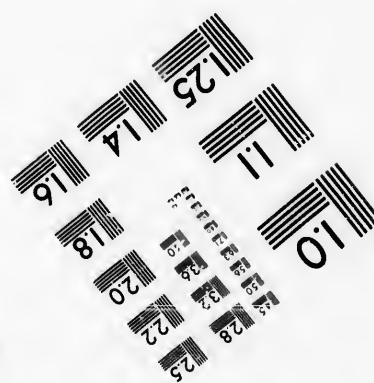
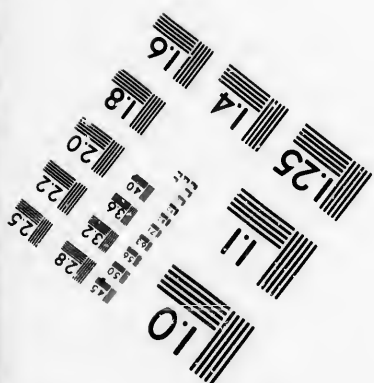
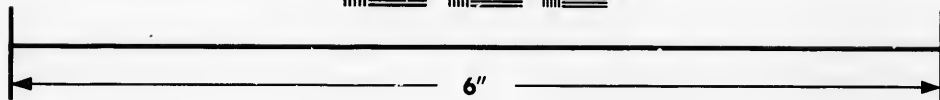
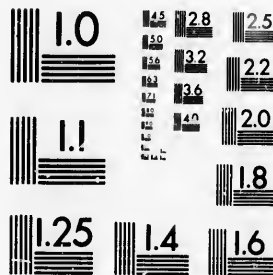


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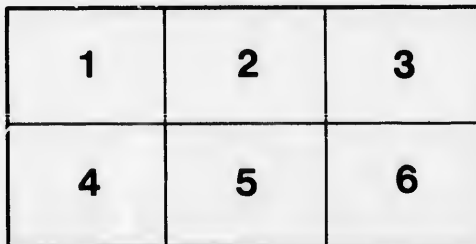
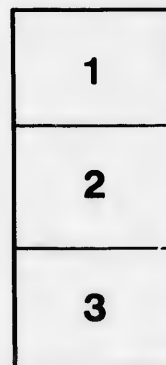
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W A R.

Deduced from the committing of Hostilities in 1749, to the signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace in 1763.

The SECOND EDITION,
With an INDEX.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. JOHNSON, opposite the Monument;
and J. CURTIS, in Fleet-Street.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
R I C H A R D,
Lord Viscount HOWE,
One of the Lords of the ADMIRALTY;
Colonel of MARINES, and
Member of Parliament for the Borough
of DARTMOUTH.

My LORD,

IN no age or nation of the world have true heroism and refined policy shone with such distinguished lustre as in the late war. A war that is replete with every brilliant and glorious transaction that dignify or do honour to a brave and free people. A war that is strongly recommended to our notice as not only fought in our own times but by our own countrymen. Perhaps there is no family in England which has had so distinguished and honourable a share in this war
as

as that of your lordship. At least every foldier and sailor is ready to confes this truth, that there is none which has been more liberal in the most noble and laudable acts of generosity and humanity. To the remaining eldest branch of such a family, it therefore cannot be any impropriety to inscribe this history ; which is most humbly and respectfully done by

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and most

Humble servant.

*Westminster,
Sept. 16, 1763.*

The AUTHOR.



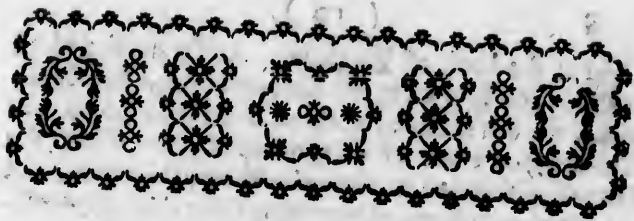
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H I S T O R Y

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From the committing of Hostilities to the defeat of General Braddock.



W H O E V E R rightly considers the origin of the present war, will find it a difficult matter to determine whether it ought to be attributed to the disputes concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, or to the design which the French had long had in view of uniting Canada with Louisiana, by a chain of forts in order to extirpate the English totally out of North America. To clear this matter satisfactorily, a man should be possessed of what were the real and particular intentions of the French ministry, immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, when they began to send troops, stores, arms, provisions, &c. to Canada: Whether they intended first to seize Nova Scotia, or the lands on

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Ohio at the back of Virginia. As far as the nicest examination into circumstances and things can determine, we are inclined to think that Nova Scotia was the original cause of disagreement; for when the French miscarried in their aim there, they then, and not till then, vigorously pursued their old and extensive project, of hemming in all the British settlements, and cutting off their intercourse with the Indians. Persuaded that this was the first cause of dispute, we shall consider it as the origin of the war; and begin with explaining the cause of that dispute, as well as the views of the two parties.

The English had a clear and undoubted right to Nova Scotia, by the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht, in which the French King in the most obvious and strong terms ceded it to the crown of Great Britain, *with its ancient boundaries*. Now the dispute turned upon what were its ancient boundaries. The peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, by which they ought to have been affixed, committed them, with many other things, to the discussion of commissaries. No sooner was that peace concluded, than a number of the French Canadians were sent by M. de la Galissoniere, governor of that province, to settle at the mouth of St. John's river in Nova Scotia, where they immediately began to erect two forts, in order to establish themselves; and to seize several parts of the country which were in dispute: The end proposed to be answered by this step was, the employing of emissaries and priests, to tamper with some of the Indians of Nova Scotia, who had long been distinguished by a kind of refractory behaviour towards the British government, and to excite them to harass and distress our colonies in that province; so as to prevent their being able to extend their plantations, and if possible to drive them to the necessity of abandon-

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ing the settlement. * These perfidious practices were not only countenanced, but warmly encouraged by

* If any thing, after observing these encroachments, which followed so close upon the treaty can be wanting, to shew that France, at the time of making the peace, had determined to take the first favourable opportunity of seizing upon the province; and was preparing every measure which could pave the way for it; the behaviour of the governor of Canada and bishop of Quebec at this juncture must put it out of the question.

As their proceedings will be best disclos'd by the insertion of the letter written by the governor of the Massachusetts Bay upon this occasion to the governor of Canada, we have procured a copy of it, and shall here print it.

S I R,

Two days ago I received from Mr. Mascarene, a copy of your letter to him dated at Quebec the 15th of January; wherein (among other demands) you call upon him to acquaint you, whether he intends to comprehend the Abenaki Indians, [who spread themselves between Massachusetts Bay, and St. John's river] in the peace, without requiring any kind of submission from them; and desire that in such case he would engage me to let them resettle in their village, and their missionaries remain there with them unmolested as they did before the war, only as your allies, and therefore when the war was finished with you, it ought to be so with regard to them. And you proceed to say, Sir, that if they thought otherways in New England, you shall be obliged to assist those Indians; intimating that it is of importance to the safety and tranquility of the frontiers of the Massachusetts Bay, that you should have a speedy and positive answer, and that you shall not be surprized, if the Indians should proceed to acts of violence.

To this, Sir, Mr. Mascarine having referred you to me upon it, I shall comply with your request in giving as speedy and positive an answer as may be.

The river of St. John's, upon which, that part of the Indians to which you chiefly refer, is seated, has been ever deemed to be situated within the heart of Nova Scotia, and consequently that Tribe of Indians together with the French inhabitants upon the same river, are within his majesty's territories; and accordingly Sir, the latter have acknowledged themselves ever since the treaty of Utrecht, to be the subjects of the crown of Great Britain, by taking the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to it; and have had the protection of his majesty's government in common

the French court; who intended as soon as possible to seize Nova Scotia entirely.

with his other subjects in that province; this being the case, these Indians, when the advice of a rupture between his majesty and the king your master was hourly expected, under the pretext of sending a deputation to Mr. Mascarene, to desire they might remain in peace and amity with the English, notwithstanding war should happen between the two crowns, gain'd admission into Annapolis Royal for some of their tribe, who were in reality (as it afterwards proved) Spies; and having obtain'd Mr. Mascarene's agreement to what they pretended to propose in behalf of their tribe, and being honourably treated and dismissed by him, returned in three weeks after, among others of their tribe, with the missionary de Loutre at their head, surprized and killed as many of the English at Annapolis Royal, as they caught without the fort, destroyed their cattle, burnt their houses, and continued acts of hostility against the garrison, till the arrival of the first party of succours, which I sent from New England: such was the entrance of these Indians, Sir, into the war with us, and their alliance with you.

For this perfidious behaviour, I caused war to be declared in his majesty's name against them at Boston in 1744, and so far as it depends upon me, they shall not be admitted to terms of peace, till they have made a proper submission for their treachery, unless they should be already comprehended in the definitive treaty of peace and friendship lately concluded at Aix la Chapelle, which I shall on my part strictly observe in every point.

As you have thought fit to declare your intentions to support the Indians in acts of hostility against us, unless we give them peace upon the terms there prescribed by you, and the dangers which the frontiers of Massachusetts Bay in particular may be in, unless you have a speedy and positive answer on this head; what I have to say in answer is, that I shall be sorry for a new rupture between us, and am very desirous to have perfect tranquillity restored to the province under my government; but if the latter is not to be the case, and you think fit to make yourself a party in an Indian war against us; I doubt not but his majesty's subjects upon this continent, will be able to make just reprisals upon Canada, when it shall be his majesty's pleasure to have them do it.

The right you claim of sending missionaries from France to reside among his majesty's subjects of Nova Scotia as their priests,

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Its Situation was not only inviting, being at a small distance from Cape Breton, the cod fisheries and the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, but there was another more powerful temptation in this colony. As

and, in consequence of that, your forbidding his majesty's governor to make any alteration in the state of religion, and its ministers there, is still more extraordinary; and I must not omit upon this occasion to remark to you, that I think the letter, which the bishop of Quebec lately wrote to Mr. Mascarene concerning his intended visitation of his majesty's subjects in that government, in such terms, as shew'd he looks upon them as part of his cure of souls, and within his jurisdiction, was likewise an extraordinary attempt and can't be admitted.

Your interfering in his majesty's punishment of his subjects in Nova Scotia, inflicted for rebellious and treasonable practices against his crown, and his requiring others of them to renew their oaths of fidelity; and in a word your treating the subjects of the crown of Great Britain in that province, as if you look'd upon them as subjects of his most christian majesty, and being under his allegiance, is if possible still more surprizing; and as these attempts are manifest invasions of the undoubted right, which every prince has over his subjects, I can't but look upon them as insults upon his majesty's government.

After these attempts, Sir, upon his majesty's right of government over his subjects in Nova Scotia, I am less surprized at your encroachments upon the limits of his province, which you are pleas'd to call in your letter, "Dependencies of the government Canada."

I can't conclude without making use of this opportunity to acquaint you, that we look on fort St. Frederick at Crown Point, as an encroachment on his majesty's territories; and in case you proceed to settle the country round it, I shall esteem those settlements so too, unless that tract has been ceded to you, by the late definitive treaty at Aix la Chapelle.

I am sorry, Sir, That the first fruits of the peace on your part, have so unpromising an aspect; and beg you will be persuaded, that nothing shall be wanting in me, to preserve the good understanding, which ought to subsist between us in time of peace,

Having the honour to be,

W. Shirley.

Boston,

May 9; 1749.

Soon as Maurepas the French minister had carried his point in making the peace of Aix la Chapelle, he vigorously set about augmenting the marine of France, and among the great number of ships which he contracted for, several were put on the Stocks in North America. Now it is well known that there is not a country in the world, which produces better or finer pine for masts, yards, and other sorts of wood for ship-building than Nova Scotia; nor has so excellent a harbour as that which is now call'd Halifax, where a fleet of any number may supply itself with every necessary; therefore Mr. Mascarene the governor of Nova Scotia, being aware of the designs of the French in settling about the mouth of St. John's river, insisted upon their taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, which they refused to do, and made application to the governor of Canada, who immediately sent an officer and a detachment of troops to their assistance. Things were in this situation, when providence raised up a British minister, [Lord Halifax] for the immediate protection and support of Nova Scotia, who at this time delivered it from the great hazard of being swallowed up by French encroachments; and to whose talents, vigilance and spirit, the nation owes its possession of this province. There had long indeed been a plan drawn up by Mr. Shirley for settling and securing Nova Scotia; but the preceding war prevented its being put in execution. However as the peace of Aix la Chapelle had eased the labours of the British ministry, the thoughts of a scheme for settling Nova Scotia were revived. The earl of Halifax, who presided at the board of trade, principally interested himself init. †

† The particulars of the plan were, That proper encouragement would be given to such of the officers and private men,

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It was contrived and intended to be a seasonable and comfortable provision for such of the army and navy as were disbanded at that time, and it was so feasible, that in a short time, near four thousand adventurers, with their families, were embarked with Colonel Cornwallis, whom the king had appointed governor, and landed in the harbour of Chebuctou, one of the most secure and commodious havens in the whole world, and well situated for the fishery. He was

lately dismissed from the land and sea-services as were willing, with or without families to settle in the province of Nova Scotia : That the fee-simple, or perpetual property, of fifty acres of land should be granted to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes for the term of ten years ; at the expiration of which, no person should pay more than one shilling per annum, for every fifty acres so granted : That, over and above these fifty, each person should receive a grant of ten acres, for every individual, including women and children, of which his family should consist ; and further grants should be made to them, as the number should encrease, and in proportion, as they should manifest their abilities in agriculture : That every officer, under the rank of ensign in the land-service, or lieutenant in the navy, should be gratified with fourscore acres on the same conditions : That two hundred acres should be bestowed upon ensigns, three hundred upon lieutenants, four hundred upon captains, and six hundred upon every officer above that degree, with proportionable considerations for the number and increase of every family : That the lands should be parcelled out, as soon as possible, after the arrival of the colonists, and a civil government established ; In consequence of which, they should enjoy all the liberties and privileges of British subjects, with proper security and protection : That the settlers, with their families, should be conveyed to Nova Scotia, and maintain'd for twelve months after their arrival, at the expence of the government, which would also supply them with arms and ammunition, as far as should be judged necessary for their defence, with proper materials and utensils for cleaning and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, exercising the fishery, and such other purposes as should be judged necessary for their support.

immediately joined by two regiments from Louif-
 bourgh; then having pitched upon a spot for the set-
 tlement, he fet his people to work in clearing the
 the ground, in order to lay the foundation of a
 town. This spot was very near the harbour, on an
 easy ascent, commanding a prospect of the whole pe-
 ninsula, and was well supplied with small rivers of
 fresh water. Here on a regular plan he began to
 build a town, to which he gave the name of Halifax,
 in honour of the nobleman, who cherished the infant
 colony with paternal affection.

The French court piqued at the views of the Eng-
 lish, in establishing such a powerful colony, very
 strongly remonstrated against it, in a memorial
 which, the Sieur Durand, the French chargé d'affaires
 at London, delivered to the British ministry in June
 1749: Herein the French king propos'd the appoint-
 ment of commissaries from both nations, who were
 to settle in an amicable manner, the limits of the re-
 spective colonies. This proposal was agreed to, and
 some time after, Wm. Shirley governor of Massa-
 chusetts Bay in New England, and Wm. Mildmay
 Esqrs. were appointed on the part of Great Britain,
 and repaired to Paris, to settle the disputes with the
 Count de la Galissoniere, governor of Canada, who
 was called home for that purpose, and M. de Silhoup-
 ette commissaries on the part of France.

It is proper to observe, that on the nomination of
 these commissaries, the two courts agreed expressly to
 this stipulation "That no fortification, new settle-
 "ment, or innovation, should be attempted on those
 "countries, the fate of which was to be finally de-
 "termin'd by their sentence." Notwithstanding
 this mutual stipulation, the French sent quite different
 instructions to their governors in America; for M.
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ment of Canada, immediately upon his arrival in America, erected a fort called Beausejour or fair residence, at the head of the bay of Fundy, and another at bay Verte, or green bay; by which the English were confined like prisoners, within the peninsula, and the French had it in their power to carry their arms which way they pleased. This was not only a breach of the stipulation but just before agreed to, but even of the peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle; since it could be deemed nothing less than an act of hostility, being on a country, to which they themselves acknowledged their right disputable. Thus it is every way evident, that the French were resolved to wrest Nova Scotia out of our hands; not to observe any treaties, or articles of agreement, but divert the attention of our ministry, with treating and deferring, till the whole country was swallowed up in encroachments.

The earl of Albemarle, the British minister at Paris, in a letter to the marquis de Puyseulx, the French minister, dated the 25th of March, 1750, written by order of the duke of Bedford, remonstrated against the acts of Jonquiere as hostile, and tending towards a breach of the peace, but just concluded. Puyseulx assured the British minister in his answer, that orders had been sent to Jonquiere to desist from all kinds of hostility; but this was false; for a few months afterwards there came an account from America of further deprivations committed by the French. Jonquiere had appointed the chevalier de la Corne and father Louître, governors of the new forts on the peninsula of Nova Scotia. These commanders sallied out, and ravaged all the adjacent country. Governor Cornwallis acquainted Jonquiere of this proceeding, and threatened to repel force by force. The Frenchman replied, that

That he acted in consequence of his last instructions from Paris, whereby he was directed not to suffer any English settlement in that country, but by force of arms compel those inhabitants to retire. This letter is dated, Quebec, April, 1750, from which place these forts were supplied with provision, warlike stores, &c. One of the French King's vessels, carrying thirty soldiers, with arms and ammunition for thrice that number, and presents for the Indians, who had revolted from the British government, was taken off Cape Sable, by captain Rous, in the sloop Albany; it appeared that she was bound to the fort at Bay Verte, which commanded almost the whole gulph of St. Lawrence; and that she had a schooner under her convoy, laden in the same manner; but she, during the fight, which lasted about two hours, got away. Another vessel carrying warlike stores was taken by the Trial sloop, and these, with two others, were condemned at Halifax. M. d'Herbers, governor of Louisbourg, in order to retaliate upon the English, seized and condemned four British trading vessels which were in that harbour.

The chevalier de la Corne and father Loùtre continuing to make sallies, and send out detachments to scour the country of all the English inhabitants, governor Cornwallis sent Major Lawrence with a party of regulars to drive the French off the ground. When he arrived pretty near Chignecto, a small place belonging to the English, not far from Beaufejour, he saw the French set fire to the few houses there, and could distinguish French colours planted on some fences, behind which there were troops of that nation, and several tribes of rebel Indians, whom the French commanders had brought over from the British to their alliance. Major Lawrence continued

continued the fence, Corne, and chevalier a to know th answered, quiere, gov suffer any E which Mr. turned with time after, their houses began to in Lawrence w drive them submit to th refusing to d obliged them posted at a fr river, took th Mr. Lawrence tacking the F ther hostilitie likely to com of these trans

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continued to advance, and being come pretty near the fence, desired to speak with the chevalier de la Corne, and went singly half way to meet him; the chevalier appearing, the English officer demanded to know the reason of his being there; to which he answered, that by the orders of M. de la Jonquiere, governor of Canada, he was directed not to suffer any English settlements in that country; upon which Mr. Lawrence, not having any orders, returned without committing hostilities. In a short time after, the rebel Indians returned and rebuilt their houses, and being instructed by the French, began to intrench themselves; upon which Major Lawrence was again detached with 1000 men, to drive them out of the country, if they would not submit to the British government: which last they refusing to do, he forced their intrenchments, and obliged them to fly. The French troops, who were posted at a small distance on the opposite side of the river, took them immediately under their protection. Mr. Lawrence was restrained by his orders from attacking the French, therefore he desisted from farther hostilities. Governor Cornwallis, seeing matters likely to come to a rupture, transmitted an account of these transactions to the duke of Bedford.

His grace ordered the earl of Albemarle to present a memorial of complaint to the French court, which his lordship did in the month of July, and recapitulated all these proceedings, and in the conclusion categorically demanded, that the conduct of Jonquiere, and the other commandants, be disavowed, and positive orders sent them to withdraw their troops and Indians from the territories of the British crown, and amends made for the damage they had done. This memorial occasioned a good deal of caviling, but as the commissaries were

were met, and had by this time opened the conferences, the French king thought proper to send orders to Jonquiere to cease all hostilities on the side of Nova Scotia; upon which the French retired to their forts at Beausejour and Bay Verte, and thereby gave the colonists of Nova Scotia tranquility and leisure to carry on their original design into execution*. In this situation did the affairs of this colony continue, till the year 1755, during which interval the French directed their attention another way.

The British commissaries demanded all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, according to its antient boundaries as ceded to Great Britain by the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht, but a dispute arising concerning what were its antient boundaries, the British commissaries produced from records, history, and treaties, such arguments and facts, as proved the ancient, and extensive limits of that province in support of their demand. The papers relative to this dispute are written in so masterly, clear, and correct a manner, as not only did real honour to them (Charles Townshend, and William Shirley, Esqrs.) who in a great measure drew them up, but left no room for the smallest cavil of the most shuffling French negotiator. Yet did the French court, with a perfidy unheard of, endeavour to invalidate the justice of the British claims, by producing false maps, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced; by misrepresenting treaties

* The suffering the French to remain quiet in possession of the forts they had erected, in order to protect the Indians in an open rebellion, and in time to seize the whole province, was nearly the same as acknowledging their right to the country in dispute, and an open testimony of the cowardly and mean submission of the B———

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which were expressed with the utmost precision, and lastly, by so perplexing the conferences with petty differences, and matter foreign to the subject, and by affected delays and artful objections, raised from shadows, in order to spin out the negotiation, and give time to fortify the places in question, and make new acquisitions, that at length their insincerity and craft became so conspicuous, that the British commissaries retired from Paris in the beginning of the year 1753, and Mr. Shirley returned to his government in New-England, it being found impossible to make any impression on the French court, as they were resolved to admit neither justice nor truth.

In a work of this kind these memorials must be very acceptable; therefore we shall give some extracts from them; the original French of which the reader will see in the notes †.

“ The commissaries of the king of Great Britain, in their construction of this treaty, have conformed themselves to the rule laid down by the treaty

† “ Les commissaires du roi de la Grande Bretagne se sont dans leur explication de ce traité, conformés à la regle établie par le traité même, & ont assigné comme les anciennes limites de cette contrée, celles qui ont toujours passé pour telles, depuis les tems les plus anciens de quelque certitude, jusqu'au traité d'Utrecht; celles que les deux couronnes ont souvent déclarés être telles; que la couronne de France a souvent reçues comme telles; & que les negociations qui ont précédé le traité d'Utrecht prouvent avoir été considérées comme telles par les deux couronnes dans ce même tems.

“ Ces limites sont les rives méridionales du fleuve St. Laurent au nord, & Pentagoët à l'ouest.

“ Pour montrer que ces limites ont toujours été reçues par les deux couronnes, comme les anciennes limites de l'Acadie,

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treaty itself, and assigned those as the ancient limits of this country which have ever passed as such

nous avons prouvé, d'après l'autorité de M. d'Estrades & du pere Charlevoix, qu'en vertu du traité de St. Germain en 1632, le premier traité dans lequel il soit fait aucune mention de le contrée d'Acadie, la France recut, sours le nom généré al d'Acadie, toute cette contrée depuis le fleuve St. Laurent jusqu'à Pentagoët, que la Grande Bretagne reclame aujourd'hui comme telle.

“ Pour montrer que la France demeura en possession de cette contree avec ces limites, depuis 1632, jusqu'à 1654, que les Anglois firent une descente dans l'Acadie, sous les ordres du colonel Sedgwick, nous avons cité M. de Estrades, qui le dit précisément, l'autorité du pere Charlevoix, la lettre de Louis XIII en 1638, qui regle la juridiction des Sieurs de Charnisay & de la Tour, les commissions subséquentes du gouvernement François aux Sieurs de Charnisay & de la Tour en 1647 & 1651, comme gouverneurs de l'Acadie, & la commission du Sieur Denis en 1654, lesquelles commissions portent aussi expressément les bornes de l'Acadie, depuis le fleuve St. Laurent jusqu'à Pentagoët & la Nouvelle Angleterre.

“ Pour prouver qu'en 1654 la France avoit les mêmes idées de cette contrée qu'elle avoit établies en 1632, lorsqu'elle ne pouvoit prendre l'Acadie comme elle l'a pris que suivant ses anciennes limites, nous avons produit la demande faite par l'Ambassadeur de France en 1654 pour la restitution des forts de Pentagoët, St. Jean & Port Royal, comme forts situés en Acadie.

“ Pour montrer le sentiment de la France en 1666, lors du renouveau de la prétention de la France sur la contrée d'Acadie, qui n'avoit pas été décidée par le traité de Westminster, nous avons produit a demande faite alors par la France dans la personne de son Ambassadeur à la cour de Londres, qui assigna Pentagoët comme la limite occidentale, & le fleuve St. Laurent comme la limite septentrionale de l'Acadie, & allegua la restitution de l'Acadie en 1632 ; & la possession prise par la France en conséquence, & la continuation de la possession par cette puissance avec les mêmes limites jusqu'en 1654, comme des preuves de l'équité & de la validité de la pretention qu'il formoit alors ; dans laquelle pretention, & la

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such, from the very earliest times of any certainty down to the very treaty of Utrecht; those which the

la maniere de l'appuier, il fut approuvé particulierment par la cour de France.

“ Nous avons vû, que nonobstant cette difference de sentimens en 1661, entre les deux couronnes, sur les limites de l'Acadie, que la France avoit pensé qu'il étoit si clair par ses premieres déterminations & ses premieres possessions, que les veritables anciennes bornes étoient Pentigoet à l'ouest, & St. Laurent au nord, qu'elle ne désira aucune autre specification particuliere des limites dans le traité de Breda, mais se contenta de la restitution de l'Acadie nommée generalement; que sur une contestation qui s'eleva ensuite dans l'execution de ce traité, la France reclama de nouveau les limites qu'elle avoit reclamées en 1661; & que la Grande Bretagne, après quelque discussion, niant acquiescé à cette prétention, la France entra en possession de l'Acadie, par le traité de Breda, avec les mêmes limites que nous assignons aujourd'hui.

“ Le sentiment de la France sur ce sujet en 1685 & 1687 est clairement manifesté dans le memoire de l'Ambassadeur de France en 1685, alors resident à Londres; dans lequel, en se plaignant de quelques usurpations faites par les Anglois sur la côte d'Acadie, il décrit l'Acadie comme s'étendant depuis l'Isle Percée, qui est à l'entrée du fleuve St. Laurent, jusqu'à l'Isle de St. George; & dans la plainte faite à la cour de la Grande Bretagne par M. Barillon & M. Bonrepaus, en 1687, contre le juge de Pemaquid, pour s'être saisi des effets d'un commerçant François à Pentagoet, qu'ils disent être situé en Acadie, comme renduë à la France par le traité de Breda.

“ Pour montrer le sentiment de la France en 1700, nous avons produit la proposition de l'Ambassadeur de France, alors resident à la Grande Bretagne, de restreindre les limites de l'Acadie à la riviere St. George.

“ Nous avons produit la reddition de Port Royal en 1710, dans laquelle l'Acadie est decrite avec les mêmes limites avec lesquelles la France l'avoit reçue en 1632 & 1667.

“ Pour montrer le sentiment des deux couronnes, même au traité d'Utrecht, nous avons produit les instructions de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, à ses Ambassadeurs en 1711, dans lesquelles ils ont ordre d'insister sur ce que sa Majesté très Chrétienne

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the two crowns have frequently declared to be such, which the crown of France has frequently received as

enne abandonne toute prétention ou titre, en vertu d'aucun ancien traité ou autrement, sur la contrée appelée Nova Scotia, & expressement sur Port Royal, autrement Annapolis Royal; & nous avons montré, par des faits incontestables, que le détail des différentes sortes de droit que la France a en aucun tems eus sur cette contrée, & la specification des deux termes, Acadie ou Nouvelle Ecosse, furent proposés par la Grande Bretagne dans le dessein de prevenir tous les doutes que l'on avoit jamais eus sur les limites de l'Acadie, & embrasser avec plus de certitude tout le païs que la France avoit jamais reçu comme tel.

“ Pour montrer ce que la France regardoit comme Acadie, pendant le traité, nous avons renvoyé aux offres de la France en 1712, dans lesquelles elle propose de restreindre les bornes de l'Acadie à la riviere St. George, comme un desistement de ses bornes réelles, dans le cas où la Grande Bretagne lui rendroit la possession de cette contrée.

“ La nature de ce système montre clairement, que la Grande Bretagne ne demande rien que ce que l'explication naturelle des termes du traité d'Utrecht lui donne nécessairement; & qu'il est impossible qu'aucune chose porte un caractère plus frappant de candeur & de bonne foy, que la demande actuelle du Roi de la Grande Bretagne. Il résulte incontestablement des différentes preuves que l'on a apportées pour appuyer cette prétention, que les Commissaires Anglois n'ont assigné aucunes limites, comme anciennes limites de l'Acadie, que celles que la France détermina être telles en 1662, & posséda en conséquence de cette détermination jusqu'en 1654.

“ Qu'en 1662 la France reclama, & reçut en 1669, la contrée que la Grande Bretagne reclame aujourd'hui comme Acadie, comme l'Acadie rendue à la France par le traité de Breda sous ce nom général. Que la France ne considéra jamais l'Acadie depuis 1632, jusqu'à 1710, comme ayant aucunes autres limites que celles que nous assignons aujourd'hui; & que par le traité d'Utrecht elle eut intention de transférer comme Acadie la même contrée qu'elle avoit toujours conservée & possédée, & que la Grande Bretagne reclame aujourd'hui comme telle.

“ Si par conséquent la France veut décider quelles sont les anciennes limites de l'Acadie, par les déclarations qu'elle a faites si fréquemment

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fréquemment dans des discussions semblables sur le même point, par une possession de presque un siècle, & par sa description de l'Acadie pendant la négociation de ce même traité qui a élevé ce doute, elle ne peut disconvenir, que la prétention actuelle de la Grande Bretagne est conforme au traité d'Utrecht, & à la description de la contrée transférée à la Grande Bretagne, par le 12e article de ce traité. Il y a certainement une consistance dans les réclamations du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, & une suite complète dans les preuves que nous apportons pour les appuyer, qui se rencontre rarement dans des discussions de cette sorte ; car il arrive rarement dans des contestations de cette nature entre deux couronnes, que l'une d'elles puisse offrir avec sûreté de régler ses prétentions par les déclarations connues & répétées, ou par la possession de l'autre.

“ Pour reprocher à la force de ce détail de faits historiques conclusifs, & donner un nouveau sens à la question réelle dont il s'agit, les commissaires François ont établi d'abord dans leur mémoire, comme une distinction faite par le traité d'Utrecht, que les anciennes limites rapportées par ce traité sont différentes de celles avec lesquelles ce territoire peut avoir passé dans les traités de St. Germain & de Breda ; & ensuite ils se sont efforcés de montrer, par les témoignages des cartes & historiens, que l'Acadie & ses limites étoient anciennement confinées à la partie sud-est de la péninsule. Pour appuyer ce système les commissaires François ont eu recours aux cartes anciennes & aux historiens, qui, à ce qu'ils prétendent, ont toujours borné l'Acadie aux limites qu'ils assignent ; ils allèguent ces commissions du gouvernement de France que nous avons citées comme une preuve qui appuie les limites que nous assignons, comme ayant été des commissions sur l'Acadie & *paris circonvoisins*, & non sur l'Acadie seulement ; qu'il est impossible de supposer, que toute la contrée que sa majesté réclame comme Acadie ait jamais été considérée comme telle, parcequ'un grand nombre des parties de ce territoire ont toujours eu, & conservent encore, des noms particuliers & distingués. Ils font de la nouvelle France une province particulière, & assurent que plusieurs parties de ce que nous réclamons comme Acadie ne peuvent jamais avoir été de l'Acadie, parceque les historiens & les commissions Françoises

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sidered as such by the two crowns at that very time.

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“ These limits
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de gouverneur les placent expressément dans la nouvelle France. Ils avancent qu'on ne peut déduire aucune preuve du sentiment d'aucune couronne, par rapport aux limites d'aucune contrée, de ses déclarations pendant la négociation d'un traité, & enfin, se fondant sur les cartes & sur les historiens, pour leurs anciennes limites de l'Acadie, ils traitent de “ *Preuves étrangères* ” à l'état de la question, les allegations de la restitution expressé du traité de St. Germain & de la possession de la France en conséquence de ce traité, de la possession prise par la France en conséquence du traité de Breda, après une longue discussion des limites, & de la déclaration de la France pendant la négociation du traité d'Utrecht.

“ L'examen que nous avons fait des cartes & des historiens qu'ils ont cités pour appuyer ce système prouve évidemment, que cette question devoit être décidée sur ces autorités qu'il s'agit de tendent appartenir, & devoir être appliquées à cette discussion, les limites qu'ils assignent sont entièrement incompatibles avec les meilleures cartes de toutes les contrées qui sont des autorités favorables à presque toutes les parties de la réclamation de la Grande Bretagne. Nous avons prouvé, que les historiens Champlain & Denys, avec sa commission en 1654, assignent les mêmes limites septentrionales & occidentales à l'Acadie que nous & l'escarbot, autant qu'on peut tirer quelques preuves de ses écrits, s'accorde avec les deux premiers historiens. Toutes ces preuves s'accordent avec des traités & les différentes transactions entre les deux couronnes pendant près d'un siècle, & en confirment l'autorité. Les commissaires François en passant des traités & de la conduite des deux couronnes aux historiens anciens & aux cartes, n'ont fait que passer de l'autentique à une espece de preuves insuffisantes, & ont jeté les commissaires Anglois dans une recherche qui ne prouve que les preuves propres & impropres, régulières & étrangères, sur lesquelles cette matière est appuyée, refusent également les limites qu'établissent les commissaires François comme les anciennes limites de l'Acadie.

“ Nous avons montré que les termes pais circonvoisins, sur lesquels les commissaires François rejettent toutes les preuves que nous tirons des commissions de France aux gouverneurs d'Acadie, prétendant, sur l'addition de ces termes, que ces commissions n'étoient pas pour l'Acadia seulement, étoient des expressions de forme France aux gouverneurs, & qu'il ne faut pas en tirer dans ce sens, & qu'il est évident que ces termes, quand ils sont employés dans le traité d'Acadie, d'où les commissaires ont tiré leur prétexte.

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“ Nous avons montré
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du sieur de la Tour
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particuliers en Acadie au
négligence des commis
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" These limits are the southern bank of the river St. Laurence to the north, and Pentagoet to the west.

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pressions de forme, inférées dans toutes les commissions de France aux gouverneurs en Amerique, qui, si on les expliquoit dans ce sens, introduiroient des inconsistances & des absurdités sans fin, opposées à l'intention de la France alors ; & que ces termes, quand ils seroient susceptibles d'une explication semblable, ne sont pas dans les commissions pour le gouvernement d'Acadie, d'où les commissaires François les ont citées par méprise.

" Nous avons montré par l'autorité d'une lettre de Louis XIII. de 1633, & par les commissions du sieur Charnifay 1647 & du sieur de la Tour en 1651, que la prétention qu'il y eut différentes commissions données pour des commandemens particuliers en Acadie aux sieurs Charnifay & de la Tour est une méprise des commissaires François ; & que dans le fait Charnifay ni la Tour n'ont jamais eû aucun commandement particulier semblable ; & que leurs premieres & secondes commissions sont des preuves qui apuient la reclamation de la Grande Bretagne.

" Nous avons montré que les preuves fondées sur les noms particuliers donnés aux parties de l'Acadie, differens du nom general de la contrée, avoient leur base dans une circonstance accidentelle qui ne signifie rien, & qui doit être comparée à ce que l'on voit de semblable dans l'histoire de presque toutes les contrées de l'univers. Nous avons expliqué plusieurs des noms de ces districts particuliers ; nous avons montré que toutes les parties de l'Acadie auxquelles on a objecté sur cette allegation ont toujours été parties de l'Acadie, malgré la division nominale de cette contrée ; & on a démontré combien il y a peu de raison à supposer, qu'il y ait jamais eû une province particulière formée sous le nom de la Bay Françoisé ; & qu'il ne reste aucune preuve de la commission du sieur Denys en 1654 sur la grande Baye de St. Laurent, que la contrée depuis le cap Canseau jusqu' au cap Rosiers ait toujours été considérée comme distinguée de l'Acadie.

" Nous avons montré que la distinction entre la nouvelle France & autres provinces particulieres des territoires en Amerique n'avoit aucun fondement, sui l'autorité des actes les plus solennels

“ To shew that these limits have ever been received by the two crowns as the ancient limits

lemnels du gouvernement de France, dans lesquels le terme nouvelle France est toujours employé comme un terme qui embrasse toutes les possessions de la France dans l'Amerique septentrionale.

“ Nous avons montré que la déclaration de la France, quant à son opinion des limites de l'Acadie, exprimée dans l'équivalent offert deux fois en 1712, étoit une preuve frappante de sentiment sur les limites de l'Acadie qu'elle étoit sur le point de céder, malgré ce même principe dangereux établi par les commissaires François, qu'on ne doit pas juger de l'opinion des parties dans aucun traité, par leurs déclarations les plus faibles pendant la négociation de ce traité.

“ Nous avons donné une réponse complète au prétexte sur lequel les commissaires François refusent de rien conclure de la conduite des deux couronnes depuis 1632 jusqu'à 1710, de la possession prise par la France 1632, de sa possession jusqu'en 1654, de sa demande de Pentagoët, comme d'une place en Acadie, en 1654, de sa réclamation de l'Acadie depuis Pentagoët jusqu'à St. Laurent en 1662, de sa possession en conséquence du traité de Breda en 1669, & des différentes réclamations sur les mêmes limites depuis 1667 jusqu'à 1710; & nous avons montré que toutes ces différentes preuves sont conclusives pour le point actuel, & les seuls témoignages convenables que l'on peut citer pour éclaircir les difficultés que l'on a élevées sur le traité d'Utrecht.

“ Nous avons fait connoître la vue dans laquelle les commissaires François sont entrés dans l'histoire de la première découverte & de l'établissement de l'Amerique, & seulement par un motif qui n'a pas la moindre connexion avec la matière dont ils s'agit.

“ Nous avons démontré que toutes les preuves qu'apportent par conséquent les commissaires François pour appuyer le système, tendent à le détruire, & sont appliquées de la manière la plus frappante à soutenir la réclamation de la Grande Bretagne. Nous avons répondu entièrement aux objections qui ont été faites l'on fait contre les raisonnemens & les preuves qu'ont apportés les commissaires Anglois; & il est manifesté que le Roi de Grande Bretagne ne tire aucunes preuves de sources qui ne soient authentiques.

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A Paris, 23 Jan

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of Acadia, we have proved upon the authority of Monsieur d'Eltrades, and of Pere Charlevoix, that by the treaty of St. Germain's in 1632, the first treaty in which the country of Acadia is mentioned at all, France received under the general name of Acadia all that country from the river St. Laurence to Pentagoët, which Great Britain now claims as such.

antentiques, & est soutenu dans sa reclamation par toutes les transactions entre les deux couronnes pendant plus d'un siècle : qu'en reclamant la contrée depuis Pentagoët jusqu'au fleuve St. Laurent, comme Acadie, sa Majesté ne demande rien que ce que la France a toujours reçu, sous ce nom, dans la restitution la plus générale; que c'est ce que, si on déterminoit les anciennes limites de cette contrée sur les cartes, les historiens, sur les décisions uniformes des deux couronnes pendant plus de cent ans, & sur les declarations de la France lors du traité d'Utrecht, la France doit, suivant l'équité & la bonne foi, reconnoître comme une reclamation juste aux termes de la cession faite par le traité d'Utrecht.

“ Les Commissaires François, au contraire, sont également hors d'état d'appuyer leur système & leurs limites, sur les cartes & historiens qu'ils citent, sur la conduite des traités, sur les meilleures preuves que nous avons produites. Ils n'osent s'en tenir à aucune possession que la France a prise en consequence des termes les plus généraux de restitution, ni à la possession de la France pendant plus de cent ans successivement, ni à aucunes declarations faites par la France dans le tems du traité d'Utrecht; mais rejettant toutes ces preuves que nous tirons des tems certains & dont l'époque est connue, ils sont obligés d'avoir recours à des cartes & à des historiens peu sûrs par rapport au tems, & peu exacts, par le genre même de leur matiere; lesquels encore, lorsqu'on vient à les examiner de près, detruisent absolument leur système, s'accordent avec le sens & l'effet de l'evidence plus solide & plus récente des traités & des transactions entre les deux couronnes, & deviennent autant de preuves auxiliaire, qui appuient la reclamation de la couronne de la Grande Bretagne.

A Paris, 23 Janvier, 1753.

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To shew that France continued in possession of this country with these limits from the year 1632 to 1654, when a descent was made upon Acadia under the command of colonei Sedgwick, we have cited Monsieur d'Estrades, who expressly says this, the authority of Pere Charlevoix, the letter of Lewis XIII in 1638, regulating the jurisdiction of the sieurs Charnisay and de la Tour, the subsequent commissions of the French government to the sieurs Charnisay and de la Tour in 1647 and 1651, as governors of Acadia, and the commission to the sieur Denys in 1654, which commissions also expressly carry the bounds of Acadia from the river St. Laurence to Pentagoet and New England.

" To prove that in 1654 France had the same notions of this country which she established in 1632, when she could only take Acadia according to its ancient limits, we have produced the demand made by the French ambassador in 1654, for the restitution of the forts Pentagoet, St. John's, and Port Royal, as forts in Acadia.

" To shew the sense of France in the year 1662, upon the revival of the claim of France to the country of Acadia, which had been left undecided by the treaty of Westminster, we have produced the claim made by France at that time in the person of her ambassador to the court of London, who then assigned Pentagoet as the western, and the river St. Laurence as the northern boundary of Acadia, and alledged the restitution of Acadia in 1632, and the possession taken by France in consequence of it, and the continuance of the possession of France with the same limits to the year 1654, as proofs of the equitableness and validity of the claim which he then made; in which claim

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nd manner of supporting it he was particularly approved of by the court of France.

“ We have seen that notwithstanding this difference of opinion in 1662, between the two crowns, upon the limits of Acadia, France thought it so clear upon former determinations and her own former possessions, that the true ancient boundaries were Pentagoet to the west, and St. Laurence to the north, that she desired no particular specification of limits in the treaty of Breda, but was contented with the restitution of Acadia generally named; that upon a dispute afterwards arising in the execution of this treaty, France re-asserted the limits she had claimed in 1662; and that Great Britain after some discussion acquiescing in that claim, the crown of France came into possession of Acadia under the treaty of Breda, with the limits which we now assign.

“ The sense of France upon this subject in 1685 and 1687 is clearly manifested in the memorials of the French ambassador in 1685, then residing at London; in which, complaining of some encroachments made by the English upon the coast of Acadia, she describes Acadia as extending from isle Perçée, which lies at the entrance of the river St. Laurence, to St. George's island; and in the complaint made by Monsieur Barillon and Monsieur Bonrepaus at the court of Great Britain in 1687, against the judge of Pemaquid, for having seized the goods of a French merchant at Pentagoet, which they say is situated in Acadia, as restored to France by the treaty of Bre a.

“ To shew the sense of France in 1700, we have produced the proposal of the French ambassador, then residing in Great Britain, to restrain the limits of Acadia to the river St. George.

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“ We have produced the surrender of Port Royal in 1710, in which Acadia is described with the same limits with which France had received it in 1632 and 1667.

“ To shew the sense of the two crowns, even at the treaty of Utrecht itself, we have produced the queen of Great Britain’s instructions to her ambassadors in 1711, in which they are directed to insist, “ that his most Christian majesty should “ quit all claim and title, by virtue of any former “ treaty or otherwise, to the country called Nova “ Scotia, and expressly to Port Royal, otherwise “ Annapolis Royal;” and we have shewn upon facts not disputable, that the recital of the several sorts of right which France had ever had to this country, and the specification of both terms, Acadia or Nova Scotia, were intended by Great Britain to obviate all doubts which had ever been made upon the limits of Acadia, and to take in with more certainty all that country which France had ever received as such.

“ To shew what France considered as Acadia during the treaty, we have referred to the offers of France in 1712, in which she proposes to restrain the boundary of Acadia to the river St. George, as a departure from its real boundary, in case Great Britain would restore to her the possession of that country.

“ From the nature of this system it is clear, that Great Britain demands nothing but what the fair construction of the words of the treaty of Utrecht necessarily gives to her, and that it is impossible for any thing to have more evident marks of candour and fairness in it, than the present demand of the king of Great Britain. From the variety of evidence brought in support of this claim

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it undeniably results, that the English commissaries have assigned no limits as the ancient limits of Acadia, but those which France determined to be such in the year 1632, and possessed in consequence of that determination till the year 1654.

“ That in 1662 France claimed, and received in 1669, the very country which Great Britain now claims as Acadia, as the Acadia restored to France by the treaty of Breda under that general name. That France never considered Acadia as having any other limits than those which we now assign from the year 1632 to 1710; and that by the treaty of Utrecht she intended to transfer that very same country as Acadia which France has always asserted and possess'd, and Great Britain now claims as such.

“ If therefore the crown of France is willing to decide what are the ancient limits of Acadia by her own declarations, so frequently made in like discussions upon the same point, by her possession of this country for almost a century, and by her description of Acadia during the negotiation of that very treaty upon which this doubt is raised, she cannot but admit the present claim of Great Britain to be conformable to the treaty of Utrecht; and descriptive of the country transferr'd to Great Britain by the 12th article of that treaty: There certainly is a consistency in the claim of the king of Great Britain, and a compleatness in the evidence brought in support of it, which is seldom seen in discussions of this sort; for it seldom happens in disputes of this nature between two crowns, that either of them can safely offer to have *its* pretensions decided by the known and repeated declarations, or by the possessions of the other.

