

The Duel for North America, 1608–1763

The most momentous and far-reaching question ever brought to issue on this continent was: Shall France remain here or shall she not?

Francis Parkman, 1884

Prologue: French exploration of North America penetrated deeply into Canada and the Mississippi Valley. At first there was elbow room for both the French and the English, but wars that were ignited in Europe spread to the New World and involved the colonists of both nations in a series of bloody clashes: King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), King George's War (1744–1748), and the French and Indian War (1754–1763). Continuing rivalry between the English colonists and the French traders gradually became intense, and the showdown came in 1754 in the wilds of the Ohio Valley, where young George Washington's tiny army of Virginians was forced to surrender. The French and Indian War (called the Seven Years' War in Europe) thus began inauspiciously for the British and continued disastrously for them. In 1755 General Edward Braddock's army was almost wiped out near what is now Pittsburgh. At length, a new prime minister, William Pitt, infused life into the flagging cause. In 1759 Quebec fell to the heroic General James Wolfe, and the next year Montreal capitulated. By the Treaty of 1763, France was completely and permanently ejected from the mainland of North America. Meanwhile, the British victory both provoked fresh problems with the Indians in the Great Lakes region and caused new stirrings among the American colonists.

A. The Development of New France

I. Father Isaac Jogues Endures Tortures (1642)

The Catholic (Jesuit) missionaries in French Canada, among other activities, established a mission among the two thousand or so disease-ridden Huron Indians of the

¹New-York Historical Society, *Collections*, Second Series (1857), vol. 3, part 1, pp. 177–204, passim.

Lake Huron area. Father Isaac Jogues, returning from Quebec to this spiritual vineyard with two French associates and a small band of Huron Indians, was captured in 1642 by a hostile Mohawk (Iroquois) raiding party. He here relates his harrowing experiences to his superiors. As this part of the narrative begins, Father Jogues has just been captured, and one of his French associates (Couture) is being tortured. What is Father Jogues's attitude toward his captors? toward his fellow captives?

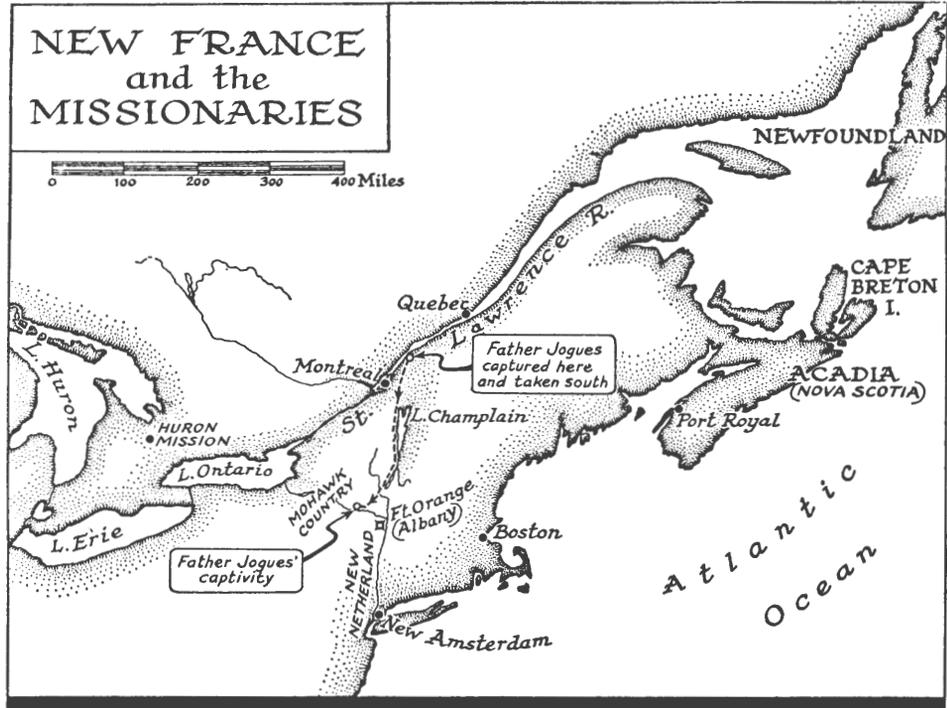
When I beheld him [Couture] thus bound and naked, I could not contain myself, but, leaving my keepers, rushed through the midst of the savages who had brought him; embraced him most tenderly; exhorted him to offer all this to God for himself, and those at whose hands he suffered. They at first looked on in wonder at my proceeding; then, as if recollecting themselves, and gathering all their rage, they fell upon me, and with their fists, thongs, and clubs beat me till I fell senseless. Two of them then dragged me back to where I had been before; and scarcely had I begun to breathe when some others, attacking me, tore out, by biting, almost all my nails, and crunched my two forefingers with their teeth, giving me intense pain. The same was done to René Goupil. . . .

We were twenty-two; three had been killed. By the favor of God our sufferings on that march, which lasted thirteen days, were indeed great: hunger and heat and menaces, the savage fury of the Indians, the intense pain of our untended and now putrefying wounds, which actually swarmed with worms. No trial, however, came harder upon me than to see them [the Iroquois] five or six days after approach us, jaded with the march, and, in cold blood, with minds in no wise excited by passion, pluck out our hair and beard and drive their [finger]nails, which are always very sharp, deep into parts most tender and sensitive to the slightest impression.

But this was outward; my internal sufferings affected me still more when I beheld that funeral procession of doomed [Indian] Christians pass before my eyes, among them five old converts, the main pillars of the infant Huron Church. Indeed I ingenuously admit that I was again and again unable to withhold my tears, mourning over their lot and that of my other companions, and full of anxious solicitude for the future. For I beheld the way to the Christian faith closed by these Iroquois on the Hurons and countless other nations, unless they were checked by some seasonable dispensation of Divine Providence. . . .

