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CLAUSE NARRATIVE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

PHILOSOPHY 300

47860

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

^A
DANIEL CLAUS' NARRATIVE
OF
HIS RELATIONS WITH SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON
AND
EXPERIENCES IN THE LAKE GEORGE FIGHT.

U.S. Hist
D

LAKE GEORGE CELEBRATION
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT.

47860

NATIVE TROOPS IN OUR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.
Major LOUIS LIVINGSTON SEAMAN, M.D.

Printed by Order of the Society
June, 1904.

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NOTE.

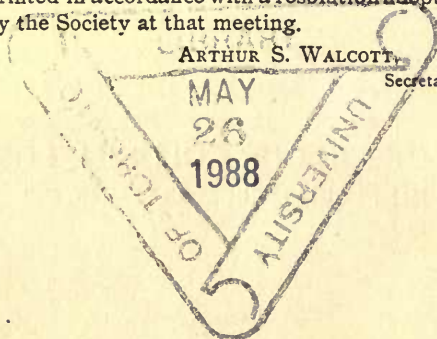
The Claus Manuscript and the Lake George Celebration Committee's Report are printed in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Society at the Annual Meeting, on Saturday, December 19th, 1903.

The Secretary, in preparing the Claus Manuscript for the printer, has thought, it preferable to preserve as nearly as possible the spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the original.

Dr. Seaman's Paper was read at a meeting of the Society held March 21st, 1904, and is printed in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Society at that meeting.

ARTHUR S. WALCOTT,

Secretary.



THE CLAUS MANUSCRIPT.

Daniel Claus Esqr. was born the 13th Sept. 1727 at Bennig-ham a Town near the Imperial Free City, Heilbron the property of Count Wadian of Menz. The place is protestant Lutheran over which his deceased Father Adam Frederick was prefect. he was descended from an Antient Family in Transylvania who were said to be the founders of _____* one of the principal Towns of that principality, but the Reformation early spreading to that Country they adopted Doctor Luther's Tenets and a Persecution agst. its Adherents soon after taking place, together wth. ye savage Wars of the Turks in those parts they suffered so much under these circumstances that they were obliged to quit their landed Estate wch. was considerable and afterward confiscated and took Refuge in the Imperial free city Ulm Where Protestantism was more tolerated and their Descendants still were esteemed and countenanced at the Imperial Court and employed both in Civil and Military Stations, as appears by the _____* Diploma granted them not long after, with much Town Distinction honoring them to carry the Imperial Insigns of the Lion and Eagle Wings together wth. the or & sable (yellow & black) colors. The Imperial uniform wch. Diploma Mr. Claus's Father had in possession as the surviving elder Male Branch of sd. Family together with a Genealogical Tree of the Family the latter he left in Germany among his Relations, taking a copy of the Diploma authenticated by an Imperial notary public copied and translated it himself upon parchmt. & had the Arms done as nearly after the Copy of the Original as he could in this Country untill it may be better executed in London & inregistered in the Herald's Office.

Mr. Claus's coming to America in Autumn 1749 was occasioned by a person making his appearance in the part of the Country where he lived & arriving from America to visit his Relations, he being a Clergyman's Son in the Dukedom of Wirtemberg, Mr.

*Illegible in original manuscript.

Claus became acquainted with him found him in all outward appearance a genteel clever & sensible Man who could tell his story extraordinary well of being concerned with a respectable House in Virginia who wanted to establish a House upon the Rhine & in Holland for the Silk & Tobaco Trade, having these Commodities brought from Ama. and manufactured in that part of Germany on acct. of the Cheapness of Labour; And in short convinced people unacquainted with those Matters of the most plausible prospect of Success and Advantage, offering Mr. Claus a share; & at the same time buying up Quantities of Hock and Rhinish wines and agreeing for the Building of Silk Manufactories enticing even a rich German Nobleman to carry on said Buildings to whom he engaged the Chief Management of Carrying on the work in Germany and Mr. Claus was to go with him to America as being of proper Age to acquire the English Language & get acquainted with that Trade, Accordingly arriving in Philadia. in Autumn 1749 he to his disagreeable surprize found himself convinced of what he suspected all along on the passage at Sea of being quite deceived & imposed upon by that person & luckily secured as much cash as to bring him back to Germany again, but as there were no Vessels going for England in Spring 1750 Mr. Claus proposed & partly agreed for a passage in a Fall Ship in the mean while accidentally meeting with a Col. Weiser, Indian Agent for the provinces of Pennsilvia, Maryland & Virginia to the Six Nations who was going that Spring to meet Deputies of the 6 Nations at Onondago abt. some Land and other Matters concerning said provinces, Mr. Weiser offered to Take Mr. Claus as a Companion and introduce him to the Natives of America and show him the Curiosities &c. of this Country wch. he was well acquainted with, And Mr. Claus readily accepted the Offer and sat out with Col Weiser from His House in Berks County, in May 1750 and proceeding by the settlement of Bethlehem & Nazareth in pennsilvia to the Menissings & Esopus then crossing Hudson's River to Reinbeck Camp Livingstons Mannor to Albany from thence to Schohairee where Mr. Weiser first lived & learned the 6 Natn. Language his father havg. been one of the first settlers sent over by Queen Ann. From thence he proceeded to Fort Hunter Where Mr. Claus saw the first large settlement of Indns. the Mohawks Country themselves 250 or 300 Warrs. from thence to Colo. after-

wards Sr. Wm. Johnson's house who was then finishing his Seat on the Mohk. River of a large Stone House with two Wings afterwards in the War 1755 called Fort Johnson having been joined with stone walls by way of Ramparts & made defensible agst. small arms &c. From thence they proceeded to Stone Arabia, Canajee.

_____ * Flatts. The old Inhabitants of which places were Acquaintances & Relatives of Col. Weisers being descendants of those Germans sent to America by Her late Majy. Queen Ann and showed the Travellers every Friendship & Kindness in their power. At the last Settlement they hired a Man & horse to carry some Refreshments thro' the Indn. Country but Col. Weiser according to Indian Hospitality wch. he was no stranger to, always shared with the people of the House he put up at, whenever he took a meal. On their arrival at Onondago, a poor barren place, they found the Indians in great Mourning & Grief on acct. of their Head Sachem Canaghsadigo being dead a few days before by Poison which was suspected to have been conveyed into his Victuals by some french Emissaries that then resided at Onandago Lake under the Disguise of Traders debauching the 6 Nations to the french Interest and inviting them to Suergachy wch. Settlement the Abbe Picquet was then forming after the peace of 1740, in order to draw over the 6 nations by large presents & fine Speeches and rather succeeded too well on acco. of the Lethargy & Carelessness of the Indian Commissioner at Albany who entirely neglected those Matters in that Time of peace Notwithstanding wch. this good Indian Chief Canaghsadigo kept firm to the British Interest rejecting every Artifice by presents etc. from Abbe Picquet and wch. the Indians suspected occasioned his Death, for these french Emissaries had been tampering with him to no purpose a few days before his Death. This disagreeable circumstance detained them much longer than they expected Mr. Weiser being obliged to go thro a formal Ceremony of Condolence before he could proceed upon his other Businiss and their Stores were consumed before the Buss. was half finished and they obliged to depend upon an Indian Diet of Indn. Corn, Squashes, Entrails of Deer &c. which altho no Hardship for Mr. Weiser who experienced the life before, was a great one for Mr. Claus who never saw such eatables made use of before by Mankind, and was pretty well pinched with Hunger before he

*Illegible in original manuscript.

could persuade himself to taste them; during their stay at Onandago wch. was abt. 3 weeks he collected a vocabulary of Indian Words joining it to his Journal wch. he regularly kept. On their Return to Pennsylvania wch. was so late that all the Ships for Europe were sailed so that Mr. Claus was disappointed going home that fall; In the mean while Colo. Weiser introducing Mr. Claus to the then Governor of Pennsylv. who was James Hamilton, Esq, who showed himself very friendly and kind to Mr. Claus asking him frequently to his House, and during the Course of Winter & Spring 1751 prevailed upon Mr. Claus to take a Tour to the Mohawk Town at Fort Hunter & endeavour to improve in & acquire the Iroquois Language as much as he could offering every Encouragement & Advantage in behalf of his Province & his Interest with the neighboring Provinces; One of Colo. Weisers Sons was also to be sent to accompany Mr. Claus, and a Credit was given him from the provce. to Mr. James Stevenson Mercht. at Albany. to answer any Sums of Cash Mr. Claus might draw upon him for, towards fixing themselves at one Brant's an old friend of Colo. Weisers and Chief of the Mohawks of Fort Hunter. Accordingly in Spring 1752 they proceeded in Compny. with the Commissioners from Pennsylvania. consisting of Mr. Peters the Secretary of the province Colo. Weiser* & others to Albany where a Genl. Congress was to be held with Commissioners from every province on the Continent & the Six Nations & their Confederates, relative to the Safety of the Frontiers in case of another War and to prevent the French Emissaries to debauch & inveigle the 6 Nats. to their Interest, they having then in view to draw all Indn. Nations in their power over to them & build a chain of Forts from Canada to Louisiana thro the Indn. Country begining at Presqe. Isle in Lake Erie & so on to Fort du Quesne now Fort Pitt & down the River Ohio. A few days after they were settled at Brants that Chief introduced him to Sr. Wm. Johnson who received them very friendly offering any assistance in his power & gave them an Invitation to his House. Young Weiser did not like his Situation & without acquainting his parents returned to Pennsylvania, and Mr. Claus continued his Studies; about that time an Alteration happened in Sr. Williams Family and one Mr. Robt. Adams his Store Book-