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“ To answer the force of this detail of conclusive historical facts, and to give a new turn to the real question in dispute, the French commissaries have in their memorial first laid it down as a distinction made by the treaty of Utrecht, that the antient limits of Acadia referred to by that treaty are different from any with which that country may have passed under the treaties of St. Germain's and Breda; and then endeavoured to shew, upon the testimonies of maps and historians, that Acadia and its limits were anciently confined to the south-eastern part of the peninsula. In support of this system the French commissaries have had recourse to antient maps and historians, who, as they assert, have ever confined Acadia to the limits they assign; they alledge those commissions of the French government over Acadia, which we have cited as evidence in support of the limits we assign, to have been commissions over Acadia & *Pais circonvoisins*, and not over Acadia only: That it is impossible to suppose the whole country his Majesty claims as Acadia should ever have been considered as such, as many parts of that territory have ever had, and do still preserve, particular and distinct names. They make New France to be a province in itself, and argue that many parts of what we claim as Acadia can never have been in Acadia, because historians and the French commissions of government expressly place them in New France. They assert that no evidence can be drawn of the opinion of any crown, with respect to the limits of any country, from its declarations during the negotiation of a treaty; and in the end, relying, upon maps and historians for their ancient limits of Acadia, they make the express restitution of the treaty of St. Germain's and the possession of France in consequence

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"It is evident from our examination of the maps and historians they have cited in support of their system, that if this question was to be decided upon those authorities which they allow to belong and to be applicable to this discussion, the limits they assign are utterly inconsistent with the best maps of all countries, which are authorities in point for almost every part of the claim of Great Britain. The historians Champlain and Denys, with his commission in 1654, have been proved to assign the same northern and western limits to Acadia that we do; and Escarbot, as far as any evidence at all can be drawn from his writings, agrees with the two former historians. All these evidences fall in with and confirm the better authorities of treaties and the several transactions between the two crowns for near a century past; and the French commissaries, by going from treaties and the latter proceedings of the two crowns to antient historians and maps, have only gone from an authentick to an insufficient sort of evidence, and have led the English commissaries into an enquiry which proves, that both the proper and the improper, the regular and foreign evidence upon which this matter has been rested, equally confute the limits alledged by the French commissaries as the antient limits of Acadia.

"The words *pais circonvoisins* upon which the French commissaries set aside all the evidence drawn from the commissions of France to the governors of Acadia, pretending upon the addition of those words, that these commissions were not for Acadia:

only, have been shewn to be expressions of course, inserted in every commission of France to governors in America, which, if they were to be construed in this sense, would introduce endless inconsistencies and absurdities, contradictory to the intention of the crown of France at the time; and that these words, if they were capable of such a construction, are not in these commissions for the government of Acadia, from which the French commissaries have cited them by mistake.

“ The representation of two different commissions given to Charnisay and la Tour of particular commands in Acadia, has been shown, upon the authority of Lewis the XIIIth's letter in 1683, and Charnisay's commission in 1647 and la Tour's in 1651, to have been a mistake in the French commissaries, and that in fact they never had any such *commandemens particuliers*, and that both their first and their second commissions are proofs in support of the claim of Great Britain.

“ The arguments founded upon the particular names given to parts of Acadia, different from the general name of the country, has been shewn to arise from an accidental circumstance which implies nothing, and is to be paralleled in the history and situation of almost every country upon the globe. Many of the names of these particular districts have been explained; all the parts of Acadia, which have been objected to upon this allegation, have been shewn to have ever been parts of Acadia, in opposition to the nominal division of that country; and it has been demonstrated how little pretence there is for supposing that there ever was a particular province formed under the name of the Baye Françoise; and that no proof follows from the commission of the sieur Denys in 1654 over the grande

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Baye de St. Laurent, that the country from Cape Canseau to Cape Rosiers has ever been considered as distinct from Acadia.

“ The distinction between New France and other particular provinces of the territories in America has been shewn to have no foundation upon the authority of the most solemn acts of government of France, in which the word Nouvelle France is always used as a term comprehensive of all the possessions of France in North America.

“ The declaration of the crown of France, as to her opinion of the limits of Acadia, expressed in the equivalent twice offered in 1712, has been shewn to be a proper evidence of her sense of the limits of Acadia, which she was going to cede, in opposition to the very dangerous principle laid down by the French commissaries, that the opinion of the Parties to any treaty are not to be judged of by their most solemn declarations during the negotiation of such treaty.

“ A full answer has been given to the pretence upon which the French commissaries set aside all proceeding from 1632 to 1710, the possession taken by France in 1632, her possession till 1654, her demand of Pentagoet as a place in Acadia in 1654, her claim of Acadia from Pentagoet to St. Laurence in 1662, her possession of it in consequence of the treaty of Breda in 1669, with the several re-assertions of these same limits from the 1657 to 1710; and all these several evidences have been shewn to be conclusive to the present point, and the only proper testimonies which can be cited for clearing up such difficulties as have been started upon the treaty of Utrecht.

“ The view with which the French commissaries have gone into an history of the first discovery and settlement

ettlement of America, has been shewn to end only in a dissertation which has not the least connection with the present matter in dispute.

“ All the evidence therefore brought by the French commissaries in support of their system has been demonstrated to be destructive of it, and applied in the strongest manner in maintenance of the claim of Great Britain. The objections made to the argument and evidence brought by the English commissaries have been fully answered; and it appears upon the whole, that the King of Great Britain, bringing no evidences from sources that are not authentick, is supported in his claim by every transaction between the two crowns for above a century past—That in claiming the country from Pentagoet to the river St. Laurence as Acadia, his majesty demands nothing more than what France has always received under that name in the most general restitution; than what, if the ancient limits of it be determined upon maps, historians, the uniform decisions of the two crowns for above an hundred years together, and upon the declarations of the crown of France at the treaty of Utrecht itself, the crown of France must in all equity and fairness acknowledge to be a just claim upon the words of cession in the treaty of Utrecht.

“ The French commissaries, on the contrary, are equally incapable of supporting their system and their limits upon the maps and historians they cite, and upon the proceedings of government treaties, and better evidence produced by us. They dare not abide by any possession ever taken by France in consequence of the most general words of restitution, nor by the possession of France for above an hundred years successively, nor by any declarations made by the crown of France at the time of the treaty of Utrecht;

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Utrecht ; but, setting aside all these evidences taken from times of certainty and preciseness, they are obliged to have recourse to maps and historians of less certainty in point of time, and less preciseness from the nature of them ; both which, when they come to be strictly examined, absolutely destroy their system, fall in with the sense and operation of the better and later evidence of treaties and transactions between the two crowns, and become so many auxiliary proofs in support of the crown of Great Britain."

Paris, Jan. 23, 1753.

As the French had been desirous of obtaining an extensive plantation trade, they lost sight of no means that could give them such an advantage. As soon as the peace of Aix la Chapelle was concluded, they formed a design, of seizing the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago in the West Indies, commonly called the neutral islands. Hence arose another dispute concerning the right to these islands : By the treaty of Utrecht, it was agreed, that they should remain unsettled and unfortified, till the right of sovereignty was determined : However the marquis de Caylus, governor of Martinico, on the 26th of November, 1748, published a proclamation, asserting the sovereignty of the King of France, to the neutral islands, and declaring he would protect the inhabitants, and prohibit all correspondence between them and the British colonies. At the same time he sent two ships of war with 150 soldiers and letters to Tobago, where they arrived, and began to fortify different parts of the island. The governor of Barbadoes, in whose commission, is included the name of the neutral islands, being alarmed by these proceedings, sent captain Tyrrel in a frigate, to learn

the particulars: He saw the French on the island, and the fortifications going forward as fast as possible; but being restrained from committing any hostilities, he returned to Barbadoes. Upon which the governor of that island transmitted an account of the whole affair to the British ministry, who dispatched a courier to Versailles, with directions for colonel York, the British resident there, to make remonstrances on this subject, and to demand the evacuation of the island. Before an answer was returned, the repeated advices from the West Indies threw all the merchants trading to that part of the world into the utmost consternation, and the whole kingdom was alarmed at these violent proceedings of the French; from which it was very evident, that they intended shortly to be at open war with us. The legislative body of Barbadoes made several addresses and applications to the king on this important subject; and about the same time a motion was made in the house of commons, to address his majesty, to lay copies of the instructions before the house, which had been given to the governors of Barbadoes for ten years past; but the power of the ministry, (who being perhaps conscious of some neglects) consigned it to oblivion. Soon after the courier arrived from France, with a declaration from the French ministry, utterly denying their having any knowledge of the proceedings of the governor of Martinico, with assurances, that they had dispatched orders to him, to desist from such proceedings; which the duke of Bedford, by letter, made known to a numerous body of merchants in London, who met to consider of proper and effectual application to

§ This was utterly false, for the marquis de Caylus afterwards declared, in his dying moments, that he had positive directions from the French ministry concerning his conduct at Tobago.

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recover the neutral islands, who on the receipt of this letter stopt their proceedings. However, the French ministry still reserved a kind of claim to the neutral islands, and particularly to St. Lucia, which is the principal of them; and when the commissaries met at Paris, to settle the limits of Nova Scotia, it was agreed they should likewise decide the right to these islands, and particularly to St. Lucia.

The proofs produced by two British commissaries, in opposition to what the French pretended of *primitive property*, were unanswerable, notwithstanding every French art of chicanery and procrastination, and are at once perspicuous and convincing: We shall make some quotations from them, as they belong to the plan of our work, and cannot but give satisfaction to the reader.

“ The great progress made by the Spaniards in the 16th century in the discovery of the West-Indies, and

“ Les grands progrès des Espagnols dans la découverte des Indes occidentales au XVI siècle, & les grandes richesses qu'ils en rapportèrent, ayant animé d'autres nations à tenter fortune dans la même carrière, il n'y en eut aucune qui devançât la nation Angloise dans cette tentative. Parmi plusieurs autres sujets d'Angleterre, le Comte de Cumberland équipa trois vaisseaux qui, ayant fait voile vers les Antilles, firent la découverte de l'isle de Sainte-Lucie en 1593. En 1605 le Chevalier Oliph Leagh ayant embarqué avec lui un certain nombre de gens pour les Indes occidentales où son frere avoit érigé une Colonie, il en débarqua soixante-six dans ladite isle de Sainte-Lucie, où plusieurs Anglois se transportèrent en 1606 pour s'y établir en vertu de cette possession.

“ Le Chevalier Thomas Warner qui prit possession de Saint-Christophe le même jour que M. d'Esnambuc y arriva, envoya une colonie Angloise à Sainte-Lucie en 1626, & nomma le Major Judge gouverneur de l'isle,

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and the vast wealth drew from thence, soon encouraged other nations to try their fortune in the same

“ En 1627 le Roi Charles I. accorda au Comte de Carlisle, par lettres patentes datées du 2 Juin, toutes les isles dites Caraïbes ou Antilles; lesdites lettres patentes contiennent le narré suivant. “ Comme notre bien aimé & fidèle cousin & conseiller James Lord Hay, Baron de Sawley, Vicomte de Doncaster & Comte de Carlisle, ayant un soin louable & fervent pour accroître la religion chrétienne, & pour étendre les territoires de notre gouvernement dans certain pays situés vers la région septentrionale du monde, laquelle région ou isles sont ci-après décrites, lesquelles étoient ci-devant inconnues, & en partie possédées par certains hommes barbares n’ayant point connoissance de la puissance divine, appellées communément les isles Caraïbes, contenant entr’autres les isles suivantes; savoir, Saint-Christophe, la Grenade, Saint-Vincent, Sainte-Lucie, la Barbadoes, Mittalanea, la Deminica, Marie-G. lante, Dessuda, Todosantes, la Gaudaloupe, Antigoa, Montserrat, Redendo, la Barbudo, Nevis, Statia, Saint-Bartolomé, Saint-Martin, l’Anguilla, Sombrera & Enegada, & autres isles découvertes auparavant à ses grands frais & dépens, & portées au point d’être une vaste & copieuse colonie d’Anglois.”

“ Il conste, par les registres du bureau commissorial du commerce & des plantations, qu’en conséquence de cette concession, le Comte de Carlisle continua d’envoyer diverses colonies d’Anglois à Sainte-Lucie en 1635, 1638 & 1640.

“ On voit évidemment par le narré des lettres patentes accordées au Comte de Carlisle (fort différent des termes vagues, généraux & indéterminés de la commission du Cardinal de Richelieu à M. d’Esnambuc) que non seulement les Anglois eurent bonne connoissance de Sainte-Lucie & des autres isles Caraïbes, mais qu’ils en avoient actuellement pris possession long-temps avant la date de ces mêmes lettres patentes; & il étoit également manifeste, par la tenur d’une commission du Lord Carlisle au Chevalier Thomas Warner, qu’il avoit pris possession de toutes les isles sus-nommées, dès le règne de Jacques I. qui Décéda le 27 Mars 1625.

“ Les historiens François, le P. du Tertre & le P. Labbat s’accordent à déclarer que les François n’eurent rien à prétendre sur l’isle de Sainte-Lucie avant l’année 1640; & le premier de

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same way, and none sooner than the English. Among several others the earl of Cumberland, a subject of England, fitted out three ships; which sailing to the Antills, discovered the island of St. Lucia in 1593; not many years after which expedition, Sir Oliph Leagh, a Kentish gentleman, (having embarked some people for the West-Indies, where his brother had planted a colony) he landed sixty-six of them in that island in 1605, to which several English went over in 1606, to settle under the protection of that possession.

“ Sir Thomas Warner, who took possession of St. Christopher’s, the same day that monsieur d’Esnambuc landed there, sent an English colony to St. Lucia in 1626, and appointed major Judge governor of that island.

“ In 1627 king Charles the first granted to the earl of Carlisle, by patent, dated the second of June, all the Caribbee islands or Antilles, the recital of which patent was in the following terms: “ Whereas our well beloved and faithful cousin and counsellor, James lord Hay, baron of Sawley, viscount Doncaster and earl of Carlisle; having a laudable and zealous care to encrease christian religion, and to enlarge the territories of our empire in certain lands situated to the northward region of the world, which region or islands are hereafter described, which were before unknown, and by certain bar-

de ces écrivains, dans sa relation de ce qui se passa dans ladite année 1640, prouve très-circonstanciélement la possession de la Grande-Bretagne en 1639, & se déclare contre tout droit de la part de la couronne de France sur cette île, qu’on vou- droit fonder sur quoi que ce soit d’antérieur à l’abandonnement qu’il en impute aux Anglois, après le massacre qu’ils y subirent en 1640.”

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barous men, having no knowledge of the divine power in some part possessed, commonly called Caribbee islands, containing in them these islands following, viz. St. Christopher's, Granada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Barbadoes, Mittalanea, Dominico, Marigalante, Dessuda, Todos'antes, Guardelupe, Antego, Montserrat, Redendo, Barbudo, Mevis, Statia, St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Anguilla, Sembrera, and Enegada, and other islands before found out, to his great cost and charges, and brought to that pass to be a large and copious colony of English.

“ It appears from the records of the office of commissioners for trade and plantations, that, in pursuance of this grant, the earl of Carlisle continued to send several colonies of English to St. Lucia, in the year 1635, 1638, and 1640.

“ It is evident from the recital in lord Carlisle's patent, very different from the vague, general and indistinct words of Cardinal Richlieu's commission to monsieur d'Esnambuc, that the English were not only well acquainted with St. Lucia and the other Caribbee islands, but that they had actually taken possession of them in the name of the crown of Great-Britain, a long time before the date of this patent; and it is also evident from lord Carlisle's commission to Sir Thomas Warner, that he had taken possession of all the said islands respectively in the reign of James I. who died on the 27th of March, 1625.

“ The French historians, Pere du Tertre and Pere Labbat, agree in declaring that the French had no pretensions to St. Lucia earlier than 1640; and the former of these writers, in his relation of the transaction in 1640, very circumstantially proves the possession of Great-Britain in 1639, and declares

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against any right in the crown of France to that island, that can be grounded upon any thing, previous to the abandonment, he imputes to the English, after the massacre in 1640" —

" The commission to Messrs. d'Esnameuc and Rossey in 1627, is not a commission for St. Lucia ; it implies neither the past discovery nor the possession of it by France at that time, but only impowers them to take possession of St. Christopher's and Barbadoes by name.

" It is highly probable, from the manner in which such places are specified in the recital, as were then known to the French within the latitude of the commission, that St. Lucia was not known to them ; or if they did know it, their silence about it in the commission is some presumption that they considered it as an English island. This supposition and interpretation of this circumstance, in the commission of Messrs. d'Esnameuc and Rossey, will be greatly supported, if we recollect on the one hand that St. Lucia had, at that very time, been discovered and settled by fresh bodies of settlers at different times ; and

" La commission Françoisé à Messrs. d'Esnameuc & Rossey en 1627, ne'est pas une commission pour l'isle de Sainte-Lucie.

" Elle n'en fait aucune mention & n'implique de la part de la France, ni une découverte faite, ni une possession actuelle de cette île ; elle ne sert uniquement qu'à conférer le pouvoir de prendre possession de Saint-Christophe & de la Barbade nomément."

" Il est même très probable vû la manière dont on y spécifie les îles qui pour lors furent connues aux François dans la latitude sur laquelle cette commission empiète, que la Sainte-Lucie leur étoit inconnue, ou s'ils en avoient quelque connoissance, leur silence à son égard dans cette même commission seroit présumer qu'ils la considéroient dès-lors & avec raison, comme une île appartenante aux Anglois. Cette présomption, fondée sur une interprétation toute naturelle, d'une omission si frappante dans la

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and was again, in the very year when this commission was made out, granted to lord Carlisle by king Charles the first.

“ And on the other, that no evidence is offered of any discovery by the French of this or any other of the Caribbee islands, before the very date of this commission; but, on the contrary, all the French historians place the first French discovery of any of the Antilles in this year 1627, and the first French claim to St. Lucia in 1640.” —

“ We have proved a settlement and continued Possession of St. Lucia long before 1627; and therefore, how can it be treated as an island, which in that year was the property of nobody? The French alledge no discovery of it previous to the date of this commission, and not any actual possession of it then, but upon the general words of this commission;

commission en question, prend un tout autre degré de force, & se trouve convertie en conviction, quand on se repelle d'un côté, qu'au temps dont il s'agit, la Sainte-Lucie avoit été découverte & plantée par les Anglois, & que leur possession avoit été soutenue de temps à autres, par des corps de recrues ou de nouveaux habitans, & que l'isle fut insérée nommément dans la commission au Lord Carlisle par le Roi Charles I.

“ Et de l'autre, qu'avant la date de cette commission, on ne trouve aucune trace d'une découverte Françoisse de cette isle non plus que d'aucune autre des Caraïbes; mais qu'au contraire tous les historiens François placent la première découverte Françoisse de quelqu'unes des Antilles dans la même année 1627, & leur première prétention sur la Sainte-Lucie en 1640.

“ Nous avons prouvé une découverte, une habitation & une possession de Sainte-Lucie long-temps avant l'an 1627. Comment peut-on donc prétendre que dans cette même année, cette isle n'auroit été la propriété de personne? De plus, les François n'en allèguent aucune découverte antérieure à la date de la commission sus mentionnée, ni même aucune possession actuelle, à' alors, que celle qu'ils voudroient faire naître, comme d'avance,

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tion; and how can such an evidence, unsupported by any subsequent act of government, uncountenanced by any pretence of priority of possession, be construed to be such a taking possession, as confers a right even to a country really without an owner?

“ In whatever manner one considers this pretention of the French, it offers only the shadow of title, which disappears at the approach of that more solid right produced by the English.” —

“ Upon the whole, therefore, the title of the king of Great-Britain from prior establishment, beginning with the earl of Cumberland and Sir Oliph Leagh’s discovery and settlement, is uniformly kept up from time to time, to the year 1639, when the French historians all admit, that we were in the possession of St. Lucia; in opposition to which course of evidence, the French historians set up nothing, but concur in all, and to which, the French commissaries oppose nothing, but the recital of the com-

du sein de la latitude fertile insérée dans cette même commission. Or comment peut un pareil indice, destitué de tout acte subséquent de régie, comme de tout prétexte de possession antérieure, se trouver converti dans un acte de possession, & tel qu’il devoit être pour acquérir le moindre droit, fût-ce même sur un pays qui se trouveroit, pour lors à l’abandon & destitué de tout autre propriétaire ?

“ De quelle manière qu’on envisage cette prétention des François, elle n’offre qu’une ombre qui s’efface à mesure que le titre solide des Anglois en approche.

“ Il est donc évident par tout ce qui précède, que le titre de priorité de possession de la part du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, commençant par la découverte & les plantations du Comte de Cumberland & du Chevalier Oliph Leagh, a été affermi & maintenu d’une manière uniforme, & par une succession de temps à autre jusques dans l’année 1639, auquel temps les historiens François conviennent tous que nous nous trouvions en possession de l’île Sainte-Lucie, sans que les mêmes historiens

commission to M. d'Esnameuc, their construction of which, as making it creative of any right, has been shewn to be forced and most indefensible at the same time; that if it was in the view of the French crown to include St. Lucia, as an island belonging to France, the proving such an intention would signify little, as this island was then the property of another crown, and could not, in any case, be then deemed open to the possession of France.

"We have now brought down the several proofs of his majesty's right, as low as the year 1640, when Great Britain received the first considerable interruption in her possession of this island." [Meaning an inhuman massacre of the English by the old inhabitants, the Indians, which happened this year, and forced the surviving English from their possession of this island, on which the French immediately took possession of it; and from this unjust possession they grounded their pretended right to the island.]

"Although this possession, so unjustly taken by the French, was, during the time of the civil war in England, which lasted several years after; yet neither did the late massacre, or the distractions at home, prevent the English from re-asserting their right to this island.

"It

riens fournissent rien en opposition à notre suite de preuves, par laquelle nous sommes parvenus à cette époque de possession; mais concourant en tout à l'établir & sans que les Commissaires de Sa Majesté très-Chrétienne y opposent quoique ce soit, si ce n'est le narré en question de la commission de Mess. d'Esnameuc & Rossy, dont leur interprétation a été démontrée insoutenable; tandis qu'en leur allouant un dessein de la couronne de France, d'y comprendre par sous-entente la Sainte-Lucie comme une île à sa bienséance. L'évidence d'une pareille intention ne signifi-

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“ It appears from Pere du Tertre, that lord Carlisle sent over several English in 1644 and 1645 ; and

eroit rien, puisqu'elle étoit dès-lors la propriété d'une autre Couronne, & ne pouvoit aucunement être censée, ouverte a un prétendu acte arbitraire de possession désignée de la part de la couronne de France.

“ Nous avons présentement transmis les différentes preuves du droit de Sa Majesté jusqu'en 1640 ; ce fut durant le cours de cette année que la Grande Bretagne souffrit la première interruption violente & considérable dans sa possession de l'isle de Sainte-Lucie.

“ Quoique cette démarche des François fut faite pendant les troubles d'une guerre civile parmi les Anglois, ceux-ci ne laissèrent point de réclamer leur droit sur cette isle, nonobstant le massacre qu'ils y avoient subi, & les tristes effets du sort intérieur de leur patrie.

“ Il consiste par le P. du Tertre que le Comte de Carlisle y envoya plusieurs Anglois en 1644 & 1645, & lui & le P. Labbat avouent tous les deux (en conformité des dépositions annexées au rapport commissorial déjà cité plus haut) que les Anglois firent quelques efforts pour se remettre en possession de Sainte-Lucie.

“ Le P. Labbat rapporte une descente qu'ils y firent en 1657, ajoutant qu'ils furent repoussés par les François & forcés à se retirer.

“ A la restauration de la Famille Royale, Charles II ne se sentit pas si-tôt assis sur le trône de ses ancêtres, qu'il pensa à revendiquer efficacement son droit sur cette même isle ; l'ancien propriétaire Lord Carlisle ayant remis son octroi, une moitié du revenu des isles Caraïbes fut accordée au Lord Willoughby pour sept ans ; dans laquelle concession, par Lettres patentes, l'isle de Sainte-Lucie est expressément nommée ; & dans l'année suivante, lorsque le même Lord Willoughby fut nommé Gouverneur des isles Caraïbes, il lui fut enjoint en termes précis, de faire valoir le droit de la Grande-Bretagne sur toutes lesdites isles.

“ En conséquence de cette instruction, il fut fait un accord en guise d'achat avec les Indiens pour assurer d'autant plus à leur égard, l'ancienne acquisition de Sainte-Lucie, & l'acte en fut passé en 1663 ; & le même Lord Willoughby y ayant

envoyé.

and both that author and Pere Labbat acknowledge in Conformity with the affidavit annexed, to the report cited here by the English temporary possessors

envoyé en conséquence un Régiment de troupes en 1664, pour la conduite & le commandement du Colonel Caren, celui-ci fut reçu par les natifs d'une manière fort amicale & conséquemment à cet achat, y proclama le droit de la Grande-Bretagne, en reprenant la possession sur les François, & s'y arrêta quelque temps comme vice-Gouverneur.

“ Dans l'année 1665, le sieur Robert Cook, gentilhomme Anglois, fut gouverneur de Sainte Lucie, & le sieur François Willoughby éant venu à mourir dans ce temps-là, son frère William Lord Willoughby lui succéda, qui ayant été fait gouverneur de la Barbade dans l'année 1666, eut des instructions précises pour restreindre réduire & déposséder tout sujet François qui attenteroit de s'emparer des isles de son gouvernement, comme il paroît par les registres & livres d'annotation dans le bureau d'office du conseil, ou commiffaires sulsdits du commerce & de plantation.

“ Depuis ce temps là jusqu'aujourd'hui l'Isle de Sainte Lucie a toujours été considérée comme dépendante de la Barbade, & a été constamment insérée comme telle dans toutes les commiffions & instructions relatives à ce gouvernement.

“ Ceux qui réfléchissent un moment sans partialité, sur l'origine & les circonstances de ce malheur, & de la suite subéquente des Anglois, doivent s'apercevoir & reconnoître qu'ils quittèrent Sainte Lucie, temporis causâ, & non animo abjicendi. Et si les François eux-mêmes ne l'eussent peut-être aussi en ce temps-là, ils ne le fussent probablement pas tant pressés à s'emparer de cette isle, à y fabriquer un fort & à y jeter une garnison ; ce qui avoit bien l'air (comme le P. Labbat l'observe, avec raison) non pas tant de se maintenir contre les Indiens, que contre les nations Européennes ; ce qui veut dire, contre les Anglois en particulier, pour les empêcher de s'y rétablir.

“ Sur le tout, voici l'état réel de la question dont il s'agit.

“ Si les Anglois eussent abandonné cette isle volontairement ;

“ Que les François en eussent pris possession après un long & apparent établissement ;

“ Et que les Anglois eussent acquiescé d'intention manifeste à leur possession pendant maintes années incessives, pour lors l'année 1700 pourroit être censée & réputée fatale au réclame actuel

port cited here by the English temporary possessors

du droit de la Couronne n'existe, expulsés de l'Isle de Sainte Lucie, & de la possession de s'en emparer à la hâte le sieur Cook fut d'une guerre de temps.

“ Peu d'années après la couronne Britannique par voie de fait ; ce qu'elle en fit par le lord Willoughby

“ Les commiffaires de la Couronne de croire & d'être aussi authentique que sa majesté très Chrétienne de 1660 n'est pas la couronne de France, que celle de France établisement, pour Messrs. d'Esnambray la couronne de la Couronne de la Couronne pas seulement son droit de droit.

“ Quant à la Couronne chrétienne ont al d'observer en général temps de ce traité domiciliés dans la Couronne de la Couronne de la Couronne qu'ils y étoient à la Couronne de la Couronne de la Couronne anroit été par conséquent révalter le moindre ni le moindre tort bien affermé & révalter l'ont confirmé à

port cited before, that some endeavours were used by the English to regain St. Lucia, during the temporary possession of the French.

Pere

du droit de la Grande-Bretagne ; mais aucune de ces circonstances n'existe, tandis que tout au contraire les Anglois furent expulsés de l'île par un massacre, les François en prirent occasion de s'en emparer sur le champ furtivement & de s'en fortifier à la hâte : le silence ou plutôt l'inaction des Anglois (quoiqu'au fort d'une guerre civile) n'eut lieu que pour un fort petit espace de temps.

“ Peu d'années après on fit des diligences de la part de la couronne Britannique, pour revendiquer son droit sur cette île par vule de fait ; & on les a constamment répétées depuis, jusqu'à ce qu'elle en fût remise en possession sous le gouvernement du lord Willoughby & la conduite du colonel Carew.

“ Les commissaires de sa majesté ont donc encore lieu ici de croire & d'espérer qu'après une exposition aussi sincère & aussi authentique de toutes les circonstances que les commissaires de sa majesté très Chrétienne se rangeront à l'opinion que l'époque de 1670 n'est pas plus favorable à la prétendue possession de la couronne de France, fondée sur l'invasion injuste de M. du Parquet, que celle de 1627 à la prétendue priorité de découverte & de établissement, fondée sur la commission vague & prématurée à Messis. d'Eschambuc & Rosley ; & que par ainsi le titre établi dans la couronne de la Grande-Bretagne sur l'île Sainte-Lucie, n'est pas seulement fondé sur une priorité, mais encore sur une continuité de droit.

“ Quant à ce que les commissaires de sa majesté très-chrétienne ont allégué par rapport au traité d'Utrecht, il suffira d'observer en général que quand on admettroit qu'avant ou au temps de ce traité-là, il y eût derechef quelque peu de François domiciliés dans l'île de Sainte-Lucie, il seroit toujours vrai qu'ils y étoient à l'insçu & sans permission du gouvernement de la Grande-Bretagne, & par conséquent (& même quand ils y auroient été par tolérance expresse, ce qui n'est pas) il n'en sauroit résulter le moindre degré de possession en faveur de la France, ni le moindre tort à l'ancien droit de la couronne Britannique si bien affermé & reconnu par le traité de Breda & tous ceux qui l'ont confirmé à cet égard.

Comme

“ Pere Labbat relates a descent made by the English in 1657, when, he says, they were beaten off.

“ Upon

“ Comme tout ce qui s'est passé depuis est d'une date trop fraîche & trop précaire en lui-même pour être allégué de part ou d'autre en assertion de droit sur cette isle, les commissaires de sa majesté en supprimeront le détail dans ce mémoire ; ils observeront seulement que le feu Roi George I. avoit eu grande raison d'être étonné de l'attentat du maréchal d'Estrées sur Sainte-Lucie autour de l'année 1719, sous prétexte d'une concession du Roi très-chrétien ; & quoique ce digne prince, pour préserver la bonne intelligence entre les deux nations, eut la modération de se prêter à l'expédition proposée par le régent du royaume de France ; savoir, que le monde que le maréchal d'Estrées auroit pû faire transporter à Sainte-Lucie vuideroit cette isle, & que toutes choses y seroient remises dans l'état où elles s'étoient trouvées avant son expédition, jusqu'à ce que le droit de propriété de l'isle seroit vérifié de part ou d'autre ; il ne'n sauroit résulter aucune apparence de validité en faveur de la concession gratuite ou mal fondée du roi très-chrétien au maréchal sus-nommé, non plus qu'aucune apparence préjudiciable au titre de sa majesté Britannique à l'égard de l'isle de Sainte-Lucie.

“ Le consentement d'une couronne pour soumettre un droit quelconque à l'épreuve & à la décision d'une discussion impartiale & amicale à la réquisition & pour ne pas rompre en visière aux prétentions d'une autre couronne, bien loin d'indiquer un doute du droit, est un effet d'équité & de politesse, & en même temps un signe manifeste de sa confiance dans la bonté & la justice de sa cause.

“ Les commissaires du roi de la Grande-Bretagne ont achevé de parcourir l'histoire, & de démontrer l'acquisition & la préservation du droit ancien, uni & manifeste de sa majesté sur l'isle de Sainte-Lucie.

“ On a fait voir que ce droit a été commencé & établi par une découverte & des plantations, maintes années avant que les sujets de sa majesté très-chrétienne (de l'aveu des historiens François même) eussent aucune connoissance des isles Caraïbes.

“ Que ce droit, a été préservé, maintenu, revendiqué & assuré par tous les actes d'autorité possibles, & par toutes les démarches requises de la part d'un gouvernement politique &

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“ Upon the restoration of the royal family, Charles the second no sooner found himself seated on the throne of his ancestors, than he began to think of effectually vindicating his right to this island, and the antient proprietor Lord Carlisle having surrendered his patent, one moiety of the revenue

même en certains temps, au de-là que sa foiblesse passagère & les conjonctures fâcheuses ne sembloient le permettre.

“ On a eu soin de faire voir en même temps, que les commissaires de sa majesté très-chrétienne n'ont eu rien à opposer à ce droit, qu'une prétendue découverte & désignée possession ancienne, que leurs propres historiens reculent & détruisent, & dont ils n'allèguent eux-mêmes aucun indice distinct ou valable.

“ Une possession acquise sur les Anglois, aussi passagère qu'injustement fondée sur une conjoncture trop onéreuse pour la répéter, & enfin une interprétation des plus controuvées & des plus contraires à la lettre, à l'intention & à l'esprit des traités allégués.

“ De sorte que les commissaires de sa majesté ont la satisfaction de se croire fondés à pouvoir conclurre, comme ils avoient commencé en affirmant que la prétention d'un droit quelconque sur l'isle de Sainte-Lucie, est aussi mal conçue de la part de la couronne de France, que le droit de propriété, de possession & de souveraineté sur cette même isle, est réellement & solidement établi dans la couronne de la Grande Bretagne.

“ Il reste une observation à faire aux commissaires de sa majesté, que sa majesté très-chrétienne est convenue, en conséquence du traité de paix & d'amitié, conclu à Aix-la-Chapelle au dix-huitième jour d'octobre 1748, d'évacuer l'isle de Sainte-Lucie, & d'en renvoyer les prétentions de droit à la décision de commissaires qui seroient nommés pour cet effet de part & d'autre par les deux puissances respectives; de sorte que les commissaires de sa majesté Britannique osent présumer, en conformité de leur devoir & pour leur part, que la sus-mentionnée déclaration finale de sa majesté très-chrétienne, alléguée en conclusion du mémoire des commissaires de sadite majesté, ne sauroit & ne doit être interprétée que d'une manière compatible avec la convention solennelle existante entre les deux couronnes, par laquelle tout droit & toute prétention à l'égard de l'isle de Sainte-Lucie a été soumise à une discussion libre, bien intentionnée, impartiale & définitive.”

revenue of the caribbee islands as granted to Lord Willoughby for seven years, in which grant St. Lucia is expressly named; and in the year following, upon Lord Willoughby's being appointed governor of the caribbee islands, he was particularly instructed to assert the right of the crown of Great Britain to all the said islands.

“ In consequence of these instructions, an agreement has made with the Indians for the purchase of St. Lucia in 1663; and the said Lord Willoughby sending a regiment there in 1664, under the command of colonel Carew, he was kindly received by the natives, asserted the British right to the island, regained the possession of it from the French and remained there for some time deputy governor.” . . .

“ In the year 1665, Robert Cook, Esq; was governor of St. Lucia, and Lord Francis Willoughby dying about this time, he was succeeded by his brother William Lord Willoughby, who being made governor of Barbadoes in the year 1666, was particularly instructed to streighten, distress and dispossess any of the French king's subjects, who might attempt to possess themselves of the Islands under his government, as appears by the records and books of entries in the office of the afore mentioned commissioners for trade and the plantations. From that time to this day, the island of St. Lucia has always been reputed a dependance upon the government of Barbadoes; and as such has constantly been inserted in all commissions and instructions given to the governors of Barbadoes since that time.” . . .

“ Those who impartially reflect one moment on the rise and circumstances of the massacre, and flight of the English, must see and acknowlunge that they left St. Lucia, *temporis causa & non animo abjiciendi*: and, indeed, had not the French themselves at that time considered it in this light, they would hardly

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have made so much haste in taking possession of it, erecting a fort and establishing a garrison there, which, as father Labbat justly observes, had an apparent view, not only to maintain such Possession against the Indians, but to prevent the English, or any other European nation from making any settlement there."

" Upon the whole, the case really stands thus : Had the English voluntarily abandoned this island. Had the French possessed themselves of it upon a long and continued desertion.

" That possession being acquiesced in by the English for several successive years, the year 1640 might have been fatal to the English claim ; but all these circumstances are wanting ; the English were forced out of the island by a massacre the French took that opportunity of instantly stealing possession of it : even the silence of Great Britain afterwards, though in the midst of a civil war, was but for a very short time.

" Expeditions were undertaken, within few years, for the recovery of it ; and the right of the crown of Great Britain was, from that time, continually asserted, until it was regained by Colonel Carew.

" The commissaries of Great Britain cannot but hope and believe, that upon this fair representation of the whole matter, the French commissaries will be of opinion, that France has no better title from its usurpation in 1640 than she has upon the first consideration of prior establishment, grounded upon the vague and premature commission of Messieurs PEsnambug and Rossey ; and, consequently, the title, vested in the crown of Great Britain to the island of St. Lucia, is not only founded upon the priority, but also on a continuation of the right."

" As

“ As to what is alledged by his most christian majesty’s commissaries, with respect to the treaty of Utrecht, it may suffice to observe in general, that admitting there might have been some few French families upon St. Lucia, previous to that treaty; they were there without the knowledge or consent of the crown of Great-Britain, which cannot, in any degree, be considered as a possession on the part of France, in prejudice of the right vested in the crown of Great-Britain by the treaty of Breda.

“ As the transactions, since that time, are of so late a date, that they cannot be alledged on either side in support of a title to this island, the said commissaries will not make a minute recapitulation of them: they will only observe, that his late majesty had great reason to be surprized at the attempt made upon St. Lucia by the marshal d’Estrées, about the year 1719, under colour of a grant from his most christian majesty: and though his said majesty, to preserve a good understanding between the two nations, was then content to enter into the expedient proposed by the regent, namely, that the people, settled by the said marshal, should be withdrawn, and all things put in the same state they were in before that expedition, till the title to this island should be decided; no consequence ought to be drawn, from this concession, to the prejudice of his majesty’s right to the possession of this island.

“ A consent in one crown to submit any right to enquiry and discussion, in compliance with the request and claims of another, being rather an argument of her confidence than her distrust of that right.

“ The commissaries of the king of Great-Britain have now gone through the history of his majesty’s ancient, uniform, and clear right, to the island of St. Lucia.

“ They was established many years of their own Caribbee island.

“ That they continued and kept of government.

“ They had make it appear have nothing of early discovery historians over.

“ Or a temptation, which a remote country both the letter.

“ And, they wanted to conclude they began with Lucia, is not crown of Great.

“ It remains to observe, that agreed, in consequence of friendship, concluded of October 17, St. Lucia; and

right, to the detriment on the part of his majesty’s commission duty on their part.

declaration of his in the conclusion memorial, cannot, construction, that

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" They have shewn that this right began, and was established, by a discovery and settlements made many years before the French, upon the testimony of their own writers, had any knowledge of the Caribbee islands.

" That this right has been uninterruptedly continued and kept up by all proper and sufficient acts of government.

" They have been careful, at the same time, to make it appear, that the commissaries of France have nothing to oppose to this right, but pretences of early discovery and possession, which their own historians overturn.

" Or a temporary settlement, gained by an usurpation, which the law of nations will not justify, or a remote construction of treaties, inconsistent with both the letter, intention, and spirit of them.

" And, therefore, they think themselves warranted to conclud, with a renewal of that assertion they began with, that the right to the island of St. Lucia, is not in the crown of France, but in the crown of Great-Britain.

" It remains only for his majesty's commissaries to observe, that his most christian majesty having agreed, in consequence of the treaty of peace and friendship, concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle the 18th of October 1748, N. S. to evacuate the island of St. Lucia; and to refer the determination of its right, to the decision of commissaries to be named on the part of both powers for that purpose; his majesty's commissaries do presume, as it is their duty on their part, that the above-mentioned final declaration of his most christian majesty, set forth in the conclusion of the French commissaries memorial, cannot, nor ought not, to have any other construction, than what is consistent with the solemn

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agreement entered into by both crowns ; by which all right and all pretensions, with respect to the island of St. Lucia, were submitted to a free, candid and impartial, and definitive discussion."

This point concerning St. Lucia, however, was never absolutely determined ; for the French court would never admit the prior rights and justifiable claims of the English, because they were resolved at all events to seize those islands and hold them in possession, well knowing the great value of them : and at this time a third dispute was arrived at such a height, and become so extremely critical, that the conferences about the neutral islands ceased, when the attention of both courts became entirely warped another way. This is the dispute concerning the lands on the Ohio, a river which rises in Pennsylvania, and running a course of 400 miles through Virginia, &c. falls into the river Mississippi on the borders of North Carolina. In order to clearly understand this dispute, we must once more return to the temporary peace of Aix la Chapelle, that famous epocha, soon after which broke out all the differences which kindled up this bloody and extensive war. It is necessary to observe, that the French had no communication with Canada, but by a long and dangerous passage up the river St. Lawrence, which is open but half the year, and Canada extending a great way into the continent, becomes contiguous to several vast deserts and fine lakes, which border on the back of the British colonies, and by which they trade with the Indians. The French had long conceived an opinion, that if they could unite Canada to Louifina, they should have as easy and direct a communication with Europe as the English. To execute this project, they seized

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in the whole territory which lay between their
 two colonies, and began to erect forts, in order to
 secure this illegal capture. These forts were so
 situated as to make a curve line, and hem in all the
 British settlements by being on their backs; serving
 at the same time to exclude them from all commu-
 nication with the Indians: and here lay the founda-
 tion of that more latent aim, which was nothing
 less than hoping one day to extirpate the English
 entirely from the whole continent of North Ame-
 rica. When the French began to foresee that their
 designs on Nova Scotia would, for the present, be
 frustrated, they renewed without loss of time this
 project; which, though it had been near a century
 in agitation, never alarmed the English till this
 period; when the French had drawn over to their
 interest the Iroquois, and advanced over the Apala-
 chean mountains, and pretended a right to the
 western confines of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Now
 should be remembered, that the Iroquois, or six
 nations, with all their subjects, were by the treaty
 of Utrecht, agreed to be the allies of Great Britain.
 The five original confederate nations are the Senecas,
 Cayugas, Onondagas, Oncedas and Mohawks; the
 Susquehannicks, Missusagos, and other tribes, are since
 incorporated with them, therefore all the land, south
 of the river St. Lawrence, is the original property
 of the five nations, with their allies and tributaries;
 and by treaties made and renewed with the Indians,
 the Britannic majesty's subjects had a right of pos-
 session from lake Erie to the Chikasas on the Missis-
 sippi. In this spacious country, south of New
 York and east of lake Erie, rises the Ohio, washing
 the most rich and fertile plains in one of the finest
 countries in the world. Along its branches dwelt
 the Showanongs or Sattcanas, a very powerful
 people, who about the year 1685 were all either
 destroyed

destroyed or driven out by the Twightwees, who settled in their room. As this spacious country adjoins to Virginia, Colonel Wood, who dwelt at the falls of John's river in 1654, sent proper persons over the Allegheny mountains, who traded with the natives and engaged them in an alliance with Great Britain; mean time the French in 1669 made a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi and having opened a communication between the Ohio and Canada, began to form a design of joining the two colonies together, by means of the Ohio and Wabash; but notwithstanding this project, the English continued their traffic with the Indians. And Colonel Spotswood, the governor of Virginia in 1716, formed a design of establishing a company for that purpose, which was opposed in England though had it been then prosecuted, the Ohio might have been settled before this, with leave of the inhabitants, and the present distraction prevented for in 1725 the Twightwees, of their own accord repaired to New York and Albany to trade with the English, and to renew their former alliance — This begat a desire of reviving Spotswood's scheme, and in 1730 endeavours were used to obtain a grant from the crown of the lands on the Ohio, and proposals were made to transport large numbers of Palatines to settle them. But this attempt was again frustrated, and the project lay neglected till 1749, when it was too late to put it in execution, appears by the event; a grant of 600,000 acres of this country being then made out to Mr. Hanbury and certain other merchants, and others of Virginia and London, who associated under the title of the Ohio company, The governor of Canada, alarmed at a step that would for ever have deprived his nation of the advantages arising from the trade,

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the Twightwees, and by which the communication so beneficial to the colonies of Louisiana and Canada, would have been cut off, in 1750 wrote to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, acquainting them that our Indian traders had inroached on their territories, by trading with their Indians, and that if they did not desist he should be obliged to seize them wherever they were found. This message, however peremptory, did not divert the Ohio company from causing a survey to be made of the country as far as the falls of that river. But while Mr. Gist, employed for that purpose, was in his progress in the spring 1751,* some French parties with their Indians seized four English traders and carried them to a fort which they were building on one of the branches of lake Erie.† The English, who were scattered about the country, alarmed at the capture of their brethren retired to the Indian towns for shelter; and the Twightwees resenting the violence done to their allies, assembled to the number of 5 or 600, and scoured the woods till they found three French traders, whom they sent to Pennsylvania.

* That the Indians were never consulted with respect to the want of their lands, seems evident from these circumstances. When Mr. Gist, in 1751, was surveying the country along the Ohio for the company, he was very careful to conceal his design from the Indians, who were no less suspicious and inquisitive; at Log's town particularly the Delawares wanted much to know his business, and he not answering readily they suspected he came to settle their lands, and made use of many threats; but at length they were pacified by a pretended message from the King of England.

† These poor people were transported to Old France, and confined like felons in a jail at Rochelle; till the earl of Albemarle, the British Ambassador, procured their deliverance by representations; and then the French court had the assurance to tell him they were released merely out of compliment to his Lordship.