At last, on the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, we reached the first village of the Iroquois. I thank our Lord Jesus Christ that on the day when the whole Christian world exults in the glory of his Mother's Assumption into heaven, he called us to some small share and fellowship of his sufferings and cross. Indeed we had, during the journey, always foreseen that it would be a sad and bitter day for us. It would have been easy for René and me to escape that day and the flames, for, being often unbound and at a distance from our guards, we might, in the darkness of night, have struck off from the road, and even though we should never reach our countrymen, we would at least meet a less cruel death in the woods. He constantly refused to do this, and I was resolved to suffer all that could befall me, rather than forsake in death Frenchmen and Christian Hurons, depriving them of the consolation which a priest can afford. . . .

[Father Jogues endured further tortures, including the cutting off of one thumb, but even so he managed quietly to baptize several Indian children, "two with raindrops



gathered from the leaves of a stalk of Indian corn given us to chew. . . .” He witnessed the brutal tomahawking of his French colleague René Goupil, and was made a slave by his captors.]

Mindful of the character imposed upon me by God, I began with modesty to discourse with them [Iroquois] of the adoration of one only God; of the observance of his commandments; of heaven, hell, and the other mysteries of our faith, as fully as I was able. At first, indeed, they listened; but when they saw me constantly recur to these things, and especially when the chase did not meet with the desired success, then they declared that I was a demon who caused them to take so little game. . . .

How often on the stately trees of the forest did I carve the most sacred name of Jesus, that, seeing it, the demons might fly, who tremble when they hear it! How often, too, did I not strip off the bark, to form the most holy cross of the Lord, that the foe might fly before it. . . .

Although I could in all probability escape either through the Europeans or the Indian nations around us did I wish to fly, yet on this cross to which our Lord has nailed me, beside himself, am I resolved by his grace to live and die. For who in my absence would console the French captives? who absolve the penitent? who remind the christened Huron of his duty? who instruct the prisoners constantly brought in? who baptize them dying, encourage them in their torments? who cleanse the infants in the saving waters? who provide for the salvation of the dying adult, the instruction of those in health? . . .

[After a year of slavery in central New York, Father Jogues escaped to the Dutch in New Netherland and then sailed to France, where he was greeted as one raised from the dead. The queen summoned him to an audience, and the pope, as a special dispensation, granted him permission to celebrate mass with mutilated hands. Jogues, however, eager to continue his work of conversion among the unregenerate Mohawks, returned in 1646. He was promptly tortured, then tomahawked. In 1930 Pope Pius XI canonized him.]

2. A Swede Depicts the Indian Trade (1749)

Peter Kalm, a noted Swedish botanist then in his early thirties, was sent on a scientific expedition to America in 1748–1751. His primary purpose was to discover seeds and plants that could profitably be adapted to the rigorous climate of Sweden. Alert, open-minded, and energetic, he recorded in his journal a gold mine of information, ranging in subject from the vocal cords of bullfrogs to the shortness of women's skirts in Canada. He found in Benjamin Franklin a kindred scientific spirit, and while in New Jersey he not only occupied the pulpit of a deceased Swedish pastor but married his widow as well. In Kalm's account of the fur trade in Canada, what are the most surprising aspects of the Native Americans' sense of values, and the most significant impact of whites on Indian culture?

Indian Trade. The French in Canada carry on a great trade with the Indians; and though it was formerly the only trade of this extensive country, its inhabitants were considerably enriched by it. At present they have, besides the Indian goods, several other articles which are exported. The Indians in this neighborhood [Montreal], who go hunting in winter like the other Indian nations, commonly bring their furs and skins to sell in the neighboring French towns; however, this is not sufficient. The red men who live at a greater distance never come to Canada at all; and lest they should bring their goods to the English, or the English go to them, the French are obliged to undertake journeys and purchase the Indian goods in the country of the natives. This trade is carried on chiefly at Montreal, and a great number of young and old men every year undertake long and troublesome voyages for that purpose, carrying with them such goods as they know the Indians like and want. It is not necessary to take money on such a journey, as the Indians do not value it; and indeed I think the French who go on these journeys scarcely ever take a sol or penny with them.

Goods Sold to the Natives. I will now enumerate the chief goods which the French carry with them for this trade, and which have a good sale among the Indians:

1. *Muskets, powder, shot, and balls.* The Europeans have taught the Indians in their neighborhood the use of firearms, and so they have laid aside their bows and arrows, which were formerly their only arms, and use muskets. If the Europeans should now refuse to supply the natives with muskets, they would starve to death, as almost all their food consists of the flesh of the animals which they hunt; or they would be irritated to such a degree as to attack the colonists. The savages have

²A. B. Benson, ed., *The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1937), vol. 2, pp. 518–522.

hitherto never tried to make muskets or similar firearms, and their great indolence does not even allow them to mend those muskets which they have. They leave this entirely to the settlers.

When the Europeans came into North America, they were very careful not to give the Indians any firearms. But in the wars between the French and English, each party gave their Indian allies firearms in order to weaken the force of the enemy. The French lay the blame upon the Dutch settlers in Albany, saying that the latter began in 1642 to give their Indians firearms, and taught the use of them in order to weaken the French. The inhabitants of Albany, on the contrary, assert that the French first introduced this custom, as they would have been too weak to resist the combined force of the Dutch and English in the colonies. Be this as it may, it is certain that the Indians buy muskets from the white men, and know at present better how to make use of them than some of their teachers. It is likewise certain that the colonists gain considerably by their trade in muskets and ammunition.

2. a. *Pieces of white cloth*, or of a coarse uncut material. The Indians constantly wear such cloth, wrapping it round their bodies. Sometimes they hang it over their shoulders; in warm weather they fasten the pieces round the middle; and in cold weather they put them over the head. Both their men and women wear these pieces of cloth, which have commonly several blue or red stripes on the edge.

b. *Blue or red cloth*. Of this the Indian women make their skirts, which reach only to their knees. They generally choose the blue color.

c. *Shirts and shifts of linen*. As soon as an Indian, either man or woman, has put on a shirt, he (or she) never washes it or strips it off till it is entirely worn out.

d. *Pieces of cloth*, which they wrap round their legs instead of stockings, like the Russians.