*[Mr. Franklin now Govr. of New Jersey & Wm. Alexander now a Lord Stark who were depy. secretes. to the Comers. of York & Penna.]

keeper being dismissed and one Mr. James Wilson from Albany employed, who was an entire stranger to the Indians and their Language, Sr. Wm. proposed to Mr. Claus to stay at his house where he could improve as much in the Indn. Language as at Brants there being always 6 Natn. Indians about the house to which Mr. Claus consented and made himself as usefull as his Capacity would allow, but it coming to the ears of the Govr. of Pennsylvania. that Mr. Claus resided at Sr. Wms. then Colo. Johnsons it created a Jealousy & Dissatisfaction and he was directed to put himself under the Tuition of King Henry at Canajoharee with which Mr. Claus complied and fixed himself at that Chiefs house who was very proud of it and did everything in the world to make his Situation agreeable to him, instructing & entertaining him with the Traditions of his Ancestors their Customs, Wars with their Indn. Enemies & Mr. Claus took Memorandums of it & then began to improve in writing the Indn. Language by getting his Indn. Tutor to dictate him Speeches, Messages, and other Forms and Customs used by the Indns. in Councils, Ceremonies of Condolence &c.&c. In 1752 a Congress of the 6 Nations being assembled in Albany, a Society of New England people from Connecticut at the head of wch. was one Colo. Tyer obtained clandestinely by the means of one Jno. Lydius an Indian Deed for a Tract of Land upon Susquehanna a River called the Great Meadows alias Wayoming at Skahandowane within the Limits of the Provice. of Pennsylvania. upon the strength of wch. unjust Indn. Deed and underhand Action the Connecticut people began to take possession of Land & prepared to settle it. The Provice. of Pennsylvania. alarmed at that _____* Claus Letters of Invitation in Summer of 1754 to King Henry from that Government requesting him to take a Journey to Philadelphia with some of his Counsellors of Canajoharee & Mr. Claus to conduct them there, accordingly he with Difficulty prevailed upon him (Indians being even suspicious & cautious to go among white people even to Albany & Philadia. being so much further) _____* undertake the Journy. being 12 in Number including Mr. Br. by the way of Esopus & the Mississings and as great the Mistrust & Apprehension of the Indns. was to venture so far among the whites, as great was also the Curiosity of the Inhabitants to see King Henry and his Attendants, none of the

*Illegible in original manuscript.

Six Natns. having ever passt thro that part of the Country. And on coming into the Skirts of the Provice. of Pennsylvania. & Bethlehem the Moravian Settlemt. some men of the Anabaptists wth. long Beards made their appearance to have a view of the Indns. at which they were so terrified (having never seen long bearded Man before) that they fled from them like frightened children, putting themselves under Mr. Claus's protection. The News of the Indians Approach soon reached Philadia. and a little Distance from yt. Town some of the Govrs. Council and other Gentlemen met the Indns. with the Govrs. Compliments desiring they would halt a little & then proceed slow thro the Town as the Citizens intended to receive them in a complimentary Manner. Accordingly entering Second Street coming from Germantown the Town Militia was drawn up on both sides & a numerous populace assembled & following with Acclamations of Huzza for King Henry untill he entered the State House where the Governor & Council rec'd and complimtd. him and every imaginable respect to Friendship was shown him by every one that had an opportunity of having his Company. He stayed abt. Ten days during wch. Time he repeatedly assured the Governor in Council that the Connecticut purchase was made clandestinely by Mr Lydius at Albany with a few drunken Oneida Indns. without the Knowledge & Consent of the Six Nations in Council and the Signers of the Indn. Deed had not the least Right or Claim to the Lands they sold. And that on his Return he would acquaint the Body of the Confederacy with it and have the purchase made null & void by a public Decree of the whole Body, & ascertain and publish the just Claim & Property of the Lands to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania. Mr. Claus returned with K. Henery by Esopus & Albany where Capt. _____* fell in Love wth. Ms. Mary Brant who was then pretty likely not havg. had the small pox. In Spring 1755 the war with France broke out on acct. of their Encroachment upon the Kings Territories on the Ohio. In Autumn 1754 Genl. Braddock was sent to Virginia wth. the 44th & 40th Regts. in Spring 1755 he informed the respective Govrs. of the Colonies and Sr. Wm. then Colo. Johnson to Alexandria in Virga. to lay before them His Maj's. Instructions relative to the ensuing Campaign & what part & share they were to act & beare in it. Govr. Shirley as a Colonel & Maj.Gen. in

*Illegible in original manuscript.

the Army was to act as second in Command & was to carry on the Operations to the N. West in forming Expeditions to Niagara & Crown Point. the former Gen. Shirley was to command in person & the latter Sr. Wm. Johnson was appointed with the provincial Rank of Major General and sole agent & Superintdt. of the Northern District of British America excluding the Governors of the respective provinces to interfere for the future in Indian Matters; which order of the Kings in appearance discharged Mr. Claus from his intended services for the Governor of Pennsylvania. and Sr. Wm. Johnson sensible of his influence with the Mohawk Indns. particularly the Canajoharees offered him a Commission of a Lieutenancy in the Indn. service wch. Mr. Claus accepted and at the same time was employed as Depy. Secretary for Indn. Affrs. under Capt. Wraxall. Preparations were made for the Campaign and Sr. Wm. went to Albany to forward his Expedition to Crown Point and General Shirley proceeded up the Mohawk River while getting Battoes etc. ready at Schenectady. Mr. Claus passt that on his return from Sr. Wm. at Albany when he happened to meet Mr. William Alexander now Lord Sterling Secretary to General Shirley who as an acquaintance of Mr. Claus's since the Congress of 1752 at Albany proposed to make the Campaign with General Shirley that he was empowered from His Excellcy. to offer him a Kings Commission for a Lieuty. in his Regt. exclusive of an allowce. for Indn. Service. He replied that as he had accepted of a Lieutcy. altho not in a Standing Corps he should not choose to retract his Engagement wth. Sr. Wm. Johnson and therefore hbly. thanked His Excellcy. for his kind Offer. he used many Arguments how easy he could disengage himself wth. Sr. Wm. but to no purpose to his Mortification & so left Mr. Claus. This conversation happened at the house of Jno. B. Vaulps who kept the Ferry at Schenecty. General Shirley proceeded a few days after up the Mohawk River on his March to Oswego, Sr. Wm. Johnson being then at Albany preparing Matters for his Expedn. agst. Crown Point. And altho an equal Distribution had been made in a Genl. Congress of the six Nats. held at Fort Johnson of the Number of the Indns. that were to go with each Expedition & those nearest to Oswego & Niagara to join Genl. Shirley and the lower ones Genl. Johnson; yet General Shirley brought from Albany one Col. Jno. Lydius and a number of Albany & Schenectady Indn. Traders

to whom he gave Commissions as Indian Officers who on their arrival at the first or lower Mohawk Town fr. wch. Indns. were destined for Sr. Wm. as best acquainted with the Country & Rout he was to take, they most ungenerously & unfairly in Sr. Wms. absence endeavored to inveigle & entise by Bribes in Money* and promises as many of the Lower Mohawks as in their power, however they met with so little Success that they got no more than 15 or 20 and those Relations to Col. Lydius. Mr. Claus had the Rest of Sr. Wm. Indn. Officers then upon the Spot watched the Motions of these people & reminded the Indians of the arrangement made by the six Nations at Fort Johnson. General Shirley passing by Fort Hunter without stopping proceeded towards Canajoharee the upper Mohawk Town to which Indians Mr. Claus was appointed Lieut. and he, suspecting that the same Intrigues would be carried on as was at the Lower Mohk. Town proceeded wth. all Expedition to Canajoharee and arriving at King Henrys House where he lodged found that Genl. Shirley had already had a Counsel with the Indns. & Henry & his two Brothers Abraham & Nicklas just come from it after his arrival & Henry immediately communicated every particular to Mr. Claus; the Chief purpose of the Meeting was that General Shirley after loading Henery & his Brothers (who had the whole village at his nod as well as the 6 Nations) with cash & presents, giving Henery a Captns. Commissn. & his Brothers Lieuts. & their wives a Number of Spanish Dollars, He in the strongest manner invited them to accompany him, well knowing the rest of the Indns. must follow many of whom were likewise bribed, telling them that He was an older Acquaintance of theirs having had Interviews with them at Albany before Colo. Johnson came to America, & hoped they would not set aside their old Friendship but share his Fate the ensuing Expedition against Niagara etc. &c. K. Henery showed Mr. Claus the belt of Wampum & the pargament Commissions that were given on the occasion and asked his Opinion & Advice how to act in the Affair & whether Colo. or Sr. Wm. Johnson would allow him his Captns. pay to support his family during his Absence, the same Question was put by his Brothers Abraham & Nicklas. Upon wch. Mr. Claus made them Answer that he was surprised to hear all they said

*[The first instance Indns. became acquainted with the value of money a precedent of the Consequent vast Indn. Expenses to Government.]