That party of French which seized the four English traders was commanded by the sieur de Celoron, and consisted of several hundreds of armed Canadians and Indians, sent by the marquis de la Jonquiere, then Governor of Canada. No act of hostility on the part of the English succeeding the capture of these traders, the French proceeded to seize the whole country at the back of the English provinces. They immediately sent several detachments of troops, who posted themselves at different places; and particularly one larger body than the rest, commanded by the sieur de St. Pierre, who encamped on the south side of lake Erie. In March, 1752, M. de la Jonquiere died, by which the designs of the French, for this year, were in a great measure frustrated; but he was succeeded by the marquis du Quesne, an enterprizing genius, who arrived in May. The troops of Canada were soon afterwards put in motion, the forts which bordered on the English settlements, and others which were in them, were supplied with all sorts of ammunition and stores and an additional number of men. The detachments which Jonquiere had sent out were reinforced, and particularly that under the sieur de St. Pierre who was ordered to maintain his post and take up his winter quarters where he was encamped. He built a fort there, and took every precaution in his power. He erected another fort, to which he afterwards removed, on a navigable river, called Beef river, one of the branches of the Ohio, about 15 miles from that on lake Erie, by which two forts, and the fort at Niagara, which had been greatly improved, together with another new fort erected at the conflux of the rivers Ohio and Wabache, the French completed their design of opening and securing a communication between Louisiana and Canada;

for they might have taken the water from Canada without any difficulty, 150 miles at Niagara, and to reach that place in that river, on the south side of the Beef river, a distance of 150 yards only, in the streams, in the Ohio. There were 100 English traders. When Mr. ... was informed of the assembly at ... on the Ohio) ... to serve in a ... forts, for the ... lish traders. ... money granted ... proposed for ... nothing was ... strengthen the ... Dinwiddie, go ... alarm. He, ... wrote to the ... late hostilities, ... rity an armed ... invaded a terr ... king of Engla ... bearer of this ... from the sieur ... Beef river, 15 ... ing is an exact ... "As I have ... chief, Mr. W ... which you d

for they might now travel, and transport goods, by water from Quebec to New-Orleans and back again, without any land carriage, except about 10 or 15 miles at Niagara, in order to avoid the great cataract in that river, and 15 miles from their fort upon the south side of the lake Erie, to their fort upon Beef river, and two or three portages of a few yards only, in order to avoid the falls or rippling streams, in the two great rivers S. Lawrence and Ohio. There now remained but to extirpate the English totally out of the country.

When Mr. Hamil on, Governor of Pennsylvania, was informed of these proceedings, he laid before the assembly a scheme (in order to secure the lands on the Ohio) for erecting truck-houses, which were to serve in a double capacity, both as shops and forts, for the security and conveniency of the English traders. The proposal was approved of, and money granted for that purpose; but as the means proposed for raising them were not complied with, nothing was done, and the French continued to strengthen themselves without interruption. Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, next took the alarm. He, on the last day of October, 1753, wrote to the sieur de Pierre, complaining of sundry late hostilities, and desiring to know by what authority an armed force had marched from Canada and invaded a territory indubitably the right of the King of England. Major Washington was the bearer of this letter. He returned with an answer from the sieur de St Pierre, dated at the fort on Beef river, 15 December 1753, of which the following is an exact translation:

“ As I have the honour to command here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered me the letter, which you directed to the commandant of the

" French troops. I should have been pleased if you
 " had given him orders, or if he himself had been
 " disposed, to visit Canada and our general ; to
 " whom, rather than to me, it properly apertains
 " to demonstrate the reality of the King my master's
 " rights to lands situated along the Ohio, and to
 " dispute the pretensions of the King of Great
 " Britain in that respect.

" I shall immediately forward your letter to Mons.
 " le marquis du Quesne. His answer will be a law
 " to me : and if he directs me to communicate it
 " to you, I assure you, Sir, I shall neglect nothing
 " that may be necessary to convey it to you with
 " expedition.

" As to the requisition you make (that I retire
 " with the troops under my command) I cannot
 " believe myself under any obligation to submit to
 " it. I am here, in virtue of my generals orders ;
 " and I beg, Sir, you would not doubt a moment
 " of my fixed resolution to conform to them, with
 " all the exactitude and steadiness that might be
 " expected from a better officer.

" I do not know that, in the course of this
 " campaign, any thing has passed that can be
 " esteemed an act of hostility, or contrary to the
 " treaties subsisting between the two crowns ; the
 " continuation of which is as interesting and pleasing
 " to us, as it can be to the English. If it had
 " been agreeable to you, Sir, in this respect, to
 " have made a particular detail of the facts which
 " occasion your complaint, I should have had the
 " honour of answering you in the most explicit
 " manner ; and I am persuaded you would have
 " had reason to be satisfied.

" I have taken particular care to receive Mr.
 " Washington, with all the distinction suitable to
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“ your dignity, and to his quality and great merit.
 “ I flatter myself that he will do me this justice,
 “ and join with me in testifying the profound respect
 “ with which I am,

“ S I R,

“ Your most humble and

“ most obedient servant,

“ Legardeur de St. Pierre.”

On receipt of this resolute answer Mr. Dinwiddie made instant complaint to the ministry at London; and by alarming speeches laboured to rouse the Virginians into a vigorous opposition. He wrote also to the neighbouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colonies for repelling the invasion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monangahela. An immediate junction in such measures became absolutely necessary. But the colonies, alas! were sunk into a profound lethargy. They were insensible of the threatening danger; confiding in their own numbers, they contemned the power of Canada. Accordingly when application was made to them for succours to Virginia, conformable to directions from the ministry, some of the provincial assemblies, particularly those of Pennsylvania and New York, seemed to question his Majesty's title to the lands usurped by the French. Others, to avoid their share in the burden, framed the most trifling excuses. New York, however, voted 5000l. currency in aid of Virginia; which, considering her own situation and approaching distress, was no ungenerous contribution. The French in the mean time continuing every day to gather strength, complaints one after another were constantly sent over to the ministry, who, at length, dispatched orders for all the provinces to repel force

by force ; but it has been asserted that these orders were clogged with this remarkable restriction, *be sure you do it on the undoubted territories belonging to the British crown.* Now the scene of action was in the territories disputed : thus the same orders gave, and took away from them, the power of defending themselves. However Mr. Dinwiddie judged that the territories disputed belonged to the British crown, therefore he proceeded in his resolution of erecting a fort for the protection of the frontiers. The construction was begun on the place he intended ; but the marquis du Quesne being informed of the design, ordered M. Contrecoeur, who had succeeded the sieur de St. Pierre at Beef river, to frustrate it directly. That officer marched with 1000 men and 18 pieces of cannon for this purpose ; he pushed on to a place called Logg's town, which he destroyed, together with all the block and truck houses, &c. to the amount of 20,000*l.* then he proceeded to the river Monangahela, where he dislodged captain Trent, who had only 33 men ; and a little farther, he found the construction and traces of the fort, which, on his approach, had been abandoned by the workmen. Here he encamped, and finding the situation so advantageous for commanding all the country on the Ohio, he ordered the fort to be finished ; and, in honour of the governor of Canada, he called it *fort du Quesne.* In the mean while orders came from England to the Governors of the British settlements in America, to form a kind of political confederacy, to which every province was to contribute a quota ; and the governor of New York was directed to hold an interview with the chiefs of the six nations, and to endeavour to bring them off from the French interest, his majesty having ordered a

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considerable sum of money to be laid out in presents for that purpose. Though this scheme of a political union was the best measure that could be pursued in the present situation of the British settlements yet it had not the effect that was expected from it. The congress between the governor of New York and the Indian chiefs of the six nations, which was held at Albany, was but thin of Indians; and though all the British settlements had commissioners there, yet the meeting made but little impression on the savages: * however, the Virginians resolved to exert themselves in procuring the means of defence. They raised 300 men, the command of which was given to colonel Washington, who, in the month of May, began his march for the great meadows on the Ohio. While on his march he was attacked by a French detachment commanded by M. de Jumonville, whom he totally defeated; soon after, he was joined by captain Trent: when he came to the great meadows he began to erect a fort, to which he gave the name of *fort Necessity*, with a propriety adapted

* They were persuaded, however, by force of presents, to renew their treaties with the English; but the remembrance of these promises were soon worn off by the arts of French missionaries. The Indians generally form their connexions with the Europeans according to the opinion they had of their power; in this respect the French had great advantages over the English by their jesuits and priests, who had been taught all the arts of working upon the fears, the passions, and the prejudices of those savages. The English, on the contrary, were in this important respect extremely indolent; their clergymen sent to America were generally such as through their vices or ignorance could not earn a living in their own country, and no kind of application was given them to win over the Indians.

as well to its situation, as the great need there was of it in the present circumstances ; but, before it was finished, Contracœur having received many reinforcements, detached M. de Villiers, brother to Jumonville, who was slain, with 900 regulars and 200 Indians to dislodge colonel Washington before he should be joined by the forces from New York, for which he was then waiting, and which ought to have been with him when he began his march. De Villiers attacked fort Necessity on the 3d day of July, and after a smart fire, which lasted three hours, he, by his great superiority, obliged colonel Washington to surrender ; but the colonel obtained honourable conditions for himself and the troops. The English lost about 40 men ; the loss of the French was never known. It was observed that they were assisted by a considerable number of Indians, who had long been in the English alliance ; not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawnese and Iroquois. Though Washington and the Virginians published a very pompous, but false account of this action, yet it is certain it had a very bad effect upon the English interest in America. Notwithstanding the French commander had engaged by the capitulation to do all he could to prevent the English from being insulted by the savages, yet the latter, whose ideas of other people are always found to be according to their own power, plundered the baggage and attacked the English in their retreat, killing some and scalping others. Thus did the French remain masters of the field ; the Indians were rivetted in their defection, and the frontiers exposed through the ill-timed parsimony of the provinces, who did not obey their orders. The enemy,

enemy, on present adv themselves How evident power of which Wash in the British the affair ca instructed th the court of but no sat English mi and notwith hostilities, th tiation. It situation ; N how or othe administratio to the coagu It was some settled ; alth into a war, the French e that the nati While the Shirley, ever ceeded with

* M. Pitt a was generally, th whose great aim into the affairs of Newcastle fir secretary of state George Grenvill head accommiff

enemy, on the other hand, wisely improved the present advantage, and erected forts to secure to themselves the quiet possession of that fertile country. How evident then was the necessity of uniting the power of the British colonies! The place from which Washington had been driven was undoubtedly in the British territory; and when the true state of the affair came to be known at London, his majesty instructed the earl of Albemarle to represent it at the court of France as a formal breach of the peace; but no satisfactory answer was obtained. The English ministry, however, were averse to war; and notwithstanding the French encroachments and hostilities, they hoped to settle all disputes by negotiation. It is true they were at this time in a ticklish situation; Mr. Pelham was lately dead, and some how or other a few persons* were taken into the administration, who were far from being agreeable to the coagulated body which had lately lost its head. It was some time before the administration were settled; although the majority were against entering into a war, yet the people saw, from the nature of the French encroachments and hostilities in America, that the nation was on the eve of one.

While the congress was held at Albany, governor Shirley, ever jealous of French machinations, proceeded with 1000 men to the river Kennebec in

* Mr. Pitt at this time was pay-master of the forces, and it was generally thought that he was the leading man of this party, whose great aim seemed to be to introduce an uniform system into the affairs of government. The changes were, the Duke of Newcastle first lord of the treasury, Sir Thomas Robinson secretary of state, Mr. Legge chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. George Grenville treasurer of the navy, and Mr. Charles Townshend a commissioner of the board of admiralty.

New England; and erected forts, at convenient distances, to stop the progress of the French on that quarter; to secure the possession of that country, which was in great danger from the French at Quebec and Crown Point; and to effect a solid friendship with the eastern Indians. The remainder of this year was chiefly spent in repeated representations to the ministry, respecting the dangerous situation of the English colonies; and the absolute necessity of a powerful assistance from Great Britain, to defeat the ambitious designs of the French court.

Early in the year 1755, the French began to prepare a strong squadron, and a number of transports to carry troops to America; as well to support the encroachments they had made, as to make larger and more considerable ones. Notwithstanding these preparations were *actually* making, and the consequence proved, that this was the view; yet did the French ministry, with the most unparralelled effrontery, at this time *positively* assert, that no preparations were making, and that no hostility was intended by them against Great Britain or her dependencies. These assurances were generally communicated to the British ministry by the duke of Mirepoix, the French ambassador, who was himself so far imposed upon, that he believed them to be sincere, and did all in his power to prevent a rupture between the two nations. The preparations, however, became so notorious, that they could be no longer concealed, and Mirepoix was upbraided at St. James's with being insincere, and the proofs of his court's double dealing was laid before him. He appeared to be struck with them, and complained bitterly of his being imposed upon; he went in person

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over to France, where he reproached the ministry for having made him their tool. They referred him to their king, who ordered him to return to England with fresh assurances of friendship; but he had scarcely delivered them, when undoubted intelligence came, that a French fleet from Brest and Rochefort was ready to sail, with a great number of land forces on board. Upon this a very hot press was begun upon the river, and in all the out-ports of England, and continued both for seamen and landmen, till, besides the ordinary cruizers and guard-ships for the defence of the English coast, eleven ships of the line, with one frigate, with about 6000 men on board, were fitted out under admiral Boscawen, and sailed on the 23d of April. But by this time it was known, that the French fleet, which consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with a vast number of warlike stores, and between three and four thousand land forces, under baron Dieskau, were ready to sail from Brest under admiral Macnamara. Upon this intelligence admiral Holbourn was ordered to reinforce Boscawen with six ships of the line and one frigate, and a great number of capital ships were put into commission. It was the 6th of May before Macnamara sailed; but he soon returned with nine of his capital ships, and suffered the rest to proceed under the command of M. Blois de la Mothe.

When the news of so strong a squadron sailing from Brest was confirmed, the people of England grew extremely uneasy for the fate of the squadrons under Boscawen and Holbourne; and it was undoubtedly owing to the unaccountable bad management

ment of the French, that one or both of those squadrons were not destroyed.

While all Europe was in suspense about the fate of the English and French squadrons, the preparations for a vigorous sea war were going forward in England with an unparalleled spirit and success. Notwithstanding this the French court still flattered itself, that Great Britain would, out of tenderness for his majesty's German dominions, desist from hostilities. Mirepoix continued to act with great sincerity, and had frequent conferences with the British ministry, who made no secret, that their admirals, Boscawen in particular, had orders to fall upon the French ships wherever they could meet with them. Upon this Mirepoix made a formal declaration, in the name of his master, that the first gun that was fired in hostility should kindle all Europe into a war*. This evidently shews the designs of the French;

* The situation of public affairs requiring his majesty to go to Germany, it created great apprehensions in the minds of men, lest the French might either interrupt him in his journey, or prevent his return. The earl of Pawlet made a motion in the house of peers against his majesty leaving the kingdom at this juncture; but he was the only lord who divided from his question. Notwithstanding this, the public uneasiness continued still to be very great; and the more so, as it was apprehended that there would, during his majesty's absence, be no good agreement amongst the regency, who were as follows: his royal highness William duke of Cumberland; Thomas lord archbishop of Canterbury; Philip earl Hardwicke, lord high chancellor; John earl of Granville, president of the council; Charles duke of Marlborough, lord privy seal; John duke of Rutland, steward of the household; Charles duke of Grafton, lord chamberlain; Archibald duke of Argyle; duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of

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French; how early and how deeply they were laid. Yet however tender the affairs of Germany might be to his majesty, he on this occasion gave a noble proof that they were but secondary objects in his consideration; for now that the interests of England and Hanover were to be separated; when a war that was in a great measure absolutely begun, in which Hanover had nothing to do, yet must suffer much, without any hope of advantage; he did not even hesitate a moment in exposing his German dominions, rather than make the smallest abatement from the immensity of the English rights in America. Admiral Boscawen was ordered to commit hostilities. The encroachments of the French had rendered reprisals both just and necessary. The English admiral made a prosperous voyage to the banks of Newfoundland, where his rendezvous was; and in a few days the French fleet, under M. de la Mothe, came to the same station; but the thick fogs prevented the two squadrons from seeing each other. As soon as the French were informed of the vicinity of the English, a part of their squadron, with baron Dieskau and the major part of the troops, made the best of their way up the river St. Lawrence; while another part escaped through the dangerous streights of Belleisle; a passage which was never attempted before by any ships of war. A third part of their

of the treasury; duke of Dorset, master of the horse; earl of Holderness, one of the secretaries of state; earl of Rochfort, groom of the stole; marquis of Hartington, lord lieutenant of Ireland; lord Anson, first commissioner of the admiralty; sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state; Henry Fox, Esq; secretary of war.

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fleet, which had been separated from the others by the fogs, fell in with the English fleet on the 10th of June off cape Race. They were the Alcide, of 64 guns, commanded by M. de Hocquart, and the Lys, pierced for 64, but mounting only 22, and a third, which escaped. Capt. Howe, now lord Howe, in the Dunkirk, and captain Andrews in the Defiance, happened to be their antagonists. The Alcide hailed the Dunkirk with, *What is the name of the admiral?* Admiral Boscawen, replies the Englishman. Says Hocquart, *I know him well, he is a friend of mine.* Upon which lord Howe called, *You, sir! what is your name?* Hocquart, answered the Frenchman. This was all the ceremony. The engagement instantly began; the Dunkirk fired first; and after a smart action, yard arm and yard arm, both the French ships were taken, with eight companies of land forces on board, and about 8000 l. for the payment of the troops

At the beginning of the year general Braddock was sent to America, with some troops, under convoy of commodore Keppel, and appointed commander in chief of all the land forces in America. He had orders to attack fort du Quesne, and drive the French from the lands on the Ohio. For this purpose he assembled at fort Cumberland about 2200 men. From fort Cumberland to fort du Quesne, the distance is not less than 130 miles. Mr. Braddock began his march from the former on the 10th of June leaving the garrison under the command of colonel Innes. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to surmount, in a country rugged, pathless, and unknown, across the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods and dangerous
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defiles. From the little meadows the army proceeded in two divisions. At the head of the first, consisting of 1400 men, was the general himself, with the greatest part of the ammunition and artillery. The second, with the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, was led by colonel Dunbar. Never was man more confident of success than this unfortunate officer. Being advised at the great meadows, that the enemy expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops, he pushed on by forced marches with so much dispatch, that he fatigued the soldiers, weakened his horses, and left his second division near 40 miles in the rear. The enemy being not more than 200 strong at their fort on the Ohio, gave no obstruction to the march of our forces, till the 9th of July; when about noon our troops passed the Monangahela, and were then within seven miles of fort du Quesne. Unapprehensive of the approach of an enemy, at once was the alarm given, by a quick and heavy fire upon the vanguard, under lieutenant colonel Gage. Immediately the main body, in good order and high spirits, advanced to sustain them. Orders were then given to halt, and form into battalia. At this juncture the van falling back upon them, in great confusion, a general panic seized the whole body of the soldiers; and all attempts to rally them proved utterly ineffectual. The general and all the officers exerted their utmost activity to recover them from the universal surprize and disorder: but equally deaf were they to intreaties and commands. During this scene of confusion they expended their ammunition in the wildest and most unmeaning fire. Some discharging their pieces on our own parties, who were advanced from
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the main body for the recovery of the cannon. After three hours spent in this melancholy situation, enduring a terrible slaughter, from (it may be said) an *invisible* foe, orders were given to sound a retreat, that the men might be brought to cover the waggons. These they surrounded but a short space of time; for the enemy's fire being again warmly renewed from the front and left flank, the whole army took to immediate flight; leaving behind them all the artillery, provisions, ammunition, baggage, military chest, together with the general's cabinet, containing his instructions and other papers of consequence. So great was the consternation of the soldiers, that it was impossible to stop their career, flying with the utmost precipitation three miles from the field of action; where only one hundred began to make a more orderly retreat. What was the strength of the enemy was never certainly learned. According to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians: and whether any were slain is doubted, for few were seen by our men, being covered by stumps and fallen trees. Great indeed was the destruction on our side. Numbers of officers sacrificed their lives through singular bravery. Extremely unfortunate was the whole staff. The general, after having five horses shot under him, received a wound in his lungs through his right arm, of which he died in four days. His secretary, eldest son of major general Shirley, a gentleman of great accomplishments, by a shot through the head, was killed upon the spot. Sir Peter Halket, colonel of the 44th regiment, was slain, and several other gallant officers perished in the field. Our whole loss was about 700 killed and wounded.

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To what cause this unhappy catastrophe is to be ascribed, has been matter of much enquiry and animated debate. The officers charged the defeat to the cowardice of the men: but, in a representation they made to Mr. Shirley, by order of the crown, they in some measure apologize for their behaviour—alleging, that they were harrassed by duties unequal to their numbers, and dispirited through want of provisions: that time was not allowed them to dress their food; that their water (the only liquor they had) was both scarce and of a bad quality: in fine, that the provincials had disheartened them, by repeated suggestions of their fears of a defeat, should they be attacked by the Indians; in which case the European method of fighting would be entirely unavailing. But Mr. Braddock, too sanguine in his prospects, was generally blamed for neglecting to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, who offered their assistance; and who, it is certain, had a number of them preceded the army, would have seasonably discovered the enemy's ambuscade. The Virginian rangers also, instead of being made to serve as regulars in the ranks with the English troops, should have been employed as out-scouts. But this step, so necessary to guard against surprize, was too unhappily omitted; the whole army following only *three or four guides*.

C H A P. II.

The transactions of America and Europe to the declarations of war.

BESIDES the expedition of general Braddock to fort du Quesne, there were three other principal objects of the American campaign, all concerted by general Shirley, on whom the command of the troops had devolved by the death of general Braddock. The first was under the direction of himself, and was nothing less than the reduction of fort Niagara, which commands the great country of the Six nations; but he met with so many difficulties and unseen obstructions, and the season was advanced so far when he arrived at Oswego, in his way to Niagara, that it was judged impossible to be able to do anything; therefore he turned back again.

The second was the driving the French from their illegal settlements in Nova Scotia, which was happily accomplished. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay in New England, who were never remiss in their duty, raised early in the spring a body of troops, which was transported to Nova Scotia, to assist lieutenant governor Lawrence. Accordingly, towards the end of May, the governor sent a large detachment of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Monckton, upon this service; and some frigates were dispatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of capt. Rous, to give their assistance by sea. The troops, upon their advancing to the river Massaguash, found their passage stopt by a large number of regular troops, French rebels, and Indians, 450 of whom were posted in a block-house

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house with cannon mounted on their side of that
 river, and the rest were posted in a strong breast-
 work of timber, by way of outwork to the block-
 house. But our troops attacked the breast-work
 with such spirit, that in an hour's time the enemy were
 obliged to fly, and leave them in possession of the
 breast-work; whereupon the garrison in the block-
 house deserted it, and left the passage of the river
 free. From hence our little army marched and at-
 tacked the French fort, called Beau Sejour, on the
 12th of June; which they bombarded with such fury
 and effect, that the garrison thought fit to capitulate
 on the 16th; they had 26 pieces of cannon mounted,
 and plenty of ammunition in the fort. The terms
 they obtained were, for the regulars to be carried to
 Louisbourg, but not to bear arms in America for
 six months, and the French inhabitants to be par-
 doned, as they had been forced into the service. To
 this fort colonel Monckton gave the name of Cum-
 berland; and next day he attacked and reduced the
 other French fort upon the river Gaspereau, which
 runs into Bay Verte, where he likewise found a large
 quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds, being
 the chief magazine for supplying the Indians and
 rebel French inhabitants with arms, ammunition,
 and every thing they had occasion for. The colonel
 intended next to have gone to reduce the French
 fort at the mouth of the river St John; but the
 French saved him the trouble, by abandoning the
 place, after demolishing, as far as they had time, all
 the works they had raised there. In this whole ex-
 pedition we had but about 20 men killed and as
 many wounded. Thus was a solid tranquility given
 to Nova Scotia; the dispute concerning which had
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been one of the first points of difference; and was the country where hostilities had been first committed. - The third object was an expedition to Crown Point, entrusted to the care of general Johnson, now sir William Johnson*. A considerable body of troops were raised by the northern provinces, and with them he set out on his enterprize. About the latter end of August he arrived at the south end of lake George. He had no sooner pitched his camp here, than some of his Indians, who had been sent out as scouts, brought him the following advice: that they had discovered a party of French and Indians at Ticonderoga, situate on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern part of Lake Champlain, 15 miles on this side Crown Point; but that no works were thrown up. They have secured this pass, which commanded the route

* Sir William Johnson, bart. was born in Ireland, and is nephew of the late sir Peter Warren. His uncle, while captain of a twenty gun ship of war, stationed at New York, married a lady, a native of that city. Soon after he purchased large tracts of land in that colony, and sent to Ireland for his nephew, then about seventeen or eighteen years of age, whom he put in possession of a considerable part of it, lying contiguous to the Mohawk country. There he learned the Mohawk language; yet when he appears at their solemnities, to treat with them on behalf of his king, they consider him as an Englishman; ignorant of their language; conversing all along by an interpreter. By a constant residence there, and by pursuing, with indefatigable industry, every prudent measure that occurred, he has many years since improved wild woody lands into plentiful rich farms; thereby has had the pleasure of living in a neighbourhood of wealthy farmers and industrious tradesmen, all his own tenants; who were first invited thither by him, and from the lowest circumstances, have arrived to what they are, by the liberality of his purse and the wisdom of his instructions.

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to Crown Point through the lake, had been a measure extremely adviseable. Mr. Johnson, informed of its importance, on the 1st of September wrote to general Shirley, that he was impatient to get up his battoes; proposing then to proceed with part of the troops, and seize upon that pass. The French, however, took advantage of the delay, and cut out work enough for him at his own camp. Of the troops which sailed from Brest in the spring, amounting to about 3000, eight companies were taken on board the Alcide and Lys; one thousand were landed at Louisbourg; and the residue arrived at Quebec, with Mons. de Vandreuil, governor-general of Canada, and baron Dieskau, commander of the forces. The French court, well apprised of the singular consequence of Oswego, had determined to reduce it. Such being the baron's instructions, he immediately proceeded to Montreal; from whence he detached 700 of his troops up the river, intending himself speedily to join them with the remainder. Just before he had made the necessary preparation, Montreal was alarmed with the news of our forming a numerous army near Lake George, for the reduction of Crown Point; whereupon the baron was ordered to proceed through Lake Champlain, for the defence of that fortress. Dieskau having in vain waited the coming up of our army, at length resolved himself to advance towards them; and if he proved victorious, to desolate our northern settlements, lay the towns of Albany and Schenectady in ashes, and cut off all communication with Oswego. For the execution of this design, he embarked at Crown Point, with 2000 men in battoes, and landed at the South Bay, about 16 miles

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from the English camp. By an English prisoner the baron was told, that general Johnson's camp, near fort Edward, at the Lake, when he left it a few days before, was without lines, and destitute of cannon. Having approached within two miles of fort Edward, he opened his design to his troops, consisting of 600 militia, as many Indians, and 200 regulars. To animate his irregulars, who seemed disinclined to the attack proposed, he assured them, that inevitable must be their success—"that on reducing this fort, the English camp must necessarily be abandoned, and their army disperse in great disorder—that this would enable them to subdue Albany; and by starving the garrison of Oswego, superadd to their conquest the absolute dominion of Ontario." With whatever intrepidity this harangue inspired his European troops, the Canadians and savages, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averse to the scheme; but declared their willingness to surprize our camp, where they expected nothing beyond musquetry. Thus disappointed in his principal design, he changed his route, and began to move against the main body at the Lake. General Johnson, on the information of his scouts, had dispatched separate messengers to fort Edward, with advice of the enemy's approach towards that garrison; of which one was unfortunately intercepted: the rest who got back reported, that they had descried the enemy about four miles to the northward of the fort. Next morning it was resolved to detach 1000 men, with some Indians, to fall upon the enemy in their retreat. On this service commanded colonel Williams, a brave officer, who met the baron within four miles of our camp. About an hour after colonel William's departure,

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a heavy fire was heard; which evidently approaching, general Johnson judged rightly, that our detachment was retreating: for the French were superior in number, amounting to about 1800. Upon this he sent out a reinforcement to support them; which was very judiciously conducted, on the death of colonel Williams, by lieutenant colonel Whiting, a Connecticut officer, general Johnson informs the governors of the provinces, "that about half an hour after eleven the enemy appeared in sight, and marched along the road in very regular order, directly upon our center: that they made a small halt, about 150 yards from the breast-work, when the regular troops made the grand and center attack; while the Canadians and Indians squatted and dispersed on our flanks." This halt was the baron's capital error: for, amidst the consternation at the camp, had he closely followed up the detachment, he had easily forced their lines, and gained a complete victory. But by continuing for some time a platoon fire, with little execution at that distance, our men recovered their spirits. As soon as the artillery began to play, Dieskau and his regulars found themselves totally deserted by the militia and savages, who all skulked into the swamps, took to trees, and maintained a scattered fire upon our flanks, for some time, with variable and intermitting briskness. Having now no command of any part of his army, except his handful of regulars, the baron thought proper to retire; which he did in very great disorder. A party from the camp followed him, fell upon his rear, dispersed the remaining soldiers about him, and being himself wounded in the leg, was found resting on a stump, utterly abandoned and destitute of succour. Feeling for his watch, to sur-

render it, one of our men, suspecting him in search of a pistol, poured a charge thro' his hips. Upon his retreat, the militia and Indians retired in small parties: and as the English neglected to continue the pursuit, they halted about four miles from the camp, at the very place where the engagement happened in the morning. Opening their packs for refreshment, they here entered into consultation, respecting a second attack. Why the enemy was not pursued, when their retreat became general, no tolerable reason has ever yet been assigned; and Mr. Johnson, in his letter, seems to evade it. Nothing however could be more fortunate than the gallant behaviour of a party consisting of about 200, led by captain M'Ginnes, who had been detached from Fort Edward, to the assistance of the main body. They fell upon the French in the evening, put an end to their consultations, and gave them a total overthrow. M'Ginnes died of the wounds he received in this rencounter, having signalized himself by a spirit and conducted that would have done honour to a more experienced officer. Mr. Wralax, in his letter to the lieutenant governor of New York, told him, he stood so near general Johnson, when the latter received a wound, that "he thought he saw the ball enter:" which curious piece of intelligence was obliterated before its publication. The Indians, during the whole of the engagement, some of the Mohawks only excepted, retired from the camp, waiting the event of the conflict at a convenient distance. Nor indeed was their assistance expected, by those who knew that they had declared before their march, they intended not to engage, but to be witnesses of the gallantry of our troops. And had Diekau won the day, equally ready had they

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they been to scalp their brethren the English, as they afterwards appeared to exercise their brutal dexterity on the French. As to the numbers the English were at least double the number of the French under baron Dieskau, for he declared that he had that morning but 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians of different nations under his command, from whence we are apt to think, that if colonel Williams, with the detachment under his command, in the morning, had briskly attacked the enemy, instead of flying from them, and had taken care to make his attack when they were in some spot where they could not outflank or surround him, he might have obtained a victory; for a bold attack in a well chosen situation, is always safer for an inferior number of troops, than a long and disorderly flight; but colonel Williams, it seems, marched with so little caution, that he was close upon the enemy before he discovered them, and consequently could not choose his ground where he was to wait for and attack them; therefore his detachment was presently almost quite surrounded, being attacked both in front and upon both flanks, and being thus overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat in great disorder, or rather to fly towards the camp, with great loss; and their loss would have been much greater, had not a detachment of 300 men been sent out from the camp, under lieutenant-colonel Cole, who not only put a stop to the enemy's pursuit, but covered the retreat of his friends. Nevertheless, their loss was very considerable; for colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains, several subalterns, and a great many private men, were killed; and the Indians reckoned that they lost near 40 men, besides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, or chief captain.

This was almost the only loss our people that day sustained, for in the attack upon their camp, they had few either killed or wounded, and not any of distinction, but colonel Titcomb, killed, and the general himself and major Nichols wounded. On the other hand, the enemy's loss must have been very considerable, as they obstinately continued their attack upon the camp: baron Dieskau reckoned it at 1000 men, but our men could not reckon by the dead bodies they found above 5 or 600 killed, and about 30 made prisoners. Whatever their loss was, it was almost wholly in the vain attack they made upon the camp; for they suffered very little by the pursuit, as our general sent out no detachment for that purpose, for which he was much blamed: Probably the ill fate of the detachment he so unadvisedly sent out in the morning, made him too cautious of sending out one in the evening; but there was a great difference between sending out a detachment to meet an approaching enemy, and sending out one to pursue a flying enemy. Although the enemy had been thus repulsed and defeated in their designs, yet it was now judged too late in the year to attack Crown Point, as in that case it would have been necessary to build a strong fort, at the place where the camp then was, in order to secure their communication with Albany, which was the only place from whence they could expect any reinforcement, or any fresh supply of ammunition or provisions; therefore, soon after this engagement, the army set out upon its return, having first erected a little stockaded fort, at the end of Lake George, in which they left a small garrison, as a future prey for the enemy, which might easily have been foreseen, as this whole army, being country militia, was to dis-

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perse and return to their respective homes, which they actually did, presently after their return to Albany. Thus ended this expedition, which though very honourable for Mr. Johnson and the provincial troops under his command; yet as it was late in the season, the victory had no consequences except reviving the spirits of the people, who had begun to despair on Braddock's defeat; and the generals, being created a baronet, and rewarded with 5000*l.* by parliament: for the French had still the advantage: the frontiers of all the English provinces lay exposed to their incursions.

We will now turn to the affairs of Europe, where the English ministry issued orders to seize all the French ships, whether outward or homeward bound; and so successful were the English cruizers, that before the end of the year about 300 French merchantmen and 8000 of their sailors were brought into English ports.

In the mean time the French resolved upon drawing the English into Germany, hoping thereby to divert their attention from America. They secured some of the princes of the empire in their interest, particularly the elector of Cologne, who consented to their erecting magazines in his country. From this step king George instantly perceived that the French intended to attack Hanover; upon which he began to provide for the security of that electorate. In June he entered into a subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, whereby that Prince engaged to furnish 12000 men for four years, which were to be employed in Case Hanover or England should be attack'd; but the defence of the former was more immediately its object. He also required

from the court of Vienna the auxiliaries of stipulated to him by treaty: but they were refused upon the pretence that the dispute between England and France concerned America only, and therefore it was not a case of the alliance.

Before his majesty left Germany he laid the foundation for a subsidiary treaty with Russia, but it was not signed till the last day of September, at Kensington. The Russian princess agreed to furnish 55,000 men, and forty or fifty galleys, in case, as the fifth article said, his Britannic majesty's dominions in Germany, should be attacked on account of the disputes concerning his kingdoms, in consideration of his paying her 500,000*l.* per annum for four years. The seventh article contained these remarkable words, which were directly levelled as a menace against the king of Prussia, and added a considerable quantity of fuel to the flame already begun to be kindled up in the empire; "Considering the proximity of the countries, wherein the diversion in question will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of subsisting immediately in an enemy's country. She takes upon herself alone, during such a diversion, the subsistence and treatment of the said troops by sea and land." And by the eleventh article it was stipulated, the Russian troops should have all the plunder they took from the enemy. The king of Prussia, by some means, in a short time procured a copy of this treaty, and in a moment guessing at the motives which set it on foot, he solemnly and boldly declared, he would oppose with his utmost force the march of all foreign troops into the empire. France, who was at this time preparing to invade the electorate of Hanover, heard this declaration with

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astonishment. She sent to Berlin the duke de Nivernois, to persuade the king of Prussia to retract from his declaration : the manner in which this ambassador was received at Berlin, seemed to denote an intention in the king to agree to his proposals ; no body knew whether the French and Prussians were not forming a design to enter Hanover together ; England now resolved to defend it. She was roused with jealousy at the king of Prussia's conduct ; especially as at this time she did not stand on very good terms with him ; she was now convinced that the Russians who were to march through Poland, and make a diversion in order to find employment for the king of Prussia at home, would be ineffectual ; for the French and Prussian armies, both of which were ready, might over-run the electorate before the Russians could come to its relief. Thus the only resource which Great-Britain had to defend Hanover, failed, and confirmed all Europe in opinion that England is not able to defend that distant country. She had now nothing to do but renounce her treaty with Russia, and buy off an evil which she could not repel. This produced the treaty with Prussia.

When the treaties which had been concluded with Russia and Hesse-Cassel were made public in England, they were received in a very disagreeable manner. This new continental system was inveighed against by the people, and strong opposition was preparing to be made to it in parliament ; even some of the ministry, who were at the head of the finances, refused to answer the first draught for money, which came over from Russia, till the treaty had been approved by parliament, because it could not be called value received, the Russian troops having not yet done any sort of service ; neither did they

apprehend it was consistent with the act of settlement.

The parliament met in November, when it appeared that there were a strange jumble of parties in both houses, as well as in the ministry. The king ordered the two late treaties to be laid before them; Mr. Pitt, and his adherents, declared against the continental system; Mr. Legge, chancellor of the Exchequer, declared upon the same cause, and was therefore succeeded in his employments by Sir George Littleton. The honourable Charles Townshend, and many others of superior rank, appeared on the same side of the question; Sir Thomas Robinson, who had been secretary of state some time, a well meaning man, and a particular favourite with the king, was opposed by the whole weight and interest of Mr. Pitt, paymaster-general, and Mr. Fox, secretary at war. It was generally believed that the publick business could not go on, if another secretary was not appointed; because Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they agreed in nothing else, they united in opposing his measures; their abilities, though of opposite kinds, were universally acknowledged to be great, and by their superior influence in the house of commons, they had several times opposed Sir Thomas with success. It is a thing extremely uncommon in England, especially in these modern days, to see two gentlemen, who hold considerable places under the government, opposing upon every occasion, a secretary of state, who was supposed to know and to speak the sentiments of his matter. Sir Thomas, being sensible of their superior interest in parliament, prudently resigned on the 10th of November, and the king afterwards gave the seals of his office to Mr. Fox, and lord Barrington succeeded

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ceeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war. The popular party, which we may call the opposition being thus excluded, it laid the foundation of that confusion which marked the following year. Though these alterations were made, yet the treaties were very far from meeting with the unanimous approbation of both houses, though at length they were approved by the majority. The house next provided for the service of the ensuing year; they voted 100,000*l.* as a subsidy to the empress of Russia; 54,140*l.* to the landgrave of Hesse; and 100,000*l.* to the elector of Bavaria, after several sharp debates. As the ministry were afraid of a visit from the French, the army was augmented with ten new regiments of foot, and eleven troops of light dragoons; 50,000 seamen, including 9000 marines, were voted, besides above 34,000 soldiers, which, with other expences and deficiencies in the last year, swelled the supplies to the sum of 7,229,117*l.*

The bug-bear fears of an invasion engrossed all the attention of the ministry they were confounded by the stratagems of the French who marched a body of troops along their sea coasts at the latter end of the year 1755, and early in the year 1756, and gave out that they intended to invade Great Britain. At the same time they equipped a fleet at Toulon for the conquest of the isle of Minorca. The sham appearance of the first afforded them opportunity to execute the latter; yet the British agents, residents, consuls, ambassadors, &c. at different places bordering on the Mediterranean, sent time after time repeated advices to the ministry, from August, 1755 to April 1756, that there was a grand armament equipping at Toulon, consisting of 12 or 15 ships of the line with a great number of transports to carry a very considerable

rable body of troops, who were encamped in the neighbourhood; and the squadron being victualled for only a short time, and from many other circumstances and authentic letters of advice, could be destined for no other place but Minorca*. Notwithstanding

* Having obtained copies of the most striking particulars of this secret and previous information, we shall present them to the public, who may from hence judge with clearness and certainty, to whose negligence the loss of Minorca ought to have been attributed.

From Carthagena consul Banks, in his letters of the 20th and 27th of August, 1755, writes, "Masters of French vessels from Toulon report, that there are in that port 26 men of war of the line, viz. eighteen new ships, built since the peace, and eight old ones, which are all fitting for the sea; also twelve frigates, with a great many smaller vessels, which are in like manner fitting out; besides six ships of the line on the stocks, some of which are ready for launching; that he had received intelligence of 10 battalions of soldiers marching into Roussillon with great diligence; and that these troops were destined against Minorca, to be transported thither in merchant ships now at Marseilles, and to be convoyed by all the men of war in the port of Toulon."

Sir Benjamin Kéene, our minister at Madrid, on the 1st of September transmitted to Sir Thomas Robinson an authentic list of the fleet at Toulon.

Consul Birties wrote from Nice, of J n. 26, 1756, "that he had been told by some, who had the best intelligence from France, that by letters received three days before, sixty battalions were ordered to march into Provence, to be commanded by the duke de Richlieu; that between sixty and seventy vessels had been embargoed for transports; that they continued to send to Toulon all sailors as fast as they arrived in other ports; and that the five frigates, then in the road, were victualled for three months."

Though the French affected to talk of, and to threaten us with an invasion, to be headed by the pretender, and schemed and conducted by the duke de Belleisle. "All persons of judg-
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ment (says an intelligent correspondent with lord Holderness's office, dated Jan. 21, 1756) "agreed, that it was attended with insuperable difficulties, and *was only intended to alarm and distress us.*" At this time there was neither the power nor the means, nor indeed the appearance of an embarkation sufficient to alarm England with an invasion; yet by the disposition of our fleets at this time, it appeared, that the ministry provided against the equipments made by the French in the ports of the ocean, and did nothing for the security of Minorca. Other intelligence in the same office (dated so early as December 4 and 13, 1755) allow, that some proposals for an invasion had been made, and even say, that the pretender had been at Fountainbleau *incog. but then add,* "that those proposals had been all rejected; because, in the first place, it was impossible to collect a sufficient number of transports in any one or two ports; the Brest fleet was in no condition to put to sea; and should it pretend to convoy them, there was the greatest probability of falling in with the English, either going or returning; in which case the fleet might be ruined, the design frustrated, and the whole trade of France exposed: therefore all talk of an invasion was only intended to *alarm and distress.*" Another letter in lord Holderness's office, dated Dec. 10, 1755, says, "that France had no other view in all this than to gain time: that there were no dispositions on the coast of the British channel for an embarkation."

After reading a great number of other letters of the same kind, all concurring in the same advices, it will puzzle the clearest head to find any foundation for the ministerial panic, continually dreaming of, and alarming the people with, the dread of an invasion; except it was *the pretender's being mentioned in one or two of those letters.*

Is it not extraordinary, that his majesty was advised to send a message to the house of lords on the 23d of February, signifying, "that he had received repeated advices from different places and persons, that a design had been formed by the French court to make an hostile invasion upon Great Britain or Ireland; and that the great preparations of land forces, ships,

merce in the Mediterranean, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of general Blakeney, deputy-governor

“ ships, artillery, and warlike stores, were then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coasts, lest little room to doubt of the reality of such a design: that he had not only augmented his forces by sea and land, to put his kingdom into a posture of defence; but that he had ordered transports to bring over a body of Hessian troops, in order further to strengthen himself;” without taking notice of the advices concerning the hostile invasion of Minorca, repeated with absolute certainty, and from persons of undoubted credit, or of any measures taking by his ministry for its defence.

We will now turn to some advices relative to the French designs on Minorca:

Captain Edgewcombe wrote from Leghorn to the lords of the admiralty, who received his letter on the 24th of February, 1756, that the French in earnest were fitting out a fleet at Toulon, and that it was thought to be intended to surprize Minorca.

Consul Birtles wrote from Genoa, that the French at Toulon were equipping a squadron, which would be ready by the middle of March, and that it was intended against Minorca. This letter was received on the 2d of March, 1756.

On the 2d of February Mr. Villetes wrote from Bern, that orders were published every where, by sound of trumpet, for sailors to repair to Toulon, even upon the coasts of Roussillon and Languedoc.”

Captain Harvey, of the Phoenix, at Mahon, in his letter dated Feb. 7, and received March 6, to the admiralty, acquaints their lordships, that 25,000 French were quartered on the coast of Provence; that twelve men of war would be ready within the month to sail from Toulon with five frigates; and that it was publickly talked, and believed in France and other parts, that *most certainly* an embarkation was intended against Minorca.

Consul Dick, at Leghorn, on the 16th of February, sent advice of 50 or 60 transports being taken up for the troops in Provence, and concludes, “ the motions of the French threaten some dangerous enterprize.”

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Lord Bristol wrote from Toulon on the 21st of February, that repeated orders had been sent to Toulon to hasten the men; that five frigates had been ready some time, but were ordered not to sail till the twelve ships of the line were equipped; that then they had orders to sail, together with 35,000 men, for Minorca; that it was the opinion of the most intelligent people, that they would be ready to put to sea about the beginning of April. This letter was received on the 8th of March.

Sir Benjamin Keene, by letter to Mr. Fox, dated February 24, 1756, hath this remarkable sentence. "The uneasiness I feel comes from the approach of an intended attack on his majesty's dominions in the Mediterranean. I mean the island of Minorca in particular; being forced to this idea by repeated accounts of numbers of troops assembled at Marseilles, and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, to be easily transported in small vessels, under convoy of 12 capital ships ready to sail from Toulon."

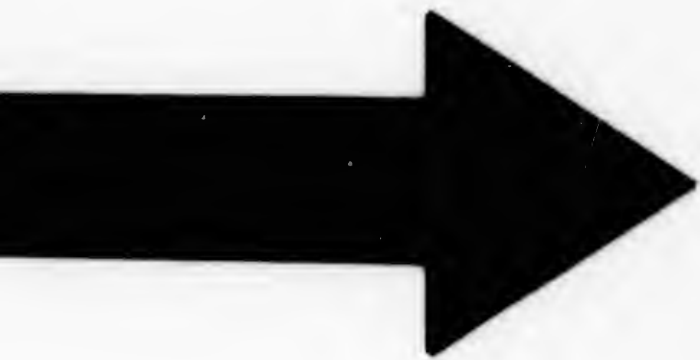
General Blakeney himself was so convinced of the truth of these concurring advices, that on the 10th of February he wrote a letter to Mr. Fox, in which he expresses himself in these terms: "I can't be too early in acquainting you, Sir, that by different informations from France and Spain, there is great reason to believe the French intend very shortly to make an attack upon this island. It is publickly talked of at Marseilles and Barcelona, and founded upon an order for 25,000 men to march immediately to the sea coast of Provence." This letter was received March 6.

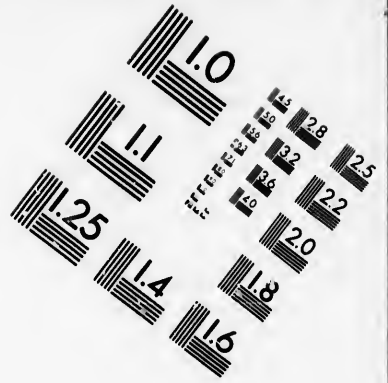
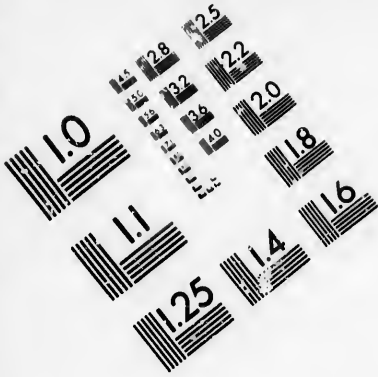
These facts were repeatedly confirmed from every quarter, in the most essential point, by a great number of other letters, which were continually sent as the French preparations went on, as well by the writers of these, as many other persons in different parts.