3. *Hatchets, knives, scissors, needles, and flint*. These articles are now common among the Indians. They all get these tools from the Europeans, and consider the hatchets and knives much better than those which they formerly made of stone and bone. The stone hatchets of the ancient Indians are very rare in Canada.

4. *Kettles of copper or brass*, sometimes tinned on the inside. In these the Indians now boil all their meat, and they produce a very large demand for this ware. They formerly made use of earthen or wooden pots, into which they poured water, or whatever else they wanted to boil, and threw in red hot stones to make it boil. They do not want iron boilers because they cannot be easily carried on their continual journeys, and would not bear such falls and knocks as their kettles are subject to.

5. *Earrings* of different sizes, commonly of brass, and sometimes of tin. They are worn by both men and women, though the use of them is not general.

6. *Cinnabar*. With this they paint their face, shirt, and several parts of the body. They formerly made use of a reddish earth, which is to be found in the country; but, as the Europeans brought them vermilion, they thought nothing was comparable to it in color. Many persons told me that they had heard their fathers mention that the first Frenchmen who came over here got a heap of furs for three times as much cinnabar as would lie on the tip of a knife.

7. *Verdigris*, to paint their faces green. For the black color they make use of the soot off the bottom of their kettles, and daub the whole face with it.

8. *Looking glasses*. The Indians like these very much and use them chiefly when they wish to paint themselves. The men constantly carry their looking glasses

with them on all their journeys; but the women do not. The men, upon the whole, are more fond of dressing than the women.

9. *Burning glasses*. These are excellent utensils in the opinion of the Indians because they serve to light the pipe without any trouble, which pleases an indolent Indian very much.

10. *Tobacco* is bought by the northern Indians, in whose country it will not grow. The southern Indians always plant as much of it as they want for their own consumption. Tobacco has a great sale among the northern Indians, and it has been observed that the further they live to the northward, the more tobacco they smoke.

11. *Wampum*, or as it is here called, *porcelain*. It is made of a particular kind of shell and turned into little short cylindrical beads, and serves the Indians for money and ornament.

12. *Glass beads*, of a small size, white or other colors. The Indian women know how to fasten them in their ribbons, bags, and clothes.

13. *Brass and steel wire*, for several kinds of work.

14. *Brandy*, which the Indians value above all other goods that can be brought them; nor have they anything, though ever so dear to them, which they would not give away for this liquor. But on account of the many irregularities which are caused by the use of brandy, the sale of it has been prohibited under severe penalties; however, they do not always pay implicit obedience to this order.

These are the chief goods which the French carry to the Indians and they do a good business among them. . . .

It is inconceivable what hardships the people in Canada must undergo on their hunting journeys. Sometimes they must carry their goods a great way by land. Frequently they are abused by the Indians, and sometimes they are killed by them. They often suffer hunger, thirst, heat, and cold, and are bitten by gnats, and exposed to the bites of poisonous snakes and other dangerous animals and insects. These destroy a great part of the youth in Canada, and prevent the people from growing old. By this means, however, they become such brave soldiers, and so inured to fatigue, that none of them fears danger or hardships. Many of them settle among the Indians far from Canada, marry Indian women, and never come back again.

B. *The French and Indian War*

I. Benjamin Franklin Characterizes General Edward Braddock (1755)

Once the French and Indian War had begun, the British aimed their main thrust of 1755 at Fort Duquesne, on the present site of Pittsburgh. Their commander was General Edward Braddock, a sixty-two-year-old veteran of European battlefields. Transportation over uncut roads from Virginia was but one of the many difficulties facing the invaders, and Benjamin Franklin won laurels by rounding up 150 wagons.

¹John Bigelow, ed., *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), pp. 309–313.

Within about ten miles of Fort Duquesne, Braddock's vanguard of some 1,200 officers and men encountered an advancing force of about 250 French and 600 Indians. Both sides were surprised, but the French, at first driven back, rallied and attacked the flanks of the crowded redcoats from nearby ravines. In Franklin's account, written some sixteen years after the event, who or what is alleged to have been responsible for the disaster?

This general [Braddock] was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, etc., if he had treated them kindly. But he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left them.

In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Duquesne," says he, "I am to proceed to [Fort] Niagara; and, having taken that, to [Fort] Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara."

Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of 1,500 French who invaded the Iroquois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place, not yet completely fortified, and as we hear with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other."

He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, "These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more.

The enemy, however, did not take the advantage of his army which I apprehended its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place; and then, when more in a body (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over), and in a more open part of the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes, which was the first intelligence the General had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the General hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion, through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank. The officers, being on horseback, were more easily distinguished, picked out as

marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two-thirds of them were killed; and then, being seized with a panic, the whole fled with precipitation.

The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scampered. Their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The General, being wounded, was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side; and out of 86 officers, 63 were killed or wounded, and 714 men killed out of 1,100. . . .

Captain Orme, who was one of the General's aides-de-camp, and, being grievously wounded, was brought off with him and continued with him to his death, which happened in a few days, told me that he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, "Who would have thought it?" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time"; and died in a few minutes after.

2. *A Frenchman Reports Braddock's Defeat (1755)*

An anonymous Frenchman, presumably stationed at Fort Duquesne, sent the following report of the battle home to Paris. In what important respects does it differ from Franklin's account just given? Where the two versions conflict, which is to be accorded the more credence? Why? What light does this report cast on the legend that Braddock was ambushed?

M. de Contrecoeur, captain of infantry, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, having been informed that the English were taking up arms in Virginia for the purpose of coming to attack him, was advised, shortly afterwards, that they were on the march. He dispatched scouts, who reported to him faithfully their progress. On the 7th instant he was advised that their army, consisting of 3,000 regulars from Old England, were within six leagues [eighteen miles] of this fort.