after the solemn Arrangements the whole Confederacy of the 6 Nations had entered into at Fort Johnson not long ago in making an equal Division of their Warriors between Genls. Shirley and Johnson and that he always heard that the Six Nations were firm & strict in keeping anything settled & fixed upon in Council and that they must be sensible these unfair Advantages were taken in their Friend & Bror. Genl. Johnsons Absence & upon his March towards the Enemys Country, expecting daily to be joined by his Friends the Indians that solemnly promised to accompany him in his Expedition, that promises between Friends & Brothers were by all Nations looked upon as sacred and he knew them Men of a better Character & principles than to break thro theirs; and with regard to Genl. Johnsons, indemnifying them in Money Matters he was pretty well convinced & they knew him so well that he would not suffer them to be losers by him &c. &c. That he considered Genl. Shirleys private & clandestine Council very unfair and unbecoming in the absence of a Person he depreciated and undermined behind his back that his opinion was that Genl. Shirley only made Tools of them by Bribery & fair promises while he stood in need of them after wch. they perhaps would never see him again, when Genl. Johnson was among them and in all probability would live and die among them and have it in his power to show them many Favors & Services &c. This Talk had its Effect & these Chiefs called a private Council in which it was agreed that a running Messenger should be sent to the 6 Nations Country with a large Belt of Wampum to apprize them of Genl. Shirley's approach with his Suit of Indn. Officers whom the six Nations were strictly enjoined not to notice or give Ear to if called together or regard any of their words, as their Design & Insinuations were bad and proceeded from a bad Heart at the Instigation of ye D——l, to annule the Resolutions they had agreed upon in full Council abt. the Distribution of their Warrs. & thereby occasion Confusion & Disagreement. That they the Mohawks to a Man were determined to join Genl. Johnson and as they were the Seniors of the Confederacy they expected they would listen to their advice and follow their example. Accordingly a Runner dispatched wth. a large Belt of Wampum, the Result of wch. was that the Six Nations in general accepted the Message and promised to follow Sr. Wm. Johnson and Genl. Shirley had not 50 In-

dians with him, the Mr. Ludius, Fisher from Scheny. and other Indn. Traders as above mentioned declared they would have all the 5 Natns. Indns. to a Man. All this while Sr. Wm. Johnsn. was on his March to Fort Edward. The Indians being assembled at Fort Johnson to the Number of upwards 400 King Henry led the van wth. Mr. Claus and passing thro the Country everybody allowed that Body of Indns. the finest Sight they ever saw. After their Arrival at Fort Edward, a Body of provincials were prepared to March in Conjunction with the Indians to take possession of Lac St. Sacrement now Lake George. Accordingly on the 4th of Sept. 1755 they marched off to the Number of 11 to 1200 exclusive of Indians with two Field pieces in the front and an Iron Mortar, having been threatened by the French Indns. with an attack at half way Brook, but they Marched cautiously on and arrived without Interruption at the Lake the Borders of it being a thick Wood, Sr. Wm. ordered the Woods to be cleared from the South End of the Lake towards Fort Edward where there is a Swamp on the right and left & he pitched his Tent on a rising rocky Ground. The men were employed in clearing the woods & the Indians scouring the woods toward Crown Point & South bay where the Enemy were expected from. On Sunday Mornng. the 7th Sept. a Scout of Mohawks came in, the Chief of them a trusty Indn. that went by the name of thick Lawrence, entering Sr. Wms. tent he said he was rejoiced to see him safe, that he discovered a large Body of the Enemy coming from South bay and seemingly directing their March towards Fort Edward and they Marched in three Columns the Impression each Column made in the ground he guessed to be between 6 or 700. A Council of War was then called & the first thing considered upon was to get an Express to the Commandg. Officer at Fort Edward who was Brigr. Genl. Lyman before the place was invested. No one of the New England Troops would undertake the Task, till one Jacob Adams of the New Yorkers offered himself, he was equipped with Sr. Wm. Johnson's horse & Furniture, when he came within 2 short Miles of Fort Edward he found himself in the Midst of the french Army & was called to stop, but he depending on the Swiftness of his horse thought he would force his way thro but soon was fired at, knocked off the horse & the Dispatches found upon him, by which Brigr. Lyman was acquainted with the approach of ye enemy and

encouraged to defend himself to the last, that he should be supported from Lake George, early the next Morning, this happened late on Sunday afternoon & as Baron Dieskau who commanded the French Army afterwards owned made him alter his plan of attacking Fort Edward, being told by the Indn. Officers, that Indians disliked attacking a Fort and preferred going to the Lake being convinced that part of our Army was surrounded with Woods & still exposed, & without lines. And it was then resolved to March that Night within a short distance of our Camp and attack early next Morning. In the Mean while Sr. Wm. Johnson summoned a Council of War in which it was agreed that as the Enemy came from South bay they must have left their Boats with Stores &c. there, to send 500 Men up the Lake when there was a short rout thro the woods to South bay to secure their Boats, while another Body of 500 men were to March to the relief of Fort Edward, & what could be spared from those gone to South bay to advance & endeavor to get the Enemy between two Fires. Sr. Wm. Johnson communicated this decision to King Henry & some of his Indn. Chiefs, who immediately replied that if he was to divide his small Force so as not to be able to cooperate he would be undone and his Indns. would leave the Army, but if he would keep his Army together & send a sufficient Body towards Fort Edward to reconnoiter the Enemy & if near the Fort & if advisable to make an attack when doubtless the Fort would sally & the Enemy, be beat off & if that was not the Case, they to March with all his Force & attack the Enemy. However the taking the Dispatches from the Express occasioned a Council of War to be called by the french General & the Indians hearing of, & apprehending that Fort Edward was well fortified declined attacking that Fort as above mentioned. On Monday Morning the 8th Sept. 1755 between 7 & 8, whites & Indians marched from Camp. King Henry commanded the Indians & Marched in Front & a Col. Williams from New England commanded ye Provincials, they had not marched 4 Miles before the Indians were challenged in ye Iroquois Tongue who they were; upon which Henery replied, We are the six confederate Indn. Nations the Heads & Superiors of all Indn. nations of the Continent of America, whereupon the French Indian answered, we are the 7 confederate Indn. Nations of Canada & we come in conjunction with our Father the King of France's Troops

to fight his Enemies the English without the least Intention to quarrel or trespass against any Indn. Nation. We therefor desire you will keep out of the way lest we transgress & involve ourselves in a War among ourselves, whereupon K. Henery answered that they, the 6 Nations, came to assist their Brethn. the English agst. the French who were encroaching upon the Territories of the English as well as Indians on the Ohio, And it was their place rather to join them, or at least follow their advice & keep out of Harm's way &c. Upon which one of Henery's young Warriors fired upon the french Indian that spoke behind the Bushes, as were all the rest of Indns. & French laying on both sides of the High road in Ambush, and the English & their Indns. stood exposed in the open Road, & by the Enemy's Fire found themselves in a Manner surrounded & overpowered by triple the Number. A hot running fight then began, Colo. Williams took possession of a rising Ground, with some of his Men & defended it for a good while till He & party were killed whereby the french & their Indians suffered much. Henery being on Horseback lit off his horse & being heavy old Man as grey headed as Silver was soon left in the rear & attempting to gain the Camp on the left where he thought would meet with no Enemy, unluckily, not far from Camp fell in with the french Indns. Baggage Gard of young Lads & women who having no fire Arms sta'd him in the Back with a Spear or Bayonet, some pretend to say it was committed by a Squaw, the Lads being too young to attempt it, & by the Manner of his being scalped it is probable a woman did it, as the scalp being taken off not larger than an English Crown. The French did not continue their pursuit all the way to the Camp but halted within $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile upon a Hight to collect their Men & refresh them for the Assault of our Camp & while the French General was planning & making his Disposition for the Attack with the respective Corps of his a Monsr. St. Pierre Superintendt. of the Canada Indns. came & told the General in private, that the Indians were not for a second Attack as they did not expect so many Indians of the Six Nations with the English, with whom they were not at War & did not choose or incline to begin a quarrel with them, besides it was not a Custom with Indns. after having had an Action & made their Enemy give way, to make a second Attack, but immediately return home with their Spoil & Trophies & Monsr. St. Pierre at the same time observed

that the Canadians in general regulated themselves by the Conduct of the Indns. when upon War parties with them. At which Discourse the french General was greatly vexed & chagrined and replied Monsr. St. Pierre that he was determined at all Events to pursue his Blow with a Saying that as "the Liquor was drawn it must be drank" And so marched off with his Troops. The Canadians were to flank his right & the Indians his left & make a brisk Assault forcing their way into our Camp however both flanks moved very slow & the General seeing himself not supported as he expected & his Troops too few to make a formidable Assault when within a Musket Shot of the Camp ordered them to file to the right and left of the Main Road into the Woods, which were very open & commence a Platoon firing upon the Camp, the Canadians & Indians making very little Effort he gave up the Assault entirely, & his troops beginning to be much gall'd & picked off from the Camp saw his hopes of Success frustrated & himself having received a Ball in the Knee, ordered a retreat which was abt. 6 p. m. & was done without much confusion & himself being in much pain on acct. of his wounded knee lay at the foot of a Tree & would not suffer himself to be carried off for mere Chagrene. At the same time the force of the French Canadians & Indns. being so much superior to ours Genl. Johnson thought it not prudent for fear a feint to order a pursuit, but kept his Men under Arms at the Breastwork which consisted chiefly of a Number of Albany provision Waggons, which Capt. Wraxall General Johnson's aid-du-Camp & Secretary ordered Mr. Claus before the action to see ranged in a Line along the Breastwork wch. consisted of some Trees cut down in a hurry at the front of the Camp in some places not above a foot & half high & which waggons were the principal Shelter of our people being shot to a Ridle & completed a few Minutes before the Attack. Notwithstanding the Orders against a pursuit, some New Eng. Men for the sake of Plunder went to the field of action, & one happening to come up to the french General laying at the foot of a Tree, the General presented him the Hilt of his Sword, at which the ignorant wretch was so frightened that he stept back & fired the whole charge of his Musket consisting of a brace of Balls thro the General's Loins, General Johnson having it reported to him that the french General lay wounded in the field of Action, ordered a party to bring him to his Marquis

