city, waiting to proceed to Albany,

¹ *Maryland Votes.* ² *Ibid.*, June 25th, 1747.

³ *Ibid.*, July 11th and Dec. 23d, 1747. It is not clear whether this is all that was expended.

the place of rendezvous. A Virginian, referring to this tardiness, wrote: "If Glory cannot fire us, let Shame confound us: Hark, the distant March sounds *Britons strike home, revenge, revenge your Country's Wrong*. Either let us undertake this Glorious Cause with the true Spirit of a British Adventurer, or admit ourselves dwindled to meer Savages, hiding our Heads in Infamy, while our Neighbours share the Rewards and Honours due to Patriotism."¹ A New Yorker remarked that, "One would imagine the Honour of having their Governour appointed General of the Forces, should have excited their Zeal and redoubled their Vigour, on this glorious Occasion"; and said they contributed "a small Number indeed, for a People who have assumed that vain Motto to their Arms of *En Dat Virginia Quartam*."² This government voted "a sum of money not exceeding four thousand pounds, towards defraying the expence of enlisting, arming, cloathing, victualing, and transporting the Soldiers."³

Meanwhile Massachusetts, led by the enthusiasm of Shirley, wrought strenuously for the success of the enterprise. Hopes ran high. The men at Albany, Louisburg and in New England eagerly waited for the regulars and the fleet, since their arrival was to sound the alarm for action. The Indian allies of New York thirsted for a chance to revenge themselves. In England a fleet and many transports had been collected at Portsmouth; but after several embarkations and debarkations, the British ministry altered the destination of the English regulars, for a descent on Brittany in France.⁴ On May 30th, 1747, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to Shirley, directing that

Virginia Gazette, reprinted in Parker's *N. Y. Post-Boy*, No. 185, for August 4th, 1746.

² Parker's *N. Y. Post-Boy*, No. 190, for Sept. 8th, 1746.

³ *Virginia Acts* (Williamsburg, 1752), p. 207; also in Hening's *Statutes of Va.*, Vol. V. pp. 401-404.

⁴ Rolt, Vol. IV., p. 346. See also reasons on last page of this monograph.

the provincial forces be disbanded, as the following extract shows:—

“His Majesty has been pleased to direct me to signify to you His Pleasure, that you should immediately appoint a Meeting with Commodore Knowles at such Place as shall be agreed upon, and consider with him the present State of Nova Scotia and Louisbourg, and take the proper Measures for the Defence of those Places.

“It is His Majesty’s Pleasure you should endeavour to compleat from out of the Americans which are now raised for His Majesty’s Service, Sir William Pepperrell’s Regiment, and your own.

“Lieutenant General Phillip’s Regiment, is, I am afraid, very weak; I will, however, send him His Majesty’s Orders to send what Recruits can be got from hence: And you will also endeavour to have his Regiment compleated out of the Americans.

“As it is His Majesty’s Intention that the Americans should be immediately discharged, except only such few as are mention’d above, the Manner of discharging them, the Satisfaction for their Time, &c. must be left to Commodore Knowles and yourself; the King however is perswaded you will do it as cheap as possible.

“And as these American Troops have done little or no Service hitherto, it is hoped they will not expect to be paid in the Manner they would have been, had they actually been employ’d on Service. And it seems highly reasonable, that such of these Troops as have remain’d in the Provinces where they were inlisted, should be contented with less Pay than such of them as may have marched into other Provinces.

“When you and Mr. Knowles shall have met, and fully consider’d the Service to be undertaken, in the Manner above-directed, and shall have agreed what Numbers of Americans it will be necessary to keep in Pay for that Purpose, it is His Majesty’s Pleasure, that you should procure an Account of the whole Expence incurred on Account of the American Troops, from the Time of their being levied, to the Time of their Discharge; and when the same shall be fully adjusted and liquidated, you will transmit it to me, with the proper Vouchers, from the several Governors, that it may be laid before Parliament, to the End that Provision may be made for the Payment. And in the mean Time, in order to prevent any Complaint amongst the Men that have been inlisted, you will recommend it to the Governors of the Provinces where these Levies have been made, to procure Credit from

the respective Assemblies for that Purpose; which His Majesty hopes may be done without Difficulty. . . . And as to the Americans in general, except only such as may be wanted for the Service above-mention'd, it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you, in Conjunction with Commodore Knowles, should thank them in such Manner as you think proper, and immediately discharge them upon the best and cheapest Foot you can; and in Order thereto, you will consult with the respective Governors upon the Manner of doing it: And you will transmit to His Majesty, an immediate Account of what you shall do therein."

In October, 1747, Shirley and Knowles issued a proclamation, "that the King, finding it necessary to employ the greater part of his forces to aid his allies and to defend the liberties of Europe, had thought proper to lay aside for the present the intended expedition against Canada."¹

Even the desire of Shirley to use some of the men raised for a more modest expedition against Crown Point was doomed to fail. Thus ended a scheme which had been well-concerted, and which gave every promise of success. It had been entered upon primarily at the expense of the mother country, and failure to execute it proved a tremendous waste,² aggregating several millions of dollars, as reckoned by us today.

¹ *Chalmers's Papers*. The proclamation is also printed in *Records of Rhode Island*, Vol. V. General Sinclair's forces and Admiral Lestock's squadron were ready to sail for North America, but "contrary winds" delayed them. Meanwhile Knowles had informed the Secretary of the Admiralty that Louisburg was "the most miserable ruinous place" he ever beheld. It was, therefore, considered unfit for winter-quarters for the English regulars, and Boston, suggested by Lestock as an alternative, was not chosen, for reasons shown in the following extract from the joint letter of the Duke of Newcastle to Lestock and Sinclair, August 26th, 1746, contemporary transcript in N. Y. Public Library: "His Majesty finding, by your former letters, that it would be impracticable for you to proceed this Season with the Squadron and Troops under your Command further than Boston, and being desirous that they shou'd be employ'd at present, in such manner as shou'd be most for His Majesty's Service, and consistent with the King's intention of sending them to North America, as early in the Spring, as the Navigation in those Seas will permit, The King has commanded me to acquaint you with his Pleasure, that you shou'd forthwith sail with all the Ships and Transports that are design'd for North America, either to Port L'Orient, or to Rochefort, or to Rochelle, and endeavour to make Yourselves Masters of such of them as You shall think it most adviseable to attempt" [etc.].

² An elaborate report of the respective claims by the colonies for reimbursement, dated February, 1749-1750, shows that the total sum charged was £273,139 1sh. 11½d.; and the amount actually paid out at that time was £235,817 1sh. *Chalmers's Papers*. A discussion of the expenses incurred by Massachusetts is given in *Some Observations Relating to the Present Circumstances of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Boston, 1750. This is a pamphlet of twenty pages.

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