That officer employed the next day in making his arrangements; and on the 9th detached M. de Beaujeu, seconded by Messrs. Dumas and de Lignery, all three captains, together with 4 lieutenants, 6 ensigns, 20 cadets, 100 soldiers, 100 Canadians, and 600 Indians, with orders to lie in ambush at a favorable spot, which he had reconnoitred the previous evening. The detachment, before it could reach its place of destination, found itself in presence of the enemy within three leagues of that fort.

M. de Beaujeu, finding his ambush had failed, decided on an attack. This he made with so much vigor as to astonish the enemy, who were waiting for us in the best possible order; but their artillery, loaded with grape[shot] . . . , having opened its fire, our men gave way in turn. The Indians, also frightened by the report of the cannon, rather than by any damage it could inflict, began to yield, when M. de Beaujeu was killed.

M. Dumas began to encourage his detachment. He ordered the officers in command of the Indians to spread themselves along the wings so as to take the enemy

²E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, Printers, 1858), vol. 10, pp. 303–304.

in flank, whilst he, M. de Lignery, and the other officers who led the French, were attacking them in front. This order was executed so promptly that the enemy, who were already shouting their “Long live the King,” thought now only of defending themselves.

The fight was obstinate on both sides and success long doubtful; but the enemy at last gave way. Efforts were made, in vain, to introduce some sort of order in their retreat. The whoop of the Indians, which echoed through the forest, struck terror into the hearts of the entire enemy. The rout was complete. We remained in possession of the field with six brass twelves and sixes [cannon], four howitz-carriages of fifty, eleven small royal grenade mortars, all their ammunition, and, generally, their entire baggage.

Some deserters, who have come in since, have told us that we had been engaged with only 2000 men, the remainder of the army being four leagues further off. These same deserters have informed us that the enemy were retreating to Virginia, and some scouts, sent as far as the height of land, have confirmed this by reporting that the thousand men who were not engaged had been equally panic-stricken, and abandoned both provisions and ammunition on the way. On this intelligence, a detachment was dispatched after them, which destroyed and burnt everything that could be found.

The enemy have left more than 1000 men on the field of battle. They have lost a great portion of the artillery and ammunition, provisions, as also their general, whose name was Mr. Braddock, and almost all their officers. We have had 3 officers killed; 2 officers and 2 cadets wounded. Such a victory, so entirely unexpected, seeing the inequality of the forces, is the fruit of M. Dumas’ experience, and of the activity and valor of the officers under his command.

3. *Francis Parkman Analyzes the Conflict (1884)*

Francis Parkman (1823–1893), the partially blind and nervously afflicted Boston historian, produced the classic multivolume epic of the struggle between Britain and France for supremacy in North America. Determined to absorb local color, he ranged widely by canoe and on foot over the region about which he wrote. Although he is best known for his descriptive powers, his analytical talents are brilliantly revealed in these observations following his account of the surrender of Montreal, the last French stronghold, in 1760. Why did the French hold out as long as they did? Why did the English seem inept?

Half the continent had changed hands at the scratch of a pen. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, proclaimed a day of thanksgiving for the great event, and the Boston newspapers recount how the occasion was celebrated with a parade of the cadets and other volunteer corps, a grand dinner in Faneuil Hall, music, bonfires, illuminations, firing of cannon, and, above all, by sermons in every church of the province; for the heart of early New England always found voice through her pulpits. . . .

³Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1884; 1899 reprint), vol. 2, pp. 391–396, *passim*.

On the American continent the war was ended, and the British colonists breathed for a space, as they drifted unwittingly towards a deadlier strife. They had learned hard and useful lessons. Their mutual jealousies and disputes, the quarrels of their governors and assemblies, the want of any general military organization, and the absence, in most of them, of military habits, joined to narrow views of their own interest, had unfitted them to the last degree for carrying on offensive war. Nor were the British troops sent for their support remarkable in the beginning for good discipline or efficient command.

When hostilities broke out, the army of Great Britain was so small as to be hardly worth the name. A new one had to be created; and thus the inexperienced [Governor] Shirley [of Massachusetts] and the incompetent [Earl of] Loudon, with the futile [Prime Minister] Newcastle behind them, had, besides their own incapacity, the disadvantage of raw troops and half-formed officers; while against them stood an enemy who, though weak in numbers, was strong in a centralized military organization, skillful leaders armed with untrammelled and absolute authority, practiced soldiers, and a population not only brave, but in good part inured to war.

The nature of the country was another cause that helped to protract the contest. "Geography," says Von Moltke, "is three-fourths of military science"; and never was the truth of his words more fully exemplified. Canada was fortified with vast outworks of defense in the savage forests, marshes, and mountains that encompassed her, where the thoroughfares were streams choked with fallen trees and obstructed by cataracts. Never was the problem of moving troops, encumbered with baggage and artillery, a more difficult one. The question was less how to fight the enemy than how to get at him. If a few practicable roads had crossed this broad tract of wilderness, the war would have been shortened and its character changed.

From these and other reasons, the numerical superiority of the English was to some extent made unavailing. This superiority, though exaggerated by French writers, was nevertheless immense, if estimated by the number of men called to arms. But only a part of these could be employed in offensive operations. The rest garrisoned forts and blockhouses and guarded the far reach of frontier from Nova Scotia to South Carolina, where a wily enemy, silent and secret as fate, choosing their own time and place of attack, and striking unawares at every unguarded spot, compelled thousands of men, scattered at countless points of defense, to keep unceasing watch against a few hundred savage marauders. Full half the levies of the colonies, and many of the regulars, were used in service of this kind.

In actual encounters the advantage of numbers was often with the French, through the comparative ease with which they could concentrate their forces at a given point. Of the ten considerable sieges or battles of the war, five, besides the great bush-fight in which the Indians defeated Braddock, were victories for France; and in four of these—Oswego, Fort William Henry, Montmorenci, and Ste.-Foy—the odds were greatly on her side.