(Tent) he was followed by a Monstrous Crowd of whites and Indns. Mr. Claus was ordered to endeavor to keep off the Indns. who were very vindictive & troublesome on acct. of the Losses of their Friends in the Morning Skirmish but Mr. Claus placed himself at the Tent door telling them, the General was dying, They then demanded his Watch, Buckles &c. as Trophies, they were told they could not be come at till he was dead, in short it was with much Difficulty they were kept off as they did not regard the provincl. Sentries, The General after taking some weak Drink wanted much to express his Gratitude, seeing Mr. Claus so indefatigable in defending him agst. the savages. Mr. Claus then spoke but very little french when the General observed he spoke the french wth. a german Accent, he spoke the german to him which surprized Mr. Claus & gave mutual satisfaction, & the Inds. having at last dropd. their Intrusion & Impatience, General Johnson still keeping the Troops at the Breastwork Baron Dieskau in a broken Voice & full of pain told Mr. Claus he wished the fellow to whom he offered himself prisoner after the Action had dispatched him at once, he had received a bad wound in the Knee during the Action & finding the day lost determined to surrender himself prist. to Genl. Johnson but a Provl. Soldier coming up he presented him his Sword when the fellow drew back aimed at him & drove his whole charge thro his Loins, which must only bring on a very painfull lingering Death, and then lamented the Occasion of that Day's Disaster, laying all the Blame on his Indians & Canadians, who disobeyed his orders in the Attack of the Morning, for he had our party entirely surrounded, but when his Indns. saw such a number of ours & knowing King Henry who led them on, on horseback, they seemingly were pannic struck & instead of attacking & demanding our people to surrender (as it would have been Madness in them to refuse) they began to parley with Henery who seemingly & as above mentioned answered them in such manner as to damp their & the Canadians' ardor & courage & began the attack himself, which turned out in a scattered Skirmish & our men allowed to retreat; his troops not acquainted with Wood fighting, the whole turned out a confused drawn affair, whereas had his orders been obeyed, he must inevitably have taken the whole party prisoners & with a Victorious Body abt. 2,000 Men surprised us in our open Camp with very little difficulty completed

the Victory ytday having been perfectly acquainted by Prisrs. he took the Night before, of our whole Strength & Situation, exclaiming agst. his Indians & Canadians & praising ours, then repeated their Behaviour & Disobedience, before the Attack of the Camp, as above mentioned saying if even then they had Acted a proper part he was pretty sure of Success, being sensible of the Pannick & Terror our retreating party must have occasioned in our Camp wch. he knew was defenceless, however he said the Line of Waggon surprised him. It was now late & Genl. Johnson came in from the lines to see how the french Genl. did & pleased to find that he was left quiet & could converse wth Mr. Claus & the latter expressed his Thanks in having put him under so carefull a person requesting Mr. Claus' Company as often as it could be spared wch. Genl. Johnson promised should be complied with. Next Morning early he was removed to another Tent as Genl. Johnson's Marquis was the whole Day surrounded with Indns. & Mr. Claus was ordered to keep as much as possible abt. him; that Morning Capt. Bernier his Aid-du-Camp delivered himself up being afraid of the Indns. to come in the Evening before. Baron Dieskua seeing himself removed out of the Run of Indns. was now pestered with the reproaches of Genl. Lyman who charged his Troops with firing poisoned Balls the day before as few of his Men that were wounded in the Morning would recover expostulating very much with the General, who assured him by Mr. Claus that upon his word and honour, he knew no farther than that he gave an order for such a Quantity of Ball to be delivered out the Kings' Magazeen, but to no purpose & not withstanding Capt. Bernier's & Mr. Claus' Entreaties to forbear giving Uneasiness to a Gentn. in such Pain & Agonies, for he came every day for several days parading with two large Musquateer Cartridge Boxes slung across his Body & a french Musket on his Shoulder. And Baron Dieskau lamenting the different & disagreeable Situation he found himself in, when two days before he expected to be upon his March towards New York, being perfectly acquainted with the distressed & defenceless Circumstances of all the Colonies and only General Shirley & his handfull of Troops whom he considered as provincials to encounter & even would not mind him but send a sufficient party to waylay & secure him. And in case of Success he was pretty sure of all the Indns. in the British Interest & that

himself & all his Troops would march thro the heart of the Country and all the Canadians & Indians who would have readily followed him from Canada to harass the Country on his Flanks & provide provisions. The Troops & Indians from Louisburgh St John's & environs to surprize Boston, those from Fort DuQuesne with all the Western Indns. (then our enemies) to invade the middle Southern provinces & they from the Misipi Georgia & the Carolinas, and a powerful Fleet & Army to join him as soon as possible at New York. All which he said could not have failed him to put in Execution chiefly that Fall or in the Course of the Winter, & France thereby obtained a glorious place, he seemed to express himself with Emotion & Force, then reclined on his pillow quite feeble & exhausted pining & complaining of his wounds, he was for some days kept in Camp until he gathered a little Strength to be conveyed to Fort Edward in a Litter & from thence he was to be taken by water, brought to Albany to Sir Wm. Johnson's house & a few days after in a Sloop to New York. After having thus luckily got rid & defeated the Designs of the french agst. the Colonies it was found upon reconnoitering, that the Strength of the french Army Baron Dieskau left, establishing a post at Tiyondarogo was by far too formidable to make an attempt against, with our sikly & fatigued Army, & it was resolved in a Council of War to secure what was gained that Campaign, by establishing a post at Lake George, & a Fort was laid out by Capn. Eyre of the 44th Regt. Engineer to our Expedn., sent from Genl. Braddock's Army in July, upon the most defensive Spot of Ground he could pitch upon near the Lake by the Name of Fort Wm. Henry. The works were carried on wth. spirit & Activity so as to make it tenable for the ensuing Winter. Mr. Claus made different Scouts down the Lake, to reconnoitre the french & their Operations at Tiyondorogo & Crownpoint who carried on their Works likewise very briskly, but saw no Appearance of a second Attack as was often reported, The Camp near Fort Wm. Henry, broke up the latter End of November and sometime in December Mr. Claus accompanied General Johnson to New York where General Shirley was, having some time before arrived there from Oswego after his fruitless Expedition agst. Niagara, & he lived in obscurity in a Manner at New York; & on General Johnson's arrival there, he was received with Acclamations of Joy & Con-

gratulation thro every Street he passt; the Shipping firing their Guns & the greater part of the Town was illuminated; General Johnson on being conducted by his Friends to his Lodging, partly in Carriages partly on horseback, his most intimate friends attended him to his Room, such as Govr. Pownall of the Jerseys, Colo. Oliver De Lancey, Mr. Watts, Mr. Secretary Banyar of the Provice. & Capt. Wraxall.

After saluting & seating themselves Govr. Pownall told Genl. Johnson in confidence that altho he had been so well rec'd just now (he made so successful a campn.) that General Shirley & party were his declared Enemies and going to make serious & heavy Complaints to the King & Ministry against him laying the whole Blame upon Him for not having done anything on their Expedn. on Acct. of his having sent a Belt of Wampum to the Six Nations clandestinely that not a Man of them would join General Shirley's Expedn.; which accordingly was the Case & he had no Indians & without whom he could not pretend to go on with his Troops & that he Genl. Johnson had diametrically acted contrary to his orders & Instructions of which he should officially acquaint the King's Ministers &c. Genl. Johnson assured the Gentlemn. present upon his Word & Honor that he was an entire Stranger to what they were saying & he was very easy in his conscience at the Affair. The Gentlemn. replied that Genl. Shirley had the very Belt of Wampum in possession by wch. the 6 Nats. were desired to follow Gen. Johnson & that it was sent while he was at Albany preparing himself for sd. Expedn.; that Genl. Shirley had good Friends at Court who would make his Story appear plausible & it might greatly lessen the Merit of his Success with the King. Gen. Johnson persisted positively of having sent no Message by a Belt to ye 6 Nats. after the Meeting at Fort Johnson where the Number of Indns. was settled that were to join each Expedn. & that to the mutual Satisfaction of Genl. Shirley & himself.