In consequence of all this intelligence, we will now see what the British ministry did. They could not be ignorant of the distress Mahon was in, for want of a sufficient garrison, miners, pioneers, &c. and the danger of its falling a prey to so powerful an attack, for want of a fleet to cover the island from such an attempt; yet all this could only procure an order on the 8th of March, for ten ships of the line to hold themselves in readiness

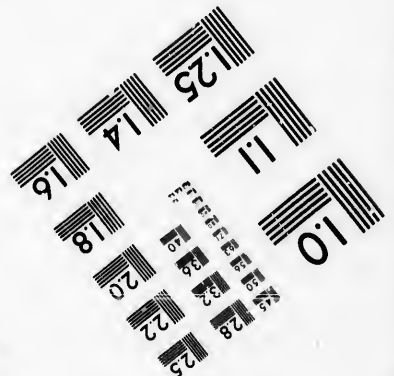
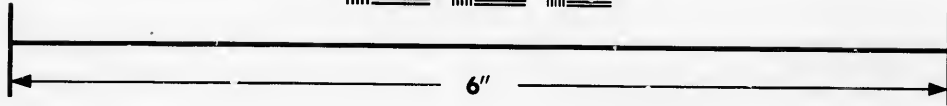
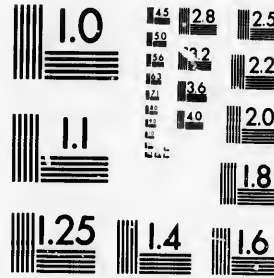
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leave the whole Mediterranean unprotected, except by two or three inconsiderable ships and frigates which could be of no service, till the month of May 1756, nor did they even send to general Blakeney his officers, who were in England upon leave of absence, till it was too late. In a word, they were marked by all Europe for their supineness, which the subjects of these realms did not fail to brand with the most odious and bitter appellations. At length when the destination of the enemy's armament was universally known, they seemed to rouse from their bed of lethargy; yet even then, instead of sending a squadron superior to that of the enemy, under the direction of an officer of approved conduct and courage, together with a proper reinforcement for general Blakeney; they sent on the 7th day of April ten ships of the line, without either hospital or fire ship, in very indifferant order, but poorly manned, and commanded by admiral Byng, an officer who had never been distinguished for his courage, nor was he at all popular in the navy, having on board, as part of his complement a regiment of soldiers, to be landed at Gibraltar; and between forty and fifty officers, and near one hundred recruits. as a reinforcement for general Blakeney. The instructions which admiral

for the Mediterranean. But the equipping of these ships was attended with such directions, that their departure was delayed to the 7th of April for want of men; the admiral being ordered to hasten the fitting up the *Sterling Castle*, and to complete her complement of men in preference to any other; and not to meddle with the men on board the *Nassau*, *Torbay*, *Essex*, *Prince Frederick* and *Greyhound*, they being wanted, says Mr. Cleveland, *on the most pressing service*. [They were wanted to cruise off *Cherbourg*, to try if they could not intercept four frigates and 40 merchantmen, drove in there from *Havre*, which could not be so pressing as the relief of *Minorca*.]

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Byng received were actually amazing; he was, when he came to Gibraltar, to enquire whether any French squadron had passed the Straights, and if they had, and as it was probable they would be gone to America, he was to detach rear admiral West, the second in command, after them. Now the reader will doubtless wonder, that supposing Mr. Byng should be joined at Gibraltar by the two or three ships to the Mediterranean, which was but a mere chance, what force could he detach after the enemy's fleet, which, according to the best information, consisted of at least twelve ships of the line, and have left for the service of the Mediterranean? Admiral Byng reached Gibraltar on the 2d of May, where he was joined by captain Edgecumbe with one ship and a sloop, who informed him, that the French troops had actually made a descent on the island of Minorca; that there was a French squadron of thirteen ships of the line, commanded by M. de la Galissoniere, cruizing off the island; and that he had been obliged to retire on their approach. The admiral, agreeable to his instructions, demanded of lieutenant general Fowke, the lieutenant governor of Gibraltar, a detachment from his garrison, equal to a battalion; upon which the governor called a council of war to deliberate on two successive orders, which he had received from lord Barrington, the secretary at war, which appeared to him inconsistent and equivocal; the majority were of opinion, that no troops ought to be put on board the fleet, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in the little squadron of captain Edgecumbe, who had left a number of his men with captain Scroope to assist in the defence of fort St. Philip. Mr. Byng finding that watering and cleaning here would be attended with delay and difficulty, resolved in the mean

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mean time to communicate all these pieces of intelligence to the lords of the admiralty, which accordingly he did in the following letter; but, unfortunately for him, it proved his ruin.

Ramillies, in Gibraltar-Bay, May 4, 1756.

S I R,

This comes to you by express from hence by the way of Madrid, recommended to Sir Benjamin Keene, his majesty's minister at that place, to be forwarded with the utmost expedition

I arrived here with the Squadron under my command, the 2d instant in the afternoon, after a tedious passage of twenty-seven days, occasioned by contrary winds and calms, and was extremely concerned to hear from capt. Edgcombe (who I found here with the Princess Louisa and Fortune sloop) that he was obliged to retire from Minorca, the French having landed on that island by all accounts from thirteen to fifteen thousand men.

They sailed from Toulon the 10th of last month, with about one hundred and sixty, or two hundred sail of transports, escorted by thirteen sail of men of war; how many of the line I have not been able to learn with any certainty.

If I had been so happy to have arrived at Mahon, before the French had landed, I flatter myself, I should have been able to have prevented their getting a footing on that island; but as it has so unfortunately turned out, I am firmly of opinion, from the great force they have landed, and the quantity of provisions, stores and ammunition of all kinds they brought with them, that the throwing men into the castle, will only enable it to hold out a little longer, and add to the numbers that must fall into the enemies hands; for the garrison in time will be obliged to surrender, unless a sufficient number of men could be landed to dislodge the French, or raise the siege: however, I am determened to sail up to
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Minorca with the Squadron, where I shall be a better judge of the situation of affairs there, and will give general Blakeney all the assistance he shall require; though I am afraid all communication will be cut off betwixt us, as is the opinion of the chief engineers of this garrison (who have served in the island) and that of the other officers of the artillery, who are acquainted with the situation of the harbour; for if the enemy have erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour (an advantage scarce to be supposed they have neglected) it will render it impossible for our boats to have a passage to the Salle port of the garrison.

If I should fail in the relief of Portmahon, I shall look upon the security of Gibraltar as my next object, and shall repair down here with the Squadron.

The Chesterfield, Portland and Dolphin are on their passage from Mahon for this place. The Phoenix is gone to Leghorn by order of capt. Edgcumbe for letters and intelligence; and the Experiment is cruising off Cape Pallas, whom I expect in every hour.

We are employed in taking in wine and compleating our water, with the utmost dispatch, and shall let no opportunity slip of sailing from hence.

Herewith I send you inclosed a copy of such papers as have been delivered me, which I thought necessary for their lordships inspection.

I am, S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

J. B.

Hon. J—n. C—d, Esq;

This letter was carefully suppressed, it being not convenient that the people should know that he already found his arrival too late and his force too weak, that his ships were foul or his stores short, or the works of Gibraltar neglected and ruinous. However he was punished for this uncertain intelligence by an oraculous anticipation of cowardice, and a report diligently spread that he would not fight.

On the 8th of May admiral Byng left Gibraltar ; off Majorca he was joined by captain Hervey. On the 19th he arrived within sight of Mahon, and seeing English colours still flying on St. Philip's castle, and several bomb batteries playing upon it from different quarters where the French banners were displayed, he detached capt. Harvey to the harbours mouth to land a letter for general Blakeney, informing him that the fleet was come to his assistance : but before this attempt could be made the French fleet appeared to the south east ; upon which he recalled captain Hervey, and some frigates which had been sent out to reconnoitre, and formed the line of battle. About six o'clock in the evening the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order ; but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land-wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola.

At day-light, (May 20) the enemy could not be descried ; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal. One escaped ; and the other being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred private soldiers, part of six hundred who had been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron. This soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side ; and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that rear-admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his divi-

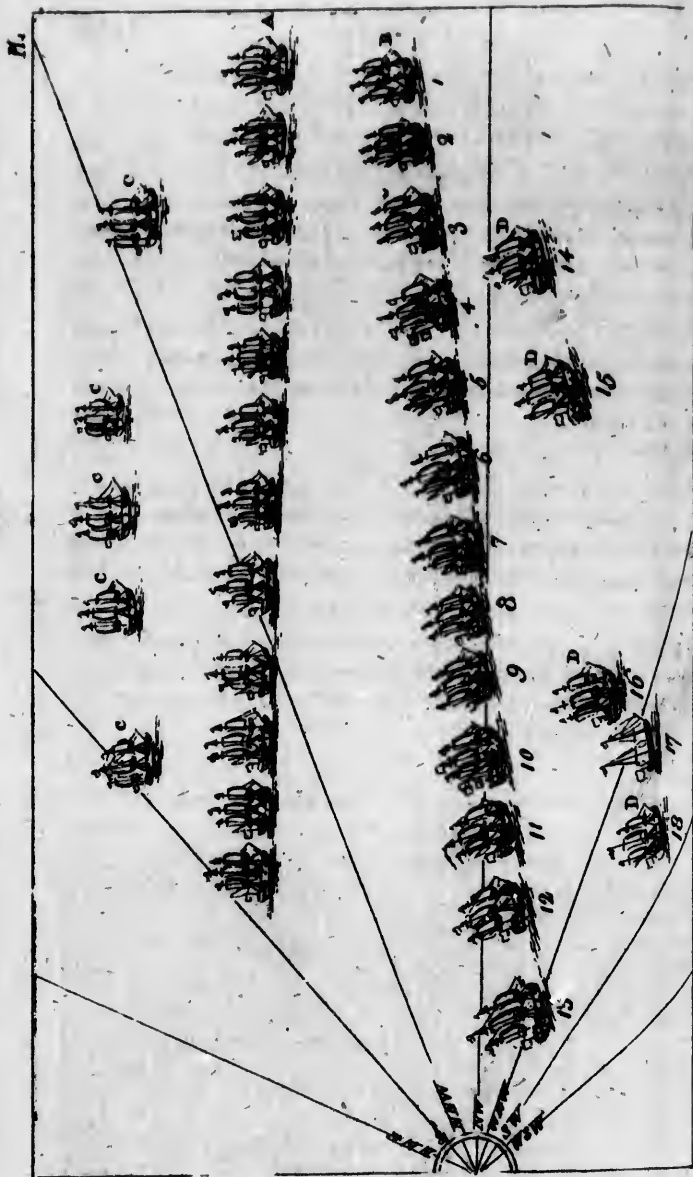
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tion seven points from the wind, and, closing down upon the enemy, attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a complete victory: but the other division did not bear down, and the enemy's centre keeping their station, rear-admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risque of seeing his communication with the rest of the line entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position: a circumstance which obliged several others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery; but kept aloof, either from an overstrained observance of discipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain. Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line intire; and, on pretence of rectifying the disorder which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he was never properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. Mr. de la Galissoniere seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle: part of his squadron had

had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and tho' he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuse to abide the consequence of a closer fight with an enemy so expert in naval operations: he therefore took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitation, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discomfited. The English admiral gave chase; but, the French ships being clean, he could not come up and close them again, so they retired at their leisure. Then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of sight. While, with the rest of his fleet, he lay to, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruisers to look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly, and made an inquiry into the condition of the squadron. The number of killed amounted to forty-two, including captain Andrews of the *Defiance*, and about one hundred and sixty-eight were wounded. Three of the capital ships were so much damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea, with any regard to their safety: a great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. In this situation Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which he permitted the land-officers to be present. He represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and numbers of men; that they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and reinforced occasionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and therefore they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require

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require immediate protection. The council concurring in these sentiments, he directed his course accordingly. Had he been defeated, this measure would certainly have been a prudent one; but, as the engagement was little more than a sort of a skirmish, he ought to have fought the enemy's fleet a second time, and regulated his conduct on the issue of that event. His returning to Gibraltar can be no way justified; for though it is true that fortress was extremely weak, yet it cannot be supposed that Galissoniere would desert his station off Minorca, covering the siege of Mahon, to act on the offensive against Gibraltar whilst there was an English squadron in the Mediterranean: and though we may very well affirm Mr. Byng had not sufficient force for the relief of Minorca, yet it is certain he might have landed what little force he had; and he ought to have fought the French fleet with resolution and courage: Candour and impartiality will allow, that his conduct, during the engagement, was scandalous; and his retreat to Gibraltar had all the appearance of cowardice.

REFERENCES to the PLATES annexed.

PLATE I.

First position of the English and French fleets at two in the afternoon, May 10, 1756, wind S. W. by W.—A. French line of twelve ships with their heads to the N. W. their maintop-sails to the mast, but with steerage way.—B. English line of thirteen ships going down on the enemy, admiral Byng having just made the signal for the leading ship to lead large, in order to lead down flanking on the enemy, and avoid being raked.—1 Desfiance, 2 Portland. 3 Lancaster. 4 Buckingham. rear-admiral West. 5 Captain. 6 Intrepid. 7 Revenge. 8 Princess Louisa. 9 Trident. 10. Ramillies. 11 Culloden. 12 Deptford. 13 Kingston. C. Five French frigates to leeward of their line.—D. Four English frigates to windward of their line. 14 Experiment. 15 Dolphin. 16 Phœnix. 17 A schooner. 18 Chesterfield.

Position

P L A T E II.

Position of the English and French fleets at about half an hour after two in the afternoon, May 20, 1756, when the French fleet began the engagement. A. French line going with the wind upon the beam, and maintopails to the mast, the fourth and fifth ships began the fire, and very soon it became general.—B. French frigates to windward.—C. English line, the van not yet fairly up to their respective adversaries, and consequently not the rear, as the angle after tacking must be greater in the rear than the van, yet all but the two sternmost were even now within gun-shot.—D. The Intrepid putting right down out of the headmost ships way, by which, in bringing up, she was immediately disabled.—E. The admiral, with the signal out to engage the enemy, returning their fire, which he had received from the three ships for a considerable time going down, without answering it, as not thinking himself near enough.—F. Deptford ordered out of the line.—G. G. Phoenix, with the schooner, to attend her in case of burning, to receive her people.—H. Chesterfield.—I. I. The Experiment and Dolphin.

P L A T E III.

Position of the English and French fleets, at three in the afternoon, May 20, 1756, wind about S. W. by W. A. French line engaged, the three headmost bearing up, the fourth and fifth ships setting topgallant sails, and also bearing up; the center firing on the English van at some distance, the eleventh ship of the enemy's line having lost her maintopail-yard, ran out of the line from admiral Byng's ship, who was fired at by the three sternmost of the French line.—B. The Defiance, Portland, Lancaster, Buckingham, and Captain, engaging the enemy's van.—C. The Intrepid had her foretopmost shot away in bringing up to engage, and was much shattered; she lay ungovernable.—D. The Revenge aback close to the Intrepid.—E. The Princess Louisa aback to avoid running on board the Intrepid and Revenge, and shot out of her line as she brought up to the wind.—F. The Trident aback for the same purpose, and close on board the admiral.—G. The admiral throwing aback to keep clear of the ships a-head of him, that in the smoke of the engagement he was near being on board of without seeing them immediately.—H. The Cul-loden.—I. The Kingston.—K. The Deptford.—L. The Chesterfield.—M. The Phoenix.—N. A schooner.—O. The Dolphin.—P. The Experiment.

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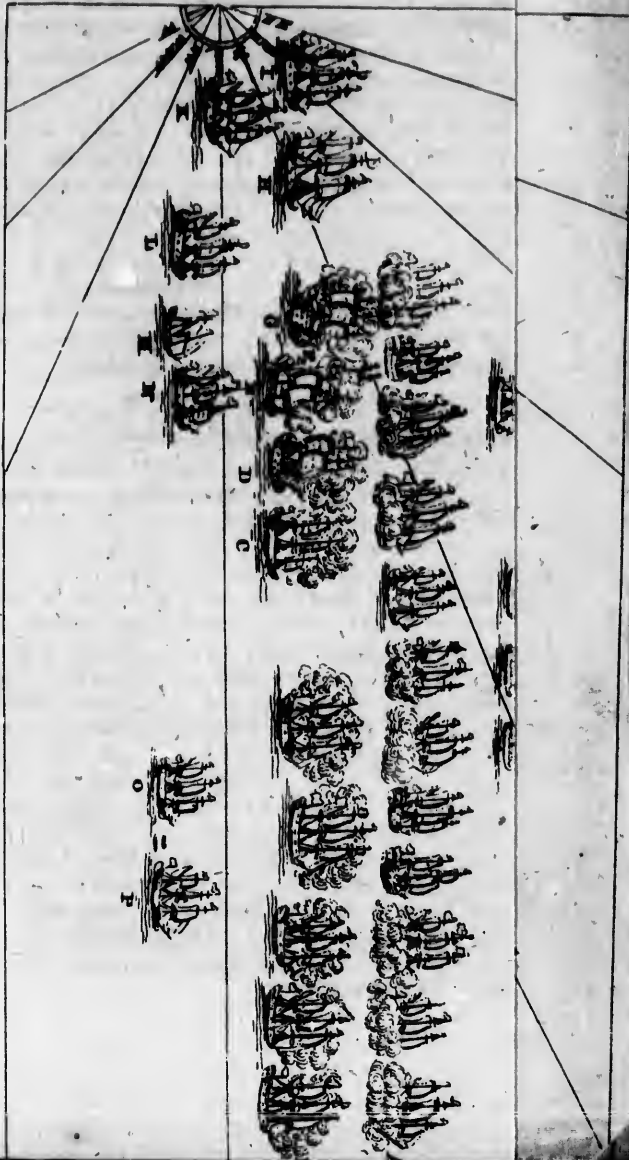
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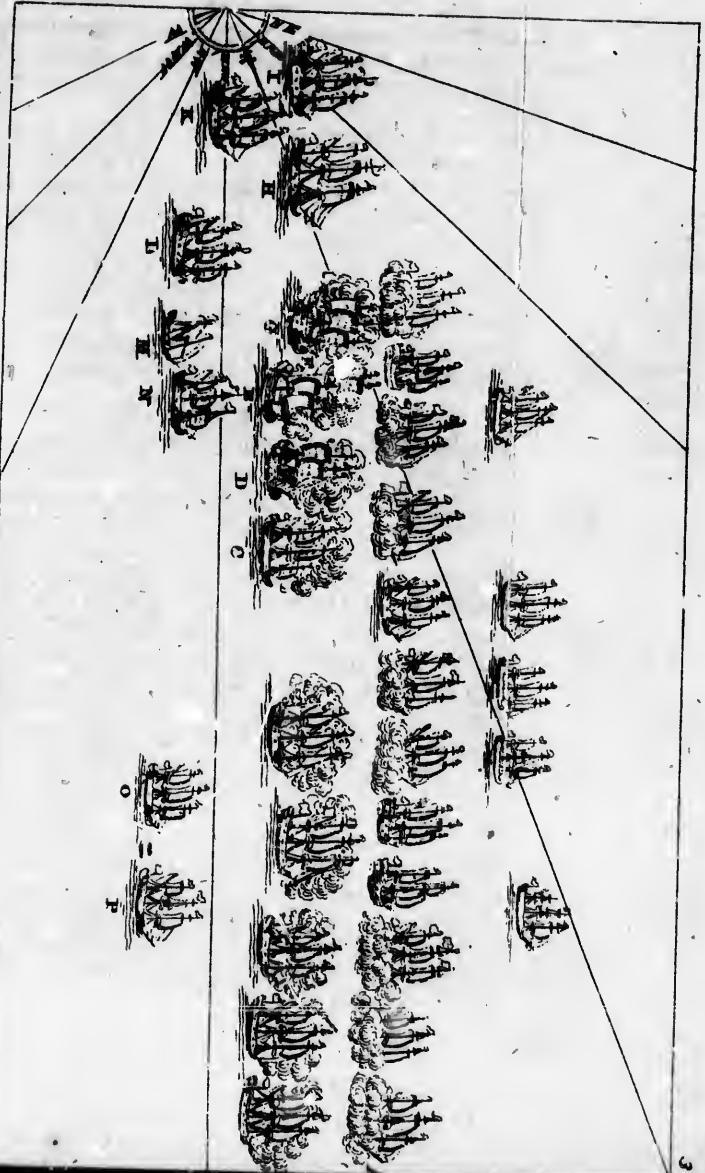
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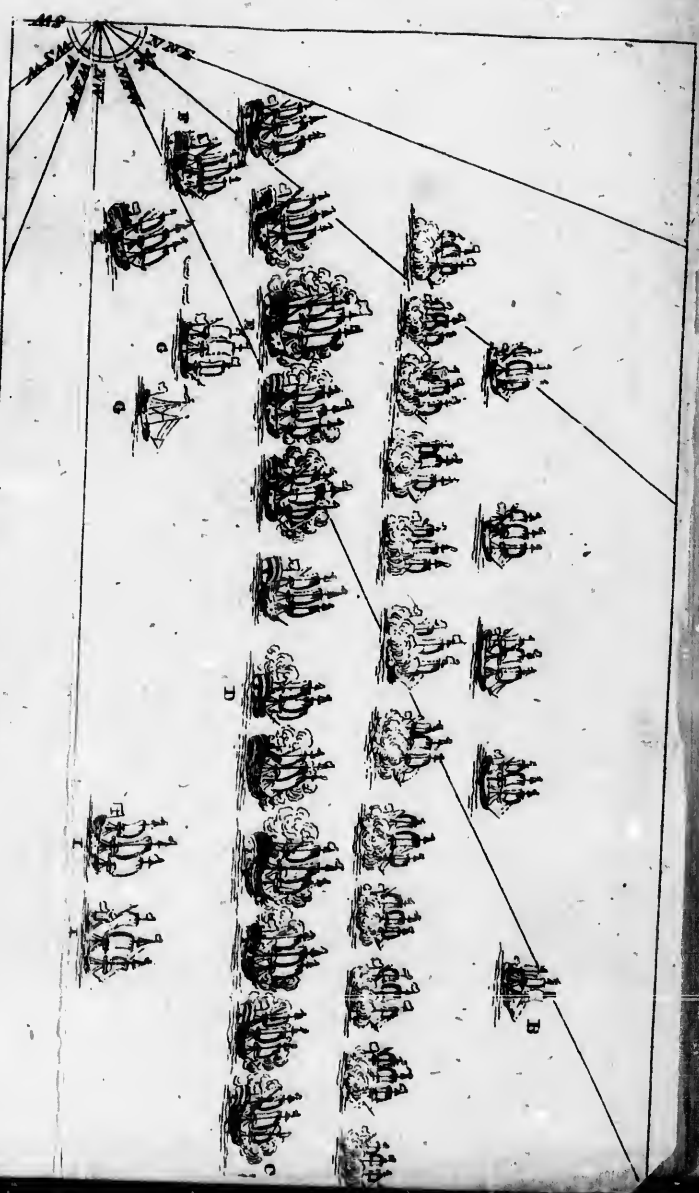
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As soon as advice was brought to England of the French army being landed on the island of Minorca, we were resolved to declare war, which was accordingly done in the following words:

His Majesty's Declaration of War against the French King.

GEORGE REX.

The unwarrantable proceedings of the French in the West Indies and North America, since the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the usurpations and incroachments made by them upon our territories, and the settlements of our subjects in those parts, particularly in our province of Nova Scotia, have been so notorious, and so frequent, that they cannot but be looked upon as a sufficient evidence of a formed design and resolution in that court to pursue invariably such measures as should most effectually promote their ambitious views, without any regard to the most solemn treaties and engagements. We have not been wanting on our part to make, from time to time, the most serious representations to the French king upon these repeated acts of violence, and to endeavour to obtain redress and satisfaction for the injuries done to our subjects, and to prevent the like causes of complaint for the future; but though frequent assurances have been given, that every thing should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the neutral islands in the West Indies should be effected, (which was expressly promised to our ambassador in France) the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, has been evaded under the most frivolous pretences:

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and the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and of the officers acting under their authority, were still carried on, till, at length, in the month of April 1754, they broke out into open acts of hostility, when in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, and without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French forces, under the command of an officer bearing the French king's commission, attacked in a hostile manner, and possessed themselves of the English fort on the Ohio in North America.

But notwithstanding this act of hostility, which could not but be looked upon as a commencement of war; yet, from our earnest desire of peace, and in hopes the court of France would disavow this violence and injustice, we contented ourselves with sending such a force to America, as was indispensably necessary for the immediate defence and protection of our subjects against fresh attacks and insults.

In the mean time great naval armaments were preparing in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for North America; and though the French ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate these differences, yet it appeared, that their real design was only to gain time for the passage of those troops to America, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in those parts, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution.

In these circumstances we could not but think it incumbent upon us to endeavour to prevent to prevent the success of so dangerous a design, and to oppose the landing of the French troops in America;

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rica; and in consequence of the just and necessary measures we had taken for that purpose, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from our court; the fortifications at Dunkirk, which had been repairing for some time, were enlarged; great bodies of troops marched down to the coast, and our kingdoms were threatened with an invasion.

In order to prevent the execution of these designs, and to provide for the security of our kingdoms, which were thus threatened, we could no longer forbear giving orders for the seizing at sea the ships of the French king, and his subjects: notwithstanding which, as we were still unwilling to give up all hopes that an accommodation might be effected, we have contented ourselves hitherto with detaining the said ships, and preserving them, and (as far as possible) their cargoes entire, without proceeding to the confiscation of them: but it being now evident, by the hostile invasion actually made by the French king of our island of Minorca, that it is the determined resolution of that court to hearken to no terms of peace, but to carry on the war, which has been long begun on their part, with the utmost violence, we can no longer remain, consistently with what we owe to our own honour, and to the welfare of our subjects, within those bounds which, from a desire of peace, we had hitherto observed.

We have therefore thought proper to declare war, and we do hereby declare war, against the French king, who hath so unjustly begun it, relying on the help of almighty God in our just undertaking, and being assured of the hearty concurrence and assistance of our subjects in support of so good a cause; hereby willing and requiring our captain-general of our forces, our commissioners for executing the office of our high admiral of Great Britain, our lieutenants;

tenants of our several counties, governors of our forts and garrisons, and all other officers and soldiers under them, by sea and land, to do and execute all acts of hostility, in the prosecution of this war, against the French king, his vassals, and subjects, and to oppose their attempts; willing and requiring all our subjects to take notice of the same, whom we henceforth strictly forbid to hold any correspondence or communication with the said French king, or his subjects: and we do hereby command our own subjects, and advettise all other persons, of what nation soever, not to transport or carry any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations or countries of the said French king; declaring, that whatsoever ship or vessel shall be met withal, transporting or carrying any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or any other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations or countries of the said French king, the same being taken, shall be condemned as good and lawful prize.

And whereas there are remaining in our kingdom divers of the subjects of the French king, we do hereby declare our royal intention to be, that all the French subjects, who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall be safe in their persons and effects.

Given at our court at Kensington, the 17th day of May 1756, in the 29th year of our reign.

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The French King's Declaration of War against the King of England, dated at Versailles, June 9, 1756, and proclaimed at Paris the 10th.

By the KING.

All Europe knows that the king of England was, in 1754, the aggressor against the possessions of the king in North America; and that in the month of June, last year, the English navy, in contempt of the law of nations, and the faith of treaties, began to exercise the most violent hostilities against his majesty's ships, and against the navigation and commerce of his subjects. The king, justly offended with this treachery, and the insult offered to his flag, suspended, during eight months, the effects of his resentment, and what he owed to the dignity of his crown, only through the fear of exposing Europe to the calamities of a new war. 'Twas with this salutary view that France at first only opposed the injurious proceedings of England by the most moderate behaviour. At the time that the English navy was taking, by means of the most odious violences, and sometimes by the basest artifices, the French ships that sailed with confidence under the protection of the public faith, his majesty sent back to England a frigate which had been taken by the French navy, and the English ships continued their trade unmolested in the ports of France. At the time that the French soldiers and sailors were treated with the greatest severity in the British islands, and that the behaviour, with respect to them, was carried beyond the bounds prescribed by the law of nature and humanity to the most rigorous rights of war, the English travelled and inhabited freely in France, under the protection of that regard which civilized people rectrôcally owe to each other. At the time

that the English ministers, under the appearance of good faith, imposed upon the king's ambassador by false protestations; at that very time they were putting in execution, in all parts of North America, orders that were directly contrary to the deceitful assurances that they gave of an approaching accommodation. At the time that the court of London was draining the arts of intrigue, and the subsidies of England, in order to stir up other powers against the court of France, the king did not even acquire of them those succours which, by guaranties and defensive treaties, he was authorised to demand; and only advised them to such measures as were necessary for their own peace and security.

Such has been the conduct of the two nations. The striking contrast of their proceedings ought to convince all Europe of the views of jealousy, ambition, and avarice, which incite the one, and of the principles of honour, justice, and moderation, upon which the other behaves. The king was in hopes that the king of England, purely from a consideration of the rules of equity and his own honour, would have disavowed the scandalous excesses which his sea officers continually committed. His majesty had even furnished him with an opportunity of so doing, in a just and becoming manner, by demanding the speedy and intire restitution of the French ships taken by the English navy, and had offered him, upon that preliminary condition, to enter into a negotiation with regard to the other satisfactions which he had a right to expect, and to listen to an amicable reconciliation of the differences concerning America.

The king of England having rejected this proposition, the king could not but look upon his refusal

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as the most authentic declaration of war, as his majesty had declared he should do in his requisition.

The British court might therefore have dispensed with a formality which was become unnecessary; a more essential motive should have engaged it not to submit to the judgment of Europe the pretended grievances which the king of England alledged against France, in the declaration of war which he caused to be published at London.

The vague imputations contained in that work, have in reality no foundation, and the manner in which they are set forth would be sufficient to prove their weakness, if their falsity had not already been strongly demonstrated in the memorial which the king caused to be delivered at all courts, containing the substance of the facts with the proofs thereof, as far as relates to the present war, and the negotiations which preceded it.

There is nevertheless one important fact, which is not mentioned in that memorial, because it was impossible to foresee that England would carry, as far as she has done, her want of delicacy in finding out ways to impose upon the public. The affair in question is the works erected at Dunkirk, and the troops which the king caused to be assembled upon the sea coasts.

Who would not think by the king of England's declaration of war, that these two motives occasioned the order he gave to seize at sea the ships belonging to the king and his subjects? And yet nobody is ignorant that the works at Dunkirk were not begun upon till after the taking of two of his majesty's ships, which were attacked in a time of full peace by a squadron of thirteen English men of war. It is likewise equally known by every body, that the English marine had seized upon

French ships for above six months, when towards the end of February last, the first battalions that the king sent to the sea coasts began their march.

If the king of England ever reflects upon the treachery of the reports that were made to him upon both these occasions, how can he forgive those who engaged him to advance facts, the supposition of which cannot even be coloured by the least specious appearances?

What the King owes to himself, and what he owes to his subjects, has at length obliged him to repel force by force; but being faithfully attached to his natural sentiments of justice and moderation, his majesty has only directed his military operations against the king of England, his aggressor; and all his political negotiations have been carried on with no other view but to justify the confidence which the other nations of Europe place in his friendship, and in the uprightness of his intentions?

It would be needless to enter into a more ample detail of the motives which forced the king to send a body of his troops into the island of Minorca, and which at present oblige his majesty to declare war against the king of England, as he does hereby declare it, both by sea and land.

By acting upon principles so worthy of determining his resolutions, he is secure of finding, from the justice of his cause, the valour of his troops, and the love of his subjects, those resources which he has always experienced on their part; and he relies principally upon the protection of the God of armies.

His majesty orders and enjoins all his subjects, vassals, and servants, to fall upon the subjects of the king of England, and expressly prohibits all communication, commerce, and intelligence with them,

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them, upon pain of death: in consequence of which his majesty revokes all permissions, passports, safe-conducts, &c. contrary to these presents, whether granted by his majesty, or any of his officers, further commanding the admiral and marshals of France, and all sea and land officers, to see that the contents of this declaration be duly executed within their several jurisdictions, for such is his majesty's will, as it is, that these presents be published, and fixed up, in all the towns and sea-ports of this kingdom, that none may plead ignorance thereof. Done at Versailles the 9th of June, 1756.

Sign'd LOUIS.
And underneath, Rouille.

C H A P. III.

The siege of Minorca. Affairs of Asia and America.

ON the 12th of April, the French Squadron sailed from Toulon, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, and seven frigates, commanded by M. de la Galissoniere, with about 11,000 men on board transports, commanded by the duke de Richlieu. On the 18th, they landed at Ciudadella, on the island of Minorca, and on the 25th they appeared before the castle of St. Philip, the chief fortress in the island: upon which governor Biakeney sent a letter to the French general, desiring to know his reasons for coming there; the answer implied, that he was come to reduce the island

island by way of retaliation for the losses which the French king and his subjects had sustained in the taking of their ships by the English. On the 12th of May the operations of the siege began; at first the duke de Richlieu erected his batteries on a point called cape Mola, where he was at too great a distance to do any execution, and he was so exposed to the severe fire of the garrison, that he thought proper to alter his plan of attack, by advancing on the side of St. Philip's town; here he opened several batteries, which kept an incessant fire on the castle. On the 17th the British Squadron appeared, which so elevated the spirits of the garrison, that, by their reboulded efforts, they destroyed many of the enemy's works. Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a little boat of six oars to go to the admiral; he passed the enemy's batteries without harm, notwithstanding they made a discharge of musquetry and cannon at him; but when he was got into the open sea, he perceived the squadron to be at a great distance, and two of the enemy's light vessels pursuing him; whereupon he determined to return to the castle, and was landed without having received the least damage. This transaction entirely confutes Mr. Byng's notion, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison. Next day the French squadron returned to their station at the mouth of the harbour, which threw a damp on the spirits of the besieged. In the evening they were informed by a French deserter, that the English squadron had been defeated in an engagement, and this was soon confirmed by a feu de joye in the French camp. The brave garrison, notwithstanding this mortification, resolved to acquit themselves with honour and intrepidity, hoping that the English

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squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief. They remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled: they removed them occasionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution: they repaired breaches, restored merlons, and laboured with surprising alacrity, even when they were surrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe; when their embrasures, and even the parapets, were demolished, and they stood exposed not only to the cannon and mortars, but also to the musquetry, which fired upon them, without ceasing, from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. By this time they were invested with an army of twenty thousand men, and plyed incessantly from sixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, besides the small arms: nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortress was very inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subterranean works, which were impenetrable to shells or shot. By the twenty-seventh day of June the enemy had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to such a degree, that they determined this night to give a general assault. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land side. At the same time a strong detachment, in armed boats, attempted to force the harbour, and penetrate into the creek, called St. Stephen's cove, to storm fort Charles, and second the attack upon fort Marlborough on the farther side of the creek, the most detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander, the duke de Rich-

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lieu, is said to have led them up to the works in person.

Such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter: they were mowed down, as they approached, with grape shot and musquetry; and several mines were sprung with great effect, so that the glacis was almost covered with the dying and the dead. Nevertheless, they persevered with uncommon resolution; and, though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgment in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Whether their success in this quarter was owing to the weakness of the place, or to the timidity of the defenders, certain it is, the enemy were in possession before it was known to the officers of the garrison: for lieutenant-colonel Jeffries, the second in command, who had acquitted himself since the beginning of the siege with equal courage, skill, and activity, in his visitation of this post, was suddenly surrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgment. Major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a severer fate, though he escaped captivity: he was run through the right arm with a bayonet, and the piece being discharged at the same time, shattered the bones of his hand in such a manner, that he was maimed for life. In this shocking condition he retired behind a traverse, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken, and the other disabled.

The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther's and the Queen's redoubts, the duke de Richlieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permission to bury the dead, and remove

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the wounded. This request was granted with more humanity than discretion, inasmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgments had been made, and these penetrated into the gallery of the mines, which communicated with all the other outworks.

During this short cessation, general Blakeney summoned a council of war, to deliberate upon the state of the fort and garrison; when the majority declared for a capitulation. The works were in many places ruined; the body of the castle was shattered; many guns were dismounted, the embrasures and parapets demolished, the palisades broke in pieces; the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the subterranean communications. Besides, the governor had received information from prisoners, that the duke de Richlieu was alarmed by a report that the marshal duke de Belleisle would be sent to supersede him in the command, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced him to demand a capitulation. But this measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the council. Some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits: that no breach was made in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach: that the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress: that the counterescarp was not yet taken, nor on account of the rocky soil could be taken, except by assault, which would cost

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the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt: that they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterscarp should be taken; and even then they must have recourse to galleries before they could pass the fosse, which was furnished with mines and countermines: finally, they suggested that in all probability the British squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or if it should not return, it was the duty of the governor to defend the place to the last extremity, without having any regard to the consequences. These remarks being over-ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made. The siege was vigorous while it lasted: the French are said to have lost five thousand men; but the loss of the garrison, which at first fell short of three thousand men, did not exceed one hundred. The capitulation imported that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar.

That misconduct which sent out admiral Byng too late, dispatched admiral Hawke to take the command of the fleet, and relieve Mahon. Had this admiral been sent at first, the island had doubtless been preserved; but the sending him now, when the fleet could be no longer of any service to Minorca, was looked upon as an idle errand; however, this measure was taken to appease the discontents of the people, who began to perceive the negligence of those at the helm. Admiral Hawke was ordered to send home the devoted scape-goat; and lord Tyrawley, who went with the admiral,

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was ordered to supersede lieutenant-general Fowke in his government of Gibraltar. When Sir Edward Hawke arrived off Minorca, he found the island was taken; however, he cruized about for some time, exposed to violent tempests and other hardships, while the French fleet lay safe in the harbour of Toulon.

When admiral Byng arrived in England, he was sent under a strong guard to Greenwich hospital, where he was confined a close prisoner, till the officers from the Mediterranean could be spared to attend his trial by a court martial. When general Blakeney arrived in London, he met with a gracious reception at court, and was by the king promoted to the rank of an Irish baron. Party lifted him up as an object worthy of public veneration, and the people idolized him in his infirmities. The same party trampled upon Byng with abhorrence and contempt. Such were prejudice and passion. The few who were of a medium cast, saw that these officers were viewed at the different ends of a false perspective. At this time addresses were brought from all parts of this kingdom to the throne, lamenting the late miscarriages, praying, that the authors of them might be brought to justice, and hinting at the misconduct of the ministry, in not sending timely and effectual succours.

The first victim offered to quiet the discontents of the people was lieutenant general Fowke, whose conduct and integrity, as well as his amiable private character, had always, till this unfortunate period, distinguished himself as a man of worth and honour. He was accused of having disobeyed the orders

orders of the secretary at war, contained in the following letters:

To lieut. gen. F——ke, or, in his absence, to the commander in chief in his majesty's garrison at Gibraltar.

War-Office, March 21, 1756.

S I R,

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's pleasure that you receive into your garrison lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in case you shall apprehend, that the French intend to make any attempt upon his majesty's island of Minorca, it is his majesty's pleasure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, to be the eldest in your garrison, and to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the admiral shall think convenient, who is to carry them to the said island.

I am,

Your humble servant,

B.

To lieut. gen. F——ke, or, in his absence, to the commander in chief in his majesty's garrison in Gibraltar.

War-Office, April 1, 1756.

S I R,

It is his majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and children belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To lieut. gen.

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To

To lieut. gen. F——ke, or the commander in chief at Gibraltar.

War-Office, May 12, 1756.

S I R,

I wrote to you by general Stewart, that order is *not* complied with, *then* you are now to make a detachment of 700 men out of your own regiment and Guises; and also another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But *if* that order *has* been complied with, *then* you are to make only one detachment of 700 men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, and to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain all such empty vessels as shall come into your harbour, and keep them in readiness for any farther transportation of troops. I have also his royal highness the duke of Cumberland's commands to desire, that you will keep your garrison as alert as possible, during this *critical time*, and give such other assistance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garrison.

These letters Mr. Fowke received at one time from the same hand. The third letter not mentioning that it superceded the first left it in full force. The word *if* at the beginning of this last letter, and other parts of it, seemed to imply that the other order was discretionary. Upon the whole, Mr. Fowke thought they were both together unintelligible, and he called a council of war at Gibraltar, not to deliberate, whether he *should* obey them, but *how* he should *understand* them. By the first letter lord Robert Bertie's regiment, commonly called

called the fuziliers, was ordered into garrison: by the second he was ordered to receive the wives and children, who must have disembarked with the regiment [this letter was meant, that the governor should conclude from it the regiment was to be sent to Minorca, and it was to prevent any useless mouths going thither: but is not this drawing conclusions without premises? or is it customary in military orders, which cannot be too clearly expressed?] and by the third, the regiment was supposed to be on board. Now does it appear, that Mr. Fowke was to send a detachment, together with the fuziliers to Minorca? or that he was to send a detachment from the garrison, detaining the fuziliers at Gibraltar? After 275 men had been spared to captain Edgcumbe, the whole garrison was but 2531, and the ordinary duty required 839, therefore there was not enough for three reliefs; and this too, at a time when the place was supposed to be in danger, nay, when the government themselves thought so, as is evident from the conclusion of the last letter. This determined the council of war not to send any troops to Minorca. But supposing the orders had been positive, and he had obeyed them, as they ought to have arrived, viz. sent 700 men according to the first letter, and 700 according to the third, would he have had enough left for the defence and preservation of the fortrefs? And to crown the whole, what could be the meaning of that order to detain all empty vessels for a farther transportation of troops,—was he to embark the whole garrison, and abandon the place?

Mr. Fowke alledged that these orders were confused, contradictory, and implied a discretionary power. The court was equally divided, whether they should acquit him or suspend him for a year; but the president,

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ident, who in these cases has the casting vote, gave it against the prisoner; and the king soon after dismissed him from his service; but his present majesty has restored him to his rank in the army.

The trial of admiral Byng was held the 27th of December on board the *St. George* man of war in Portsmouth; when, after a long sitting, the court unanimously agreed, he had been negligent in the performance of his duty at the time he ought to have engaged the French admiral; but that this negligence partly arose from an error in his judgment; and from many favourable symptoms they thought him an object worthy of mercy, and therefore recommended him, because the 12th article of war (under which he fell) prescribes death without mitigation in cases of negligence. Many of the officers, who composed this tribunal, manifested signs of grief at his condemnation, and it was generally believed that the admiral thought he had fully discharged his duty; but he relied too much on conscious innocence. Great interest was made in his behalf, and perhaps his preservation would have been effected, had it not been judged necessary to sacrifice him, to appease the fury of the people; but the warrant of the lords of the admiralty, directing his execution, one gentleman of the board refused to subscribe for the following reasons:

A——1 F——s's reasons for not signing the warrant for admiral Byng's execution.

“ It may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges*; but when a man is called upon to sign his

* The legality of admiral Byng's sentence had been referred to the twelve judges, who confirmed it.

name to an act, which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

“ In the case before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I consider : whether he deserves death, or not, is not a question for me to decide ; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court martial ; and after having so clearly explained their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my most serious consideration.

“ The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng's sentence is grounded, says, ‘ That every person who, in time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or who shall not do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.’ The court martial does, in express words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned ; otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection. But it must be acknowledged, that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence ; for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng's situation, must have proceeded from either cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes : besides, these crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed justify suspicion, and private opinion ; but cannot satisfy the conscience in a case of blood.

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“ Admiral Byng’s fate was referred to a court-martial ; his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they most earnestly recommend him to his majesty for mercy ; it is evident then, that in the opinions and consciences of the judges, he was not deserving of death.

“ The question then is, shall the opinions, or necessities, of the court-martial determine admiral Byng’s fate ? if it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of the judges ; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deserving of death ; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under ; and then they condemn him to death, because as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man’s life be taken away by such a sentence ? I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng’s deserts : that was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience ; which after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford, it remains still in doubt ; and, therefore, I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution ; for I cannot

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cannot help thinking that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I don't mean to find fault with other men's opinions, all I endeavour at is to give reasons for my own; and all I desire, or wish, is, that I may not be misunderstood, I do not pretend to judge of admiral Byng's deserts, nor to give my opinion on the propriety of the act.

Signed the 16th of February, 1757, at the Admiralty,

J. F."

The unfortunate admiral prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquility. He maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board of the *Monarque*, a third rate ship of war, anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty. On the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators. About noon, the admiral having taken leave of a clergyman and two friends, who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm, deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends representing that his looks would possibly

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possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their making aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, knecled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes*.

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* The sentiments of his fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty. "A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecution, and frustrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create; persuaded I am that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me, will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success; and that the armament, under my command, proved too weak to succeed in an expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falshood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection. My heart acquits me

We will now turn to the war in Asia, and take a retrospect of the transactions there, from 1749 to the end of 1756.

Hostilities were first committed on the coast of Coromandel; an extensive territory, situated between the tenth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude; bounded on the north, by the kingdom of Golconda; on the east, by the bay of Bengal; by the principalities of Marawia and Madura, on the south; and by the kingdom of Bisnagar Proper, on the west. It was formerly subject to the Great Mogul, and still properly belongs to him; but he was so weakened during his wars with the famous Kouli Khan, that he has not yet been able to assert his sovereignty over this country. The European nations that trade to India have obtained his consent to make settlements on this part of his dominions, as well as on the coast of Malabar, and on the banks of the Ganges. Because of the great distance these countries are from his capital, he appointed viceroys, or as they are called in the East, Nabobs, to govern the several parts of this extensive and remote territory, which they hold under vassalage, paying tribute, and doing homage, for the same; but now they have almost shook off that yoke of dependency, and fre-

me of these crimes: but who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error of judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved and subside as my resentment has done. The Supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause."