Yet in this most picturesque and dramatic of American wars, there is nothing more noteworthy than the skill with which the French and Canadian leaders used their advantages; the indomitable spirit with which, slighted and abandoned as they were, they grappled with prodigious difficulties; and the courage with which they were seconded by regulars and militia alike. In spite of occasional lapses, the defense of Canada deserves a tribute of admiration.

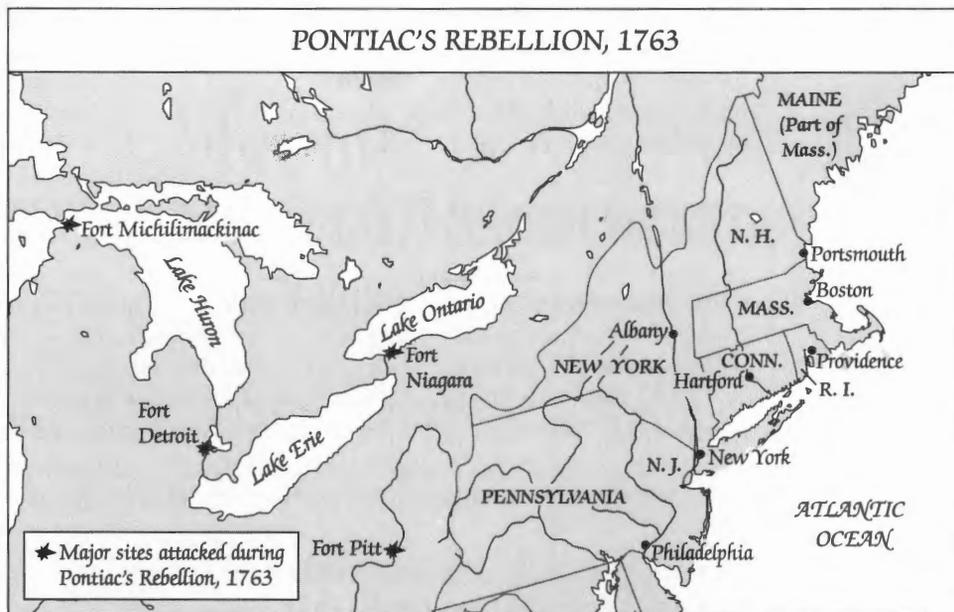
C. Pontiac's Rebellion and Its Aftermath

I. Sir William Johnson Describes the Indians' Grievances (1763)

Britain's triumph over France in 1763 proved a classic example of a Pyrrhic victory. It led first to renewed conflict with the Indians of the Great Lakes–Ohio Valley region and then to mounting problems with the seaboard colonists. Those problems eventually contributed heavily to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Almost immediately after peace was declared, the British announced that they would discontinue the French practice of supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition. Britain also made clear its intention to fortify the territory it had wrested from France. Peoples of the Five Nations, or Iroquois Confederacy, were especially embittered, as their wartime alliance with Britain had led them to expect better treatment. A coalition of Indian peoples led by the Ottawa chief, Pontiac, rose up against the British, first attacking the fort at Detroit and eventually storming all the British garrisons in the region, from Fort Pitt in the east to Michilimackinac in the west. The British dispatched Indian commissioner Sir William Johnson to placate their Indian foes. In the passage from one of his reports that follows, what does he identify as the Indians' chief complaints? Which does he deem justified?

... The French, in order to reconcile them [the Indians] to their encroachments, loaded them with favours, and employed the most intelligent Agents of good influence, as well as artful Jesuits among the several Western and other Nations, who, by degrees, prevailed on them to admit of Posts, under the Notion of Trading houses, in their Country; and knowing that these posts could never be maintained contrary to the inclinations of the Indians, they supplied them thereat with ammunition and other necessaries in abundance, as also called them to frequent congresses, and dismissed them with handsome presents, by which they enjoyed an extensive commerce, obtained the assistance of these Indians, and possessed their frontiers in safety; and as without these measures the Indians would never have suffered them in their Country, so they expect that whatever European power possesses the same, they shall in some measure reap the like advantages. Now, as these advantages ceased on the Posts being possessed by the English, and especially as it was not thought prudent to indulge them with ammunition, they immediately concluded that we had designs against their liberties, which opinion had been first instilled into them by the French, and since promoted by Traders of that nation and others who retired among them on the surrender of Canada, and are still there, as well as by Belts of Wampum and other exhortations, which I am confidently assured have been sent among them from the Illinois, Louisiana and even Canada for that purpose. The Shawanese and Delawares about the Ohio, who were never warmly attached to us since our neglects to defend them against the encroachments of the French, and refusing to erect a post at the Ohio, or assist them and the Six Nations

¹Sir W. Johnson to the Board of Trade, November 13, 1763, in Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1908), vol. 2, Appendix, pp. 210–213.



with men or ammunition, when they requested both of us, as well as irritated at the loss of several of their people killed upon the communication to Fort Pitt, in the years 1759 and 1761, were easily induced to join with the Western Nations, and the Senecas, dissatisfied at many of our posts, jealous of our designs, and displeased at our neglect and contempt of them, soon followed their example.

These are the causes the Indians themselves assign, and which certainly occasioned the rupture between us, the consequence of which, in my opinion, will be that the Indians (who do not regard the distance) will be supplied with necessaries by the Wabache and several Rivers, which empty into the Mississippi, which it is by no means in our power to prevent, and in return the French will draw the valuable furs down that river to the advantage of their Colony and the destruction of our Trade; this will always induce the French to foment differences between us and the Indians, and the prospects many of them entertain, that they may hereafter become possessed of Canada, will incline them still more to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians, which, if ever attempted by the French, would, I am very apprehensive, be attended with a general defection of them from our interest, unless we are at great pains and expense to regain their friendship, and thereby satisfy them that we have no designs to their prejudice.