Mr. Claus being all the while present during the Altercation & having never had an Oppority. of acquainting Genl. Johnson of what passt with Genl. Shirley & his Affairs while he was at Albany and how King Henry was likely to be inveigled by Genl. Shirley at a Council he held in K. H.'s Village and how Mr. Claus prevented his agreeing to G. Shirley's proposal & great Offers & Henery being convinced of Gl. Shirley's ungenerous & unfair

Action towards Gl. Johnson in his absence made Henry take the Step of sending a Runner with a Belt to the 6 Nats. with an acct. of G. Shirley's Attempt of oversetting their Arrangement agreed upon by the united 6 Natn. Chiefs; positively enjoining the 6 Nats. not a Man to join G. Shirley on his Expedn. to Niagara but follow G. Johnson &c., which orders were accordingly obeyed & very few joined Genl. Shirley. The Company present in G. Johnson's Lodging were astonished at Mr. Claus's Accot. & at once agreed that must be the clearing up & unfolding of Gl. Shirley's Story & Complaint and the Gentn. judged it necessary that Mr. Claus Acct. of the Affair should be distinctly put down in writing and he to make Affidavit, to inclose sd. Affid. in his General Report then not yet made of his Campaign to the Ministry & assign the Reason of inclosing such an Affidavit, wch. must annull Gl. Shirley's Accusation undubitably; And wch. accordingly was done. Govr. Pownall (who expected to succeed & after wards did succeed Gl. Shirley in his Government), of wch. wth. that & some other Accots. Abt. Indn. Matters & a Description of Lake George Mr. Claus gave Govr. Pownall he was so friendly & oblidging as to procure Mr. Claus a Lieuts. Commissn. after his Arrival in London in the then raising 60th or Royl. Regimt. wch. he accordingly obtained in Decr. 1756 from Lord L——.* Genl. Johnson in Spring 1756 recvd. a most gracious Answer from His Majy. upon his Report of the successful Campn. of 1755 with a Diploma & Title of Baronet & a present of £5000 Sterl. wth. a Superintt's Commission. Capt. Wraxall Secry. to Genl. Johnson & the Indn. Deputy was the Messenger & Bearer of these agreeable Dispatches who delivered them to Him in his Bed Room at Fort Johnson. After reading the Letters &c. Mr. Claus was called in ye Room and when Genl. Johnson in ye presence of Ct. Wraxall told him that the Services he rendered him hitherto and particularly the zealous conduct he showed in his Absence wth. Regard to frustrating the Designs of Genl. Shirley's endeavoring to draw all the Six Nations after him, were of such an interesting Nature as Matters Turned out both to the interest of the public as in particular his own, that he desired Mr. Claus to ask of him any thing whatsoever he had in his power to give and take some time to consider about it. Mr. Claus made a Bow, thanking Sir William for the Compliment &

*Illegible in original manuscript.

would consider about it and leaving the Room his Mind was so agitated and surprized upon the Occasion that he retired to his Room to sit down at a Loss what to say or do.

The first Object that presented itself to his Mind was a certain young Lady he paid his Addresses to for some time past who seemd. not to be averse to them & Mr. Claus flattered himself that Sir Wms. Consent was only wanting to complete the Matter, made that the first Object of his request from Sr. Wm. & proposed the Matter first to her. She told Mr. Claus that all the objection she had was that she thought it rather too early to change her Condition particularly at a Time of War wch. was uncertain how it might turn out, desiring Mr. Claus to put it off to a more convenient & quiet time He was quite satisfied with her Discourse upon the Occasion and dropt. thoughts of saying anything then to Sr. Wm. sometime after Sr. Wm. asked him to take a Ride to Canajoharee and on his Return asked him whether he had thought of the Offer he made him before Captn. Wraxall. he said he had not. He then said he would propose a thing to him if agreeable that as he had a Lieutenancy in the 60th Regt., he was ready to advance him the purchase Money of a Company asking the then regulated price of the Army. Mr. Claus answered it was £1500 sterl. And Sr. Wm. told him to give in his Name for a purchase and that he might draw upon him for that Sum whenever he pleased or lodge it in some safe hand. Mr. Claus accepted his Offer most gratefully and said the Money was in safe hand with him untill a purchase offered. And accordingly gave in his Name to Baron de Munster Majr. of 4th Battn. 60th or Royl. American Regt. And no Company offering to be purchased in Mr. Claus's Turn till Spring 1761 when Capt. Willyamor of sd. Battn. obtained Leave of selling his Compy. Sr. Jeffery Amherst then Commander in Chief permitted Mr. Claus to purchase and he drew upon Sr. Wm. Johnson for £800 Sterl.: in part of the Offer leaving the remaining £700 in Sr. Wms. hands wch. he does not doubt Sr. Wms. Estate will honorably discharge.

N B: Vide the Continuation of these Memoirs in the Explanation of Mr. Claus' Services to be given to the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to enquire into Loyalists' past Services carried on from 1755 to 1782.

Report of the Lake George Memorial Executive Committee.

Your Excellency, the Governor, and Gentlemen of the Society of Colonial Wars :

I have the honor to present, for your favorable consideration, the report of the Committee on Lake George Celebration. The work of this committee commenced with the signing of the contract for the pedestal of the monument to be erected at Lake George, in commemoration of the Battle of Lake George, won September 8th, 1755.

An Executive Committee was appointed, consisting of Howland Pell, chairman; Morris P. Ferris, secretary; Lansdale Boardman, treasurer, and Clarence Storm. Owing to the severe illness of Mr. Boardman, and his subsequent death, Mr. Storm was appointed treasurer.

Sub-committees as follows were appointed: Committee on Military Affairs, Major General Charles F. Roe, chairman; Committee on Transportation, Morris P. Ferris, chairman; Local Committee, Henry W. Hayden, chairman; Reception Committee, James William Beekman, chairman; Citizens' Auxiliary Committee, Colonel J. L. Cunningham, chairman. Each committee promptly took up the work assigned to it, and with their active co-operation the success of the celebration was assured.

Invitations to participate in the ceremonies with their troops were sent to the Governors of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont, and to prominent individuals interested in the affair. The invitations were accepted by the States of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Vermont, which were represented by their Governors and troops.

The program for the celebration was carried out in every detail. Through the courtesy of the Honorable William Cary Sanger,

Acting Secretary of War, the participation of United States troops in the ceremonies was secured. An order was issued by Major General Chaffee, ordering the attendance of artillery, cavalry and infantry.

The Local Committee, under Mr. Hayden, prepared the grounds for the celebration by clearing off the underbrush and debris, and converted what was practically a desolate waste into an open space, and erected thereon a suitable stand. They also prepared the camp ground on the west side of the lake, clearing the land and installing a complete supply of water for the troops.

The exercises began on Saturday, September the 5th, by the arrival of Company K, Second Regiment, from Glens Falls, who established the camp, which was named Camp Williams by General Roe, in honor of Colonel Ephraim Williams, who was killed in the battle. The Executive Committee also arrived on that date and found many members of the Society already located there.

Sunday, September the 6th, Companies B and G from the Seventy-first Regiment, New York City, and a section of artillery from the First Battery arrived early in the morning and were followed, a few hours later, by Troop I, Second U. S. Cavalry, from Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont. During the morning the troops went into camp. Many of the members attended special services in the churches in the village, held in commemoration of the event.

The hotels and many buildings were elaborately decorated with flags and bunting, and the streets filled with visitors. In the afternoon a steamboat excursion up Lake George was given to the members of the Society and the troops.

Monday, September the 7th, a Company of U. S. Infantry from Plattsburg Barracks, New York; Company F, Second Massachusetts, from Pittsfield, and the First and Second Companies, Governor's Foot Guard of Connecticut, arrived in the morning by special trains. The Governor of New York and his staff arrived at ten A. M. on a special train, and he was received at the station by the Executive Committee and was escorted to the hotel by Troop I, Second U. S. Cavalry, where he was received by Mr. Beekman and Mr. De Peyster, of the Reception Committee. A few minutes later, Governor Chamberlain, of Connecticut, and staff also arrived in a special train and were escorted to the hotel by Troop I and the Governor's Foot Guard, where he was received

by Governor Odell and the Reception Committee. Lieutenant Governor Guild and staff, of Massachusetts, arrived about four o'clock in a special train, and he was received at the station by the Executive Committee and escorted to the hotel by Troop I and the Massachusetts troops, where he was received by Governor Odell and the Reception Committee. Governor McCullough, of Vermont, and his staff, with members of the Vermont Society of Colonial Wars, arrived by the afternoon boat and were received at the wharf by the Executive Committee and escorted to the hotel by Troop I, where he was received by Governor Odell and the Reception Committee.

In the evening a brilliant reception was held by the four Governors and their staffs, and a ball was given afterwards, tendered to the members of the society and their guests. The beautiful costumes of the ladies, the brilliant uniforms of the officers and the scarlet coats of the Foot Guards presented a scene which will long be remembered by those fortunate enough to be present.

Tuesday, September 8th, a review of all the troops present was tendered by General Roe to the visiting Governors. The Albany Burgesses Corps and their band, with Senator Depew, arrived about 11 a. m. The Senator was received and escorted to the hotel by Troop I. Proper salutes were fired on the arrival of each Governor and Senator Depew by the detail from the First Battery.

The society gave a lunch to the visiting guests at twelve o'clock, and at one o'clock the line of march for the site of the monument was taken up. The procession was headed by Major General Roe and Troop I, Second United States Cavalry, under Captain Stevens. The officers of the New York Society, the Executive Committee, and the officers of the General Society were in the leading carriages with the society flags, borne by sergeants of the Seventy-first Regiment, acting as escort to their guests. The Governors followed in open carriages in order of precedence, Senator Depew with Governor Odell, with their State colors displayed by orderlies. Each Governor's carriage was followed by carriages containing the especially invited guests, the president of Williams College and a committee from the faculty, officers of the General Society and State societies of the Colonial Wars and delegations from the Society of the Cincinnati, Sons

of the Revolution, Saint Nicholas, Historical and other societies. Then followed a column of infantry and members of the society, Sons of the Revolution with their banners, and citizens.