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quently make war against one another, without consulting the Mogul about the matter.

It is to a dispute of this sort that the present war in that quarter owes its rise; in which the English were concerned, for the Nabobs, whenever they go to war with each other, request the assistance of such Europeans as are settled nearest their dominion.

In the year 1749, animosity and jealousy began to appear among them. The nabob of Arcot had been raised to that dignity by the peculiar direction of the Mogul, who deposed Sundah Saheb, the former nabob; but this man in revenge formed a conspiracy with some of his allies to cut off the new nabob of Arcot, and they had recourse to Monsieur Duplieux, the French governor of Pondicherry, to assist them in this enterprize; who, on their making cession of the town of Vellur, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages, situated near Pondicherry, granted their request; and Anawedi Khan, nabob of Arcot, was defeated and slain in the month of July, in the plains of his capital; and Sundah Saheb was reinstated in the government of Arcot.

After the battle, Mahommed Ali Khan, son of the late nabob, fled to Tiruchinapolli, a place of great strength, to the southward, where he supplicated the assistance of the English; who, in commiseration of his distress, and partly in return for the affection his father had shewn them, sent him a reinforcement of men, ammunition, and money, under the direction of major Lawrence, an officer of known experience and valour. In consequence of this supply, some advantages were gained over the enemy: they were forced to retreat; but nothing of importance was done. Soon after, Mahommed

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Ali Khan went in person to Fort St. David, to solicit more powerful succours: he alledged, that his interest and that of the English were the same, inasmuch, that if the enemies were suffered to proceed in their conquests, they should be obliged to quit the whole coast. By this representation the seeds of jealousy were sown among the English who looked upon the French as meditating a plan to extirpate them. Therefore they sent a strong reinforcement, under the command of captain Cope. Nothing material, however, was attempted, and the English thought proper to recal their auxiliaries; which was no sooner made known to the French, than they, in conjunction with Sunlah Saheb, determined to attack Anawerdi Khan at the head of his slender force. On the 6th day of April 1750, they obtained a complete victory over him, and once more obliged him to quit his dominions.

Finding himself unable to withstand the force of the French and their allies, he again retired to Tiruchinapalli, and solicited, in the most pressing terms, the assistance of the English, ceding to them some commercial points which had been long in dispute; they, in return, entered into a treaty of alliance with him, promising to assist him to the utmost of their power; whereupon, captain Gingen, a brave Swiss gentleman, in the service of the company, was detached on the 5th day of April 1751, with four hundred Europeans, and a large train of artillery, to watch the motions of the enemy; at the same time captain Cope was sent to put Tiruchinapalli in a posture of defence.

At Volconda, about seventy miles west from Fort St. David, the two armies came in sight of each other, and continued in that situation for the

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space of three weeks; during which time Gingen did all in his power to bring the enemy to a general engagement, but he found it impossible; however, frequent skirmishes happened, which commonly ended to the advantage of the English and their ally. At length the Indian governor of Volconda declaring for the French, the English broke up their camp, and marched to Tiruchinapalli, and encamped under the walls of that place. The enemy followed as fast as possible, and immediately laid siege to that capital*; but either their force was insufficient, or they wanted spirit to prosecute their operations with vigour.

It was at this time that colonel Clive entered upon the stage, and began to turn the fortune of war; he had formerly laid aside the sword and accepted the office of purveyor to the army, but now hearing, at St. David's, that it was resolved to make a diversion in the province of Arcot, by sending a fresh detachment, in order to divide the enemies forces, he offered his service as a volunteer, without pay, to command the troops destined for this expedition. Accordingly, on the twenty-second day of August 1751, he embarked with one hundred and thirty Europeans on board the Wager, an East-India ship, for Madras, where he was joined by eighty more. With this slender force he began his march across the country for the city of Arcot; which on his arrival he took possession of, without opposition: the principal inhabitants, expecting to be plundered,

* There are several accounts which do not say a word of this siege; but we take this from major Lawrence's own letter, written in the town on the 12th day of June 1752.

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offered him a large sum to spare their city, but he generously refused their ransom; and their safety flowed from his benevolence and amity: at the same time he caused a proclamation to be made, importing, that such as were willing to stay should receive no injury, and the rest have leave to depart with their effects of all kinds, excepting provisions, for which he promised they should be paid the full value. By this prudent behaviour, he entirely gained their affections, and in return, they afterwards contributed not a little to his safety.

Such was the secrecy and dispatch with which this enterprize was executed, that the first information the enemy received, was Mr. Clive's having taken possession of Arcot. Sundah Saheb immediately detached his son with a considerable force from his army, at this time beleaguering Tiruchinapalli, to lay siege to Arcot. The people, who had left that city, hearing of his motions, immediately returned, and gave Mr. Clive the most exact intelligence of the enemy's designs; so that he had time to put himself in a posture of defence, and prepare for a vigorous resistance. About the middle of September, 1751, the enemy appeared, and by the 24th, the town was completely invested and besieged; the operations were under the directions of European engineers; however, they expended a fortnight before they could effect a breach. At length, by the thirteenth day of October they had made two, which were deemed practicable; but such was the indolence of the enemy, that before they were prepared to storm the breaches, Mr. Clive, with his usual alacrity, had them filled and repaired so well, that they were as strong as any part of the walls.

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About three o'clock next morning, the besiegers resolved to attack both breaches, and one of the gates, which they attempted to force open with elephants. But Mr. Clive having received intelligence of the time when the assault was to be given, had so well prepared for it with masked batteries, that he repulsed the besiegers in every quarter with great slaughter, especially at the breaches, from which scarce twenty men returned alive: upon which Mr. Clive made a well concerted and successful sally, which did the enemy considerable mischief. Next day captain Kirkpatrick arrived to his relief, with a party of Europeans, and two thousand Maharattas. On the first moment of his appearance, the enemy began to raise the siege, and retired with the greatest precipitation, leaving behind all their cannon, and best part of their baggage.

Captain Kirkpatrick, with his Europeans, were left in garrison at Tiruchinapalli, while Mr. Clive, reinforced by the Moharattas, marched in pursuit of the enemy, who had taken their rout northward, and had, when he overtook them, reached the plains of Arani, distant at least one hundred and fifty miles from Tiruchinapalla. It was on the third day of December, 1751, about noon, when both armies prepared to engage; Mr. Clive, at the head of his English attacked with such impetuosity, that Sundah Saheb's troops were not able to withstand the shock; however, by advantage of their superiority in numbers, the dispute continued with great obstinacy for the space of five hours; at the end of which time victory declared for Mr. Clive, and the nabob was totally defeated. The victors obtained this advantage at a very small expence, for their whole loss, in Europeans, did not consist

of twenty men ; and as for the rest, they are seldom taken any notice of. Next day the city of Arani surrendered, and a few days following, that of Kajevaran. Such were the effects of a battle, which struck such a terror into the enemy, that the country surrendered rather to the conqueror's name than to the force of his arms. The enemy being now, to all appearance, dispersed, Mr. Clive returned in triumph to Fort St. David.

But he had not resided there many months before he was ordered to take the field again. The enemy, as soon as they heard he was retired, assembled what forces they were able, and advanced to a place called the Mount, about nine miles from the town of Madras, where the gentlemen of that town have their country seats, which they had begun to plunder, when they received intelligence of Mr. Clive's approach. The very name of this young hero was sufficient to put a stop to their depredations. They made a precipitate retreat towards Arcot, which Monsieur Duplieux had informed them, was only garrisoned with twenty men and a serjeant, therefore they designed to possess themselves of; but Mr. Clive, who was reinforced with one hundred and sixty men from Bengal, penetrated into the scheme, and followed so close at their heels, that they were fain to abandon their design and encamp in the most advantageous manner at Koverypauk; when, hearing that M. Duplieux's account of the strength of Arcot was false, they resolved to give Mr. Clive a battie. Assembling their force, they found it amounted to almost three thousand four hundred men, with eight pieces of cannon: whereas Mr. Clive's forces did not reach one-third of that number. With this view they quitted their intrench-

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ments on the first day of March, 1752, and advanced in order of battle, taking possession of a rising ground on the right, on which they placed fifty Europeans; the front consisted of fifteen hundred Sipoy's, and one hundred and twenty or thirty French; while the left was composed of seventeen hundred horse. Such were the numbers and situation of the enemy, whom Mr. Clive advanced to attack, till he came within push of bayonet, ordering his men to reserve their fire till that time; when the work was so extremely hot, that the enemy, in a short time, were obliged to retire to their intrenchments; which Mr. Clive attacked with the greatest intrepidity, but without success. At length, when it was almost dark, and victory still remaining doubtful, his troops being raw and undisciplined, and not accustomed to attacking entrenchments, he happily thought of a step which answered his expectation, and gave him the victory. He sent a detachment round, to fall on the rear of the enemy's battery; the design happily succeeded, as it was executed with courage, and planned with prudence. The English entered with their bayonets fixed, and firing a platoon, so disconcerted the enemy, that the right wing, to a man, threw down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war; while the left wing made their escape under cover of the night.

The battery had been defended by forty eight Europeans, fourteen Topasses or Portuguese of the country, and a body of natives: all of whom were made prisoners; a greater number was killed. The victors took eight pieces of cannon, nine tumbrils of powder, one hundred and eighty stands of arms, with the loss of only twenty-seven men killed and wounded. The victory would have been more

brilliant, had it not been for the intervention of the night; however, it proved such a severe blow to the enemy, that in the province of Arcot they were not able to make head again.

The brave and fortunate captain Clive, having fulfilled his orders, now prepared to return to fort St. David, whither he arrived on the 1st of March. Here he found major Lawrence arrived from England, ready to take upon him the command of the forces, as superior officer. On the 17th of the same month, they set out at the head of 400 Europeans and 1000 Sipoy, well provided with provision of all kinds, for the relief of capt. Gingen, who had been since last year blocked up in Tiruchinapalla, by a strong party of Sundah Saheb's forces. They proceeded without molestation till the 23d; when coming near Keyl-addi (or Kod-addi) they found an intrenchment thrown up by a strong detachment of French, with a view to intercept them in their march. The two parties cannonaded each other, but without doing any considerable execution; the major, however, continued his march, and the enemy made some attempts to attack him in ambuscade; but his vigilance rendered them abortive. At length he arrived before Tiruchinapalla, which the enemy had abandoned on receiving intelligence of his approach; and having heard that they were retreating to Pondicherry with all possible dispatch, he detached captain Clive, with four hundred Europeans, a party of Maharatta horse, and Sipoy, to cut off their retreat. Clive dislodged a strong body of the nabob's troops, who had taken post at Sameavarem, a fort and temple situated on the river Kalderon, upon which Sundah Saheb threw himself into the island of Syrinah with

with an army another part of Pondicherry were transactions, by a strong detachment. He had by this twenty miles n Clive invested Saheb, he went whose officer, o upon which the though much of the temples part of his for several others, a gate, were ki the amount of number of Sipoy temple, much st Against his h tions by regular enemy to hang when Mr. Clive to storm the b ignorant of the the breach, push the garrison, th selves into the riv an accident whic had he been able two, and three officers made lon been shewn to th it is, that the cl them from being

with an army of thirty thousand men, formed by another part of the river Kalderon. The French at Pondicherry were no sooner acquainted with these transactions, than they sent count D'Anteuil, with a strong detachment, to the assistance of the nabob. He had by this time advanced as far as Utatur, about twenty miles north from Syrinham. Before Mr. Clive invested the ecclesiastical fortrefs of Sundah Saheb, he went to Utatur to give the French battle, whose officer, on his approach, thought fit to retire; upon which the English gentleman returned, and though much fatigued, immediately invested one of the temples into which the nabob had thrown part of his forces. The commanding officer and several others, attempting to force their way out at a gate, were killed, and the rest surrendered, to the amount of sixty-six Europeans, and a great number of Sipoyes. Then he proceed to another temple, much stronger than the first.

Against his he was obliged to carry on his operations by regular approaches, which soon reduced the enemy to hang out a white flag of capitulation, just when Mr. Clive was beginning to advance in order to storm the breach he had made. The Sipoyes, ignorant of the meaning of the flag, and mounting the breach, pushed on the attack, which so terrified the garrison, that twenty-four French threw themselves into the river, and all perished there but four; an accident which Mr. Clive would have prevented, had he been able. The remainder, in all seventy-two, and three officers, were made prisoners. These officers made loud complaints that no regard had been shewn to their flag of capitulation, yet, certain it is, that the clemency of Mr. Clive alone saved them from being all cut to pieces, during the heat

of action. To this imputation monsieur Duploux added another, of the contempt with which Mr. Clive had treated the French in general; this may be very justly attributed to the effects of mortified ambition, since it was disproved by the very prisoners themselves.

After the reduction of this place, Mr. Clive began his march for Golconda, whither he was told D'Anteuil had retreated. He arrived there about noon, on the thirty-first day of May, 1652, after a march of a day and a half. D'Anteuil, with great precaution, had chosen an advantageous situation, and intrenched himself for the greater security. Some Maharatta horse immediately attacked the town of Golconda, and drove the French out in confusion, obliging them to abandon their cannon: Mr. Clive, in the mean time, attacked the intrenchments, and made a terrible slaughter; but, being unwilling to destroy them all, sent a flag of truce out, on which a capitulation was agreed upon, and D'Anteuil, with three other officers, were made prisoners, on parole, for one year; the troops also were made prisoners till exchanged, and the money and stores were delivered to the nabob, whom the English supported.

During these transactions, major Lawrence marched at the head of the forces at Tiruchinapalla, assisted by a good body of men from the nabob of Tanjour, who had espoused the cause of Mahommed Ali Khan, to Syrinham. The place was so effectually blockaded, that in a very short time Sundah Sahib's provisions were exhausted, and his troops reduced to the last extremity for a supply. In this emergency, he found means to corrupt Mona Ji, general of the Tanjourines, to connive at his escape; however,

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however, he was no sooner in Mona Ji's power than that officer secured him; on which the nabob of Tanjour ordered his head to be struck off, and exposed in the camp. This happened on the same day that Mr. Clive took Golconda. On the third day of June monsieur Law, who commanded the forces in Syrinham, surrendered himself, his troops, and allies, prisoners of war. In the place were found forty pieces of battering cannon, ten mortars, and other warlike stores.

Such a chain of successes established Mahommed Ali Khan in his government of Arcot, and obliged monsieur Duploux to recall his regulars from the Indian army, and stand upon the defensive. Since his projects had all been baffled, he resolved to sue for peace, to which the nabob of Arcot shewed himself inclinable, provided it was to the satisfaction of the English, his allies. Peace, however, did not take place, but a cessation of arms ensued. When advice of all these transactions had been remitted to France, the company in that kingdom were discouraged by so many disasters, that, in 1753, they sent monsieur Duvelar as their commissary to the East-Indies, to restore peace. The English and French concluded a convention, whereby it was stipulated, that the two companies should reciprocally restore the territories taken by their troops since 1748; except certain districts, which the English retained for the conveniency of their traffic; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either, should be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither should interfere in any disputes which might arise among the princes of the country.

Major Lawrence having the sole command of the troops, Mr. Clive was at liberty to return to Eng-

land,

land, for which he made preparations. The natives of the country could scarce endure the thoughts of his parting from them. They considered themselves as indebted to him for the preservation of their territories and effects. They looked upon him as a father, while his heroic actions, skill, and modesty incited them to almost deify him. The great Mogul solicited him to enter into his service, who would have granted him any thing to comply with his request. Not all their intreaties could make him sacrifice the love he bore to his country, for which he set sail in a very short time, and arrived on the 10th day of November, 1753, at Plymouth. Thence he proceeded to London, and having waited on the directors of the East-India company, with an account of his transactions, was presented by the gentleman in the chair, with a very rich sword set with diamonds; for which he politely returned his thanks, and assured the company of his future service whenever they required it. Six months after the departure of Mr. Clive, hostilities were recommenced on the coast of Coromandel, between the English and French: who from auxiliaries, seem now to have become principals. Major Lawrence, though far from being popular in that country, because of his pride and austerity, was an officer of experience, resolution, and conduct. He gained several advantages over the enemy, particularly one in September, 1753, near Trichinapalla, where he was encamped when the enemy offered him battle, which he accepted, and gave them a total defeat in a short time, with very little loss on his own side: while that of the enemy amounted to at least six hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; together with ten pieces of cañon, which

fell into his hands. The major, who had reached England proper to request a distant country of government. Major Lawrence, who had done the utmost vigour against the enemy, who terminated the negotiation, interrupted by the English.

This was the first time, speaking the truth, Bahir, and Or, dignity, which he was of a fine, the measures, virtues; desirous, either of the peace, and cruel passions were a was flattered by either afraid of favour, that the were immensely granting them sums from the force was sufficient his advice, he order to show that they had not given the least

fell into hands. Soon after this another skirmish happened, which did not end to the advantage of the major. When the news of these transactions reached England, the East India company thought proper to request Mr. Clive's service again in that distant country; for which, in 1754, he set sail, in quality of governor of Fort St. David.

Major Lawrence, however, repaired the little damage he had suffered, and proceeded to act with the utmost vigour, obtaining divers advantages over the enemy, which, in all probability, would have terminated the war according to his own wish; for a negotiation was on the carpet, when it was interrupted by the starting up of a new enemy to the English.

This was the nabob of Bengal, or more properly speaking, the suba of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá; he had but lately aspired to this dignity, which he obtained by a fortunate audacity; he was of a fickle and inconstant disposition, both in the measures of his government, and with his favourites; destitute of principle, void of sentiment, either of the past or the future; spleenic without a cause, and cruel in his hatred; but his prevailing passions were avarice, and the love of riches. He was flattered by some of his courtiers, who were either afraid of him, or solicitous of being in his favour, that the English, settled in his dominions, were immensely rich, that he might under colour of granting them favour and protection, extort large sums from them, and that in case of refusal, his force was sufficient to crush them. Animated by this advice, he determined to attack the English, in order to shew them his power, though at this time they had not given him the least front, nor manifested the least dislike to his person or government.

His aversion to them proceeded from his information that they were rich. On the 4th of June, he seized the little town of Cassimbuzar, situated on the Ganges, at a small distance from Muradabad his capital. Here he openly declared that his design was to deprive the English of all their settlements; and with this view he began his march southwards along the banks of the river to Calcutta, which is the principal English settlement there. He pretended to have a cause for marching against Calcutta, which was, that Mr. Drake, the governor, had granted protection to one of his subjects, whom he had outlawed for conspiring against him. We shall not enquire into the merits of this pretence; it is certain that he appeared before fort William at Calcutta, with an army of 70,000 men in month of June. The governor, terrified by the numbers of the enemy, or, as being one of the people called quakers, could not from motives of conscience resist an attack, immediately abandoned the fort, with many of the principal persons in the settlement, who saved themselves with their most valuable effects on board the ships. Notwithstanding this desertion, Mr. Holwell, the second in command, assisted by a few gallant friends, and the remains a feeble garrison, bravely held out the fort to the last extremity; but a noble defence could not keep an untenable place, or affect an ungenerous enemy. On the 20th of June the fort was taken, and the garrison, consisting of one hundred and forty-six persons being made prisoners, were for that night, in this sultry climate, crammed into a dungeon, called the black-hole prison. Mr. Holwell, with a few others, came out alive, to paint a scene of the most cruel distress which perhaps human nature ever suffered. His very affecting letter, containing a minute detail of

this shocking business, is full of tears from the most obdurate and the reader.

A letter from

Dear Sir,

The confusion of the India company's affairs excite in me not a little height of spirit. The greatest part of the blame is to be laid on the sad necessities of the prisoners at discretion at Calcutta.

By narratives that of one hundred and two hundred black-hole prisoners in June, 1756. For a detail of the matter, these, I believe on my own part, I have and as often related only from the case afresh in my remembrance of the imposition of raising adequate I essay to draw. The world cannot produce a more agreeable or proportionable attending it, and a peace of mind are recovered from the fatal night, I can

this shocking barbarity, which cannot fail drawing tears from the eyes, and pity from the heart, of the most obdurate and savage breast, we shall present to the reader.

A letter from J. Z. Hobwell, Esq; to William Davis, Esq;

Dear Sir,

The confusion which the late capture of the East-India company's settlements in Bengal, must necessarily excite in the city of London, will, I fear, be not a little heightened by the miserable deaths of the greatest part of those gentlemen, who were reduced to the sad necessity of surrendering themselves prisoners at discretion in Fort William (the English fort at Calcutta.)

By narratives made public, you will only know, that of one hundred and forty-six prisoners, one hundred and twenty-three were smothered in the black-hole prison, in the night of the twentieth of June, 1756. Few survived, capable of giving any detail of the manner in which it happened; and of these, I believe none have attempted it: for my own part, I have often sat down with this resolution, and as often relinquished the melancholy task, not only from the disturbance and affliction it raised afresh in my remembrance, but from the consideration of the impossibility of finding language capable of raising adequate idea of the horrors of the scene I essay to draw. But as I believe the annals of the world cannot produce an incident like it, in any degree or proportion, to all the dismal circumstances attending it, and as my own health of body and peace of mind are once again, in a great measure, recovered from the injuries they suffered from that fatal night, I cannot allow it to be buried in oblivion;

vion ; though still conscious, that however high the colouring my retentive memory may supply, it will fall infinitely short of the horrors accompanying this scene. These defects must, and I doubt not, will be assisted by your own humane and benevolent imagination ; in the exercise of which, I never knew you deficient, where unmerited distress was the object.

The sea air has already had that salutary effect on my constitution I expected ; and my mind enjoys a calm it has been many months a stranger to, strengthened by a clear chearful sky and atmosphere, joined to an unusual pleasant gale, with which we are passing the equinoctial. I can now, therefore, look back with leis agitation on the dreadful night I am going to describe, and with a grateful heart sincerely acknowledge, and deeply revere that Providence, which alone could have preserved me through that, and all my succeeding sufferings and hazards.

Before I conduct you into the black-hole, it is necessary you should be acquainted with a few introductory circumstances. The Suba [Salajud-Dowla, viceory of Bengal, Baker, and Orixal] and his troops were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. I had in all three interviews : the last in Dunbar [in council] before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us ; and indeed I believe his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured ; and that what followed, was the result of revenge and resentment, in the breasts of the lower Jemmautdaars, [an officer of the rank of serjeant] to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard over

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us, to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched veranda or piazza, to the west of the Black-Hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard; and just over against the windows of the governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this Veranda, leading up to the south-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two twenty-four pounders stood) were also drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches.

At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right the armory and laboratory; to the left, the carpenter's yard: though at this time we imagined it was the cotta warehouses [the company's cloth warehouses]. Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended suffocating us between the two fires: and this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour past seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us, to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution, of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the request of messrs. Baillie, Jenks, and Revelly, to see if they were really setting fire to the apartments, and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us
in;

in; the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

Here I must detain you a little, to do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many instances been a friend; and who, on this occasion, demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish: this man had made his escape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would insure my escape, if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able; but told him, it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shewn to me; and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would; but pressed him to secure his own escape, without loss of time: to which he gallantly replied, "that then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me."

To myself and the world I should surely have stood excused in embracing the overture above-mentioned, could I have conceived what immediately followed; for I had scarce time to make him an answer, before we observed part of the guard drawn up on the parade advance to us, with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise, and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks, you may remember, have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and

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a small parapet of the Veranda and were passing a comfortable dream of the us. For we were than the guard parapet wall; and ordered us to the end of the barr Hole prison; with clubs and of us next to the unexpected, and upon us next there was no wave impelling way and enter; amongst us, exc idea of the dime never seen: for have rushed upon evil, by our own

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a small parapet wall, corresponding to the arches of the Veranda without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartment in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southernmost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black Hole prison, there was no resisting it; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, excepting the soldiers, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen: for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces.

Amongst the first that entered, were myself, messrs. Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, ensign Scot, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got possession of the window nearest the door, and took messrs. Coles and Scot into the window with me, they being both wounded (the first I believe mortally.) The rest of the abovementioned gentlemen were close round about me. It was now about eight o'clock.

Figure to yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward

southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.

What must ensue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colors, the instant I cast my eyes round and saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavors were in vain and fruitless.

Observing every one giving way to the violence of passions, which I foresaw must be fatal to them. I requested silence might be preserved, whilst I spoke to them, and in the most pathetic and moving terms, which occurred, "I begged and intreated, that as they had paid a ready obedience to me in the day, they would now for their own sakes, and the sakes of those, who were dear to them, and were interested in the preservation of their lives, regard the advice I had to give them. I assured them the return of day would give us air and liberty urged to them that the only chance we had left for sustaining this misfortune, and surviving the night, was the preserving a calm mind and quiet resignation to our fate; intreating them to curb, as much as possible, every agitation of mind and body, as raving and giving a loose to their passions could answer no purpose, but that of hastening their destruction."

This remonstrance produced a short interval of peace, and gave me a few minutes for reflection: though even this pause was not a little disturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded, and more particularly of my two companions in the window.

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Death, attended with the most cruel train of circumstances, I plainly perceived must prove our inevitable destiny : I had seen this common migration in too many shapes, and accustomed myself to think on the subject with too much propriety to be alarmed at the prospect, and indeed felt much more for my wretched companions than myself.

Amongst the guards posted at the windows, I observed an old Jemmutdaar near me, who seemed to carry some compassion for us in his countenance ; and indeed he was the only one of the many in his station, who discovered the least trace of humanity. I called him to me, and in the most persuasive terms I was capable, urged him to commiserate the sufferings he was a witness to, and pressed him to endeavour to get us separated, half in one place, and half in the other ; and that he should in the morning receive a thousand rupees for this act of tenderness. He promised he would attempt it, and withdrew ; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it was impossible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promised him two thousand : he withdrew a second time, but returned soon, and (with I believe much real pity and concern) told me it was not practicable ; that it could not be done but by the Suba's order, and that no one dared awake him.

During this interval, though their passions were less violent, their uneasiness increased. We had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse, you can form no idea of it. This consequently brought on a raging thirst, which still increased, in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture.

Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. To obtain the former, it was moved to put off their cloaths : this was approved, as

a happy motion, and in a few minutes I believe every man was stripped (myself, Mr. Court, and the two wounded young gentleman by me, excepted) for a little time they flattered themselves with having gained a mighty advantage: every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air, and Mr. Baillie proposed that every man should sit down on his hams: as they were truly in the situation of drowning wretches, no wonder they caught at every thing that bore a flattering appearance of saving them. This expedient was several times put in practise, and at each time many of the poor creatures, whose strength was less than others, or had been more exhausted, and could not immediately recover their legs, as others did when the word was given to rise, fell, to rise no more! for they were instantly trod to death, or suffocated. When the whole body sat down, they were so closely wedged together, that they were obliged to use many efforts, before they could put themselves in motion to get up again.

Before nine o'clock every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Our situation was much more wretched than that of so many miserable animals in an exhausted receiver; no circulation of fresh air, sufficient to continue life, nor yet enough divested of its vivifying particles to put a speedy period to it.

Efforts were again made to force the door, but in vain. Many insults were used to the guard to provoke them to fire in upon us (which as I learned afterwards, were carried to much greater lengths, when I was no more sensible of what was transacted.) For my own part I hitherto felt little pain or uneasiness, but what resulted from my anxiety for the sufferings of those within. By keeping my face be-

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between two of the bars, I obtained air enough to give my lungs easy play, though my perspiration was excessive, and thirst commencing. At this period, so strong a urinous volatile effluvia came from the prison, that I was not able to turn my head that way, for more than a few seconds at a time.

Now every body, excepting those situated in and near the windows, began to grow outrageous, and many delirious: "Water, Water," became the general cry. And the old Jemmautdaar, before-mentioned, taking pity on us, ordered the people to bring some skins of water, little dreaming, I believe, of its fatal effects. This was what I dreaded. I foresaw it would prove the ruin of the small chance left us, and essayed many times to speak to him privately to forbid its being brought; but the clamour was so loud, it became impossible. The water appeared. Words cannot paint to you the universal agitation and raving the sight of it threw us into. I had flattered myself that some, by preserving an equal temper of mind, might outlive the night; but now the reflection, which gave me the greatest pain, was, that I saw no possibility of one escaping to tell the dismal tale.

Until the water came, I had myself not suffered much from thirst, which instantly grew excessive. We had no means of conveying it into the prison, but by hats forced through the bars; and thus myself and Messieurs Coales and Scot (notwithstanding the pains they suffered from their wounds) supplied them as fast as possible. But those, who have experienced intense thirst, or are acquainted with the cause and nature of this appetite, will be sufficiently sensible it could receive no more than a momentary alleviation; the cause still subsisted. Though we brought full hats

hats within the bars, there ensued such violent struggles, and frequent contests to get at it, that before it reached the lips of any one, there would be scarcely a small tea-cup full left in them. These supplies, like sprinkling water on the fire, only served to feed and raise the flame.

Oh! my dear Sir, how shall I give you a conception of what I felt at the cries and ravings of those in the remoter parts of the prison, who could not entertain a probable hope of obtaining a drop, yet could not divest themselves of expectation, however unavailing! And others calling on me by the tender considerations of friendship and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me. Think, if possible, what my heart must have suffered at seeing and hearing their distress, without having it in my power to relieve them; for the confusion now became general and horrid. Several quitted the other window (the only chance they had for life) to force their way to the water, and the throng and press upon the window was beyond bearing; many forcing their passage from the further part of the room, pressed down those in their way who had less strength, and trampled them to death.

Can it gain belief, that this scene of misery proved entertainment to the brutal wretches without? But so it was; and they took care to keep us supplied with water, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing us fight for it, as they phrased it, and held up lights to the bars, that they might have no part of the inhuman diversion.

From about nine to near eleven, I sustained this cruel scene and painful situation, still supplying them with water, though my legs were almost broke with the weight against them. By this time I myself

was very near propanions, with Mr himself into the

For a great w regard to me, m pect, our circum distinction was l Jenke, Revely, L others, for whom had for some time now trampled up soldier, who, by tions, had forced fast by the bars pressed and wedge motion.

Determined now to them, and beg regard, they woul and permit me to quiet. They gav I forced a passag where the throng I believe amountin who flocked to the had water also at the

In the black hol form was raised be the floor, open und length of the east si six feet wide] corre racks: I travelled the further end of it and seated myself Dumbleton and cap then expiring. I w

was very near pressed to death, and my two companions, with Mr. William Parker (who had forced himself into the window) were really so.

For a great while they preserved a respect and regard to me, more than indeed I could well expect, our circumstances considered: but now all distinction was lost. My friend Baillie, Messrs. Jenke, Revely, Law, Buchanan, Simson, and several others, for whom I had a real esteem and affection, had for some time been dead at my feet; and were now trampled upon by every corporal or common soldier, who, by the help of more robust constitutions, had forced their way to the window, and held fast by the bars over me, till at last I became so pressed and wedged up, that I was deprived of all motion.

Determined now to give every thing up, I called to them, and begged, as the last instance of their regard, they would remove the pressure upon me, and permit me to retire out of the window, to die quiet. They gave way; and with much difficulty I forced a passage into the center of the prison, where the throng was less by the many dead (then I believe amounting to one third), and the numbers who flocked to the windows; for by this time they had water also at the other window.

In the black hole there is a platform [this platform was raised between three and four feet from the floor, open underneath; it extended the whole length of the east side of the prison, and was above six feet wide] corresponding with that in the barracks: I travelled over the dead, and repaired to the further end of it, just opposite the other window, and seated myself on the platform between Mr. Dumbleton and captain Stevenson; the former just then expiring. I was still happy in the same calm-

ness of mind I had preserved the whole time ; death I expected as unavoidable, and only lamented its slow approach, though the moment I quitted the window my breathing grew short and painful.

Here my poor friend Mr. Edward Eyre came staggering over the dead to me, and with his usual coolness and good-nature asked me how I did ? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myself down on some of the dead behind me, on the platform, and recommending myself to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my sufferings could have no long duration.

My thirst grew now insupportable, and difficulty of breathing much increased ; and had not remained in this situation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was seized with a pain in my breast, and palpitation of the heart, both to the most exquisite degree. These roused and obliged me to get up again ; but still the pain, palpitation, thirst, and difficulty of breathing increased. I retained my senses notwithstanding, and had the grief to see death not so near me as I hoped, but could no longer bear the pains I suffered, without attempting a relief, which I knew fresh air would and could only give me. I instantly determined to push for the window opposite to me ; and by an effort of double the strength I ever before possessed, gained the third rank at it, with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained the second, though I think there were at least six or seven ranks between me and the window.

In a few moments my pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceased ; but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for " WATER FOR GOD'S SAKE ;" had been concluded dead ; but as soon as they heard me amongst them, they had
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still the respect and tenderness for me to cry out, "GIVE HIM WATER, GIVE HIM WATER!" nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drank. But from the water I found no relief; my thirst was rather increased by it; so I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event, and keep my mouth moist from time to time, by sucking the perspiration out of my shirt sleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain from my head and face: you can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them escaped my mouth.

I came into the prison without coat or waistcoat; the season was too hot to bear the former, and the latter tempted the avarice of one of the guards, who robbed me of it when we were under the veranda. Whilst I was at this second window, I was observed by one of my miserable companions on the right of me, in the expedient of allaying my thirst by sucking my shirt sleeve. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a considerable part of my store; though after I detected him, I had ever the address to begin on that sleeve first, when I thought my reservoirs were sufficiently replenished, and our mouths and noses often met in the contest. This plunderer I found afterwards was a worthy young gentleman in the service, Mr. Lushington, one of the few who escaped from death, and since paid me the compliment of assuring me, he believed he owed his life to the many comfortable draughts he had from my sleeves. I mention this incident, as I think nothing can give you a more lively idea of the melancholy state and distress we were reduced to. Before I hit upon this happy expedient, I had, in an ungovernable fit of thirst, attempted drinking my urine; but it was so intensely

tensely bitter there was no enduring a second taste, whereas no Bristol water could be more soft or pleasant than what arose from perspiration.

By half an hour after eleven the much greater number of those living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable; few retaining any calmness, but the ranks next the windows. By what I had felt myself, I was fully sensible what those within suffered; but had only pity to bestow upon them, not then thinking how soon I should myself become a greater object of it.

They all found now that water, instead of relieving rather heightened their uneasinesses; and "AIR, AIR," was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuse that the Suba, Monickchund, &c. [Rajah Monickchund, appointed by the Suba governor of Calcutta.] could be loaded with, were repeated to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, rushing tumultuously towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the first shot: then a gentle prayer to heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our misery. But these failing, they whose strength and spirits were quite exhausted, laid themselves down and expired quietly upon their fellows; others, who had yet some strength and vigor left, made a last effort for the windows, and several succeeded, by leaping and scrambling over the backs and heads of those in the first ranks, and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left sunk with the violent pressure, and were soon suffocated; for now a steam arose from the living and the dead, which affected us in all its circumstances, as if we were forcibly held with our heads

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When I h with a train o glimpse of ho relief, my spi of religion ga longer to supp dreadful thoug the prison, w Some inferna period, broug small clasp p determined in system no long heaven interp

heads over a bowl full of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn, until suffocated ; nor could the effluvia of the one be distinguished from the other, and frequently, when I was forced by the load upon my head and shoulders to hold my face down, I was obliged, near as I was to the window, instantly to raise it again to escape suffocation.

I need not, my dear friend, ask your commiseration, when I tell you, that in this plight, from half an hour past eleven, till near two in the morning, I sustained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees in my back, and the pressure of his whole body on my head. A Dutch serjeant, who had taken his seat on my left shoulder, and a Topaz [a black christian soldier, usually termed subjects of Portugal] bearing on my right ; all which nothing could have enabled me long to support, but the props and pressure equally sustaining me all around. The two latter I frequently dislodged, by shifting my hold on the bars, and driving my knuckles into their ribs ; but my friend above stuck fast, and, as he held by two bars, was immoveable.

When I had bore this conflict above an hour, with a train of wretched reflections, and seeing no glimpse of hope, on which to found a prospect of relief, my spirits, resolution, and every sentiment of religion gave way, I found I was unable much longer to support this trial, and could not bear the dreadful thoughts of retiring into the inner part of the prison, where I had before suffered so much. Some infernal spirit taking the advantage of this period, brought to my remembrance my having a small clasp penknife in my pocket, with which I determined instantly to open my arteries, and finish a system no longer to be borne. I had got it out, when heaven interposed, and restored me to fresh spirits

and resolution, with an abhorrence of the act of cowardice I was just going to commit; I exerted anew my strength and fortitude; but the repeated trials and efforts I made to dislodge the insufferable incumbrances upon me at last quite exhausted me, and towards two o'clock, finding I must quit the window, or sink where I was, I resolved on the former, having bore, truly for the sake of others, infinitely more for life than the best of it is worth.

In the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships, whose name was Carey, and who had behaved with much bravery during the siege, (his wife, a fine woman, though country-born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived.) This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommending his gaining my station. On my quitting, he made a fruitless attempt to get my place; but the Dutch serjeant, who sat on my shoulder, supplanted him.

Poor Carey expressed his thankfulness, and said he would give up life too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead standing, unable to fall by the throng and equal pressure round.) He laid himself down to die, and his death, I believe, was very sudden; for he was a short, full, sanguine man; his strength was great, and I imagine, had he not retired with me, I should never have been able to have forced my way.

I was at this time sensible of no pain and little uneasiness; I can give you no better idea of my situation than by repeating my simile of the bowl of spirit of hartshorn. I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the reverend Mr. Jarvis Bellamy, who lay
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dead with his son the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southermost wall of the prison.

When I had lain there some little time, I still had reflection enough to suffer some uneasiness in the thought, that I should be trampled upon when dead, as I myself had done to others. With some difficulty I raised myself, and gained the platform a second time, where I presently lost all sensation; the last trace of sensibility that I have been able to recollect after my laying down, was my fast being uneasy about my waist, which I untied, and threw from me.

Of what passed in this interval, to the time of my resurrection from this hole of horrors, I can give you no account; and indeed the particulars mentioned by some of the gentlemen who survived (solely by the number of those dead, by which they gained a freer accession of air, and approach to the windows) were so excessively absurd and contradictory, as to convince me very few of them retained their senses; or at least lost them soon after they came into the open air, by the fever they carried out with them.

In my own escape from absolute death, the hand of heaven was manifestly exerted: the manner take as follows. When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no intreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to Mr. secretary Cooke) to make a search for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from this scene of misery. Accordingly Messrs. Lushington and Walcot undertook the search, and by my shirt discovered me under the dead under the platform. They took me from thence, and imagining I had some signs of life,

brought me towards the window I had first possession of.

But as life was dear to every man (and the stench arising from the dead bodies was grown intolerable) no one would give up his station in or near the window, so they were obliged to carry me back again: but soon after captain Mills (now captain of the company's yacht) who was in possession of a seat in the window, had the humanity to offer to resign it. I was again brought by the same gentlemen, and placed in the window.

At this juncture the Suba, who had received an account of the havoc death had made amongst us, sent one of his Jemmutdaars to enquire if the chief survived. They shewed me to him; told him I had the appearance of life remaining, and believed I might recover if the door was opened very soon. This answer being returned to the Suba, an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning.

The fresh air at the window soon brought me to life; and a few minutes after the departure of the Jemmutdaar, I was restored to my sight and senses. But oh! Sir, what words shall I adopt to tell you the whole that my soul suffered at reviewing the dreadful destruction round me? I will not attempt it; and indeed, tears (a tribute I believe I shall ever pay to the remembrance of this scene, and to the memory of those brave and valuable men) stop my pen.

The little strength remaining amongst the most robust who survived, made it a difficult task to remove the dead piled up against the door; so that I believe it was more than twenty minutes before we obtained a passage out for one at a time.

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I had soon reason to be convinced the particular enquiry made after me did not result from any dictate of favour, humanity, or contrition; when I came out, I found myself in a high putrid fever, and not being able to stand, threw myself on the wet grass without the veranda, when a message was brought me signifying I must immediately attend the Suba. Not being capable of walking, they were obliged to support me under each arm, and on the way one of the Jemmautdaars told me, as a friend, to make a full confession where the treasure was buried in the fort, or that in half an hour I should be shot off from the mouth of a cannon [a sentence of death common in Indostan]. The intimation gave me no manner of concern, for at that juncture I should have esteemed death the greatest favour the tyrant could have bestowed upon me.

Being brought into his presence, he soon observed the wretched plight I was in, and ordered a large folio volume, which lay on a heap of plunder, to be brought for me to sit on. I endeavoured two or three times to speak, but my tongue was dry, and without motion. He ordered me water. As soon as I got speech, I began to recount the dismal catastrophe of my miserable companions; but he stopt me short, with telling me he was well informed of great treasure being buried, or secreted, in the fort, and that I was privy to it; and if I expected favour, must discover it.

I urged every thing I could to convince him there was no truth in the information, or that if any such thing had been done, it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated assurance to me the day before; but he resumed the subject of the treasure, and all I could say seemed to gain no credit

with him. I was ordered prisoner under Mhir Muddon, general of the household troops.

Amongst the guard which carried me from the Suba, one bore a large Moratter battle-ax, which gave rise I imagine to Mr. secretary Cooke's belief and report to the fleet, that he saw me carried out, with the edge of the ax towards me, to have my head struck off. This I believe is the only account you will have of me, until I bring you a better myself. But to resume my subject: I was ordered to the camp to Mhir Muddon's quarters, within the outward ditch, something short of Omychund's garden (which you know is above three miles from the fort) and with me Messieurs Court, Walcot, and Burdet. The rest who survived the fatal night gained their liberty, except Mrs. Carey, who was too young and handsome. The dead bodies were promiscuously thrown into the ditch of our unfinished ravelin, and covered with the earth.

My being treated with this severity, I have sufficient reason to affirm, proceeded from the following causes: the Suba's resentment for my defending the fort after the governor, &c. had abandoned it; his prepossession towards the treasure; and thirdly, the instigations of Omychund [a great Gentoo merchant of Calcutta] in resentment for my not releasing him out of prison, as soon as I had the command of the fort: a circumstance, which in the heat and hurry of action, never once occurred to me, or I had certainly done it; because I thought his imprisonment unjust. But that the hard treatment I met with may truly be attributed in a great measure to his suggestions and insinuations, I am well assured, from the whole of his subsequent conduct; and this further confirmed

to me in the companions, a particular refusal can never forgive

We were carried by oxen] to the morning, stowed all four long, three weeks we were half starved verely. Dismissed compared with Here I became painful boils, for until these me.

On the morning marched us to scorching beams us at the docks, fronting the morning over us, commencing officer under Mhermen broke bodies; a happy wards learned, of the black hole

In this hole rest (twenty three) ducted to Maximal they underwent length the Nabob there actually w

to me in the three gentlemen selected to be my companions, against each of whom he had conceived particular resentment; and you know Omychund can never forgive.

We were conveyed in a Hackery [a coach drawn by oxen] to the camp the twenty-first of June in the morning, and soon loaded with fetters, and stowed all four in a seapoy's tent, about four feet long, three wide, and about three high, so that we were half in, half out: all night it rained feverely. Dismal as this was, it appeared a paradise compared with our lodging the preceding night. Here I became covered from head to foot with large painful boils, the first symptom of my recovery; for until these appeared, my fever did not leave me.

On the morning of the twenty-second, they marched us to town in our fetters, under the scorching beams of an intense hot sun, and lodged us at the dock-head, in the open small veranda, fronting the river, where we had a strong guard over us, commanded by Bundo Sing Hazary, an officer under Mhir Muddon. Here the other gentlemen broke out likewise in boils all over their bodies; a happy circumstance, which, as I afterwards learned, attended every one who came out of the black hole."

J. Z. HOLWELL.

In this hole 123 persons were suffocated. The rest (twenty three) came out alive, and were conducted to Maxadabab the capital of Bengal, where they underwent another series of miseries: At length the Nabob of Bengal being convinced that there actually was no treasure at Calcutta, and his grand-

grand-mother interposing in their behalf, he granted them their liberty. This loss was severely felt by the East-India company, as it was the principal settlement which they had in Bengal, and the fort the only security which they had to this valuable part of their trade. To retrieve these affairs admiral Watson and colonel Clive were called with their forces from the coast of Coromandel, which they happily effected in the course of the following year.