The grand matter of concern to all the Six Nations (Mohawks excepted) is the occupying a chain of small Posts on the communication thro' their country to Lake Ontario, not to mention Fort Stanwix, exclusive of which there were erected in 1759 Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk River, and the Royal Blockhouse at the East end of Oneida Lake, in the Country of the Oneidas, Fort Brewerton and a Post at Oswego Falls in the Onondagas Country; in order to obtain permission for erecting these

posts, they were promised they should be demolished at the end of the war. General Shirley also made them a like promise for the posts he erected; and as about these posts are their fishing and hunting places, where they complain, that they are often obstructed by the troops and insulted, they request that they may not be kept up, the war with the French being now over.

In 1760, Sir Jeffrey Amherst sent a speech to the Indians in writing, which was to be communicated to the Nations about Fort Pitt, &c., by General Monkton, then commanding there, signifying his intentions to satisfy and content all Indians for the ground occupied by the posts, as also for any land about them, which might be found necessary for the use of the garrisons; but the same has not been performed, neither are the Indians in the several countries at all pleased at our occupying them, which they look upon as the first steps to enslave them and invade their properties.

And I beg leave to represent to your Lordships, that one very material advantage resulting from a continuance of good treatment and some favours to the Indians, will be the security and toleration thereby given to the Troops for cultivating lands about the garrisons, which the reduction of their Rations renders absolutely necessary. . . .

2. Pontiac Rallies His Warriors (1763)

His appeals for trade goods and firearms rebuffed by the British, in April 1763 Pontiac summoned a meeting of leaders from several Indian groups at a Pottawattamie village on the banks of the Ecorse River near Detroit. There he laid out his plan to throw the British out of the land. What role does he see for France, recently expelled from the continent by British arms? How realistic was his plan?

The day fixed upon having arrived, all the Ottawas, Pondiac at their head, and the bad band of the Hurons, Takee at their head, met at the Pottawattamie village, where the pre-meditated council was to be held. Care was taken to send all the women out of the village, that they might not discover what was decided upon. Pondiac then ordered sentinels to be placed around the village, to prevent any interruption to their council. These precautions taken, each seated himself in the circle, according to his rank, and Pondiac, as great chief of the league, thus addressed them:—

“It is important, my brothers, that we should exterminate from our land this nation, whose only object is our death. You must be all sensible, as well as myself, that we can no longer supply our wants in the way we were accustomed to do with our Fathers the French. They sell us their goods at double the price that the French made us pay, and yet their merchandise is good for nothing; for no sooner have we bought a blanket or other thing to cover us than it is necessary to procure others against the time of departing for our wintering ground. Neither will they let us have them on credit, as our brothers the French used to do. When I visit the English chief, and inform him of the death of any of our comrades, instead of lamenting, as our

²From “The Pontiac Manuscript,” a diary thought to be of a French priest who may have been an eyewitness to the events he describes. In Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1908), vol. 2, Appendix, pp. 223–224.

brothers the French used to do, they make game of us. If I ask him for anything for our sick, he refuses, and tells us he does not want us, from which it is apparent he seeks our death. We must therefore, in return, destroy them without delay; there is nothing to prevent us: there are but few of them, and we shall easily overcome them,—why should we not attack them? Are we not men? Have I not shown you the belts I received from our Great Father the King of France? He tells us to strike—why should we not listen to his words? What do you fear? The time has arrived. Do you fear that our brothers the French, who are now among us, will hinder us? They are not acquainted with our designs, and if they did know them, could they prevent them? You know, as well as myself, that when the English came upon our lands, to drive from them our father Bellestre, they took from the French all the guns that they have, so that they have now no guns to defend themselves with. Therefore now is the time: let us strike. Should there be any French to take their part, let us strike them as we do the English. Remember what the Giver of Life desired our brother the Delaware to do: this regards us as much as it does them. I have sent belts and speeches to our friends the Chippeways of Saginaw, and our brothers the Ottawas of Michillimacinac, and to those of the Rivière à la Tranche, (Thames River,) inviting them to join us, and they will not delay. In the meantime, let us strike. There is no longer any time to lose, and when the English shall be defeated, we will stop the way, so that no more shall return upon our lands.”

3. The Proclamation of 1763

Seeking to pacify the western frontier and lay a basis for permanently orderly relations with the Indians, the British government on October 7, 1763, issued the following proclamation. What rationale does the government offer for its action? What aspects of the proclamation might have proved most unacceptable to the American colonists?

Whereas we have taken into our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America secured to our Crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February last; and being desirous that all our loving subjects, as well of our kingdom as of our colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; we have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects that we have, with the advice of our said Privy Council, granted our letters patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands ceded and confirmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz:

First, the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake

³Annual Register, 1763, pp. 208ff., in Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents in American History*, 7th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), pp. 47–50.

St. John, to the South end of the lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in 45 degrees of North latitude, passes along the High Lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the North coast of the Bayes des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence by the West end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river St. John.

Secondly, The government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the Northward, by the line drawn from that part of the said river where the Catahoochee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the East and South by the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast.

Thirdly, The government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said lake, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the Northward, by a line drawn due East from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in thirty-one degrees North latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Catahoochee; and to the Eastward by the said river.

Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

And to the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to, and carried on upon the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands, we have thought fit . . . to put all that coast, from the river St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the islands of Anticosti and Madelane, and all other smaller islands lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of our governor of Newfoundland.

We have also . . . thought fit to annex the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser islands adjacent thereto, to our government of Nova Scotia.

We have also . . . annexed to our province of Georgia, all the lands lying between the rivers Atamaha and St. Mary's.