On reaching the site of the monument the program was carried out as arranged, on a covered stand from which were displayed the national flag and flag of the New York Society of Colonial Wars. In front of the stand was a roped-in inclosure containing five hundred chairs for the members and guests. The monument was unveiled by the four Governors. The ceremonies were over at a little after five o'clock, and the procession returned to the hotel in the same order in which it arrived, and the most successful function that this society has ever carried out was at an end.

The thanks of the society are especially due to Major General Charles F. Roe for the successful manner in which the military manœuvres were carried out, and to all the troops who participated in the celebration, but especially to Troop I, Second United States Cavalry, for their services as escorts and for orderly duty in connection with the parade, and to the detachment from the First Battery, under Lieutenant Schmidt, for firing the salutes, and also to the companies of the Seventy-first Regiment, which came from New York at their own expense.

Much of the success of the celebration was due to the fine weather with which we were favored and to the excellent railroad arrangement. It is estimated that there were about 10,000 persons, including 700 troops and about 200 members of the society, present. There was no disorder of any kind, nor were any accidents reported, but all those present gave earnest attention to the speeches and signified their approval by applause and cheers.

The committee had a commemorative medal struck off in bronze and white metal, which was presented to the members of the society and their guests. A bronze medal was given to each officer and a white metal medal to each soldier as a souvenir of the occasion.

The chairman begs to present this report, and takes this opportunity of extending his thanks to the chairmen of the sub-committees. The success of the celebration is entirely due to their interest and earnest work in carrying out all the details, which will be presented in their reports.

Too much credit cannot be given to Mr. Albert Weinert, the sculptor; Mr. Hayden, Mr. Ferris and Mr. Storm for the skilful manner in which they performed their duties in connection with this event, and the society is to be congratulated on having a most artistic monument and a magnificent celebration which will always be remembered in the historic region of Lake George.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWLAND PELL, Chairman.

New York, December 19th, 1903.

NATIVE TROOPS IN OUR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.

Paper read by Major Louis Livingston Seaman, M. D., before a court of the society, March 21st, 1904:

Governor Beekman and Fellow-Members of the Society of Colonial Wars: Over five years have now elapsed since the Islands of Porto Rico, the Philippines group and those of the Sulu archipelago came into the possession of the United States. As the policy of our Government to permanently retain these lands seems now to be established—that where the flag floats there it shall remain—the time has arrived for the authorities of our country to decide a military question of the gravest importance, namely, whether our island possessions in the tropics shall be garrisoned by troops sent from this country, or whether native troops shall be recruited for this purpose. Involved in this question are considerations of climate and subsistence; of vast expenses for transportation of men and food; of expenditures for wages and future pensions; of intricate hospital arrangements involving elaborate establishments, mutually dependent, but thousands of miles apart. For the solution of a similar problem in China the experiences of Great Britain at Wei Hai Wei are luminous in purpose and results and most timely for immediate application to this country's needs, especially in the Philippines. It is worth while to study with the utmost care what England has done with her native battalion at Wei Hai Wei.

Forty miles to the eastward of Chefoo, where in the year 1895, with the guns of the Russian fleet clearing for action, the treaty of Shimonoseki was ratified by China and Japan, lies the harbor of Wei Hai Wei. It is a bay formed by a sharp break in the rugged coast line, and is protected at its entrance by the Island of Liu Kung Toa. Nature has been liberal to China in the matter of shelters to commerce, robbing the eastern shores of the

Pacific that she might furnish the western with magnificent harbors and bays. Of these Wei Hai Wei takes easily primary rank, with its capacious, deep, mud-bottomed harbor and its natural defenses.

Wei Hai Wei (pronounced as though it were written Way High Way) was founded in the reign of the Emperor Hung Wu, of the last (Ming) dynasty, about A. D. 1399. The third syllable—for there are three syllables rather than three words—means a walled military post; the first, though homophonous, means to awe, or, as we would say, to overawe; the middle member of the name is the word for sea. Thus Wei Hai Wei is the "Terror of the Sea," so called because it was used as a base from which to subdue the pirates that infested the neighboring seas. From present indications it seems highly probable it will continue its interest for some time, and for the same reason.

It is on these historic shores that the experiment of transforming the Chinaman into a modern fighting machine has been successfully made by the newcomers, while the military experts of the world are watching the results with increasing interest. And since our policy to retain permanent possession of our new insular colonies now seems fixed, we, too, should be especially interested in the experiment from a military as well as an economic point of view. Wherever the flag of England floats there you will find her defenses maintained by native guardians. The flower of her army is not consumed in colonial garrisons. In India the Gurkhas and Sikhs, officered by Englishmen, form her defenders. In Egypt the Baggaras, transformed by the skill of Kitchener, rout the forces of the Mahdi. In the Windward and Leeward Islands and Jamaica native regiments (blacks) are employed exclusively; so, too, in Australia and Canada her soldiers are mostly native born, and in South Africa, until the outbreak of the Transvaal war, Zulus, supplemented by a small contingent of English troops, maintained her defenses and security. Where, indeed, would England be to-day were it not for these native forces, who protected her colonial empire when her own soldiers were engaged in the Transvaal hostilities? Quick in her perception of this great advantage, she no sooner got possession of her new sphere in China than she at once set about organizing a means of defense by utilizing the material at hand, knowing that if successful she

could at once eliminate two of the greatest problems besetting an army on a foreign shore—that of acclimatization and of subsistence, with the attendant dangers of climatic and epidemic diseases.

It was my good fortune to visit Wei Hai Wei in 1899 and to meet Colonel C. H. Bower, R. A.—to whose genius had been intrusted the serious experiment of transforming native Chinese from mild-mannered coolies to modern soldiers—to witness many of their drills, and to get from Colonel Bower's own lips his account of the work. He approached the task with many misgivings, but after six months of patient work his views changed radically. The First Battalion, Chinese Regiment, recruited during that year, numbered at the time of my visit 360 men, all from the Shan Tung Province, where the finest specimens of physical development of China are to be found. These men were enlisted for three years, under the regular provisions of the British army act, for service in any part of the world. Their average height is five feet eight inches, with a chest development of thirty-eight inches—a standard higher than that of the regular British army to-day. Three companies of 120 men each were well advanced in training. The organization of the company in detail is similar to that in the United States Army. All the commissioned officers are British, but the non-commissioned staff, with the exception of one sergeant major, one color sergeant, one orderly room clerk and one armor sergeant, are Chinese.

It is certainly wonderful what a few months' hard work accomplished in "licking these 'rookies' into shape." Colonel Bower assured me that while originally he was far from being impressed with the idea of making soldiers of the Chinese—indeed, he was decidedly prejudiced against even such an attempt—experience had convinced him of his error, and that he was now becoming an optimist. The initial processes of drilling were tedious and required much patience on the part of the drill master; but the men soon learned to respect their superiors and became attached personally to them; and the officers, having once gained the confidence of the men, could do almost anything with them. Discipline was maintained with but little use of the guardroom, and drunkenness was unknown. Even a Chinese coolie and a Filipino have a contempt for a drunkard.

These Chinese recruits are remarkably respectful, orderly, docile and learn their tactics well; but the greatest patience has to be exercised with them until they fully understand their positions and are brought to a realization of their responsibilities, of which in their early days they seem to have no understanding. For more than six thousand years the Chinaman has followed his own method, and it is difficult to make him realize the importance of precision in military affairs. For instance, when a leave of seventy-two hours is given him he will return perhaps in ninety-six, thinking it is all right. What's the difference? He cannot be made to see it. "Came back all right; three days all the same four, so long as he did come back." But when put in the guard-room for a week and made to do extra labor his sleeping sense of duty is awakened and he does not repeat the offense. Notwithstanding that the drills at Wei Hai Wei have been very severe, desertions were unknown, although opportunity could be found easily, as the British concession of sphere of influence extends only ten miles inland. The uniform of the troops is rather picturesque—straw hats in the extreme heat of summer, to be replaced by turbans in winter; khaki blouses and breeches for the summer, to be exchanged for rough Irish frieze in winter; red cummerbunds, and putties instead of leggings, with the regular artillery boot of the British army.

Colonel Bower was especially enthusiastic over the results of his men's musketry practice at the rifle butts. At the time of my visit they had been trained for short range work only, one, two and three hundred yards; but their scores had been exceedingly gratifying, better even than those of the average British soldier after an equal amount of practice, to the great astonishment of all the officers of the regiment.

The cost of these troops to the British Government is another surprise. Their ration consists of one catty of rice (1.33 pounds), one-third catty of flour daily, and one pound of meat once a week. The cost of this to the British Government is \$2.15 (Mexican) a month; the soldier's pay is \$8.09 (Mexican) a month, making the entire cost to the Government for the soldier and subsistence \$10.24 (Mexican), or \$5.00 gold a month. All vegetables and luxuries are purchased by the soldier at his own expense. The health of the men was excellent. Since the organization of the

regiment there had not been one death, or a serious case of intestinal disease, although the period included the most inclement season of the year. Colonel Bower was convinced that with a year or two more of training his men would be equal to any soldiers in the world.