We will now turn to the British affairs in America, where they wore as bad a complexion this year as last, partly owing to the mischiefs and broils at home, and partly to the different opinions which influenced the assemblies of the several provinces; each was for attacking the enemy on his own frontiers, but not willing to assist his neighbour. The conduct of general Shirley had in England been declared delitory, and considered as unsatisfactory; therefore it was determined to supersede him, with another officer, and order him home; but even these orders were not dated in London till the last day of March, and then the commander was but just appointed. Colonel Webb carried these dispatches to America, and he was followed by general Abercrombe, who arrived at New-York on the 20th of June, with some troops; but the earl of Loudon, the commander in chief, did not arrive there before the 23d of July. Whether these delays must be imputed to a state of anarchy at home, we know not; but it is certain they ruined the plan of operations, which were this year concerted for attacking fort Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana. The mar-

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quis de Vandrueil, governor of Canada, being informed of this scheme, was determined to frustrate it. He got exact intelligence of the state and condition of fort Oswego, which was situated on the lake Ontario, and the number of vessels on the lake; this fort had been built by Mr. Shirley, in order to open and secure a passage to go and attack the French forts Niagara and Frontenac, and some vessels which were built on the lake, where designed to transport the troops into the enemies territories; it was also designed for covering the Iroquois, and securing the Indian trade, though in fact they were so corrupted by the French, that there was no longer any dependance on them. Vandrueil dispatched the marquis de Montcalm, a cruel wretch, who delighted in the most horrid butcheries, and every act of wanton barbarity, with about 3000 men, to reduce this fort. As soon as he arrived on the banks of the lake, he received intimation that the English were sending a considerable quantity of stores and provisions to the fort, and he sent off a detachment of Indians to attack the convoy, which was commanded by captain Bradstreet, but that officer received them so well as to render their efforts ineffectual, with loss: from some prisoners, which he made on this occasion, he learned the designs of the enemy, their numbers and position; an account of which he dispatched to general Abercrombie at Albany, and this officer ordered colonel Webb to hold himself in readiness to march to the relief of Oswego. No other information arrived at Albany concerning Oswego till it was taken; Bradstreet having sent the stores and provisions into the fort, proceeded to Schenectady. Montcalm embarked his troops and cannon in boats, and crossed over the lake, and on the 11th of August he

he appeared before Oswego; the garrison of which consisted of 1600 men, commanded by colonel Mercer, an officer of approved bravery, and provided with one hundred pieces of cannon; but the fortifications of the place were not fit to resist regular approaches, the materials being principally of timber, the defences badly contrived, and even unfinished. Montcalm attacked it with thirty-two pieces of cannon, and some mortars; but on the 13th colonel Mercer being killed, the garrison fell into confusion, the officers were divided in their opinions what to do, and on the 14th having considered that the place was untenable, they demanded a capitulation, and surrendered on condition of being treated with humanity, and sent prisoners to Montreal. However, Montcalm did not observe this; he permitted his Indians to massacre the defenceless soldiers, as they stood on the parade; to assassinate lieutenant de la Court, though under the protection of a French officer; to barbarously scalp all the sick in the hospital; and finally, in direct violation of the articles, he delivered up twenty of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of that number they had lost during the siege, that they might be tortured to death, according to the cruel custom of the country. The vessels on the lake fell into the hands of the enemy; who, immediately after the surrender of the fort, demolished it, and embarked with their prisoners and cannon for fort Frontenac. It has been mentioned that capt. Bradstreet sent intelligence to general Abercrombie of the enemy's designs on Oswego, and that Mr. Webb was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march: this information arrived at Albany on the 12th of July; but general Webb did not leave that place, in order to proceed to Oswego,

wego, till the received advice that he returned to was principally before general necessities, lord L was on the 29th was the first objection strenuously opposed others, who not so much for as to divert him they hoped would appearance of re who had always though he resigned June. They at general Webb, what was done: th

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Affairs of Europe

WITH respect to action which a general convention of the kings of England in January, importing differences lately tend to Europe,

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wego, till the 9th of August: on the 17th he received advice that the fort was taken, upon which he returned to Albany. The delay of this march was principally owing to the American governors: before general Webb could be provided with necessaries, lord Loudohn arrived at Albany, which was on the 29th of July, and the relief of Oswego was the first object of his attention; but he was strenuously opposed by the province of New-York and others, who urged the taking of Crown Point, not so much for the security of their own frontiers, as to divert him from relieving Oswego, which they hoped would fall, that they might have some appearance of reason for blaming general Shirley, who had always the security of it much at heart, though he resigned his command on the 25th of June. They at length acquiesced in sending general Webb, when it was too late. Nothing further was done: the troops wintered at Albany.

C H A P. IV.

Affairs of Europe, to the end of the year 1756.

WITH respect to Germany, the first transaction which presents itself is the remarkable convention of neutrality concluded between the kings of England and Prussia on the 16th of January, importing, 'That being apprehensive the differences lately broke out in America may extend to Europe, they, for the defence of their
' common

common country, Germany, and in order to pre-
 serve its peace and tranquillity, have concluded
 this convention of neutrality, whereby they reci-
 procally bind themselves not to suffer any foreign
 troops to enter the empire, during the troubles
 already mentioned, but to oppose with their ut-
 most force, the march of all such troops, that
 Germany may not feel the calamities of war, nor
 its fundamental laws become injured.* And it
 likewise stipulated that Great-Britain should pay
 20,000*l.* as an indemnification for taking some
 Prussian vessels during the late war, in return for
 which the Prussian monarch promised to pay the Si-
 lesia loan, which he had stopt on that account. The
 fountain from whence this treaty flowed, was the
 care which the British monarch had at heart for the
 safety of his German dominions; and the jealousy
 and aversion which the king of Prussia had conceiv-
 ed to the court of Petersburg: the former
 from his fear of the French, who he foresaw would
 attack Hanover; and the latter, who had formed a
 design of striking some bold stroke, from a fear of
 restriction and controulment, by the near situation
 of the Russians. Their views and interests thus
 chiming together, produced the above treaty; and
 king George had the further satisfaction of remo-
 ving his suspicions of this troublesome and warlike
 prince, who hovered on the skirts of his electorate,
 at the head of 150,000 men, that could in a week
 over-run it; whom he had reason to dread, and
 whose conduct was at best but precarious. The
 king of Prussia had an offer of the alliance of
 France, but he exchanged his connexions with that
 power for one with Great-Britain, which he knew
 would be of more advantage to his designs. The
 house of Austria was always suspicious of his con-
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duct, for during the preceding war he had given distinguished proofs of his inconstancy; he had an active and penetrating genius, possessed great martial abilities, with an unbounded ambition, and had always a large number of troops ready for action, which he had lately augmented beyond the proportion of his revenues. As soon as the empress-queen heard of this alliance, she immediately threw herself into the arms of France, and now she obtained the friendship of that power, at the expence of the barrier against it in the Netherlands, and also concluded a treaty of alliance with the court of Versailles on the 1st of May, and the empress of Russia was invited to accede to this treaty, which she afterwards did*.

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* When the convention with Prussia was laid before the parliament, they granted the king 20,000*l.* to make good his engagements, and a million to be employed as exigencies should require.

In the month of January M. Rouille, the French king's minister and secretary of state, wrote a letter to Mr. Fox the British secretary, exulting on the orders and instructions given to general Braddock and admiral Boscawen; he complained on the insult offered to the French flag, in taking two of their men of war, on the damages sustained by the French subjects in taking their merchant ships, and finally, he demanded full restitution; and when that should be made, he hoped all differences would be accommodated. Mr. Fox was directed to answer, that no such restitution would be complied with, and that the steps taken by the British officers, were rendered indispensable by the hostilities, which the French began in the time of profound peace. Upon receipt of this answer, the French immediately began to repair the fortifications of Dunkirk, and they seized the English vessels, in the different ports of the kingdom, and sent their crews to prison. At Brest they employed a prodigious number of artificers and seamen, in equipping a large armament.

As soon as the treaty of alliance between the courts of Vienna, Versailles and Petersburg was concluded,

armament: At the same time they marched several bodies of troops along the coasts of Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany which so frightened the British ministry, that they were fully persuaded the enemy intended to invade Great Britain, though it was actually no more than a parade of marches and counter-marches, calculated to elude us, while they pursued some more feasible design. The people caught the alarm from the evident signs of perplexity and consternation, which appeared among the ministry; no one doubted the threatened invasion for a little while, and every one expected a declaration of war; but the latter step was so carefully avoided, that most people apprehending they were averse to its being done, though the honour and interest of the nation loudly demanded it. When we consider the French had with the greatest insolence encroached upon the British territories in America, had attacked, seized, and drove off our traders, had committed there all kinds of hostilities, while in Europe they menaced an invasion, repaired the fortifications of Dunkirk, and their monarch offered large premiums to his subjects, who should equip privateers, we shall be amazed that the British ministry resolved to act on the offensive, and neglected to employ the natural strength of their country. The fears of a French invasion had taken such possession of their minds, that they thought of nothing but repelling this scare-crow: they ordered colonel Yorke, the British resident at the Hague, to demand of the Dutch the 6000 men as stipulated by treaty, which they refused to furnish when Great-Britain shall be threatened with an invasion: the Dutch were perplexed by this demand; they foresaw that if they complied, it would involve them in the war, and expose them to a land attack from France, which they dreaded they therefore contrived several delays, before they could give an answer to the English memorial, which king George at length perceiving, ordered the resident to acquaint the princess with his daughter, that he would not insist on his demand, upon which the Dutch came to a resolution to adhere to a neutrality. About the latter end of March the king acquainted the parliament, that he had required a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the late treaty, who were to be forthwith brought over

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concluded, they solicited the concurrence of those of Madrid and Turin; but these wisely resolved to adhere to a neutrality. As to the conduct of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, we stand too near the time to be a proper judge of it. When the treaty of Petersburgh was made, it is certain the empress-queen endeavoured to draw him into the confederacy, and it is not to be doubted, but that he was willing to contribute his aid towards humbling a prince, who had, during the last war, entered his dominions without any provocation, took possession of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns to indemnify him for the expence of this expedition. Whatever answer the king of Poland gave to the empress-queen we do not pretend to know: it is true, he did not sign the treaty, perhaps because he was situated in the very jaws of the enemy, and conscious, that the first part of the storm must fall upon himself. The remembrance of past misfortunes made him cautious how he entered into new measures, and yet she considered him as having acceded to the

for the defence of these kingdoms. To this message the parliament returned their thanks in a warm address. This unanimity encouraged Mr. Fox, the new minister, to move for an address, beseeching the king, that he would order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, for a more effectual defence of this island. There were many members, who were utterly averse to this motion, yet, considering the critical situation of affairs, they were afraid to oppose it, lest they should be exposed to a more odious suspicion. The address being voted, and presented, the king told them he would comply with their request; and before the end of the following month, the Hessians and Hanoverians were actually encamped in England. The expedition made use of on this occasion shews how vigilant men can be when they

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treaty; for when the king of Prussia afterwards demanded of her the cause in making warlike preparations, she answered, they were for the defence of herself and *allies*; this latter expression could mean nobody else but the elector of Saxony, as her other allies were then at too considerable a distance to be attacked by the king of Prussia. She even apprehended that he perfectly agreed with the sentiments of the two empresses, but his advocates say this belief was falsely grounded; they affirm he mistook the sentiments of count Bruhl, his minister and favourite, for those of the elector himself. It is certain the minister did all in his power, by the most scandalous and artful intrigues, to make an open breach between the king of Prussia and the emperor of Russia: but whether the king of Poland countenanced his proceedings, or whether the empress-queen took his word as the same as his master, the world is yet in the dark. The king of Prussia however, made a plausible handle of Bruhl's letters, copies of which he found at Dresden, and by many ingenious, and some erroneous constructions, he made the world believe the king of Poland was actually in the confederacy against him: this sort of casuistry did him abundance of service in England. Sweden was brought into the confederacy, in consequence of the treaty of alliance between the empress-queen and the king of France, though she entered Germany upon pretence of being guaranteed of the treaty of Westphalia. The emissaries of France began to tamper among the senators of Sweden, who were no way averse to the war, when they were informed of the state of the confederacy; on the contrary, they entertained hopes of gaining France

considerable advantage of their alliance. France did not find satisfaction happened check to this intrigue during the remainder of the diet or senate of the king and queen, and she by her senate beheld this with the utmost concern for their conduct; and with strict observation, altering the present augmenting the persons of rank being in this conspiracy upon the whole it concerned in this affair hardly treated by resign his royalty, and divisions in Germany. The king of Prussia of all political transactions march on a moment the minds of the protestation of the court, multaneously circulated the treaty of Vienna. France, Austria, and Prussia, resolved to destroy the peace, the freedom of the king of the Roman Empire, and to handle for both sides

considerable advantages by it, particularly the recovery of their ancient possessions in Pomerania: France did not fail to flatter their ambition; but a transaction happening in Sweden, proved such a check to this intrigue, that nothing further was done during the remainder of this year. The disposition of the diet or senate of Sweden was opposite to that of the king and queen; he was allied by inclination, and she by blood to the king of Prussia. The senate beheld this contrary opinion in their majesties with the utmost jealousy; they narrowly watched their conduct; and it was in the course of this strict observation, that they discovered a plot for altering the present form of the government, by augmenting the power of the crown. Several persons of rank being convicted of being concerned in this conspiracy were beheaded as principals; upon the whole it did not appear, that the king was concerned in this affair, yet he thought himself so hardly treated by the diet, that he threatened to resign his royalty, and retire to his hereditary dominions in Germany.

The king of Prussia, who had perfect intelligence of all political transactions, kept his army ready to march on a moment's notice; but, in order to poison the minds of the protestants of all Europe with a detestation of the courts of the confederacy, he industriously circulated a report, that by a secret article of the treaty of Versailles, the contracting powers, viz. France, Austria, and Russia, had bound themselves to destroy the protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the empire, by a forced election of a king of the Romans. The cry of religion served as a handle for both sides. The partizans of the house

of Austria declared, that the principal object of the treaty of alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, was the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany. During this war on paper, which found its way into the diet of the empire, and into the most respectable courts in Europe, the grand operation was preparing on a more solid and durable foundation: two considerable armies, with several large magazines, were assembling in Bohemia and Moravia. The king of Prussia, alarmed at these preparations, ordered his minister at Vienna to demand categorically, whether those preparations for war were not designed against him, or what were the intentions of the Imperial court? but he received only an equivocal answer, that the empress queen, in the present situation of affairs, found it necessary to make those preparations for the defence of herself and allies; and afterwards she declared, that those preparations were not resolved on till after the king of Prussia had been some time employed in making armaments. Thus it is evident, that each side had resolved on making war from motives purely its own. The king of Prussia was ready, and had been long waiting for an opportunity to strike some coup d'éclat; his character and conduct verify the assertion. The empress queen, even during the last war, determined on retaking Silesia the first favourable moment. Her alliances were made with this view, and her preparations for war were to give spirit for her negotiations. This latter circumstance obliged the king of Prussia to resolve not to suspend his operations any longer. He determined to enter Bohemia, in order to destroy the Austrian armies and magazines in that kingdom; but the storm first fell upon Saxony, which he resolved

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to keep possession of as a frontier, because he had reason to believe the elector was in some measure connected with the two empresses. The king of Poland, who had dreaded this visitation, had drawn the troops of his electorate together at Pirna, where they encamped, surrounded by entrenchments, and a numerous artillery. At first the king of Prussia seemed only to demand a free passage for his troops, with an observance of neutrality on the part of the Saxons; and as a security for which, they should quit their post and disperse themselves. The former part of this demand was granted, but the latter was refused; upon which the king of Prussia seized the towns of Leipzig and Dresden, and formed a blockade round the Saxon camp at Pirna, in order to reduce them by famine, since its strong situation rendered an attack unadvisable. In the mean time his troops took possession of all the magazines and granaries they could find in the electorate; and he ordered the revenues to be seized, and paid to the Prussian officers*. Two Austrian armies were at this time forming in Bohemia under M. Brown and M. Piccolomini, one of which he judged would speedily march to the relief of the Saxons; therefore to keep them in awe, he ordered M. Schwerin to enter Bohemia from the county of Glatz, and M. Keith

* As soon as the king of Prussia entered Saxony, process was commenced against him in the emperor's aulic council, and in the diet of the empire, where he was condemned for contumacy; and the fiscal acquainted him that he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged fallen from the dignities and possessions which he held under it: at the same time the circles of the empire were ordered to furnish their contingents in men and money to put this sentence in execution.

to penetrate into it on the side of Misnia; but apprehending that they were not sufficient, or not entirely confiding in their dispositions, he committed the blockade of Pirna to an officer of inferior note, and entered Bohemia himself with the main body of his army: he joined his troops under M. Keith, and advanced to attack the Austrians at Lowoschutz. Early in the morning, on the first day of October, the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy, who were covered by a numerous artillery; the good direction of this fire obliged them to recoil and retreat with considerable loss; however, they returned to the charge, and made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, as well as drove away some irregulars, who had galled them in flank; still they suffered greatly, insomuch that the king thought proper to order them to retreat to the rear of the army, from which they never afterwards advanced. The cannon, during this time, maintained a prodigious fire, and did great execution. M. Keith attacked the village of Lowoschutz at the head of the infantry. After their powder and shot were expended, the enemy were forced out of it by the soldiers bayonets, and the Prussians afterwards set its suburbs on fire. However, the Austrian army was not broke, nor did it quit the field of battle: the Prussians advanced not an inch further than Lowoschutz, where the king fixed his head quarters. The firing ceased on both sides, without any apparent cause, as one had not gained so great an advantage, nor the other suffered so material a loss to stagnate the action. At present the battle had all the appearances of being a drawn one, without being likely to produce any benefit to either, yet both armies sung *Te Deum*,

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both generals claimed the victory, and the gazettes of Vienna and Berlin teemed with falshood on this occasion. The only way to reconcile them, is to acknowledge, which was really the fact, that both made a few prisoners, took a few cannon, and, for their trophies, gained a few colours. As to the loss, that of the Prussians doubtless amounted to 2500 men, though they never owned it; but that of the Austrians is generally believed to be more, and yet not much. Both armies encamped on the field, and remained there during the following night: next day the Austrians decamped, crossed the Egra in the face of their enemy, and retired to Budin for want of water. The Prussians returned to Saxony, and joined the troops, who had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna. Thus, if the king of Prussia, when he entered Bohemia, intended to have wintered in that kingdom, he lost the battle; but if his plan for this year's operations extended no further than to reduce the Saxons, he certainly gained it. M. Brown made divers motions to relieve the Saxons, who were now reduced to great hardships by famine, but he found it impossible, the Prussians had taken possession of all the defiles, avenues, mountains, &c. for a considerable distance round about Pirna. The king of Poland, while the king of Prussia was in Bohemia, quitted his German dominions; and now he sent a letter to count Rutowilki, who commanded at Pirna, vesting that officer with full power to surrender, or to take such measures, which he thought conducive to the preservation of the troops. The Saxons were spent with hunger, and greatly fatigued by throwing bridges over the Elbe, and making several motions in order to effect their own delivery; their horses

were so weak, as not to be able to draw their artillery, and their post as difficult to leave as it was to force; therefore they resolved to surrender themselves to the king of Prussia. He compelled many of them to enter into his service, he obliged the electorate of Saxony to furnish him with a great number of recruits, and he levied the most exorbitant contributions, which, in case of non-payment, he threatened ruin to the inhabitants by military execution, and he took up his winter quarters amongst them; thus were the poor Saxons obliged to bear the burthen of a war against themselves, and to have for their enemy the man who took upon himself the title of defender of protestantism, though his country is the state to which that religion owes its establishment and preservation. He forced open the doors of the royal palace at Dresden, though protected by the queen, to whom he had given the firmest assurances of all due respect: she was used with violence, and even put in danger of her life, before she quitted the cabinet in which the archives of the state were lodged. Every closet and every cabinet was broke open, and every part was strictly searched.

We will now turn to our domestic affairs, where nothing but anarchy and confusion appeared in the ministry. They shared equally of the clamour they had industriously raised against admiral Byng. However, as they were strong at bottom, they might have maintained their posts, had they agreed among themselves. The loss of Minorca wrought several alterations in the administration. The Duke of Devonshire presided at the board of treasury, in lieu of the duke of Newcastle. Mr. Legg was made

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chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Littleton made a peer; and the earl Temple, brother-in-law to Mr. Pitt, presided at a new board of admiralty. The loss of Oswego in America added more fuel to the flame; and now the fears of the people about a French invasion having subsided, the Hanoverians, who were under their noses, were loaded with a considerable share of this popular indignation; but it being thought necessary for the defence of their own country to send them back, it was accordingly done; part of the kingdom rejoiced at this measure, while another languished at the folly which brought them.

On the second of December the parliament met, when the clamour against the ministry was as great within doors as it was without. Mr. F—— thought he bore too great a share of the public odium, and therefore resigned his post of secretary of state, but not without hopes of resuming it with augmented power, for which he apprehended the embarrassment of parties would afford him an opportunity. As he was a principal prop of the ministry, his removal occasioned the whole structure to fall to pieces. It could not seem unnatural for that party which worked the downfall of this, to succeed to the vacant places. On the 4th of December Mr. Pitt was appointed secretary of state, and many other consonant promotions were made. This minister, from very laudable motives, attempted to give a turn to the affairs of his country, and those who had resigned did not make much opposition in parliament; he, by a spirit peculiar to himself, began to prepare for attacking France heartily by sea, a method which he knew would most affect her, and be productive of the only solid advantage which this nation could

reap from a war with her : he aimed at the empire of the sea, and France was not ready for such an enemy, having had all along to deal with ministers of inferior abilities. Some other states of Europe were surprized ; he declared positively against all foreign subsidies, and asserted, that not even half a man should be sent to Germany ; he was unanimously applauded, and all degrees in the kingdom gave themselves up to hope, except a few, being the old junto, who finding that their new associates would not enter into some measures which favoured the views of the crown set hard to work to undermine his narrow bottom. They represented him and his adherents, as imperious, obstinate, and ignorant, and even went so far as to question their loyalty.

The militia bill was introduced into the house of commons, by the honourable Mr. George Townshend, and by the honourable Mr. Charles Townshend, brothers. The minds of the people were prepared for this laudable and necessary act by some pamphlets written by persons of distinction, shewing the benefit and propriety of a national militia, in a time of war. However, there were many individuals in power, who secretly disliked it ; and many who acquiesced in it, are said to have not been hearty in its favour, but none chose to avow their disapprobation, it being too popular an object. After divers amendments, the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent. To this succeeded a message from the king, acquainting the house, that the French were preparing to enter Germany, and invade his electoral dominions, and those of his ally the king of Prussia ; and that he required such assistance as would enable him to form an army of observation

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observation, for the defence of those territories, and also for fulfilling his engagements with the king of Prussia. This message was complied with, and about the same time the parliament addressed the king, for all the papers, letters, instructions, and orders, any way relative to the affair of Minorca; which were laid before them in such multitudes, that the truth lay buried in heaps of paper; and seemed to require the business of a whole session to investigate the facts; some faults were found with the nature of this enquiry; but we shall forbear descending into the particulars of either it or them, as the whole ended in nothing; the parliament could not be brought to angry votes; the result of the enquiry was as favourable as any body could wish.

C H A P. V.

Changes in the English ministry. Affairs in Germany.

THE first object of public attention, in the year 1757, was a body of troops assembling in Westphalia, under the stile of an army of observation, to be commanded by the duke of Cumberland, designed to observe the motions of the French, who were preparing to invade the electorate of Hanover. That unpopular party, who were opponents to Mr. Pitt, asserted, that we ought to assist this army of observation with our troops and money:

and they supported this argument with the following sentiments ; the increase of French power, and the influence of France, among the neighbouring nations, which they apprehended to be the worst of evils ; to prevent this dangerous aggrandizement, it was absolutely necessary to pay a strict regard to the balance of power, and seek our particular safety and liberty in the general safety and liberty of Europe ; to keep a close connexion with the continent, both by large subsidies, and by assisting with our troops ; for this purpose, and for securing the present establishment, a standing army was to be maintained ; and that our navy ought to be employed subserviently, to the views of the continental system : they were for preserving the authority of the government entire, and in order to make government easy, they were for ruling men by their interests, that is, they were continuing that ——— practice, which had long been in use, of procuring a majority in parliament, not forgetting the proper management attending the distribution of the numerous lucrative places in the disposal of the crown. But the popular party, at the head of which stood the British patriot, affirmed different sentiments : they were of the same opinions with regard to setting bounds to the power of France, but our situation they said, dictated a narrower, a more natural, a safer, and a less expensive plan of politics. Great Britain being an island, its conduct ought not to be the same with that of the nations on the continent ; our natural strength is maritime, and that ought vigorously to be exerted ; trade is our natural employment, and they ought mutually to support each other : if we turn our backs to our real interests, abandon our natural element, enter that inextricable labyrinth of continental

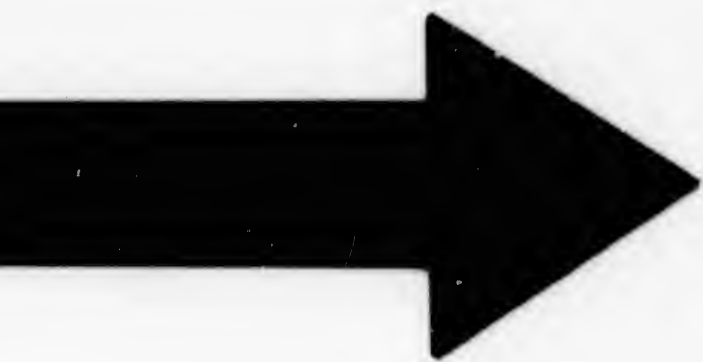
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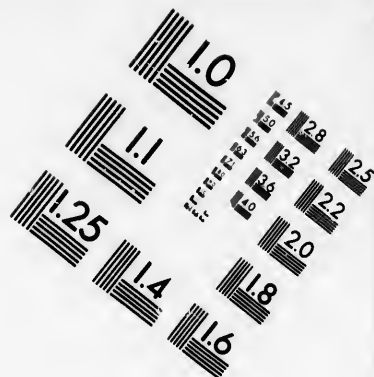
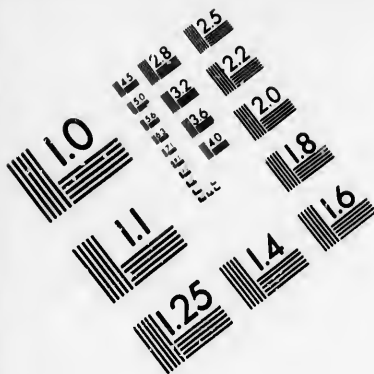
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continental politics, make ourselves parties in every controversy, exhaust our wealth in purchasing the useless and precarious friendship of every petty prince and state, waste the blood of our people in all the quarrels that may arise on the continent, all this will be so far from going the right way to reduce France, that we attack her on the strongest side, and only destroy ourselves by such ill-judged efforts against the enemy: while we preserve the superiority at sea, we have nothing to fear from the superiority of France at land; we can always cut the sinews of her strength by destroying her traffic: to fear an invasion from a power weak in its marine, is the idlest of all fears; but allowing it were possible, a well-trained militia would with zeal be our best protection; for a standing army in every shape is dangerous to freedom; our government being connected with the liberty of the subject, needs no assistance from despotic power; neither is parliamentary interest necessary; a good government will not be opposed, and men need no bribes to persuade them to their duty.

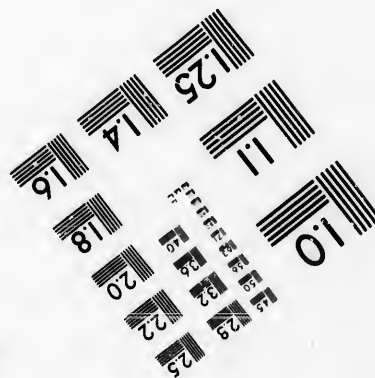
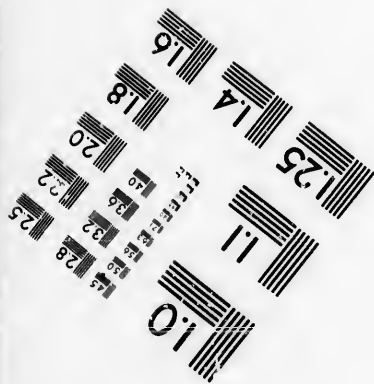
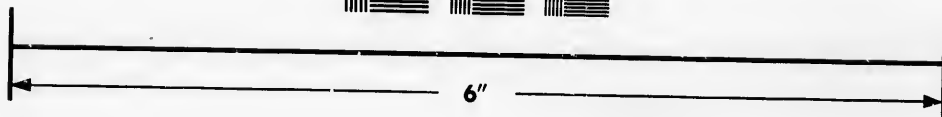
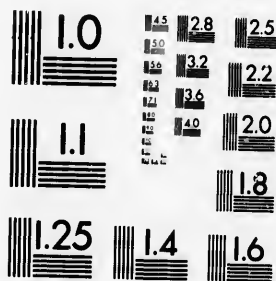
This conflict between an old established interest and the torrent of popularity lasted some time, and the nation was greatly injured by it. It is not proper to trace the steps from whence it began, nor to pursue it any further. We hope we have said enough for every intelligent Englishman to form an idea of the dismissal of the minister, which happened in the course of the dispute. Perhaps the old junto, who immediately surrounded the —, affirmed, that with such obstinate and ignorant colleagues, the machine of g—— could not be moved according to ———'s inclination; and by this advantage of the closet, over his little court influence, they gained their point. On the 5th of April the







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king commanded Mr. Pitt to resign, and four days after Mr. Legge resigned, and other dismissions were made of course. The case of the nation was at this time truly deplorable; we were engaged in a war which had hitherto proved unsuccessful, we began to despair of our military virtue, and our public spirit seem'd to be extinguished; faction raged with the utmost violence, our operations were suspended, and while we had no ministry, there was no plan to follow. The principal persons in the kingdom were divided by three parties; the first were those who had formed their connexions under an old ministry, some of them had grown to places and power; all of them were distinguished by their want of abilities, and popularity, which, in a government like ours, is an essential thing they needed most, but all these were almost overbalanced by two articles; the monied interest they had almost intirely, and of parliamentary influence, they had by far the greatest share. The second party were only powerful in a chasm: it is true they succeeded to office, but in a short time they were obliged to abandon their posts; they were more unpopular than the first party; they did not even attempt to preserve appearances necessary to popularity; their parliamentary strength was inferior, though respectable, and their abilities were allowed to be great and many. The third party possessed an unbounded popularity; their great and glorious leader was idolized by the people, who saw in him and his friends that spirit to vindicate and assert our rights, which we had long wanted: these patriots had courage and honesty to pursue the real interests of our country in defiance of power, and in contempt of private advantages. They possessed a solid judgment and a keen penetration: their eloquence was nervous,

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nervous, bold and admirable; it startled the sons of corruption, exposed the iniquitous and base, and while it revived, gave vigour to the drooping spirits of their injured countrymen; in a word, they were patriots without prejudice, and courtiers without dependance. Their strength in parliament was but trifling, and their influence at court less: but they were beloved by the people, who reposed the most perfect confidence in their integrity. The disinterestedness of their leader was universally allowed even by his enemies; and his application was equal to his abilities. The turning these men out of employment was so far from working their disgrace as was intended, that it made them, if possible, shine with more distinguished lustre; the whole nation rose up as one man to vindicate their conduct, and the freedoms of most of the great cities and corporations in Great-Britain and Ireland were transmitted to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge in golden boxes, accompanied with elegant addresses, paying the highest encomiums on the patriotism and virtue of their administration. Nobody succeeded to Mr. Pitt's office. On the 6th of April lord Mansfield was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and a new board of admiralty was appointed with the earl of Winchelsea at its head. Three days after these alterations were made, the duke of Cumberland was sent to Hanover to command an army of observation, consisting of between 30 and 40,000 Hanoverians and Hessians. This measure was taken in consequence of the movement of a French army towards the Rhine, composed of those troops which they had last year assembled on the coasts of Picardy, Brittany and Normandy, with a view of proceeding to the empire, and attack the king of Prussia, as they pretended, in consequence of their

treaty with the empress-queen, and their being guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia; though perhaps their real design was no other than to make a conquest of the electorate of Hanover, by which they judged they could oblige the king of England to make some concessions with regard to America. The name of Hanover was at this time so unpopular in England, that the people, after the example of their late patriot minister, would not hear of a man or a shilling being sent thither. We must own this was carrying the rigid extreme of politics rather too far; Hanover being attacked solely on an English cause, we ought to have sent money to its relief, for which there was at that time men enough to be had in Germany; but the sending our troops thither, while we are at war with France, is doubly prejudicial to this nation, for, by want of men, we cannot act on the offensive against France as we ought.

The want of a settled ministry occasioned the misfortune of our having no fixed plan of politics at the beginning of the year; and our affairs were not likely to go well, when it was not certain how we should pursue them from such a variety of changing: during the whole spring nothing was to be seen or heard at court but confusion and cabal: at length, when we were almost ruined by this state of anarchy, and when our generals had taken the field in every quarter, though perhaps not without the fear of being disgraced by new masters, the caballing seemed to cease, and a reconciliation among the parties began to be effected; perhaps the old junto, who had incurred the censure of the people, were afraid to push matters to an extremity: they now saw the effects of popularity which they once dis-

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pised, and that the people were not to be led by the nose implicitly into every measure as they had apprehended; addresses made their way to the throne, praying, that the dismissed ministers might be restored, for upon them depended the security and honour of the nation, and the success of the war, which had hitherto teemed with disgrace and misfortune: these were terrible blows to the old junto's power, and there was no concealing them. On the 29th of June the king restored Mr. Pitt to his office, and three days after Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Newcastle was placed at the head of a new board of treasury, lord Anson first lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Fox paymaster of the forces. This arrangement was productive of the most happy consequences, and whoever advised it was a friend to Great-Britain. It was impossible to exclude from the administration the late ministry; their influence in council and parliament was so great, that they could thwart every measure in which they were not immediately concerned or consulted; therefore this was the best step that could be taken, because it was an healing one, and while it satisfied the heads of the parties themselves, it could not fail of being agreeable to their numerous friends; and it had one advantage above all these, which was, that it entirely quelled the spirit of faction, no one party being able on its single bottom to do any thing; and this coalition, so necessary in a government like ours, gave universal satisfaction to all ranks of people. It is not proper to trace out the means through which it was effected; the reader must be content with our observing, that after the parties had abated something in their hard and rigorous

terms, by which all things had been pushed to an extreme, they consented to a kind of a capitulation, and the court and the people were reconciled to its terms. There could be no fear of neglect where the vigilance and capacity of Mr. Pitt were to be exerted.

In the mean time the operations in Germany on the side of the king of Prussia were begun with great eclat. He defied the pap, and though he knew the state of the confederacy against him, he resolved to force his way into Bohemia, and attack its capital on a sudden. The Austrians are said to have had 100,000 men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and count Brown, ready to oppose his passage. The king divided his army into three bodies, and then began his march. One of these divisions, commanded by the prince of Bevern, defeated a large corps of the enemy at Richenberg. The whole army entered Bohemia without any further opposition, and with surprising rapidity pushed forward to Prague. At a small distance from that city lay the Austrian army, most advantageously posted; their camp was fortified by art and nature in such a manner, that any common general would have deemed it impregnable; but the Prussians, who were wedded to dangers and difficulties, thought of nothing but victory. On the 6th of May they passed the morasses, which lay between them and the enemy, climbed several precipices, and faced the Austrian batteries with a resolution that is hardly credible; the action was general, close and obstinate, but the efforts of the Prussians proved at length superior; the numbers of the slain on both sides was very great; the victors lost the brave marshal Schwerin, at the age of eighty-two,

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while he was at the head of a regiment holding a colonel's standard in his hand; and on the side of the vanquished marshal Brown was mortally wounded, which threw the Austrian army into such irreparable confusion, that they precipitately quitted the field, and left their whole camp to the Prussians. About 40,000 of the fugitives, with the generals, took refuge in Prague, and the rest fled towards Moravia. The king of Prussia lost no time in immediately investing the city, and cutting off all succours. Many people thought an attack on this place unadvisable, considering the great number of the garrison, and from the same cause apprehended its reduction by famine the more certain. The monarch, however, is said to have been deaf to reason; he prepared to bombard the town, and on the 29th of May at midnight, upon the signal of a rocket, four batteries were opened, which discharged every twenty-four hours 288 bombs, besides a vast multitude of red-hot balls. One would think that the vengeance of man was striving to be more dreadful than the greatest terrors of nature; for just before these malicious engines began to pour destruction on the unfortunate city, there were felt and heard one of the most terrible storms of rain and thunder, which had ever been known in the memory of the oldest man there. The town was soon in flames in every part. The clergy, magistrates and burghers seeing the city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, supplicated the commander in the most pathetic language to listen to terms with the enemy: prince Charles, the commander, was deaf to their terms. M. Brown at this time was dead; the chagrin he suffered is said to have proved mortal, and not the wound he received

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in the battle. Twelve thousand useless mouths were driven out of Prague, and by the Prussians forced back again. Here we will leave this cruel scene, and turn to the other affairs which were transacting in the interim.

In the north all things seemed to bear hard upon the king of Prussia. The empress of Russia, true to her engagements, sent 60,000 men, commanded by M. Apraxin, who invaded Ducal Prussia, and took the towns of Memel and Pillau; she also equipped a fleet in the Baltic, destined to co-operate with the army. The king of Sweden, though allied by blood and inclination to the king of Prussia, could not rale the senate, who were jealous of his sentiments, and flattered by the intrigues and subsidies of France, which cemented all their old attachment to her; and the duke of Mecklenburg agreed to join the Swedish army with 6000 men, when it should be assembled. The French army upon the Lower Rhine, consisting of 80,000 men, commanded by M. d'Etrées, an officer of great abilities, seized Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldres, while a detachment seized Embden, and whatever else belonged to the king of Prussia in East Friesland. The contingents of the empire were assembled to execute the ban, and the command of these troops was given to the prince of Saxe-Hilbourghausen. The unwillingness with which this army acted, is not altogether unaccountable; many of them feared the house of Austria, and they accustomed to this fear, by the tyrannous influence of that family, which had been in a manner hereditary in the empire: then would they heartily support a power they dreaded, and almost disliked? probably they would have remained in a state of inactivity, or have de-

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serted to the king of Prussia, had not the French agreed to send 25,000 men, under the command of the prince de Soubize, to their assistance: the French troops were obliged to be posted between their regiments, in such a manner, as might prevent desertion, revolt, and all other attempts to disobey the orders of the commander in chief, otherwise this army would have dwindled away to nothing.

While the siege of Prague was carrying on with the utmost fury, count Daun undertook to turn the fortune of the war, in favour of the house of Austria: he was a general of extraordinary abilities, he had had a long experience, had seen many scenes of action, and had rose to this superior command, not by court favour, but by the slow gradation of mere merit, without noise, and in universal esteem. He collected the fugitives of the Austrian army, he took the garrisons of most of the fortified towns in Austria, and stripped their ramparts of cannon, in order to compose a train of artillery: notwithstanding the affairs of the empress-queen seemed verging to inevitable ruin, and every thing seemed wrought up to a desperate point, he entered the field in Bohemia, and took post at Colin, a small distance from Prague, from whence he fed the garrison with hopes of relief, which he apprehended would draw the enemy to a battle. The king of Prussia was sensible of the advantages derived from that situation; he knew Prague would have surrendered, if Daun had not appeared, as the garrison were reduced to eating of horse-flesh: therefore he resolved, without delay, to drive the Austrian general from his entrenched post. Marshal Keith, a very able officer in the Prussian service, advised his master to
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reduce Prague before he gave battle to count Daun, or else to raise the siege entirely, and give him battle with his whole army; but the king of Prussia had formed his plan, and he would not alter it; he resolved to do a great deal of work in a little time; to divide his forces, and to beat count Daun, and take Prague at the same time; therefore, he drew 32,000 men from before Prague, though there was an army in it to besiege, and marched with them to Colin, where he found count Daun with upwards of 60,000 men, in every part intrenched up to his teeth, and defended by one of the most formidable trains of artillery he ever saw. The monarch, so blinded with his uniform success, began an attack on these impregnable defences with his little force. The enemy's artillery swept them away in great numbers as they attempted to climb the precipices; in vain were the Prussians inspired with a remembrance of their former victories, in vain did they return to the attack with all the weight of ardour, zeal, and courage; they still recoiled; their impetuosity was broke every time they advanced by superior numbers and situation; in a word, they were too few for this desperate enterprize. Daun never stirred from his intrenchments; he knew the king of Prussia had not brought troops enough to force them, and he saw with pleasure those men sacrificed in thousands, who had struck terror to the gates of Vienna, because the king of Prussia, by such a loss of his best troops, would be less formidable during the remainder of the campaign. The king made seven furious, but ineffectual attacks, upon the enemy's intrenchments; he himself, at the head of his cavalry, made a most vigorous and intrepid charge; but that, like the rest, proving unsuccessful,

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ful, he determined to draw off, and called aloud to the prince of Bevern: ' Nous ferons mieux un autre fois.*' They effected a tolerable retreat to Prague, as Daun did not venture to pursue them. The king joined his troops under general Keith, whom he had left before the city, and prepared to raise the siege directly; he had industriously concealed his lois in the battle; but this measure sufficiently proves it must have been very great, besides the numerous ill consequences of a defeat, such as wounding the spirit of the troops, desertions, &c. He raised the siege of Prague that night, and began his march for Saxony with the utmost speed. As soon as the imprisoned Austrians discovered the evacuation, they sallied out, but it was too late to do him any material damage. Count Daun joined them, and they received him with all the transport due to a deliverer; they, in conjunction, watched the motions of the Prussian monarch, who being inferior to them in numbers, continued to retire, and began to act upon a defensive plan.

The battle of Colin, in a few weeks, entirely changed the face of affairs in Germany. The enemies of the king of Prussia were animated by the success of their allies, and now began to pour upon him on all sides. The savage Russians began to lay waste, with the most horrid acts of barbarity, the

* ' We will do better another time.' Hence it is evident, he took the blame of this miscarriage upon himself; and indeed he only was to blame. It is true, he had done a great deal with a little; but he apprehended, that with a little he could do all; and upon this erroneous principle he fought the battle of Colin, on the 18th day of June: a day, which, through the Austrian dominions, is annually remembered by a solemn thanksgiving.

country they had entered : their cruelties reflect such infamy on their arms, that a hundred victories more famous than those of Peter the Great, will not be enough to wipe it off; nor were they during this campaign less cowardly than cruel; they were afraid to fairly oppose a handful of Prussians, commanded by an officer of reputation, assembled to watch and harass their motions. When the vile and horrid ravages of the enemy called aloud for vengeance, when the country was totally desolated to a considerable distance, by fire and sword, the Prussians could no longer forbear attempting to restrain such inhuman havock; accordingly marshal Lehwald, who commanded the Prussian troops in this country, was directed by the king to give battle to the enemy; who were no sooner advised of this intention, than they began to intrench themselves with the utmost strength and assiduity; the Prussians, who did not exceed 30,000 men, found them at a place called Norkitten, and early in the morning, on the 30th of August, they attacked these defences with their usual vigour; the king of Sweden's brother, at the head of the Prussian dragoons, found means to attack the Russian cavalry, and he almost routed them; marshal Lehwald, after a considerable loss, forced the enemy from the first intrenchment; but finding there was a second, defended by at least two hundred pieces of cannon, he thought it would be imprudent to attempt that with such a handful of men, and therefore determined to draw off, for which the king of Prussia never forgave him; he retreated to his former camp at Vehlau, without suffering the least molestation; the Russians remained in theirs at Norkitten, and next day there was little or no marks of a battle having been fought there,

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except a few of the slain which were unburied. The armies continued in this state of activity till the 13th of September, when the Russians finding it impossible, by reason of their own ravages, to subsist in the country any longer, began a sudden and speedy retreat out of the Prussian territories, to the great surprize, of not only the Prussians, but of every court in Europe; even that of Petersburgh disavowed any knowledge of this unexpected motion: but in order to do justice to their allies, who complained of great injuries by this precipitate step, marshal Apraxin was put under an arrest, and directed to be conveyed as a prisoner to Petersburgh; but to the great disappointment of those, who expected that his trial would unveil this mysterious affair, he was taken ill at Narva, and there died of an apoplexy. The rapidity with which the Russians marched, hindered marshal Lehwald from harrassing their retreat; therefore he turned his arms against the Swedes, who were augmented to 25,000 men, under the command of general Hamilton, and had taken several towns in the hither Pomerania. They retired on his approach, and he seized all the places which they had conquered, and at length drove them to Stralsfund, which so lessened their numbers by fatigue, hunger and desertion, that when they arrived thither, at the conclusion of the campaign, their army did not amount to half its original number. The Prussians being now in possession of all Pomerania, the dutchy of Mecklenburgh, which was the ally of Sweden, of course became exposed to their fury; the most severe exactions were made, and the most wanton barbarities committed; the Prussians by their behaviour to the poor Mecklenburghers, seemed to revenge the cruelties of the Russians.

Lehwald

Lehwald would have prevented these miseries, had he not perceived the displeasure of his master, which occasioned him to beg leave to resign, and his request being granted, he quitted the service with silent indignation.

The unwieldy French army, incumbered with a vast quantity of baggage and useless mouths, as French armies always are, made for some time but a slow progress; it is true, they found many difficulties in marching over the rough, dismal and barren deserts, which lie between the Rhine and the Weser, but at length they approached this latter river, having obliged the duke of Cumberland to retreat as they advanced. His royal highness passed the river, and entered Hanover, which it was apprehended he could now defend, as the French army could not pass the Weser, which defends Hanover from these foreign attacks, without manifestly exposing themselves to his mercy; but from some unaccountable fatality, the French passed the Weser, in the night between the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a single man. The duke of Cumberland retired to the village of Hastenbeck, a few miles from Hamelin, to which place the marshal d'Etrees followed him. His royal highness thought he had chosen so excellent a situation, that the French general could not act against him with his whole force; but he was deceived: M. d'Etrees had superior abilities; he cannonaded the allies all day on the 25th, and threatened to attack their right, left and center at the same time. On the 26th at daylight, the engagement began, which was maintained on the side of the allies with great bravery for several hours; but the French general, with superior numbers and skill, obliged them to abandon

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the field with the loss of about 1500 men. His own army suffered nearly the same, but he soon made them ample amends by taking the town of Hamelin, where he found a great number of brass cannon and mortars, and a vast deal of equipage belonging to the allied army. At this time, the French nation laboured under the same disadvantage which has often happened in England; the servants of the crown were, in general, such as were obnoxious to the people; and if an honest man happened to be employed by these mercenaries, and did not turn villain as well as they, he was sure not to continue long in employ. How far this was d'Etrees case we do not pretend to affirm; it is certain, that before he fought the battle of Hastenbeck, the marchioness de Pompadour, who entirely influenced the French councils, got him recalled; and the duke de Richlieu, who had been the principal instrument of her elevation, and perhaps excelled all the world in the mean and wicked arts of a professed courtier, to succeed him. Accordingly M. d'Etrees quitted the army when he was on the point of finishing his conquests, and marshal Richelieu took the command. The duke of Cumberland, instead of retreating directly to Magdebourg, where he might either have been joined or have been of most seasonable assistance to the king of Prussia, retired to Stade, where by the beginning of September, he was so cooped up with water on his flanks and rear, and the French in his front, that he was unable by his situation to retire, or by his strength to advance; therefore he was reduced to the necessity of signing a convention with the French general, framed under the mediation of the king of Denmark; whereby his whole army, consisting of

of 38,000 men, were obliged to lay down their arms and disperse themselves. Soon after which his royal highness returned to London, where finding his conduct had not given satisfaction, he threw up all the places he held under the crown, and retired to Windsor. In the mean time the French traversed the electorate of Hanover, and exacted the most rigorous contributions in every part; they plundered the royal palaces, and committed many barbarities.