And . . . we have . . . given express power and direction to our governors of our said colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the advice and consent of the members of our council, summon and call general assemblies within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those colonies and provinces in America, which are under our immediate government; and we have also given power to the said governors, with the consent of our said councils, and the representatives of the people, so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of our said colonies, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other colonies; and in the mean time, and until such assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, our said colonies, may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of our realm of England: for which purpose we have given power under

our great seal to the governors of our said colonies respectively, to erect and constitute, with the advice of our said councils respectively, courts of judicature and public justice within our said colonies, for the hearing and determining all causes as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, with liberty to all persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the sentence of such courts, in all civil cases, to appeal, under the usual limitations and restrictions, to us, in our privy council.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting-grounds; we do therefore, with the advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no Governor or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no Governor or commander in chief of our other colonies or plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the land and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our Privy Council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to

dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the Governor or commander in chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose. And we do, by the advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a license for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies respectively where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or commissaries to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade. And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and commanders in chief of all our colonies respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved as aforesaid, for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever who, standing charged with treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, or other felonies or misdemeanors, shall fly from justice and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they shall stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 7th day of October 1763, in the third year of our reign.

4. *Johnson Sketches a Possible Peace (1764)*

Johnson eventually concluded a peace settlement with the Indians in 1766, ending Pontiac's Rebellion. Here, two years before the final settlement, he outlines the terms that he hopes to secure (he was largely successful). What are the key elements of his peace plan? How realistic was his expectation that the peace would hold?

Your Lordships will please to observe that for many months before the march of Colonel Bradstreet's army, several of the Western Nations had expressed a desire for peace, and had ceased to commit hostilities, that even Pontiac inclined that way, but did not choose to venture his person by coming into any of the posts. This was the state of affairs when I treated with the Indians at Niagara, in which number were fifteen hundred of the Western Nations, a number infinitely more considerable than

⁴Sir William Johnson to the Board of Trade, December 26, 1764, in Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1908), vol. 2, Appendix, pp. 268–270.

those who were twice treated with at Detroit, many of whom are the same people, particularly the Hurons and Chippewas. In the meantime it now appears, from the very best authorities, and can be proved by the oath of several respectable persons, prisoners at the Illinois and amongst the Indians, as also from the accounts of the Indians themselves, that not only many French traders, but also French officers came amongst the Indians, as they said, fully authorized to assure them that the French King was determined to support them to the utmost, and not only invited them to the Illinois, where they were plentifully supplied with ammunition and other necessaries, but also sent several canoes at different times up the Illinois river, to the Miamis, and others, as well as up the Ohio to the Shawanese and Delawares, as by Major Smallman's account, and several others, (then prisoners,) transmitted me by Colonel Bouquet, and one of my officers who accompanied him, will appear. That in an especial manner the French promoted the interest of Pontiac, whose influence is now become so considerable, as General Gage observes in a late letter to me, that it extends even to the Mouth of the Mississippi, and has been the principal occasion of our not as yet gaining the Illinois, which the French as well as Indians are interested in preventing. This Pontiac is not included in the late Treaty at Detroit, and is at the head of a great number of Indians privately supported by the French, an officer of whom was about three months ago at the Miamis Castle, at the Scioto Plains, Muskingum, and several other places. The Western Indians, who it seems ridicule the whole expedition, will be influenced to such a pitch, by the interested French on the one side, and the influence of Pontiac on the other, that we have great reason to apprehend a renewal of hostilities, or at least that they and the Twightees (Miamis) will strenuously oppose our possessing the Illinois, which can never be accomplished without their consent. And indeed it is not to be wondered that they should be concerned at our occupying that country, when we consider that the French (be their motive what it will) loaded them with favours, and continue to do so, accompanied with all outward marks of esteem, and an address peculiarly adapted to their manners, which infallibly gains upon all Indians, who judge by extremes only, and with all their acquaintance with us upon the frontiers, have never found anything like it, but on the contrary, harsh treatment, angry words, and in short anything which can be thought of to inspire them with a dislike to our manners and a jealousy of our views. I have seen so much of these matters, and I am so well convinced of the utter aversion that our people have for them in general, and of the imprudence with which they constantly express it, that I absolutely despair of our seeing tranquility established, until your Lordships' plan is fully settled, so as I may have proper persons to reside at the Posts, whose business it shall be to remove their prejudices, and whose interest it becomes to obtain their esteem and friendship.

The importance of speedily possessing the Illinois, and thereby securing a considerable branch of trade, as well as cutting off the channel by which our enemies have been and will always be supplied, is a matter I have very much at heart, and what I think may be effected this winter by land by Mr. Croghan, in case matters can be so far settled with the Twightees, Shawanoes, and Pontiac, as to engage the latter, with some chiefs of the before-mentioned nations, to accompany him with a garrison. The expense attending this will be large, but the end to be obtained is too considerable to be neglected. I have accordingly recommended it to the consideration

of General Gage, and shall, on the arrival of the Shawanoes, Delawares, &c., here, do all in my power to pave the way for effecting it. I shall also make such a peace with them, as will be most for the credit and advantage of the crown, and the security of the trade and frontiers, and tie them down to such conditions as Indians will most probably observe.

D. A New Restlessness

I. Andrew Burnaby Scoffs at Colonial Unity (1760)

Andrew Burnaby, the broad-minded Church of England clergyman who traveled extensively in the colonies during the closing months of the French and Indian War, recorded many penetrating observations. But he scoffed at the idea that the Americans would one day form a mighty nation or even come together in a voluntary union. Which of his arguments were borne out when the colonies did attempt to form one nation?

An idea, strange as it is visionary, has entered into the minds of the generality of mankind, that empire is traveling westward; and everyone is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that destined moment when America is to give law to the rest of the world. But if ever an idea was illusory and fallacious, I will venture to predict that this will be so.

America is formed for happiness, but not for empire. In a course of 1,200 miles I did not see a single object that solicited charity. But I saw insuperable causes of weakness, which will necessarily prevent its being a potent state. . . .

The Southern colonies have so many inherent causes of weakness that they never can possess any real strength. The climate operates very powerfully upon them, and renders them indolent, inactive, and unenterprising; this is visible in every line of their character. I myself have been a spectator—and it is not an uncommon sight—of a man in the vigor of life, lying upon a couch, and a female slave standing over him, wafting off the flies, and fanning him, while he took his repose. . . .