At the time of my visit the battalion had its first experience in fighting fire. A conflagration occurred in the old city. On such occasions it is the custom of the natives to sit by supinely, watching the progress of the flames, even though a whole city may be in a blaze, or to indulge in looting. But the English officers were on the scene quickly with the Chinese battalion, a fire brigade was organized promptly, water was passed up in buckets and the fire put under control, while the populace stood by and marveled.

Within a year of their enlistment these troops successfully stood the crucial test of leading a charge. In a sharp action with a vastly superior force of Boxers—the same who a year later menaced the safety of the Chinese Empire in the Provinces of Shan Tung and Pi Chi Li, and about Tien-Tsin and the imperial city, Peking—the Chinese battalion, with their British officers, quickly routed the enemy, killing sixty and capturing a large quantity of arms. Their own casualties amounted to only two, both British officers, who were wounded. The further development of the Boxer rebellion, resulting in the occupation of Taku, Tien-Tsin and Peking by the allied armies of Europe and America in 1900, afforded a rare opportunity for attesting the allegiance of the Chinese Battalion. Let it not be forgotten that Liu Kung Tao, Lau Chau and the old city of Wei Hai Wei, where the Chinese Battalion was recruited, are located in the Shan Tung Province, which was the very hotbed of the Boxer uprising. The following is an extract from my journal of a conversation with Colonel Bower in Tien-Tsin on the 7th day of March, 1901. Colonel Bower was at that time the Imperial Commissioner representing Great Britain in the government in Tien-Tsin. Replying to my question regarding the battalion, he said:

“No, there are practically no desertions from the battalion, although the men were subjected to terrible temptations. You know in China parental love, Fung Shui, and ancestral worship are held as sacred tenets. When the Boxer movement was in its incipency the families, priests and friends of my men resorted

to every persuasion and threat to induce them to desert, but without success. Finally they organized an attack and placed the fathers of my men in their front ranks, so that, should the men shoot, they would become parricides—guilty of the most heinous crime known in the Orient. But in the fight that followed they cut their way through the two thousand attacking Boxer rabble, killed many and routed the remainder to the hills. Encouraged by this evidence of loyalty, I took two of my three companies to Taku and joined General Seymour's column in its advance on Tien-Tsin. In the fighting that followed from June 20th to July 14th the men did excellent work, losing in action twenty-six killed and fifty-six wounded. One officer was killed and two severely wounded. Fearing trouble, I ordered roll call every hour after reaching Tien-Tsin. Two men were supposed to have deserted, but later investigations showed that one had been taken prisoner and the other killed. The most remarkable thing that happened was with the company left at Wei Hai Wei. These men were so chagrined and disappointed at being left behind, and so determined to participate in the fighting, that almost the entire command deserted and fought their way through nearly fifty miles of hostile country to join their companions at Tien-Tsin, where I kept them until active hostilities ceased. On returning to Wei Hai Wei I shall renew recruiting, and expect to largely increase the number of our Chinese force."

Hitherto we have been accustomed to laugh at the soldiery of China; but the fact that her soldiery is a laughing stock on account of lack of training and bad generalship proves nothing against the Chinaman's courage. Fortunately, there can be no question of his innate bravery. For a consideration, or when convinced that he is right, he puts the fear of death entirely out of his mind. Like the negro, the Egyptian or the Malay, all the Chinaman wants is the inspiration and leadership of resolute white officers. Conspicuous examples of their personal bravery are not lacking in the official reports of our own officers in the Philippines, notable those of Lieutenant Batson, of Major Bell, of Captain Sawtelle of General McArthur's staff, of Colonel Powell and Captain Durfee of the Seventeenth Infantry, and of Major Shields, Surgeon of the California Volunteers. My own observations on the firing line confirm these opinions. The Chinese drivers or litter bearers

were as absolutely unconcerned under fire as though out in a snow-storm, and they obeyed their orders implicitly.

An incident illustrating the bravery of the coolie occurred at the battle of Malolas, in Luzon. An American soldier had fallen at the front; two coolies had rushed forward with their litter, consisting of a little hammock swung from a pole, and were bringing the man back to the dressing station, when a bullet pierced the thigh of one of the litter-bearers. He continued on, however, as though nothing had happened, until he deposited his charge beside the improvised operating table. Not until some time later was it found that the coolie was wounded severely and suffering intense pain. He endured it all with the patience and stoicism of his race, and expressed surprise that attention should be bestowed upon him at all; he had expected to be left by the wayside.

That the yellow and black races make excellent fighting material when properly officered by whites has been proved conclusively in innumerable instances. In our own army at San Juan Hill, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth United States Infantry and Tenth Cavalry, negro troops, led by their gallant white American officers, did as effective work as any men, regulars or volunteers, in the field. Nor did their heroism cease there. Later, when that more dreaded enemy, yellow fever, appeared in every camp, and when volunteers were called for to nurse the sick and dying and to bury the dead, it was these men of the negro regiments who responded to the call, notwithstanding that their numbers had been terribly reduced in the battle only a few days before, and the fatal pestilence was raging in their own ranks. One hundred and twelve of these martyrs succumbed to the disease, but they quavered not in the hour of danger.

Nor is this record for fearlessness in the so-called inferior races confined to our own army. What did Kitchener do with the Egyptian peasants who for centuries had been regarded as menials and cowards? By tactics similar to those now being followed by Colonel Bower with the Chinese at Wei Hai Wei, he transformed them into cavalymen, who not only successfully resisted, but charged and broke the bloodthirsty followers of the Mahdi and defeated them with terrible slaughter. Fifteen years ago the idea of making a soldier of an Egyptian would have been ridiculed as a practical joke by military men. Training and the inspiration

of leadership won the victories, and the Egyptian soldier of to-day has his place in history.

The experience of "Chinese" Gordon at the taking of Taku forts in 1860 is eloquent in its showing of the individual bravery of the Chinaman. Large numbers of coolies were pressed into his service as cooks, litter-bearers and for transportation purposes. Arriving at the moats surrounding the forts, these slaves of duty seized the scaling ladders, rushed into the water nearly neck-deep, and in the face of a galling rifle and artillery fire placed the ladders on their shoulders from man to man, thus forming a continuous bridge supported by human pillars, and let the British army walk over their heads to the other side of the moat. Then, rushing from the water with their ladders, they ran to the walls of the fortress, and were the first to scale their ramparts. Thus was courage inspired, and thus did it become contagious, even as panic and disaster would have resulted had the leadership failed.

Nor has Spain been without experience in the use of native troops in her colonies, in the very place where this urgent military question must be met and solved by the United States, namely, in the Philippines. Spain placed strong reliance in her native Filipino troops, of whom, when Manila fell, she had about five thousand. They were among her best disciplined and bravest troops, familiar with the country, its warfare, its dangers and its ambuscades, in excellent health and thoroughly acclimated, speaking the language of the country, free from danger of tropical diseases, and subsisting on native foods. Our failure to secure them for service under the American flag was promptly taken advantage of by the wily Aguinaldo, who, upon condition of their swearing fealty to him and entering his army, promised them immunity from their countrymen and reward for their service. It was only a short time before the entire force was under his control, almost every soldier being made an officer in the Filipino ranks. It was in this way that Aguinaldo was enabled to create the disciplined array that was destined to cope with our army of over fifty thousand men.

In view of our failure to secure the trained Spanish-Filipino soldiers, and considering the suspicion that exists, and will probably continue to exist, toward us among the natives of these islands, the experiment of Great Britain with the Chinese Battalion

at Wei Hai Wei is of signal concern to the United States. In our Philippine possessions there are already more than one hundred thousand Chinese, who form by far the most industrious class of the inhabitants. The Chinese mestizo (half Chinese and half Filipino) is acknowledged to be superior to the Eurasian, or to the mestizos of the Oriental cross, Japanese, Hindoo, or Bornese. Many of them are wealthy bankers or merchants. Others are engaged as compradors and clerks, banking houses employing them almost to the exclusion of other nationalities, on account of their quick wit, sterling honesty, industry and individual merit. As in the Hawaiian Islands, they form the most valuable element of the population. The Chinese-Hawaiian half-caste is the keenest business man and the most industrious citizen to be found in those islands. The exclusion of the Chinese laborer in that land will do inestimable damage in retarding industrial and commercial development. Despite his fanaticism when directed by ignorant rulers, he has shown his superiority over other Orientals in his untiring industry, his domesticity, and his honesty.

In the large foreign hongs of China and Japan he is the trusted employee in places requiring responsibility. When put in competition with the Bornese, the Filipino, the Singalese, the Hawaiian, the Japanese or the Indian, he invariably wins, as may be seen by his rise from poverty to wealth and influence, in the cities of Singapore, Calcutta, Sandakan, Manila, Honolulu or Yokohama. It is time the world recognized that in the great race of civilization, and the greater race for the survival of the fittest, the nation that has preserved the integrity of its government for over six thousand years, that has witnessed the rise and fall of the civilization of Chaldea, Egypt, Greece and Rome; that can claim the discovery of the compass, of gunpowder, the game of chess, and the printing press, is more to be feared for its virtues than its vices. The presence of the Chinaman in the Philippines, as in the Hawaiian Islands, will do more to promote the industrial development of these colonies than any other single factor. His exclusion was a diplomatic blunder, to be rated with our failure to secure the army of Filipinos trained by Spain, and the discharge of the Civil Guard of Manila, five hundred strong, all of whom immediately entered the service of Aguinaldo; and the irrational rationing of our troops, which did, and is still doing, so much to

invalid and decimate our army. Our new possessions are tropical. To attribute to climate the diseases of the islands is an error due to ignorance and custom. The vast majority of ailments credited to climate have their origin in the use of improper foods, over-feeding, or the abuse of stimulants.