The army of the empire had, by this time, advanced into Saxony, and summoned the city of Leipzig. The king of Prussia, who had several times offered battle to the grand Austrian army, which was more than double his number, but could never bring them to an action, now resolved to attack this army; and after making several feint motions, he, notwithstanding their endeavours to avoid him, brought his army opposite to them on the 4th of Nov. near the village of Rosbach, on the west side of the Sala, and about ten miles south from Halle in Upper Saxony, and there was a cannonade all day. The Prussians were not in the whole 25,000 men, and greatly fatigued by a considerable number of forced marches. The French troops, under the command of the prince de Soubise, are said to exceed 34,000, and the Imperialists, under the prince of Saxe-Hilbourhausen 20,000, all in health and vigour, except among the latter there were blended some recruits, who were raw and undisciplined, and others not well affected to the service. During the night the French and Imperial generals took a resolution to give battle to the Prussian monarch; and on the 5th at nine in the morning, they began to make the necessary preparations. The king, who perceived

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their intentions, made ready to give them a proper reception; he likewise harangued his soldiers by way of inspiring them with emulation, and promised them that their pay should be double from that time till they went into winter quarters. The French horse came on with great spirit, and for a little while fought bravely, but they could not withstand the Prussians, who acted with amazing ardor; they severely repulsed, and afterwards totally routed this body of cavalry; the rest of the enemy's combatants shared the same fate: the impetuosity of the Prussians was like a torrent that overwhelmed them with destruction: the Imperial infantry made but a small resistance, the whole army was seized with a panic when they perceived the phrenzy of the Prussians, and precipitately quitted the field of battle; they left behind them about 3000 men slain and 6000 prisoners, 63 pieces of cannon and some colours; the loss of the Prussians was not 500 men; the fugitives were pursued untill dark night, which alone preserved them from entire ruin.* The victory was

* This victory was of the utmost consequence to the king of Prussia; for a little before he fought it, the whole state of his affairs seemed verging to utter ruin, and afterwards they began to put on a different face, and to emerge to better fortune, owing entirely to the importance of this victory; he had been invested on the north by Swedes, and Russians, on the east and part of the south by the Austrians, and on the west and south by the French and the army of the Empire; and such was the vicinity of those powerful armies, which did not in the whole amount to less than 360,000 men, that they were all of them at one time hovering on the skirts of his dominions, and some of them had actually penetrated so far, that their detached parties laid his capital under contributions. In this situation, hemmed in on every side by

was so complete that it hardly wanted to be improved; the condition of the enemy was such that they were totally incapable of action, therefore the king of Prussia began to turn his arms and march directly to Silesia, where the situation of his affairs demanded his presence with the utmost haste: he had left Silesia defended by the Prince of Bevern with only 26,000 men, who intrenched himself under the walls of Breslau with the greatest strength, forming what is called an impregnable camp, in which, by the king's orders, he was to wait the issue of events.

The Austrians, as soon as they heard he was gone in quest of the army of the empire, resolved to wrest Silesia out of his hands by some bold stroke, which they apprehended his absence would afford them opportunity to pursue without interruption. Accordingly, on the 27th, general Nadasti, a brave, vigilant, and indefatigable officer, laid siege to Schweidnitz,

by the most formidable league the world had ever seen, some might have thought it prudent if he had offered to submit; but will posterity think his numerous enemies deserve any honour if they had compelled him to it? Surrounded as he was, and obliged to make head against them all, it is not to be wondered at, that when he went through Leipzig to fight the army of the empire, he was, by continual fatigue, worn away to a skeleton: he could bring no other army to an action, and considering the inferiority of his numbers and the unwillingness of the Imperialists, there were none he was more likely to defeat. By this battle he got rid of the army of the empire on one side, and checked the progress of the marshal Richlieu on the other, who was advancing from Hanover towards Magdeburgh; the Russians had retired before, and the Swedes were at this time besieged in Stralsund, so that of his enemies who appeared so formidable in August, there were only Austrians left.

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and he carried on the operation with such spirit and intrepidity, that though the garrison consisted of 4000 men, he forced them by his repeated attacks to surrender prisoners of war on the 11th of November; he undertook this enterprize with principally Bavarian troops, and he was no way sparing of their lives. It was just after this conquest that the Austrians were informed of the king of Prussia's success at Roßbach, upon which they apprehended he would be with them as soon as possible, therefore they found it necessary to make use of the interim to the best advantage whatever it cost: the present exigencies required vigorous measures. In this opinion they united their force and advanced to the intrenchments of the Prince of Bevern, where they overlooked the danger, by exaggerating the importance in forcing them; they did not trouble their heads about the number of cannon which on every side defended his inaccessible camp; they considered that by forcing him they should get Breslau, the capital of Silesia, but did not reflect on the number of men it would cost, and of course weaken their strength so necessary to keep Silesia. On the 22d of November they advanced up to the intrenchments, and about noon made two violent and unsuccessful assaults; but the third, more intrepid than the former, forced the Prussians from the exterior lines, who thereupon retreated to others which they had made interior. The Austrians perceiving this, and considering the prodigality of their slaughter, all at once ceased the attack: during this suspension, the Prussians were seized with a chimera, apprehending their dernier intrenchments would be forced in the night, and therefore while the Austrian troops stood inatuated with surprize at having, as they thought,

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their work to do over again, the Prussians made use of that opportunity to abandon their intrenchments, and retreat over the Oder, except a few that threw themselves into Breslau. The Austrian generals knew nothing of this sudden motion, and were astonished when they found this strong hold evacuated. It is generally imagined the prince of Bevern was ashamed of having acted in this injudicious manner, and was afraid to see the king of Prussia, more especially as his majesty had sent him orders not to quit the lines on any account, for that he would certainly be with him by December; and therefore in the morning of the 24th, he went to reconnoitre the enemy without escort, attended only by a groom, and was taken prisoner by a party of the enemy's Croats. This circumstance was construed into a premeditated design, because it cannot be supposed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, should undertake the dangerous task of reconnoitring attended by only one man, and that but a groom, supposing he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. The loss of the Austrians in this affair was not less than the amount of the whole Prussian force; but that of the Prussians, as they were never put into confusion, did not exceed 2800 men. The Austrians acknowledged that such another dear bought victory would destroy their whole army. On the 25th they summoned Breslau, and the garrison surrendered on condition of not serving against the Austrians or their allies for two years. The king, as soon as he heard of these disasters, redoubled his efforts of speed towards Silesia; he reached Parchwitz, near Breslau, on the 2d of December, and joined his troops, late commanded by the prince of Bevern. The Austrians, who

who occupied it as soon as they gave them and therefore they halted though they great quantities their front, Prussians to cember the which was on several v tacked the e of Saxons, corps who armies now. stinate and b lery made te in such a situ it cut them c haved with t with the most a brave resist way; yet fo inch by inch withstand the into confusion agonies of m way, and the ders never th saving themse Lissa; 6000 A foners, and 2 fore the battle exceeded 70,0

who occupied the strong camp of the Prussians, left it as soon as they heard the king was advancing to give them battle, which they resolved to accept, and therefore began their march to meet him; but they halted at the village of Leuthen near Lissa, and though they did not intrench themselves, they felled great quantities of wood, and scattered them in their front, in order to make it impossible for the Prussians to act with regularity. On the 5th of December the king of Prussia came up to their camp, which was defended by a numerous artillery placed on several very advantageous eminences. He attacked the enemy's advanced corps, which consisted of Saxons, and cut them to pieces, also another corps who intended to take him in flank. The armies now came in sight of each other, and an obstinate and bloody conflict began; the Prussian artillery made terrible havoc; it happened to be placed in such a situation as to take the enemy in flank, and it cut them down in ranks: the king's infantry behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his cavalry with the most astonishing fury. The Austrians made a brave resistance, but they were obliged to give way; yet for some time they disputed the ground inch by inch; at length, finding they could not withstand the impetuosity of the Prussians, they fell into confusion, and fled from the field in all the agonies of madness and despair; the officers ran one way, and the private men another; the commanders never thought of rallying the troops, but of saving themselves. The king pursued them to Lissa; 6000 Austrians were slain, 15000 made prisoners, and 200 pieces of cannon were taken. Before the battle, the Austrian army is said to have exceeded 70,000 men, but that of the Prussians did

not amount to 40,000 men, who were greatly fatigued by a forced march of 200 miles. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season was set in, the king of Prussia invested Breslau, though defended by a garrison of 13,000 men, and compelled it to surrender by the 29th of December: the garrison were made prisoners of war. The king having reconquered all Silesia, except Schweidnitz, he penetrated before the end of the year into the Austrian division, and reduced several towns there, which so augmented the number of his prisoners, that before New-year's-day they by far exceeded the number of his whole army.

The king of Prussia's victory at Rosbach not only prevented the French from pursuing their design of entering Magdebourg, but also revived the spirits of the Hanoverians and Hessians, and encouraged them to resume their arms. Richlieu, the French general, had behaved in the most cruel and infamous manner in many places: where it was impossible to raise the contributions demanded, the soldiers were allowed to plunder, with their usual methods of barbarity, and attempts had been made to take away the arms from the Hanoverian and Hessian troops. These open violations of the convention unbound the hands of their enemies, and as soon as the king of Prussia had gained the battle of Rosbach, it was resolved to re-assemble the allied army; and the king of Prussia for this purpose furnished a general, which was prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of Brunswick, and an officer in his own army. The first operation which they undertook was the reduction of the town and castle of Harbourg; the town was easily mastered, but the castle

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C H A P. VI.

Affairs in America and Asia.

THE British affairs in America this year still teemed with misfortunes and disgrace, not a little owing to our late political divisions, unsteadiness and languor; the attack on Crown Point, which had been the principal object in the beginning, was now laid aside; the French were entire masters of all the lakes, and had nothing to prevent their collecting the Indians together against us: our fears did more in behalf of the French, than the French could have done for themselves: we abandoned the Iroquois, who were once our allies, and might have been preserved, and the whole country to the enemy; and thus without one native in our alliance, our whole frontiers were exposed to their incursions. Instead of attacking Crown Point, it was judged of more consequence to go against Louisbourg. Accordingly a plan was drawn up, but it was supposed to have been communicated to the enemy as soon as it was finished. The importance of the place was sufficient to stimulate the French ministry to provide immediately for its security; accordingly M. de Beaufrémont failed from

Brest on the 30th of January, with a squadron of nine ships, having on board a body of troops; but as the harbour of Louisbourg could not be free of the ice by the time he might be there, he was directed to steer for the West-Indies, and reinforce their garrisons in that quarter, which he did, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 5th of June, from whence he sent a reinforcement of men and arms to Monsieur de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops in Canada. About the beginning of April M. du Rivest sailed from Toulon with five ships, having also on board a number of troops, warlike stores and provisions: he slipped through the gut of Gibraltar after a small encounter with admiral Saunders, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 4th of June. On the 3d of May M. du Bois de la Mothe, with fourteen ships, having likewise on board a number of troops and presents for the Indians, sailed from Brest, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 29th of June. Such was the vigilance and prudence of the French; while, on the other hand, the English under admiral Holbourn did not sail from Cork till the 8th of May, nor arrive at Halifax, the appointed place of rendezvous, till the month of July.

In the mean time lord Loudon † drew the troops from the northern frontier of the British settlements

† Unfortunately for his lordship's popularity, and the happiness of this nation, an embargo was laid on all ships in North America on the third of March, in order that the enemy might not receive any intelligence of his designs, and to make provisions plenty and cheap for the army and navy; although he might have known that the exports would never exhaust the great quantities of provisions which the British colonies produce, and the enemy might receive intelligence by other channels.

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adjoining to Canada, and he continued to call the troops from the other parts, till he had collected a body of 6000 men, and with these he embarked at New York for Halifax. It is well worth observing, that he set sail on the 19th of June, convoyed only by three frigates, and arrived at Halifax on the 29th, during all which time the French fleets were entire masters of the seas in North America, and therefore there was the utmost hazard of him, and all the troops being made prisoners by them, as admiral Holbourn did not arrive till some time after lord Louhohn had *fortunately* landed at Halifax. On the 9th of July admiral Holbourn arrived with the troops from Cork; when a junction of the forces was made, it was found they amounted to 12,000 effective men; and the fleet consisted of 15 sail of the line, and 18 frigates, &c. Near a month was spent at Halifax in exercising the troops, and by seints accustoming him to divers sorts of attacks and defence. These steps were condemned by some as,— keeping the courage of his majesty's soldiers at bay, and expending the nation's wealth in making sham fights and planting cabages*, when they

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* Alluding to a hasty expression of lord Charles Hay, who was a major-general in this armament, and who in one of the frequent councils which were held at this place, was put under an arrest for some public reflexions on the conduct of affairs. In the year 1759 he solicited a court martial, in order to clear his character from the consequences of a disagreement between him and the commander in chief, which was granted, and held in London: the charge was contempt of orders; but his lordship died before the proceedings were closed. However, it is necessary to observe, in justice to his memory, that the uneasiness which

they ought to have been fighting the enemies of their king and country in reality. At length, on the first of August, the troops were embarked to go against Louisbourg; but on the 4th a supposed French packet, † from Louisbourg to France, was taken and brought in. By the letters found on board this packet it appeared, that there were then in the harbour of Louisbourg 17 ships of the line, three frigates, 6000 troops in garrison, with 3000 natives and 1300 Indians: the place well supplied with all kinds of military stores, and the people all in high spirits, and wishing for an attack. On the receipt of this intelligence, the whole plan of operations was laid aside. Lord Loudohn with the troops returned to New York, where he arrived August 30, and admiral Holbourn cruized off Cape Breton, hoping that as soon as the season advanced, when the French fleet must leave their harbour and return to Europe, he should be able to carry some of them to England, in recompence for an inactive campaign; but on the 24th of September his fleet was

which he shewed to some transactions in America, displayed a becoming ardour in him, whose courage and zeal were known to the world, and had been distinguished by the applauses of the enemy; and nothing will be hazarded in saying, he was one of the bravest and best officers on this service.

‡ Some who canvass the whole proceedings of this expedition with a severe eye, look upon this affair of the packet boat as a political contrivance of the people at Louisbourg, to intimidate the British officers with an exaggerated account of the garrison and others bearing arms; for she was chased many hours, during which time she never threw her dispatches overboard; a precaution always taken by packet boats in a time of war. There have been many pleasant little stories and anecdotes told at New York of this expedition.

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terribly shattered and dispersed by a violent storm, which forced him off his station, and some of the ships, in great distress, to return to England. The French fleet having now an opportunity, returned to Europe unmolested. The sagacity which drew the troops from the northern frontier of the English provinces, in so doing, exposed them to the incursions of the French troops in Canada; for during the absence of lord Loudohn, fort William Henry, which stood on lake George, fell a prey to the French arms; though one would have thought our people might have taken warning from a recent alarm* given to that fort before his lordship's departure, and therefore it could not have been imprudent to have left a strong succour for its relief, in case of a second attack. However so it was, that while his lordship was gone on the expedition against Louisburgh, the marquis de Montcalm laid siege to the fort on the third of August, with 10,000 men, and a train of artillery; and on the ninth colonel Monro, the commander, was obliged to surrender, having expended all his ammunition. The garrison obtained, by their gallant defence, an honourable capitulation; but many of them were cruelly butchered by the French Indians, together with the women and children. A scene of such fa-

* The affair was thus: about the beginning of March (during the severest season) a party of French passed lake George on the ice, without any ammunition or provision but what they drew after them upon sledges: they intended to surprize the garrison, and take the fort by escalade; but the vigilance of major Ayres, the then commander, frustrated their design; his sentries gave intelligence of their approach, and he instantly provided for a proper defence, upon which the enemy retired.

vage cruelty, and horrid barbarity, was never acted as at the gates of this fort: the infants and children were seized by the heels, and their brains beat out against stones and trees; the throats of some of the women were cut; and the bodies of others were ript open, and their bowels torn out and thrown in their faces: and other more shocking marks of rage, horror, and cruelty were committed, but which, for the sake of the humane reader, we shall not mention. All these were done in sight of the French regulars, and their inhuman commander, who, contrary to the articles of the capitulation, never ordered them to restrain the barbarity of the Indians. Part of the garrison, however, escaped to fort Edward, in a miserable condition, after being pursued seven miles by the enemy's savages. General Webb, with near 4000 men, was an indifferent spectator of the operations of the siege;—perhaps he thought his numbers not sufficient to hazard a battle with Montcalm, nor to relieve the place.

In the month of October admiral Coates, who had been sent with a squadron to Jamaica in February, detached captain Forrest, with three ships, to cruize off Cape Francois, in order to intercept the French trade bound for Europe. At this time there lay in the harbour four French ships of the line, and three frigates, the commander* of whom, in

* M. Kerfaint, who, in the month of November, 1756, sailed from France on an expedition to scour the English settlements on the coast of Guiney, which he executed with tolerable success; by taking several trading vessels, belonging to the ports of London, Liverpool and Bristol. He made an attempt to reduce the castle on Cape Coast; but, after two hours cannonading

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in order to drive the English ships off that station, strengthened his crews and quarters with an additional number of sailors and soldiers, and put to sea. When captain Forrest descried the enemy, he called his two captains on board him, and said, 'Gentlemen, you know your own strength, and see that of the enemy: shall we give them battle?' They answered in the affirmative. 'Then, said he, fight them we will; there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging.' The English bore down upon the enemy with uncommon spirit, and began the action, which raged with the utmost fury above two hours and a half, all the while in sight of the Cape; when the French finding themselves greatly damaged, and notwithstanding their vast superiority, unable to take any of the British ships, ran away, and sought their preservation in the harbour. Captain Forrest returned to Jamaica to refit his ships †.

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it, Mr. Bell, the English governor, obliged him to sheer off. He then set sail for the West-Indies. The Dutch at fort Elmstedt came spectators of the fire, wishing (as they afterwards publicly declared) the French commodore success; for had that been the case, the petty states of negroes would instantly have revolted from the English interest; a circumstance the Dutch are very desirous of seeing, because they look upon Britain as their rival in commerce, and because they dislike any power having any trade but themselves.

† Another gallant action of this brave officer deserves to be mentioned: he in a subsequent cruize, near the island of Hispaniola, took (by a well-concerted project) a whole fleet of nine French merchantmen, richly laden, with a single ship, in the neighbourhood of five harbours, into any of which, could the enemy.

In Asia the British arms were triumphant; but this must be entirely attributed to the vigilance, prudence and courage of some good officers, who were at too great a distance to receive orders from those unsteady men, who still preserved great influence, and formed irresolute counsels. The company's disputes with the Nabob of Bengal, the rise of which we have already explained, were terminated to their great advantage by admiral Watson and colonel Clive. After they had reduced the fort of Busbudgia, they proceeded to Hughley, up the Ganges, and reduced that also, because the Nabob refused to come to terms, which they offered to him in the most polite and civil manner at the close of the last year; but yet he was too haughty to think of treating, and yet he was afraid of the British power. To conceal his terror he made a motion with his army towards Calcutta, upon which colonel Clive determined to give him battle in his camp, and on the 5th of February he forced the Nabob from all his posts, though defended by between 40 and 50,000 men. This risk, seconded by a letter from admiral Watson, intimating that this was a specimen only of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform, perfectly answered the intention of bringing about a pacification, for in four days a treaty of peace was signed, by which the English East-India company were established in all their former privileges, an immunity for all taxes was granted, and a

enemy but have escaped, they might have been secure, and carried them into Jamaica, where they were all condemned. This was the first stroke given to the enemy's trade in Mr. Pitt's administration.

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restitution promised for all that the trade had suffered in the taking of Calcutta. As this treaty was in a manner extorted from him, he never intended to fulfil the conditions; moreover, his principal counsellors were in the interest of the French, who were continually gratifying them with presents, hoping by that means to embarrass the English. The day after this treaty was signed, admiral Watson and colonel Clive received advice, that war had been declared in Europe between the English and French: this of course opened a new scene, and these brave officers, who had the honour and interest of their country at heart, immediately resolved on attacking the French fort of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta. On the 24th of March, after a siege of four days, this place was reduced, though the strongest and principal settlement the French had in Bengal; 183 pieces of cannon were found in it, and 500 Europeans and 700 Blacks were made prisoners. There being no longer any thing to apprehend from the French power in this part, it fell under consideration how they should act with regard to the Nabob, who had from time to time, upon frivolous pretences, deferred to execute the articles of the treaty; he was every day more inconstant and insolent. Some time was taken up in those deliberations; they were afraid to precipitate war with him, lest it should be fatal in its consequences; and yet his conduct justified such a step. But in the midst of these perplexities, a ray of hope unexpectedly appeared. The severity and sickle disposition of the Nabob spread a terror among those about him; they did not think themselves safe in the power of such a man, and they began to think of depriving him of his power, because he abused it.

it. Among these was one of great interest and authority, named Laitty; he put himself at the head of this conspiracy, and communicated their designs to the English; but Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn, a general of the Nabob's army, joining the number, it was thought proper to conclude a treaty with these conspirators, upon the basis of the former with the Nabob, before the English took the field for their assistance and defence, and in their own justification; for the English, by these conspirators, had certain knowledge, that the Nabob shortly intended to attack them. In this treaty, nothing was omitted that might put the company's affairs for the future upon a firm and stable establishment; and it was also agreed that Meer Jaffier should be appointed Nabob. Every thing being now ready, colonel Clive began his march to Plaissy on the Ganges, and took post on a very advantageous ground. On the 22d of June, the Nabob's army approached and gave him battle with near 40,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon; but half of the troops, who were under the command of Jaffier Aly Cawn and other conspirators, were inactive. The Nabob knew not how to invest colonel Clive's intrenchments; and the colonel, taking the advantage of his ignorance, totally defeated him with very little loss among his own troops. Meer Jaffier now declared himself, and congratulated Mr. Clive on his victory. The Nabob fled to Muxadavad, his capital, with a few of his attendants who continued faithful. Meer Jaffier entered the city while it was in consternation, by the advice of Mr. Clive, and was by this gallant officer placed in the ancient seat of the Nabobs, where he received the homage of all ranks of people. The deposed Nabob wandered about an unfortunate fugitive,

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fugitive, pursued by his enemies, in the utmost distress, with hardly cloaths to his back, and till worn out with hunger and fatigue; he at length took refuge in the house of a man, whose ears he had caused to be cut off in one of the transports of his passion: this person delivered him up to his pursuers, and Jaffier Aly Cawn's son ordered him to be put to death. In about thirteen days this great revolution was accomplished, with a small force and very little loss, and the India company gained such a number of valuable advantages, as exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine wish.

C H A P. VII.

Expedition to Rochfort, &c.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Pitt, on his coming into the administration, did not acquiesce in the German war, yet he resolved on an expedition to the coast of France, that should at once serve both Germany and Britain. The scheme of a littoral war against France was undoubtedly a good one, according to the present system of affairs. France had embarked in the quarrels of the empire, and was marching great armies to increase those disturbances; an attempt therefore to annoy her coast, and destroy her maritime stores, would serve Britain, by annihilating her rival strength, and serve Germany, by

by obliging her to keep her troops at home for the defence of her maritime places. Some few, who were against this kind of war, urged it was cowardly, weak, and immethodical; but they were soon over ruled by others, who asserted, that it was no matter which way the enemy was annoyed, provided she was but sensibly hurt. A large fleet was therefore equipped, the command of which was given to admiral Hawke, who was assisted by the admirals Knowles and Broderick. A body of troops, consisting of 9000 men, were put on board, commanded in chief by Sir John Mordaunt, assisted by the generals Conway and Cornwallis. The destination was kept a profound secret; and whilst it exercised the penetration of all the politicians in Europe, it filled France with the most serious alarms. The design was to make a diversion in favour of the duke of Cumberland, by drawing a part of the French army from Westphalia and Hanover, to the defence of their own coast. After much time spent in making preparations, and several blundering delays, the fleet sailed on the eighth of September, the day on which the convention of Closter-Seven was signed. On the 21st the fleet appeared before Rochfort, and it was now known that they intended to attack it; but as the officers had laid down no plan to be followed in this enterprize, some time was taken up in debating and framing one. A concurrence of evils frustrated this expedition: it will be hard to determine, whether they were purposely framed or accidentally fell out. The French nation is said to have been alarmed by the troops lying on the Isle of Wight some time before they sailed, and by very good intelligence from England. Two days after the fleet made the enemy's land,

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land, the Viper sloop was dispatched from England, with the following letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt to Sir Edward Hawke, and to Sir John Mordaunt, dated Whitehall, September 15, 1757, and received by them on board the Ramilies on the 22d day of September.

‘ S I R,

‘ His majesty, by his secret instructions, dated the 5th day of August last, having directed the return of the fleet under your command, together with the land forces on board,’ “ so as to be in England at, or about, as near as may be, the end of September, unless the circumstances of the ships and forces shall necessarily require their return sooner;” ‘ I am now to signify to you the king’s pleasure, that you do not consider the above-mentioned time, limited for your return, as intended in any manner to affect, or interfere with, the full exertion of the first and principal object of the expedition; namely,’ “ Attempting, as far as shall be found practicable, a descent on the French coast, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack if practicable; and, by a vigorous impression, force that place, and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of your power, all shipping, docks, magazines, and arsenals, that shall be found there, and exert such other efforts, as shall be judged most proper for annoying the enemy.” ‘ And with regard to any other particular attempt, which, agreeably to your orders, you shall have commenced, and in the execution whereof you shall be actually engaged, it is also his majesty’s pleasure that you do not desist from, or break up the same, merely and solely on account of the time,

‘ time, limited for your return, by the instructions
 ‘ abovementioned; but that, notwithstanding the
 ‘ same, you do continue, with the fleet, during
 ‘ such a farther number of days as may afford a
 ‘ competent time, for the completion of any operation
 ‘ under the above circumstances; after which
 ‘ you are to take care to return, with the fleet under
 ‘ your command, and the forces on board, in the
 ‘ manner directed by your former instructions.

‘ I am, &c.

‘ W. PITT.’

It has been shrewdly suspected, that this sloop, or the Harwich man of war, which sailed at the same time from Plymouth on the same destination, carried other dispatches of a mere secret nature, and said to be utterly unknown to the minister.

On the 23d of September it was resolved to secure the little island of Aix, situated in the mouth of the river Charante, which runs up to Rochefort, as it was apprehended the French on this island might make some obstruction to the landing of the troops; accordingly captain, now commodore, How, in the *Magnanime*, almost instantly reduced it, with the loss only of two sailors. At the time this little conquest was made, it was expected the troops were to be immediately landed; but on the 25th the military officers resolved in a council of war, that an attempt upon Rochefort was neither adviseable nor practicable. On the 8th of October, after having most effectually alarmed the French coast, it was resolved to land at the mouth of the river Charante, and at twelve o'clock at night the troops were put into the boats, where they remained four hours on a boisterous sea, and then were ordered back again; upon

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upon which admiral Broderick acquainted Sir Edward Hawke, ' That having prepared all the boats with proper officers to land the troops, he was now to acquaint him, that the generals were come to a resolution not to land to-night, but to wait till day-light, when they can have a full view of the ground whereon they are to land.' Sir Edward then desired Mr. Broderick to enquire of the general officers, whether they had any further military operations to propose, that the squadron might not be unnecessarily detained: to which the commander of the land forces sent this answer: ' We all agree in returning directly to England.' Upon which Sir Edward sent a letter to Mr. Pitt, the conclusion of which is thus: ' It was the *daily* expectation of their undertaking something, which induced me to stay here so long. As I have got their final resolution, I shall sail for England to-morrow morning.' When the fleet arrived, the whole nation was in a ferment; they exclaimed against the commanders, and cried aloud for justice on the delinquents. The officers blamed the ministry; who, to acquit themselves, directed an enquiry to be made into the causes of the miscarriage. The officers appointed to make this enquiry, whose penetration will ever be applauded, gave it as their opinion, that the causes of the miscarriage were, ' Not attacking fort Fouras by sea, * at the same
' time

* It is proper to explain this matter. Sir Edward Hawke first proposed laying a 60 gun ship against Fouras, in order to facilitate the landing of the troops, and Thierry, a noted French pilot, who gave much of that information on which the expedition was planned, undertook to conduct such a ship for that purpose; but

' time that it could have been attacked by land;
 ' and coming to a resolution on the 25th of Sep-
 ' tember, that an attempt on Rochefort was neither
 ' advisable nor practicable, though at that time
 ' there were no troops nor batteries on shore to pre-
 ' vent a descent.' From hence it appeared, that
 the officers had been guilty of disobedience of or-
 ders. The reader may perhaps startle at this as-
 sertion; but we will give him a part of such of the
 evidences as tended to prove the attempt *was prac-*
ticable. Lieutenant-colonel Clark said, that he,
 with three more officers, went on shore, and walked
 two miles, over a spongy neck of land, called Ile
 Denis, to the solid continent, *without molestation*;
 and he said the army might easily have landed at
 Chatelaillon bay. This opinion he formed on the
 spot. Colonel Wolfe (who afterwards took Québec)
 confirmed his opinion, viz. that a landing on that
 bay might have been made entirely out of the reach
 of the enemy's artillery. Admiral Bröderick de-
 scribed this landing-place to be a fair, hard, sandy
 beach, and in his opinion a landing might have
 been made here with ease, for the transports could

but it was laid aside upon a representation from vice-admiral
 Knowles, that even a bomb ketch had run aground at above
 two miles distance from the fort. As it is probable those who
 conducted the bomb ketch missed the channel through ignorance,
 it excited wonder and astonishment, that Thierry, who Sir Ed-
 ward Hawke, in his letter to Mr. Pitt, says, behaved with
 great bravery and skill, and who declared he could carry the
 Magnanime, which is 74 guns, within a quarter of a mile of
 Fouras, was not permitted to try his skill.—Might not a sloop
 be driven on a sand at the mouth of the Thames, by a pilot ig-
 nerant of the navigation of that river?

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come within half a mile of the bay. The board of enquiry, by their opinion, having attributed a principal cause of the miscarriage to the military officers, the commander of the land forces, in order to vindicate his character, applied for a court martial, which was granted: the charge was disobedience of orders; but after the same evidences were again examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke, he was adjudged not guilty. However, the public discontent did not seem in the least appeased. There seemed to be a suspicion, that the real causes of the failure were to be attributed somewhere else. In this point the minister could not be to blame; for he intended the expedition to annoy the enemy; to make him susceptible of wounds upon his own coasts; to strike terror and dismay throughout all his subjects; to enervate and dispirit his arms; and to threaten his destruction as a maritime power: and, on the other hand, to elate the hopes and spirits of the British nation, and to stimulate them to successive actions of glory and conquest. But he had the misfortune to find the consequences of the expedition directly opposite; and to sweeten this bitter pill, to see an attempt in the city for sifting out the true cause, by proposing to obtain a parliamentary enquiry, over ruled by a message from the king*. Do not all these things concur to support

* *November 5, 1757.* ' At a court of common council at Guildhall, a motion was made to address his majesty on the miscarriage of the late expedition to the coast of France; and after some debate the lord mayor was asked by a member of the court, if any information had been given to his lordship of an enquiry being intended to be made, he answered, that on
' Monday

support the suspicion of a *secret cause* for the failure of the expedition?

Although the design of this expedition was frustrated, yet the European powers interested in the sea, penetrated into the spirit of the new minister, and began instantly to change their former opinion of the British counsels. They saw with surprize a man placed at the head of, and giving directions to, a warlike people; a man who admitted no other rule for his operations against the enemy than conveniency; they were alarmed at his resolution and new system; and though he had failed in his first attempt, they saw plainly he was not discouraged by it. Sweden and Denmark concluded a treaty, supporting the defence of their commerce in the Baltic; and they sent their united squadrons to cruize in that sea, fearing he should send a fleet into the north. The Dutch proposed to augment their ships from the same fear; and the Italian states, in conjunction with the king of Naples, took every precaution that was in their power for the security of their ports. Spain and Portugal trusted their security to their important commercial connexions with Great Britain. France was not prepared for such an enemy, who braving every method, and adopting new schemes, prepared to attack her desperately.

Monday evening [October 31] William Blair, Esq; one of the clerk: of his majesty's most honourable privy council, came to the Mansion-house, and acquainted him, that his majesty had given proper directions for an enquiry to be forthwith made into the behaviour of the commanding officers of the said expedition, or to that effect; whereupon the motion was immediately withdrawn. [*The public news-papers.*]

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At home he was unanimously applauded; and having roused the spirit of the nation from that stupid lethargy in which he found it, was deservedly and highly esteemed by all ranks of people; and, for the first time, popularity and the administration were seen united: a measure which is so essential in a country like England, that a *minister*, unless he has the power and confidence to gain it, can never act with the strength of the whole nation, nor invigorate a true spirit into the people, who abhorring or not chusing to confide in him, his administration will be found to be one continued scene of disgrace abroad, and distraction at home. Happily the people had reason not to think their confidence misplaced in Mr. Pitt: they had experienced his honesty, and found him neither influenced by lucrative nor ambitious views; ever steadily pursuing their interests and happiness, and eagerly seizing every opportunity to gratify all their wishes, and preserve unanimity, which he knew was his only support, and would carry him through every measure for humbling the enemy with success. Thus did one man alone change the face of affairs in the British nation, and fill with alarm all the potentates in Europe, who had hitherto entertained but a despicable opinion of our national wisdom and strength; and revived the ancient spirit and military virtue of the people, to be, as they often have been, the terror of the French*.

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* The beginning of this year was marked by an event that surpris'd all Europe; an attempt was made to assassinate the French king, while he was stepping into his coach at Versailles, by

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On the 1st of December the parliament met; they voted 60,000 seamen and 54,000 soldiers. The supplies amounted to 16,486,457*l*. Notwithstanding the greatness of this sum (of which 1,861,897*l*. was paid to our German allies) there appeared, what had not been seen for many years, a perfect unanimity throughout the whole house, which gave infinite pleasure to every individual without doors, and instilled a pleasing hope and prospect of the affairs of the nation being likely to go on well, when the great were unanimous to humble the enemy: indeed the true case was, the old ministers were reconciled to the new ones; at least both parties came to a kind of capitulation, and while they were unanimous in counsel, it was not very probable that their adherents should differ in parliament. Added to all this, the king became better reconciled to Mr. Pitt (who may be considered as sole acting minister; for every thing seemed to move by his direction, and every body to acquiesce in his advice and plans) because they perfectly agreed in one very principal point, which was that of an inveterate hatred to the French; and the whole nation agreed with them also: but the difficulty was in the means to exert this

by one Damien, an obscure fanatic, who, mingling among the king's attendants, stabbed him on the right side between the fourth and fifth ribs with a knife, which taking an oblique direction missed the vital parts. He was secured, and the most excruciating torments were applied, in order to extort from him a confession of reasons that induced him to commit this horrid attempt; but all that could be done discovered nothing, and he died a remarkable instance of insanity. This year was likewise distinguished in France by a change in the ministry, by which the duke de Bellisle was appointed secretary at war.

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passion, or rather to give it its full force with the strength of the whole nation; each were wedded to opposite principles: his majesty was for a continental war, on account of his native and electoral dominions; Mr. Pitt was for a naval war, as the only method of ruining the French trade, and aggrandizing this nation, and securing its dependencies. It would be neither prudent nor easy to carry this nice point any further; the reader's penetration will enable him to conceive what else is not proper to explain. We will only add, that no favour was used by one, nor any low cunning by the other; both were desirous of acquitting themselves with noble actions, and laudable arguments were made use of; they were equally above baseness, and equally desirous of reducing the enemy. Mr. Pitt neither wanted nor sought closet favour, in order to undermine his fellow servants; and his majesty equally detested being led by the nose: he was a warrior himself, and fond of resolution and spirit; he had been bred to the camp and to real business. Hence arose that noble independency of spirit, which crushes the very embryos of intrigue, and all the little arts of narrow minds: hence it was, that after the ministry were settled, the national business went on with success, and without interruption: no bubbling tales of courtiers, no spies in the enemy's pay, could either divert Mr. Pitt, or impede the operations of the war.

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C H A P. VIII.

Affairs in Africa and Asia.

WE now come to the most glorious æra in the British history; an æra that is resplendent with immortal victories, proclaiming to the latest period of time the glory and valour of Britain in subduing her proud and implacable enemy. In the month of March a small armament was sent under the command of commodore Marsh, and a detachment of marines, commanded by major Mason, to attack the French settlements at Senegal. The project had been originally conceived by one Mr. Cumming, a sensible quaker, who had been a factor on the coast of Africa, by which he had contracted an acquaintance with the Moorish king of that part of South Barbary, called by us the gum coast, or the sandy desert of Zara*, who being well disposed towards the English, and bearing an utter enmity to the French, declared he should never be easy, till they were entirely driven from the river of Senegal: and he told Mr. Cumming, that if the king of England would send a force sufficient, and defeat the French, he would grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. At the same time he favoured Mr. Cumming with an exclusive trade, by a charter written in the Arabic language. Mr. Cumming, during

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his stay in Africa, made the most minute enquiry concerning the strength and situation of the French. At his return to England he communicated his intelligence to the board of trade, and with it a plan for attacking the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The ministry adopted the scheme; and Mr. Cumming, being the framer of it, was appointed principal director of the expedition, and sailed with it, charged with a letter of credence to the Moorish king. The fleet arrived on the coast of Africa in April; and, notwithstanding the obstruction of a very dangerous bar at the mouth of the river Senegal, the marines were landed (May 1) on the bank of the river. Upon which the French governor of fort Louis surrendered directly; and next day the corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to the king of England. This was the first successful expedition which the British ministry had equipped during the war, and failed not to be greatly instrumental in dissipating those fears and despondencies, which Mr. Pitt found to brood over the land when he came into the administration. The conquest of Senegal added to the commercial interests of Britain, and poured fresh wealth into the hands of her traders: the commodities imported from this settlement are that valuable article gum senega, hides, bees wax, elephants teeth, cotton, gold dust, negro slaves, ostrich feathers, ambergris, indigo and civet. Hitherto we had been obliged to buy our gum senega of the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and then set what price they pleased on it for us. After the surrender of Senegal, the fleet visited the island of Goree, another French settlement on the coast of Africa; but found it too strong to be attempted by
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their small force. The ministry finding the success of the first enterprize, dispatched commodore Kappel with a small squadron, and some land forces commanded by colonel Worge, to attack the island of Goree. The commodore arrived before it on the 29th of December, and having ranged his fleet opposite the forts, began a furious cannonade, which in a little time drove the garrison from their quarters, and necessitated the governor to surrender at discretion. A garrison being put into the fort, and that at Senegal being reinforced, the commodore returned to England; where likewise had arrived admiral Osborn from the Mediterranean; also admiral Boscawen from America, and general Abercrombie from the same place, whose conduct, like that of his predecessors, had fallen under disapprobation: he was succeeded in his command by general Amherst

When Mr. Pitt first came into the administration, he dispatched commodore Steevens, with a squadron and some troops, to reinforce his majesty's fleet in the East-Indies, which might act there with powers of discretion, while his attention was employed on other objects nearer home. Admiral Watson and colonel Clive having gained many advantages over the enemy, it was not only Mr. Pitt's immediate aim to pursue those advantages, while the heat and thirst of conquest prevailed; but likewise to prevent the French deriving any material services in any part of India from a fleet, which they had at the same time sent, commanded by M. d'Ache, and 8000 troops, which were put on board, and commanded by general Lally. Commodore Steevens joined admiral Pococke, who had succeeded to the chief command on the death of admiral Watson.

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M. d'Ache arrived at Pondicherry, where general Lally with the troops were landed. The scene of action was now to begin. M. Lally had boasted before he left Europe, that he would drive the English totally off the coast of Coromandel. He was warm and fool-hardy; and full of the idea (which he had suffered to get the ascendancy of his tumultuous imagination) when he took the field, he vaunted of the great acts he *would* perform, and the cruelties he resolved to inflict on the English; but, like a true barbarian whose passion exceeds his reason, or one bereft of prudence, he precipitately entered the campaign before he had provided the means of support for his army, which had been considerably augmented by several reinforcements. He marched directly against fort St. David, while the French fleet sailed away to cover the siege. Admiral Pococke having intelligence of these proceedings, sailed likewise to fort St. David, and engaged the French fleet, which being superior in number, and three of the British captains behaving in a cowardly manner, he gained no material advantage, though he continued the fight with great inequality till night, when the two fleets separated; the French returned to Pondicherry, and the English to Madras; both to repair their damages. Both squadrons having quitted the station off fort St. David, Lally pushed the siege of that place with vigour; which being in want of water and ammunition, major Polier, who commanded the troops, surrendered in twelve days (June 2, 1758). The conqueror blew up the fortifications, and reduced the place to a heap of rubbish; and besides plundering the inhabitants, as well of fort St. David as of all the villas round about, he wantonly set fire to their habitations, and

endeavoured to destroy the face of the whole country. But the ill star of France, which in no place set well on their affairs, began now to influence them here. Lally found, that by making a desert of the country he was unable to subsist his army; and, to his misfortune, the finances of France were so extremely low, by the large subsidies which the French were obliged to pay several of the European powers, to form and preserve the continental system of Europe against Prussia and Hanover, that their ministry could not afford to send him any money; so that now he could neither buy nor plunder. In this dilemma he resolved to extort a considerable sum from the king of Tanjore, a prince of the country; but that chief refusing to comply with his request, he in a rage marched his army and laid siege to his capital. The skill and courage of some English engineers bravely defended the place: in a short time Lally's ammunition began to run low, and his provisions were entirely exhausted. The people of the country, who had either heard of or suffered by his cruelties, cut off all the supplies to his army in return for his barbarities, which reduced him almost to a state of famine. At length, unable to stay any longer, he, tortured with all the pangs of chagrin and disappointment, raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, and left his cannon behind. He returned to Pondicherry, in the neighbourhood of which the troops were refreshed. In the month of October he marched into Arcot, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras. Lally's army at this time was so numerous, that the English forces on the coast of Coromandel were insufficient to oppose him in the field. Soon after the surrender of fort St. David, admiral Pococke again failed in quest

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quest of the French fleet, whom he found off Pondicherry; but they no sooner saw him, than they put to sea in the utmost haste: he then gave chase, and on the third day came up with them; but the French would not stand a fair engagement; they made a sort of running fight in an irregular line till night, when, under favour of the darkness, they escaped back to Pondicherry. However, they were so much damaged by this engagement, that after a short stay there, d'Ache was obliged to sail to the island of Bourbon to refit, leaving the sovereignty of the Indian seas to admiral Pococke and commodore Steevens, whose fleet was much inferior to his in number of ships, men, and weight of metal. When Lally formed his resolution of laying siege to Madras, he sent orders to Golconda for M. de Bussey and M. Morcain to join him with part of their forces, and leave the command of the remainder at Massulipatam to the marquis de Conflans. Soon after M. de Bussey was departed, the country powers resolved to throw off the French yoke, and entered one of the towns which the French possessed, and tore down the colours; upon which Conflans resolved to check their insolence, and marched his forces against them. In this distress the chief applied to colonel Clive at Calcutta for assistance; who, after deliberating on the nature and consequence of the enterprize, detached colonel Forde with a body of Europeans. This officer attacked M. de Conflans in the month of December, and gained a complete victory over him. Massulipatam fell in consequence: the English gained possession of an extensive sea coast, and other considerable advantages, besides being paid for their assistance; and likewise concluded a treaty with another chief, in which it

was enacted, that the French should be totally extirpated the country.

C H A P. IX.

Affairs in America. Naval transactions. Expeditions to the coast of France.