The mode of cultivation by slavery is another insurmountable cause of weakness. The number of Negroes in the Southern colonies is upon the whole nearly equal, if not superior, to that of the white men; and they propagate and increase even faster. Their condition is truly pitiable: their labor excessively hard, their diet poor and scanty, their treatment cruel and oppressive; they cannot therefore but be a subject of terror to those who so unhumanly tyrannize over them.

The Indians near the frontiers are a still farther formidable cause of subjection. The southern Indians are numerous, and are governed by a sounder policy than formerly; experience has taught them wisdom. They never make war with the colonists without carrying terror and devastation along with them. They sometimes break up entire counties together. Such is the state of the Southern colonies.

¹Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North-America in the Years 1759 and 1760* (London: J. Payne, 1775; reprinted Ithaca, N.Y.: Great Seal Books, 1960), pp. 110–114.

The Northern colonies are of stronger stamina, but they have other difficulties and disadvantages to struggle with, not less arduous, or more easy to be surmounted, than what have been already mentioned. . . . They are composed of people of different nations, different manners, different religions, and different languages. They have a mutual jealousy of each other, fomented by considerations of interest, power, and ascendancy. Religious zeal, too, like a smothered fire, is secretly burning in the hearts of the different sectaries that inhabit them, and were it not restrained by laws and superior authority, would soon burst out into a flame of universal persecution. Even the peaceable Quakers struggle hard for pre-eminence, and evince in a very striking manner that the passions of mankind are much stronger than any principles of religion. . . .

Indeed, it appears to me a very doubtful point, even supposing all the colonies of America to be united under one head, whether it would be possible to keep in due order and government so wide and extended an empire, the difficulties of communication, of intercourse, of correspondence, and all other circumstances considered.

A voluntary association or coalition, at least a permanent one, is almost as difficult to be supposed: for fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation.

In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other, while the Indians and Negroes would, with better reason, impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them all together.

2. A Lawyer Denounces Search Warrants (1761)

During the French and Indian War, the American merchant-smugglers kept up a lucrative illicit trade with the French and Spanish West Indies. They argued that they could not pay wartime taxes if they could not make profits out of their friends, the enemy. Angered by such disloyalty, the royal authorities in Massachusetts undertook to revive the hated writs of assistance. Ordinary search warrants describe the specific premises to be searched; writs of assistance were general search warrants that authorized indiscriminate search of ships and dwellings for illicit goods. Colonial participation in the recent war against the French had inspired a spirit of resistance, and John Adams, later president of the United States, remembered in his old age the following dramatic episode. Why were the colonists so alarmed? Were their fears exaggerated?

²C. F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (1856), vol. 10, pp. 246–248.

When the British ministry received from General Amherst his despatches announcing his conquest of Montreal, and the consequent annihilation of the French government in America, in 1759 [actually 1760], they immediately conceived the design and took the resolution of conquering the English colonies, and subjecting them to the unlimited authority of Parliament. With this view and intention, they sent orders and instructions to the collector of the customs in Boston, Mr. Charles Paxton, to apply to the civil authority for writs of assistance, to enable the custom-house officers, tidewaiters, landwaiters, and all, to command all sheriffs and constables, etc., to attend and aid them in breaking open houses, stores, shops, cellars, ships, bales, trunks, chests, casks, packages of all sorts, to search for goods, wares, and merchandises which had been imported against the prohibitions or without paying the taxes imposed by certain acts of Parliament, called "The Acts of Trade." . . .

An alarm was spread far and wide. Merchants of Salem and Boston applied to [lawyers] Mr. Pratt, who refused, and to Mr. Otis and Mr. Thacher, who accepted, to defend them against this terrible menacing monster, the writ of assistance. Great fees were offered, but Otis, and I believe Thacher, would accept of none. "In such a cause," said Otis, "I despise all fees."

I have given you a sketch of the stage and the scenery, and the brief of the cause; or, if you like the phrase better, the tragedy, comedy, or farce.

Now for the actors and performers. Mr. Gridley argued [for the government] with his characteristic learning, ingenuity, and dignity, and said everything that could be said in favor of Cockle's [deputy collector at Salem] petition, all depending, however, on the "If the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of all the British empire."

Mr. Thacher followed him on the other side, and argued with the softness of manners, the ingenuity, and the cool reasoning which were remarkable in his amiable character.

But Otis was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eye into futurity, and a torrent of impetuous eloquence he hurried away everything before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown. . . .

Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, namely in 1776, he grew up to manhood and declared himself free. . . .

Mr. Otis' popularity was without bounds. In May, 1761, he was elected into the House of Representatives by an almost unanimous vote. On the week of his election, I happened to be at Worcester attending a Court of Common Pleas, of which Brigadier Ruggles was Chief Justice, when the News arrived from Boston of Mr. Otis' election. You can have no idea of the consternation among the government people. Chief Justice Ruggles, at dinner at Colonel Chandler's on that day, said, "Out of this election will arise a d—d faction, which will shake this province to its foundation."

Thought Provokers

1. It has been said that the true martyr does not feel pain, as other humans do, but actually takes pleasure in suffering for a noble cause. Comment in the light of the Jesuit experience in Canada. Explain why there was prolonged conflict in New France between the missionaries and the fur traders. Did the whites “rob” the Indians when they exchanged a string of beads for valuable furs?
2. Did the British err in depriving France of Canada in 1763? How would the history of the English colonies have been changed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries if the French had been allowed to remain?
3. Compare and contrast the advantages and disadvantages of the French and the English in their intercolonial wars in America. Assess the effects of these wars on colonial attitudes.
4. The seeds of American nationalism were sown during the colonial period. In parallel columns, list those forces and factors that made for a spirit of unity or nationality and those that militated against it. Then form conclusions as to which forces predominated and what they foreshadowed.