In 1898 and 1899 it was my misfortune to see two great armies—one in our own southern country, Cuba and Porto Rico, and one in the Philippine Islands—largely invalided, through culpable ignorance or neglect, by improperly subsisting the troops. To the eternal disgrace of our medical and commissary departments it will be remembered that, when entire regiments were suffering from stomach and intestinal catarrhs, from diarrhœa and other intestinal ailments (and I have seen more than seventy-five per cent. of an entire command in this condition at one time), they were subsisted on a ration of rich meats, pork and beans, tomatoes and other foods that aggravated the diseases, crowded the hospital tents, and left men weak and emaciated, so that their return to health was a prolonged struggle. Taps and the last volley were often the only reward many a poor soldier received for his patriotism.

Dr. John Ordonaux, Emeritus Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, served with distinction forty years ago in our War of the Rebellion as a volunteer surgeon. It was at that time that the famous saying, "Beans killed more than bullets," arose. In round numbers the mortality from bullets, directly and indirectly, was one hundred thousand, while that from disease was five hundred thousand or five to one. Commenting on this fact thirty-seven years ago, that "the ration served our troops in the South was the same in winter as in summer," Dr. Ordonaux said:

"By proper disposition of his diet, man lives as healthfully under the Equator as under the Pole. The East Indian with his rice and yams, and the Esquimo with his seal blubber and putrid fish, are both healthy enough in their respective climates, but let them once change residences without changing their diet, and what would be the consequence? The Esquimo would be attacked with putrid fever, and the East Indian would die of inanition.

"We perceive from this the absolute necessity of modifying all forms of diet in such a way as to accommodate them to the physi-

ological requirements of varying seasons. For habit is not acquired as against laws of chemical combination, and no man can become habituated to doing that with impunity which, being a violation of the physiological laws of his system, is, by its frequent admonitions of pain, notifying him of the evils about to overtake him.

“As the ration bill now stands, it presents us with too concentrated a form of diet for continued use. It abounds in fibrine, gluten, and fat, without, however, a sufficiency in starch, mucilage, gelatin, and acids. Aromatic herbs and spices, without which health cannot for any length of time be preserved, particularly in hot climate or seasons, are entirely omitted, while fat pork, an article contra-indicated in summer both by the state of the appetite and the physiological necessities of the system, stands as a sheet anchor of its animal food.”

And of what avail was this prophetic warning? The ration table of the United States Army in the Spanish-American War was substantially the same as that during the Rebellion.

From the dawn of history experience has shown that, in time of war, disease is a far more deadly foe to an army than the bullets of an enemy. In the war of the Crimea the French lost in killed 21,000, and from disease 100,000, or about one from bullets and wounds to five from disease. The English losses in that dreadful campaign ran a little higher, the proportion between fatalities from bullets and wounds, and that from disease, being one to six.

In our Civil War, about the same proportions were maintained—one to five. In round numbers, 100,000 men fell on the field or died from wounds, and 500,000 perished in hospital wards from the more fatal enemy—disease.

But it has been reserved for the Spanish-American War to cause a blush of shame and indignation at the apathy and stupidity which have permitted preventable diseases to play such havoc with the army. In the campaign, the actual hostilities of which lasted from July 1 to August 12, about six weeks, the mortality from bullets and wounds amounted to 268, while that from disease reached the appalling number of 3,862, or about fourteen to one. With proper subsistence and sanitation these proportions, for such a short service, should have been reversed.

With the prospect of an indefinite military occupation of our insular colonies, and the decimating policy of irrationally subsisting the troops still in force, it behooves the United States to follow the example of England and to resort to the only reasonable course left open for the maintenance of our army in the Orient, namely, the utilization of native troops. Most authorities agree that it will require a garrison of at least twenty (20) thousand men to maintain order in the Philippines. In the opinion of others it will require more than that number to bring order out of chaos, to establish law in the various provinces and to maintain its supremacy.

The United States now has eighteen regiments in the Philippines, whose term of service expires at various times. Many of the enlisted men will wish to return home at the expiration of that time; some will be willing to re-enlist. The commissioned officers retain their places permanently. I would suggest that such of the enlisted men, not exceeding one-third, as desire their discharge on account of sickness or for other causes be allowed to leave the service. Then, from the third battalions of each regiment, all the enlisted men, excepting a few non-commissioned officers in each company, be transferred to the other two battalions, thus filling them to their full strength. Enlist one battalion of Chinese, or of native friendly Filipinos (Macabees or Ilocanos) to each regiment, making the composition of each regiment two battalions of white and one battalion of native troops, with white officers throughout, and a certain proportion of white non-commissioned officers in each native company. At such time as the authorities deem advisable, transform a second battalion of white to native troops in a similar manner. Then, when the proper time arrives and the success of the move is demonstrated, transform the third battalion of each regiment, and, as circumstances may justify, replace such of the white non-commissioned officers as may seem best for the interests of the service by native non-commissioned officers, but keep white commissioned officers, first, last and all the time.

Published statistics recently furnished by Congress state that the cost of the army in the Philippines is about \$100,000,000 per year. It is easily within reason to declare that each fighting man costs the Government over \$500 gold a year, for pay, subsistence,

cost of transportation service and medical attendance, without any calculation for his future pension claim. The pay of the American soldier in the Philippines is sixteen dollars, gold, a month. His ration costs far more, when the enormous wastage and cost of transportation are calculated. It is no uncommon incident for entire cargoes of beef to be lost in transportation across the Pacific. I know of three such instances that came under my personal observation. And in calculating the cost of the American soldier no mention has been made of the expenses of hospitals with their medical staffs, nurses, orderlies, helpers, etc., all of which add enormously to the expenditure.

The native Chinaman or Filipino can be enlisted in unlimited numbers for ten dollars a month, Mexican, and can be subsisted for four dollars more. Additional expenditures for transportation, etc., might cost two dollars more, making a total of less than fourteen dollars a month, or not more than \$168, gold, a year, or about one-third of our present expenditure, and with no danger from an everlasting pension claim in the future.

All the troops employed by Great Britain in the China Relief Expedition were Indian, most of them Gurkas, Sikhs, Beluchis, and Royal Bengal Lancers. Colonel Shone, who has long been an officer of the Royal Engineers in the Imperial Army of India, said to me:

"It would be quite impossible to maintain order in India without the employment of natives who can endure conditions in the tropics which would soon annihilate white troops. England has found it advisable to keep an army of 75,000 British troops, with 150,000 natives for her protection there. Too many of one tribe should not be employed in one locality; at least one-third should be white troops. Had this precaution been observed there never would have been a Sepoy rebellion or an Indian mutiny."

In an interview with Li Hung Chang, at his palace in Peking, some months prior to the outbreak of the Boxer uprising in 1900, he assured me that China would interpose no objection to the enlistment of her subjects in the American army. But if, in the present crisis, such recruits are not considered desirable, there are many friendly Filipinos to be substituted. Great Britain recruits her ranks from various tribes or castes in India, and tribal hatreds are often utilized in the pacification of outbreaks among the na-

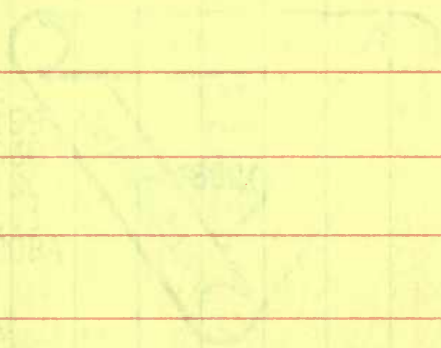
tives. The same policy can be advantageously followed by us in the Philippines, where the friendly tribes of Ilocanos and Macabees are the implacable foes of the rebellious Tagals and Moros.

England has a great advantage over the United States in colonial government and in colonial military affairs, in that there is not always a home party in opposition, wanting to apply the Constitution to the natives, telling the discontents that as soon as their party gets control all complaints and wrongs will be rectified. The Home Government acts as a unit and with a consistency that challenges the admiration of the world.

It remains to be seen whether by the liberal utilization of native troops we shall save the flower of our army for service at home, and preserve it from degrading conditions and diseases that too often are brought to this country by returning troops.

Fifty-seven thousand, seven hundred and ninety-nine invalid applications, and 8,445 widows' applications had been filed in the Pension Bureau at Washington, up to June 20, 1903, on account of service in the war with Spain and the insurrection in the Philippine Islands.

As the figures given in the Adjutant-General's report show that in the Philippines about five men die from disease for one who falls in battle, and that the casualties there, in 1901, amounted to 3,493, to say nothing of the enormous number invalided home to swell the pension rolls, it also remains to be seen how much longer the American people will submit to this unnecessary waste of our home material, when, for a large percentage of the loss, colonial forces can be equally well substituted.





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