AS the primary object of the war was America, Mr. Pitt lost no time in exerting his vigilance, and making early preparations for effectually crushing the enemy's power in that part of the world. At this time the German affairs, though they tenderly touched the king's heart, were not arose to such importance, as to engross any thing more than a small part of the attention of the ministry: Mr. Pitt was not yet brought to consider them as of the highest consequence; he was still for reducing the enemy's settlements abroad, and particularly in America, and assisting Germany only by annoying the coast of France. The first object that he aimed at was Louisbourg, a place of the utmost importance to the French, and when taken, would be a great step towards annihilating their power in North America. For this purpose, he began at the beginning of the year to equip a large fleet. His own spirit directed all the necessary preparations to be timely executed, and his own penetration and love for the public

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public pointed out the fittest officers to do British business; he employed men capable of serving their country; men of courage, ability and merit*. Accordingly admiral Boscawen, with a fleet of men of war, and a considerable number of land forces, set sail from England on the 19th of February. This was timing things in a proper manner; the enemy had yet no force in America equal to what admiral Boscawen carried, nor any commander of equal capacity and reputation. However, as soon as they were acquainted with that brave officer's destination, they equipped two fleets at different ports for the relief of Louisbourg: one at Toulon,

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* He was chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the last campaign in America, and he on a very solemn occasion declared, 'That he believed there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of their country. He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found, with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of any danger, could with confidence be trusted. He particularized the inactivity of one gentleman in North America, from whom the nation had conceived great expectations; he complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit for a considerable length of time any other advice of his proceedings, but what appeared on a written scrap of paper. He observed, that with a force by sea and land, greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal, than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries.'

the commander of which was M. de la Clue; but Mr. Pitt had prepared every thing in order to frustrate these designs; an English fleet, under the direction of admiral Osborn, was stationed at the Streights of Gibraltar. The French court equipped a second squadron at Toulon, to strengthen de la Clue, and enable him to force his way through the Streights; the command of this squadron was given to M. du Quesne. De la Clue had sailed before the other was ready, and was blocked up by admiral Osborn in the Spanish port of Carthage. Du Quesne came to relieve him, and fell in with the English fleet. The Monmouth of 64 guns, captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant of 80 guns, commanded by du Quesne in person, for a considerable time, and it is thought would alone have taken her, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's force; but two other English ships coming up, du Quesne struck to the Monmouth, the captain of whom was killed, but the ship was bravely fought by the first lieutenant Mr. Carkett. The Orphee, another of the enemy's ships, was likewise taken; and the third, called the Oriflamme, was drove ashore on the coast of Spain. The only remaining vessel of this squadron was a frigate, named the Pleiade, which being an excellent sailor, escaped back to Toulon, and carried the tidings of this disaster. Thus was *this* scheme of relieving Louisbourg frustrated; for M. de la Clue, not being able to force his passage through the Streights, returned to Toulon, where his ships were laid up. The *other* fleet, designed to succour North America, was equipped at Rochfort; it consisted of six ships of war, two frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops; but Sir Edward Hawke was

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was sent in April with a fleet to prevent their sailing. As soon as the enemy saw him approach, they ran their ships ashore, and threw their guns, stores, lading, and even ballast overboard, in order to lighten them and run them further out of his reach. Thus the design and the equipment were totally defeated; and it has been said, that the guns, stores, and lading, were entirely lost. A number of small craft were employed to drag the ships through the mud, by which they were preserved; but they did not attempt to venture out to sea again. In the mean time admiral Boscawen arrived in America, where the plans of three different operations were to be executed for the speedy reduction of the enemy. The conduct of lord Loudon, who was last year commander in chief in America, had not given that satisfaction which was expected from him; it was considered as inactive; therefore he was called home, and the command devolved on major general Abercrombie, who afterwards pursued, or nearly pursued, his lordship's plans. The first, and indeed principal plan of these operations, was an expedition against Louisbourg; the fleet under the direction of admiral Boscawen, who was arrived at Halifax, together with the troops, in number about 12,000, commanded by major general Amherst, assisted by brigadier general Wolfe. On the 28th of May this armament departed from Halifax, and on the 2d of June the fleet appeared off Louisbourg; but such a prodigious surf swelled all along the shore, that they were six days off the coast before a landing was found practicable. The governor of Louisbourg in the interim exerted all his skill to prevent their landing; he established a chain of posts that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the

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the beach, and he threw up intrenchments and erected batteries : the harbour was defended by five ships of the line and five frigates, three of which he ordered to be sunk at the mouth, to prevent the English fleet getting in ; but all these precautions and endeavours were not sufficient to check the ardour and resolution of the English officers, who, as soon as the surf was somewhat abated, lost not a moment's time in landing. Brigadier-general Wolfe, to his immortal honour, with an intrepidity unparalleled, gained this material point, in spite of the enemy's utmost efforts. The rest of the troops followed him. The enemy fled, and the town of Louisbourg was invested. But the siege could not be prosecuted with safety until the enemy's ships in the harbour were taken, as they could bring their guns to bear upon the English camp : therefore general Wolfe immediately secured a place called the Light-house Battery, and another more material, called the Island Battery ; when by the bombs one of the enemy's great ships was set on fire, which communicated to two others ; and all three were consumed. Only two now remained, which the admiral undertook to secure, in order to gain possession of the harbour ; he manned the boats of the squadron, and in two divisions, under the command of two young captains Laforey and Balfour, he sent them into the harbour in a dark night. These gallant heroes boarded the enemy's ships sword in hand, and one, being a-ground, they set her on fire, and towed the other out in triumph. The governor of the town having now no resource, nor the English any impediment to hinder their operations, he next day (July 26) surrendered the whole island of Cape Breton. The garrison were made prisoners, amount-

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ing in the whole, including such of the inhabitants as bore arms, the irregulars, seamen, &c. to 5637. It is well worthy observation in this place, that now we behold the *real* number of that *formidable* garrison, which the year before, when other commanders were on that station, it was not deemed prudent to attack. When this conquest was achieved, admiral Boscawen detached lord Rollo to take possession of the island of St. John's, which instantly submitted to the British government. When the news of these glorious and inestimable conquests arrived in England, a general joy diffused itself throughout the whole kingdom: the wisdom of the minister, and the courage of the commanders, every Englishman was proud to extol; and addresses of congratulation from all parts were presented to the throne*.

The other plans of operation in America were: brigadier-general Forbes was to go with about 8000 men to attack Fort Du Quesne near the Ohio, and seize the lands which the French had usurped; and general Abercrombe, the commander in chief, with

* The possession of Cape Breton was a valuable acquisition to Great-Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalry from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. When the plan of this conquest was originally laid down during the preceding war, it was demonstrated, that it would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public; increase the shipping and mariners, and greatly extend navigation.

about 16000 men, was to reduce Crown Point, in order to open a road to the frontiers of Canada. The latter of these plans did not succeed. The vanguard of the army, in its rout to Ticonderoga, a place which the general intended first to reduce before he attempted Crown Point, fell in with a party of the enemy's Indians, upon which a skirmish of bush-fighting ensued, in which the gallant and admired lord Howe was slain. Notwithstanding this little disaster the army marched up to Ticonderoga (July 9) before which they found the enemy had felled a great number of trees, and placed other things to prevent the British troops approaching in regular order; the enemy had likewise thrown up intrenchments, and raised a breast-work eight feet high: however, the troops advanced in the best manner possible, and with an undaunted resolution mounted the works sword in hand, unsupported by their artillery (which was not brought up) or any thing that could give them the least hopes of success, except what they could derive by their own personal prowess. In this naked manner they for four hours maintained a most bloody and unequal conflict. The enemy's fire was terrible, as it was both from musquetry and cannon, and discharged in such volleys, the weight of which it was impossible to sustain. The enemy being securely covered by their works, which had been vainly attempted to be stormed, and there being no prospect of any thing but an increase of slaughter, the general ordered the troops to be drawn off, and to retreat, after the loss of about 2000 men; which was accordingly done without any molestation from the enemy. More fortunate, however, was an enterprise, which general Abercrombie detached lieutenant-

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tenant-colonel Bradstreet to undertake. This officer, with 3000 men was ordered to attack Fort Fronteniac, situated on the river St. Lawrence, which, when he approached, surrendered at discretion (Aug. 27) notwithstanding there were in it 60 pieces of cannon and 16 mortars: he likewise took all the enemies armed vessels on Lake Ontario. Brigadier Forbes in the mean time marched towards Fort Du Quesne; but when his van-guard, under the command of major Grant, who designed to take the place by surprize, had approached within a few miles of the fort, he was surrounded by a greatly superior part of the enemy's troops and Indians; on which an obstinate and cruel engagement began, which the English with their usual courage maintained near three hours, when being almost all cut to pieces, and major Grant, with 19 other officers, and a number of troops, made prisoners, they retreated and joined the main army. Notwithstanding the loss of this skirmish, brigadier Forbes advanced; but the enemy reflecting that their works could not withstand regular approaches, prudently abandoned the fort in time, and retired to their settlements on the Mississippi. Next day (Nov. 25th) the English troops, without opposition, took possession of the fort; the contention for which, with the lands contiguous to it, and kindled up the flames of war. The troops and officers emulated by their success, and glorying in the minister who directed their operations in so wise and effectual a manner, instantly changed the name of the fort, and, with a propriety and compliment which need not be pointed out, gave it the name of PITTSBURG.

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At the beginning of the year it is said there were some divided opinions, concerning how the theatre of the war should be made : some persons, whose well-meaning may not be disputed, but whose weakness and pliancy were always for clogging the interest of Great-Britain, with measures of an extraneous and incumbering nature, were for bending the dignity and importance of the national affairs to the fervility of being secondary concerns to those of Germany ; they were for embarking our whole land force to the assistance of prince Ferdinand, to enable him to keep the French on their own frontiers, which these *most sagacious* politicians said would bring matters to a speedy decision. The real friends of Britain, who were enjoined in the guidance of business of this high import, and had but lately come into power, urged as the primary object the destruction of the French marine ; the shaking their internal security by expeditions to their coasts ; not upon any account weaken our efforts in America, which however would be, in case we did embark our force for Germany : they said an army of 50,000 foreigners, maintained at our expence, was certainly enough in Germany to keep the French at bay ; for they looked upon continental operations in only a secondary light, and the sending our troops thither as squandering away our men as well as money ; whereas, were they employed in continually alarming the enemy's coast, it would employ and harrass the French troops at home. The popularity of these latter, brought their opinions to prevail. Two squadrons were fitted out by the latter end of May, which filled the French coast with terror ; the greater was commanded by lord Anson, destined to watch the enemies ports, and to prevent their

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their ships from incommoding the landing of the troops; the lesser was commanded by commodore Howe, with whom embarked the duke of Marlborough, with 13,000 men and a train of artillery; this force the commodore safely landed on the 5th of June in Cancealle bay, near St Malo; the town being found too strong to attempt, they set fire to an hundred sail of shipping in a bason, under the cannon of the castle, without its ever offering to fire a gun at them; they likewise burned several magazines of naval stores, and did other considerable damage to the enemy: having nothing further to do, they reembarked without molestation, and reconnoitered the coast towards the town of Cherbourg; but their provisions being short, and the soldiers sickly, by being so long cooped up in the transports, they returned to St. Helen's on the 29th. Though this expedition was successful, did great damage to the enemy, and proved that he was vulnerable upon his own coast, yet did the old leaven continue to haggle for an acquiescence to their own projects, and attempt to modify their construction on something that was German; perhaps they were importuned by our German friends, and their solicitations proceeded in consequence, as well as their uneasiness and dislike of measures that were conducted on a single principle. These new men in office found there was no other way to preserve harmony, but capitulate with their opponents; therefore they consented to the sending the duke of Marlborough with a body of British troops to Germany. This they knew was invervating our power at home; and, if the expeditions to France should be continued, which, considering the expence of first equipping the squadrons would much better

better be done than let the ships lie idle, they could answer no end, but exposing us to the laughter of our enemies, by being, with a handful of men, only enabled to make little desultory efforts, and immediately obliged to embark, perhaps, with difficulty and hazard; all which, in the end, proved to be the case, and yet, by being circumstanced amidst embarrassments, they could not prevent the evils. In the second expedition the command of the land forces, not amounting to 600 men, was given to general Blich; his royal highness prince Edward, now duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe: On the 6th of August they were landed near Cherbourg, where they destroyed the mole, pier, basin, sluices, floodgates, and many other excellent works for making a complete, convenient, and strong harbour, begun, but not yet finished, at a prodigious expence to the French king: they burned some vessels which they found in the harbour, and took hostages for the payment of contributions which they levied; and put on board the ships twenty pieces of brass cannon and two mortars, which they found in the place. This ordnance was brought to England, and, for a while, lay in Hyde-Park for public view, and were afterwards carried in childish and ridiculous triumph to the Tower. Many people considered this parade, as calculated to keep the people in good humour to support the charges of the war; and it must be owned these sights forcibly strike ordinary minds; but is it not strange to see men of sense intoxicate themselves in this low, illiberal manner, and fall passively down into the tumultuous torrent of the ignorant, inconsiderate, and contemptuous rabble, and mingle in person and opinion with the scum of human

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human nature, that are a disgrace to our country ? On the 16th the troops were re-embarked, perhaps with a design of visiting some other part of the enemy's coast, but the fleet was driven to the coast of England, where it remained only two days without landing the troops, and then returned to the coast of France: A second time the troops were landed near St. Malo; it is astonishing to think what the general could mean by this disembarkation, since the duke of Marlborough with a superior force had done all that possible could be done in this neighbourhood—except he meant to take the town; but finding he could not, he imprudently marched into the country, while the fleet, for the better convenience of receiving the troops, moved into the bay of St. Cas, or St. Cast. However, upon having certain intelligence brought him, that the duke d'Aiguillon, with a superior force, was in full march against him, he resolved to return to the ships; yet from some unaccountable fatality, though the troops were not far from the shore, a great deal of time was unnecessarily and prodigally thrown away in performing this retreat. Most people apprehend, that, with prudence, the troops might have been re-embarked unmolested; as it was, the enemy, though at a much greater distance, gained the beach as soon as the English: It is true, the major-part of our troops were put on board the transports before the enemy ventured to appear; but the rear guard, composed of grenadiers, and the first regiment of guards, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, under the command of major general Dury, for Blish was gone on board the fleet, were at this time on the beach. Dury following the dictates of rage and despair, permitted the enemy without hindrance

to assemble in great numbers in his front; and, when that was done, he attacked them; his efforts were seconded by the frigates and bomb-ketches, ranged along the shore; the troops fought in a most courageous manner, and their bravery was worthy of a better fortune; in a little time their ammunition was expended, and they of course gave way before superior numbers; the enemy at first gave no quarter, but the ships ceasing to fire clemency was shewn, and part of our troops surrendered at discretion; the rest jumped into the sea and were drowned, among whom was Drury himself. Some few were carried to the ships in boats; but a much greater number might have been saved, had the sailors emptied their boats into the first ship they came to, and returned directly to the beach for the rest; but instead of that they infamously preserved a punctilio, in carrying the troops to the particular transport they came out of, without considering the distance of the situation. The fleets returned home, and went to France no more. Bligh suffered greatly in his reputation; and, as some think, undeservedly. The people of England were dispirited by this affair, and those of France elated; both, by far more than they ought to have been, considering it was a transaction of but little moment.

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Affairs in Germany.

THE first operations of the allies, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, was their advancing in the month of January into the country of Bremen; where, in a very short time, they dislodged the enemy out of all the towns there. The duke de Richelieu, finding he could not stop their progress, was stimulated to commit the most unparalleled acts of wanton and unprovoked barbarity; among these, was the burning the orphan house at Zell, while the people were in it, and other deeds of rapine and oppression: the French ministry were dissatisfied with his conduct, and therefore recalled him, and gave the command of the army to the count de Clermont: this was the third commander which the French army had in one year; a circumstance which sufficiently evince the unsteadiness of their councils. Clermont found the troops in a most miserable condition; the winter excursions, want of necessaries, hard duty, severe weather and distempers, had reduced them to a wretched remnant; they abandoned the cities of Hanover and Zell and retired towards Hamelen: the town of Hoya upon the Weser was taken by surprize by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who had voluntarily entered into the army, in which he frequently signalized himself; but this was his first exploit. After the taking of Hoya, Clermont retreated

treated to the Rhine, and having passed that river, he intrenched his army until he should receive reinforcements from France. The town of Embden, belonging to the king of Prussia, situated on the river Ems, next the sea, of which the French had been in possession some time, was now taken by an English squadron, commanded by commodore Holmes; the French garrison evacuating the place; it was afterwards a port to land the British troops at, who were from time to time sent to reinforce the allies, and perhaps it was taken with that view. Prince Ferdinand followed the count de Clermont to the Rhine; and having passed that river, he took his measures so well, that he found means to attack the enemy's left wing at Crevelt on the 23d of June, which he routed and dispersed after a short dispute, in which the French lost, in slain and prisoners, between 4 and 5000 men*.

Clermont

* In the army of the allies was a small body of Prussians sent, as we may presume, to assist the troops in British pay to frustrate the designs of France, and repel her attacks on Hanover, in consideration of our granting that monarch an immense subsidy. It is said two regiments of cavalry belonging to the Prussian corps refused to charge the French in this action, and thereby lost the most favourable opportunity the allies ever had of defeating the enemy. This piece of intelligence was industriously smothered in England, for fear it should tend to make the German war unpopular.

Among the French officers who were slain in this action, one deserves particular notice. He was the young count de Gisors, only son of the duke de Belleisle, the last hope of a noble family, and lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house. He possessed many extraordinary accomplishments as well as uncommon genius. He was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment,

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Clermont having collected the fugitives, retired and took refuge under the cannon of Cologne; where he was a tame spectator of the reduction of Dusseldorf by the allies. However, the conquerors derived no kind of advantage from their victory: it seemed to have been only fought for the sake of displaying the genius of the general. The French army, being on their own frontiers, were soon reinforced; and another army was assembled on the other side of the Rhine, under the command of the prince de Soubise. Measures were *then* taken in England for reinforcing the allied army, and a corps under the duke of Marlborough was landed at Embden for that purpose. At this time the count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred on M. Contades, who threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn; but the prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the British troops: he flattered himself, that the Hessian troops, commanded by the prince of Isenbourg, would prevent Soubise from entering Hesse, until he received the reinforcement, when he purposed to transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country; but the duke de Broglio, who was detached by the prince de Soubise, attacked and defeated the prince of Isenbourg on the 23d of July at Sangershausen, and thereby not only opened a passage for the French troops into Westphalia, but likewise gave them possession of the Weser; advantages which more than counterbalanced those which prince Ferdinand had

regiment, as he was bringing it up with the most heroic courage, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

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gained by the action at Crevelt : this prince now began to think of repassing the Rhine in order to effect his junction with the duke of Marlborough, which he had reason to apprehend the prince of Soubise would endeavour to prevent. M. de Chevert, an able French general, had passed the Rhine with 12,000 men, in order to besiege Dusseldorp; but finding that impracticable by the late heavy rains, he resolved to dislodge baron Imhoff, an Hanoverian officer, who was posted with 3000 men at Meer, to cover the bridge over the Rhine at Rees, to secure a considerable magazine there, and preserve the communication between prince Ferdinand and the duke of Marlborough : Chevert's design was to seize the magazine, burn the bridge, and cut off the English troops, and with this view he attacked Imhoff on the 5th of August; but this officer having notice of his intentions, had taken his measures so well, that in half-an hour he repulsed the French officer with loss, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Wesel. This little victory was productive of great advantages to the allies : Imhoff quitted his post at Meer, and marched to meet the duke of Marlborough, with whom he happily effected a junction, which had hitherto been attended with many difficulties. Prince Ferdinand without any difficulty repassed the Rhine, and drew nearer to the prince of Isenbourg; and that prince collected all his fugitives, and began to recover from his disorder; but Gottingen was, in the mean time, reduced by the prince de Soubise, who perceiving the Hessians re-assembling, shewed a design of attacking them again; upon which prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg, with 13,000 men, to reinforce them and take the command of the

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the whole: however, they were still greatly inferior to Soubise's army, which unexpectedly attacked them on the last day of September, at Llanwerhagen in Hesse, and defeated them with the loss of 1500 men: as they effected a retreat in tolerable order, their defeat was not total; nor could Soubise reap any advantage from the victory, as the season was too far advanced. Prince Ferdinand had by this time retired into Westphalia, into which country Contades followed him, and both armies took up their winter-quarters in it. The fatigues of the campaign occasioned a fever to break out and rage among the allied troops, which carried off great numbers; of the English in particular, because they were not accustomed to the climate and diet; nor indeed enjoyed any benefits which their German friends could deprive them of, though they were come to lay down their lives in their defence. This fatality cut off the duke of Marlborough at Munster; the numbers of private men, which were carried off by the same cause, were perhaps concealed for reasons of state; because in a government like ours, where things depend so much on popularity, any intelligence, which tends to render odious a favourite cause, are for the most part industriously hid; yet the death of a great man, when he amounts to a commander in chief, cannot be concealed. The command devolved upon lord George Sackville.

During the winter, the king of Prussia levied in Saxony the most heavy contributions; the unfortunate city of Leipsic, was punished with military execution. Mecklenburgh was plundered, and its duke obliged to fly to Lubeck. As soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweid-

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nitz, and on the 16th of April * obliged it to surrender. He was now once more in possession of all Silesia.

* It having been found impossible to separate Britain from the continent, the engagements entered into by the former administration were now cemented in a still stronger manner. The confederacy against Prussia being too powerful for him, he in all probability, if not supported by England, would be crushed; and if he fell, Hanover would instantly fall likewise. The latter was the tender point, and at a peace it must be regained, even if it should be set at the high price of all the British conquests. According to this system, which every one knows was the system of those days, it was the interest of Britain to support the existence of the king of Prussia. The people were unanimous in their desires of doing it: the éclat of his victories had gained their esteem. It was at the time when this vein was swelled with the warmest blood, that the treaty with Prussia was made. A translation of which, for the satisfaction of the reader, we shall here insert.

Whereas a treaty between their Britannic and Prussian majesties was concluded and signed on the 16th day of January 1756, the stipulations whereof tended to the preservation of the general peace of Europe, and of Germany in particular: and whereas since that period France has not only invaded the empire with numerous armies, and attacked their aforesaid majesties and their allies, but has also excited other powers to act in like manner: and whereas it is so notorious, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian majesty to defend himself against the number of enemies, who have attacked him on so many sides at once, have occasioned a very great and burthensome expence; whilst, on the other hand, his revenues have been greatly diminished in those parts of his dominions which have been the seat of war; and their majesties having mutually determined to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, for the protection of their allies, and the preservation of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic majesty has resolved, in consequence of these considerations, to give an immediate succour, in money, to his Prussian majesty, as the

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speediest and most essential; and their aforesaid majesties have thought proper, that a convention should be made thereupon, in order to declare and ascertain their reciprocal intentions in this respect; for which purpose they have appointed and authorized their respective ministers, viz. In the name and on the part of his Britannic majesty, his privy counsellors, Sir Robert Henley, knight, lord keeper of the great seal of Great Britain; John earl of Granville, president of his council; Thomas Holles duke of Newcastle, first lord commissioner of his treasury; Robert earl of Holderness, one of his principal secretaries of state; Phillip earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Esquire, another of his principal secretaries of state: and in the name and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the Sieurs Dodo Henry baron of Knyphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Britannic majesty, and Lewis Michell, his *charge d'affaires* at the said court; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

I. His majesty the king of Great Britain engages to cause to be paid, in the city of London, to the person or persons who shall be authorized for that purpose by his majesty the king of Prussia, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling; which entire sum shall be paid at once, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, upon the requisition of his Prussian majesty.

II. His majesty the king of Prussia engages, on his part, to employ the said sum in keeping up and augmenting his forces, which shall act in the most advantageous manner for the common cause, and for the end proposed by their aforesaid majesties, of reciprocal defence and mutual security.

III. The high contracting parties moreover engage, viz. On the one part, his Britannic majesty, both as king and as elector; and, on the other part, his Prussian majesty, not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other convention or agreement whatsoever, with the powers who have taken part in the present war, but in concert, and

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vided for the security of his frontiers; he posted count Dohna with an army to cover Silesia from any incursions of the Russians; and his brother prince Henry with another army in Saxony, to prevent the army of the empire, which had been recruited, from entering Brandenburg or Magdeburg. At this time count Daun, with all the troops which his sovereign could assemble, lay intrenched at Koningsgratz in Bohemia. The king of Prussia made several feints, as if he intended to enter Bohemia; and when he had sufficiently alarmed and diverted the enemy's attention that way, he all at once, by a rapid march, entered Moravia, and proceeded to Olmutz the capital; but general Marischal, who happened to be posted in that province, having intelligence of his march, had just time enough to throw himself into the town. However, the king of Prussia laid siege to it on the 27th of May, and the trenches were opened before count Daun heard, that the king of Prussia had given him the slip. When he received the intelligence, he instantly broke up his

by mutual consent, and expressly comprehending each other therein.

IV. This convention shall be ratified; and the ratification thereof shall be exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be reckoned from the date of the signing this convention, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten ministers of his majesty the king of Great-Britain, and of his majesty the king of Prussia, by virtue of our full powers, have signed this present convention, and have set the seals of our arms thereto. Signed at London, April 11, 1758.

This convention was renewed annually much in the same tenor of expression, and exactly with respect to the terms. The parliament approved of this convention when it was laid before them, and on the 20th of April granted the money.

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camp, and hastened to the relief of the city. He began to impede the Prussian operations by attacking every night their posts, and harrassing them with continual alarms. The king offered him battle ; but Daun knew better how to improve his advantages than hazard them all at once. At this time a large convoy was coming from Silesia to the king's camp, which Daun having intelligence of, detached a considerable body of troops to take it, and the king of Prussia detached another body to preserve it. The Austrians fell in with the conyoy, and a bloody conflict ensued : the Prussians being greatly inferior were defeated ; the center and part of the van were taken, and the rear pushed back to Silesia, while only the other part of the van escaped to the king's camp. This was a mortifying check to the king of Prussia's resolution and spirit : he saw himself by this unlucky event deprived of the very means of subsistence, and consequently obliged to relinquish his project, at the very time when the town was expected every day to surrender. However he preserved a good appearance ; and on the last day of June, which was the last day of the siege, the firing continued as brisk as ever ; but at night he suddenly abandoned the place, and gained a march of the Austrians before they were apprized of his retreat. He took the route of Bohemia, and arrived with all his baggage, artillery, sick and wounded, at Koningfgratz. This was one of the most surprising retreats, which had been accomplished since the days of Xenophon. It was performed in the face of a great army, in high spirits, and conducted by a very able general, who could not impede the march of the retreating army, though he attempted to hover on its wings, It is hard

hard to say, whether M. Daun shewed more skill in obliging the king of Prussia to raise the siege without giving him battle; or the king of Prussia in raising the siege, and effecting his surprising retreat without loss. The affairs of his Prussian majesty were every day becoming more critical: the invasion of his dominions by the Russians, under the generals Fermor and Brown, would have obliged him to quit Moravia, if count Daun had not; for at this time they had entered the new Marche of Brandenburg, where they daily committed the most horrid ravages and barbarities, and had laid siege to Custrin; his presence in that country became absolutely necessary; accordingly he prosecuted his march with the utmost diligence, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Custrin on the 20th of August, after a march of 51 days from the midst of Moravia. Notwithstanding the great fatigue and hardships which his army must have suffered, he resolved immediately on giving the Russians battle; and his troops, animated with revenge on viewing the dismal spectacle which the country all round presented, ardently wished for an engagement with such cruel enemies. The king joined his troops under count Dohna, and on the 25th of August gave battle to the Russians near the village of Zorndorff. The Prussians were now, in the strictest sense, fighting for their country, which was ready to fall under one of the severest scourges with which providence ever chastised a nation. The existence of the Prussian crown depended on the fortune of the day: the desolation of the country, and the villages on fire all round, were such marks of the enemy's cruelty, as exasperated the Prussians to a pitch of enthusiasm. In this rage they began one of the most bloody con-

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slicts that has been fought during this war. For the space of two hours the Prussian artillery rained on the Russians like water from the heavens. This furious cannonade, the most dreadful that ever man beheld, they stood undaunted. The Muscovite foot were attacked at nine in the morning with an impetuosity that would have staggered the bravest veterans of any civilized nation; but they had not the sense to move; they fell in their ranks, and new regiments pressed forward to supply new slaughter; nay, so fearless were they, and so void of all sense of safety, that when the first line had fired away all their cartridges, they obstinately stood, though defenceless, and were shot at like marks. It was evident, that to gain a victory over such troops must be to destroy them: the slaughter of course was very great; but their army was numerous, and fresh bodies continually presenting themselves, and making the most vigorous efforts, the Prussian infantry at length gave way: had the Russian officers known how to have made use of this advantage, they had gained the victory; but it seems they did not; and general Seidlitz, who commanded the Prussian cavalry, profited by their ignorance; he instantly threw himself into the chasm, and charged the Russian foot with an impetuosity which they could not withstand: they were either fatigued with the work they had already gone through, or disheartened by the appearance of the horse; for being unsupported, they fell back all on a sudden, breaking their own ranks, and in the utmost confusion fired upon one another, and plundered their own baggage: the wind blew the dust and smoke in their faces: the Prussian infantry was rallied, and led to the charge by the king in person; the slaughter

now became more terrible than ever; the Russians were crammed up in a narrow space, while the Prussians with regular fires, every shot having its full effect, continued the combat till seven o'clock at night: yet still (which is almost incredible) the Russians kept their ground. Night came on, and then, and not till then, the Russians retreated under favour of the darkness. They lost, according to their own account, 21,529 men*. They were pursued into Poland, and thereby prevented from undertaking any thing farther against the king of Prussia in Brandenburg. The loss of the Prussians was near 4000 men. In the mean time count Daun, in conjunction with the army of the empire, now commanded by the prince of Deux Ponts, penetrated into Saxony, and took the fortress of Sonnestein. He aimed at wresting Saxony entirely out of the hands of the Prussians; and for this purpose he nearly surrounded prince Henry of Prussia's army, which consisted only of 20,000 men posted so as to cover Dresden. But the king of Prussia, who was informed of his brother's critical situation, hastened to his relief, before Daun, who is remarkably slow in the concerting of measures, could execute his project. The king joined his brother, and Daun fell back as far as Zittau. But the king soon after separated from his brother, and shewed a design of cutting off Daun's communication with Bohemia, while Daun shewed a design of cutting off his with Silesia. In this case a battle seemed inevitable; and Daun resolved to bring it on the first advan-

* Of two regiments, which before the battle consisted of 4595 effective men, there were only 1475 left.

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tageous opportunity, lest the time for action should be lost, and he obliged to entirely abandon Saxony, and thereby give up the fruits of the campaign. At this time the king of Prussia was encamped at Hohkirchen, a village in Lusatia. Daun, in the dead of a dark night (Oct. 14) favoured by a thick fog, silently marched to the Prussian camp, and at five o'clock in the morning he attacked the Prussians in the most intrepid manner and with the greatest regularity. They were entirely surprized; they run to their arms, some half naked: marshal Keith mounted his horse, and putting himself at the head of a corps on the right wing, where the heat of the action lay, made a very gallant resistance, which afforded the king of Prussia an opportunity to form the left wing, before it should be disordered by any sudden efforts of the enemy. Keith maintained a bloody and desperate conflict three hours amidst all the horrors of darkness, confusion, carnage and despair, against superior numbers, who were continually supported by fresh troops: three times was the village lost and won: he rallied the broken regiments, and every time charged with the utmost ardour; but all that he could do could not prevent a defeat. About nine o'clock he was shot through the heart; he instantly fell on the field, and his body was left to the Austrian irregulars, who stripped it. At the beginning of the action a cannon ball took off the head of prince Francis of Brunswick, as he was mounting his horse. Thus fell two gallant and distinguished officers. Prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner. When Keith was slain, the right wing was soon defeated. The king then gave up all hopes of recovering the

ground. He ordered a retreat, which he effected in tolerable order, by the good countenance of his cavalry and the heavy fire of his artillery. He lost at least 7000 men, with all his tents, great part of his baggage, and some cannon; but the death of marshal Keith was his greatest misfortune; the rest he could repair. The loss of the Austrians, according to their own account, amounted to 5000 men. Marshal Daun, however, did not derive the advantages from this stratagem which he expected. It is true he foiled the king of Prussia, and that monarch suffered in his reputation by it; but this added nothing to the cause. He hoped to have been able to take some towns in Silesia; and with this view he previously sent detachments into that country, one of which had laid siege to Neifs, and another formed a blockade round Cossel. His aim now was to cover those attempts. The king soon recovered of his disaster, and drew reinforcements from his brother in Saxony. He by several masterly movements and rapid marches opened his passage into Silesia, and thus crushed in a moment all Daun's boasted advantages of the battle of Hohkirchen. General Laudon was detached after him; but the king continued his march: he relieved Neifs and Cossel. When Daun found he could not hinder the king from entering Silesia, he bent his thoughts towards Saxony: he resolved to take Dresden, and approached the suburbs with an army of 60,000 men. The garrison, commanded by count Schmettau, amounted to about 12,000. The city being but poorly fortified, and the governor, who was determined to hold the place to the last extremity, considering that if the enemy gained possession of

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the suburbs, they might easily command the city, resolved to set fire to them; which was done in the morning of the 10th of November, and about 250 houses were consumed, the inhabitants of which nearly lost their all, and some their lives. This fire, which in part laid waste the capital of Saxony, rendered marshal Daun's project of a *coup de main* impracticable, and regular approaches demanded more time than he could now spare. The king of Prussia was in full march to relieve Saxony, where he arrived on the 20th of November, which obliged marshal Daun to retire into Bohemia, and there take up his winter-quarters. The army of the empire had entered another part of Saxony, and formed some attempts on Torgau and Leipzig; but they were frustrated about the same time, and the assailants obliged to retire. In the mean time the Swedes, who had been drawn into the confederacy against the king of Prussia by the influence of the Russians, had acted but a trifling part. Their army made some ineffectual efforts to gain Pomerania; for a while they were successful, but afterwards they were obliged to abandon all and retire. Not the least spark now appeared of that military genius, for which the Swedes have been formerly renowned. Thus did the king of Prussia, by his consummate skill and vigilance, baffle all the efforts of his numerous enemies, and obliged them to set down at the end of the campaign with the loss of many thousand men and without having gained one inch of ground. It will amaze posterity when they read, that this prince, with only the assistance of a subsidy which he drew from England, so bravely withstood

so

so many armies, and frustrated the designs of such a powerful confederacy †.

C H A P.

† The Dutch having for some time carried on an illicit trade for the French, under colour of their own neutrality, several of their ships were this year taken by the English cruisers and privateers; upon which they had recourse to false bills of lading, and other arts, to prevent future discoveries; but their ships were still taken, and, after proper examination, condemned in great numbers in both America and Europe. The Dutch thus, in a great measure, deprived of the advantages they hoped to derive from this sly and illegal method of carrying on the French trade, raised loud clamours all over Holland against the rigour of the English ministry, who warmly expostulated with the Dutch deputies on the subject. The Hollanders finding that the court of Great Britain was not to be intimidated; that no remonstrances could regain their contraband commodities; that there was a spirit in the principal servant of the crown, which they perceived would be dangerous to provoke too far; and that the power of Great Britain, under his direction, was become so respectable, they could have no hopes to cope with it; at length gave up the point, and set down with their losses, and though they afterwards continued to carry for the French, yet she did it but sparingly.

On the 23d of November the British parliament met. As no change of measures seemed likely to happen, the fate of the campaign not having disposed any of the belligerents to pacific sentiments, it was apparent, that the only way to procure a lasting peace was to continue the war with the same vigour; upon which the commons, with the greatest cheerfulness and unanimity, voted the supplies, which amounted to 12,761,310*l*. It is an illustrious and everlasting monument to the minister's honour, that this sum, which exceeded any that had ever been granted in that house before, was given with pleasure and harmony: such was the unparalleled confidence of the representatives, and of the whole people, in *one* man, whose integrity and zeal for his country's welfare they did not doubt; and of whose spirit and abilities for humbling the enemy they had already seen such examples, that they could not but rely on his known honesty

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C H A P. XI.

Affairs in America.

AS the enemies power in America had received a considerable blow by the reduction of Louisbourg, great expectations were formed from a continuance of the war in that quarter. An expedition was planned against the capital of Canada, and the command of the land forces was given to an Englishman, whose genius was modelled by nature for ardour and enterprize; whose active spirit and enterprizing soul promised advantage to the public. The late success in America had been in a great measure owing to the well timing of the operations, in being early in making attempts on the enemy before they could possibly receive any assistance from Europe. The same steps were again pursued. In the month of February a fleet was dispatched from England, commanded by the admirals Saunders and Holmes. It was concerted, that while this fleet, with a number of troops on board, commanded by general Wolfe, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, general Amherst, with another considerable body, should proceed over land in America, and join general Wolfe, in order to jointly attack

nefsy and watchful eye to the British power and interest. This was not the conduct of faction, but that of the whole people, who were roused by his intrepidity and vigilance to revenge their wrongs on a perfidious enemy.

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Quebec, the capital of Canada; and that while these operations were performing, a third body of troops, commanded by the generals Prideaux and Johnson, should advance by Niagara to Montreal, the second principal place in Canada. Such was the plan for reducing that great province. The fleet arrived at Halifax, where having taken on board the troops, in number about 8000, destined for the expedition, sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and in the month of June general Wolfe landed on the isle of Orleans (not so high up as Quebec) of which he took possession, and also of the point of the continent, which lay opposite, called Point Levi. Quebec at this time was tolerably well fortified, the garrison reinforced, and the town covered by an army of 10,000 men commanded by the marquis de Montcalm. As the defence of Quebec was thus so well provided for, the general did not hope to reduce it, therefore he resolved to attack some intrenchments which the enemy had thrown up at Montmorenci. For this purpose the grenadiers were landed on the beach with orders to form upon it, and wait till they were reinforced; but such was their ardour, that as soon as they were landed they unsupported rushed on the enemy, who being greatly superior, they were repulsed and thrown into disorder*. The loss

was

* In this attack captain Otcherlony and lieutenant Peyton (both of general Monckton's regiment) were wounded, and fell before the enemy's breast-work.—The former mortally, being shot through the body; the latter was wounded only in his knee.—Two savages pushed down upon them with the utmost precipitation, armed with nothing but their diabolical knives. The first seized on captain Otcherlony, when Mr. Peyton, who

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was considerable ; but to prevent its being greater, the general ordered them to retreat. This miscarriage was a very discouraging circumstance. There appeared on every side such a number of difficulties to be surmounted, that the general's only hope seemed to be in the success of this attempt. The failure made a great impression on his mind. His aggravation threw him into a dangerous illness, his mind was too great to brook with any misfortune that might expose him to reproach or censure. In the transports of his chagrin and affliction he was heard to say, he would never return unless he was victorious. The hope, however, of still being able, through some resource, to execute his orders, revived his spirits, and he began to recover ; upon

lay reclining on his fusée, discharged it, and the savage dropt immediately on the body of his intended prey. The other savage advanced with much eagerness to Mr. Peyton, who had no more time than to disengage his bayonet, and conceal its disposition, With one arm he warded off the purposed blow, and with the other stung him to the heart : nevertheless the savage, though fallen, renewed his attempts, insomuch that Mr. Peyton was obliged to repeat his blows, and stab him through and through the body. A straggling grenadier, who had happily escaped the slaughter of his companions, stumbled upon captain Otcherlony, and readily offered him his service. The captain, with the spirit and bravery of a Briton, replied, ' Friend, I thank you !—but with respect to me, the musquet, or scalping knife, will be only a more speedy deliverance from pain. I have but a few minutes to live. Go—make haste—and tender your service, where there is a possibility it may be useful.' At the same time he pointed to Mr. Peyton, who was then endeavouring to crawl away on the sand. The grenadier took Mr. Peyton on his back, and conveyed him to the boat through a severe fire, in which Mr. Peyton was wounded in the back, and his rescuer near the shoulder.

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which he transmitted an account of his operations to the minister. Then he ordered some of the ships up the river, being determined to make his efforts on that side the town: Admiral Holmes, who commanded these ships, on board of which was general Wolfe with about 5000 troops, was ordered to go further up than the place he intended to land at, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way; and so far it answered, that Montcalm sent 1500 men to watch this fleet; while admiral Saunders made a feint, as if he intended to attack the enemy's intrenchments below the town. On the 13th of September, at one o'clock in the morning, the troops were put into the boats, and under cover of the ships glided softly down the stream to the place of landing; where with admiral courage, but great difficulty, they landed, and ascended, after the example of the general, one by one, the woody precipices; and at length gained the summit, which is called the Heights of Abraham. Here they were formed, and drawn up in regular order before day light. This situation commanded the town. Montcalm now saw that he must hazard a battle: he instantly put his troops in motion, and advanced up to the English. General Wolfe placed himself in the front line of the center, in order to animate the troops by his example. The right and left wings were commanded by the generals Monckton, Murray, and Townshend. He ordered his men to reserve their fire, till the enemy were very close, which being done, was then discharged, and it made terrible havock among them: the bayonet was immediately made use of, which greatly increased the slaughter. The English had only fired twice, when the enemy began to fall into disorder
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and give ground. At this critical minute general Wolfe was killed by a shot in the breast*. The French

* The circumstances attending the death of this young hero are too affecting to be passed over. He first received a wound in the wrist; but that he might not discourage his troops, he wrapped it up in his handkerchief, and encouraged his men to advance: soon after he received another ball in his belly; this also he dissembled, and exerted himself as before; till he received a third in his breast, under which he at last sunk.—Crowned with conquest, he smiled in death.—His principal care was, that he should not be seen to fall, ‘Support me,’ said he to such as were near him; ‘let not my brave soldiers see me drop:—the day is ours:—oh! keep it.’ He was immediately carried behind the ranks. As he lay struggling with the anguish and weakness of three grievous wounds, he was only solicitous about the certainty of the victory. He begged one who attended him to support him to view the field; but as he found that the approach of death had dimmed and confused his sight, he desired an officer who was by him to give him an account of what he saw. The officer answered, that the enemy were broken: he repeated his question a few minutes after with much anxiety, when he was told, that the enemy were totally routed, and that they fled in all parts. ‘Then I am satisfied,’ said he, and immediately expired. His death was universally lamented by his country, and envied by all who had a true relish for military glory. Undebted to family or connections, unsupported by intrigue or faction, he had accomplished the whole business of life, at a time when others are only beginning to appear; and at the age of thirty-five, without feeling the weakness of age or the vicissitude of fortune, having satisfied his honest ambition, having completed his character, having fulfilled the expectations of his country, he fell at the head of his conquering troops, and expired in the arms of victory, covered with laurels, green in age, but ripe in glory. When the news of the victory arrived in England, together with the death of the general, there was a mixture of grief and pity in the public congratulations, as was very singular and very affecting. One little circumstance deserves to be noticed. The mother of general Wolfe was an object

French general was slain likewise, upon which the enemy fell into utter confusion, and abandoned the field of battle. The English lost about 500 men,

ject marked out for pity by great and peculiar distress: she had experienced the dutiful son and amiable domestic character, whilst the world admired the accomplished officer. But a few months before she had lost her husband; and now she lost this son, her only child. The inhabitants of the village where she lived unanimously agreed to admit no illuminations or firings, or any kind of rejoicings, near her house, lest they should seem by an ill-timed triumph to insult her grief. This was a justness of sentiment rarely to be found, even amongst persons of rank. His death was no less affecting to another lady, to whom he was to have been espoused at his return. On this occasion the minister himself condescended to write a letter to Mrs. Wolfe, couched in such terms as to afford consolation for the loss of him, whose blood had been spilt in the service of his country. And such was Mr. Pitt's gratitude and desire to do justice to the memory of this brave executor of his plan, that when the parliament met, he, with that energy of eloquence peculiar to himself, expatiated on the transcendent merit of the general, his conduct during the operations, his surmounting by abilities and valour all obstacles of art and nature, his resolution in landing, his courage in the field, his loss to the public, the importance of the conquest, the blow given to the enemy, and the glory to Britain: and then he made a motion for a resolution to present an address, desiring his majesty would order a monument to be erected in Westminster-abbey to the memory of the deceased general. In this motion he was seconded by William Beckford, Esq; whom he had the pleasure to number among his friends; who remarked, that in the appointment of general Wolfe to that expedition, there had been no parliamentary interests, no family connexions, no aristocratical views; that the general and the minister seemed to have been made for each other, and that there were some circumstances almost similar between them; Wolfe lost his life, and the minister had hazarded his head for his country, &c. The resolution was unanimously agreed to; but the monument has not been yet erected.

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and the French about 1500; but the death of general Wolfe was to the English the greatest misfortune: it was an event particularly grievous to his country, though to himself the happiest that can be imagined. Officers may be formed by experience; but a genius in war, a soul like his, can never be repaired. Five days after the battle, the city of Quebec surrendered to general Townshend, on whom the command had devolved. It is particularly worthy observation, that the conquest of Canada was owing to the singular ardour and intrepidity of general Wolfe: it was he, and *he only*, which formed that desperate resolution of landing, and climbing the Heights of Abraham. This brought on the battle; and thus was Quebec conquered. Had a commander of an ordinary capacity been employed in this enterprize (such as Britain has frequently seen entrenching themselves in excuses and punctilios) he would have been staggered by the difficulties, discouraged by the repulse at Montmorenci, and judged the landing impracticable. Thus would the great scheme have been defeated, a whole season lost, and the national treasure thrown away in equipping a fruitless expedition. What praises, what honours, what rewards, therefore, are due to him, who by his *single opinion* prevented all this, and added to the British crown one of the brightest gems it ever wore? In the mean time general Amherst advanced to Crown Point, which as well as Ticonderoga, the enemy abandoned on his approach: then he prepared to cross the lake Champlain, and dislodge a numerous body of French troops, which lay intrenched at the bottom of the lake, in order to open the communication with general Wolfe; but by the time he had made his preparations,

and

parations, the stormy season was set in; and when he embarked, hoping to effect his designs, the weather was so cold and tempestuous, he was obliged to turn back, and postpone the remainder of his operations till the next campaign. Thus the great end of assisting general Wolfe was not accomplished; and that general was, as we have seen, left to the exertion of his single strength. The third part of the plan was more successful. General Prideaux advanced to fort Niagara, which by its excellent situation commands the extensive territory inhabited by the Iroquois Indians: he laid siege to it; but while the operations were carrying on, he was killed before the place by the bursting of a cohorn; upon which the command devolved upon general Johnson. The French, well knowing the importance of the fort, notwithstanding their distressed and distracted condition, collected a body of troops and Indians, and advanced to its relief; but general Johnson, who is extremely well acquainted with all the Indian methods of making war, and taking advantages of the ground, bushes, &c. gave them a warm reception, and in less than an hour totally defeated them: then he summoned the fort, and obliged the garrison, amounting to 600 men, to surrender prisoners of war that evening. Such was the second campaign in America, by which the English gained possession of Quebec, the capital of Canada; drove the French from their strong holds at Crown Point and Ticonderoga; and took fort Niagara, which opened the road to Montreal, the second principal place in Canada, and the only one which the French now held in that great province.

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The plans for reducing the French in America were not confined to the continent only: the islands were objects equally great in his views. He sent a fleet of ten ships of the line from England, commanded by commodore Moore, and six regiments of infantry, under the direction of general Hopson, to attack Martinico, the conquest of which had been represented to him as extremely practicable. But when the ships appeared before the island, which was in the month of January, and had landed the troops upon it, the forts were found to be much stronger than had been supposed: at which time a difference arose between the two commanders concerning the conveyance of the cannon; upon which the troops were re-embarked. It was then judged proper to sail away for Guadaloupe, in hopes of better fortune. On the 23d of January they appeared before Basse-terre, which was cannonaded and bombarded by the fleet, till it was in many places set on fire: the flames continuing to consume the town all that and the following day, the inhabitants and troops at length quitted it, and fled into the mountainous part of the country: the English troops then were landed; but the climate being extremely unhealthy, great numbers were carried off by sickness and fevers; among whom was general Hopson. The command devolved upon general Barrington; who having taken possession of several places, embarked the troops, and sailed round the island to other parts, where he reduced all the principal towns; and on the first day of May obliged the two islands, which together are called Guadaloupe, to surrender. This valuable conquest was but just made, when a French squadron appeared off to its relief; but the commander

mander finding he was too late, failed away without attempting any thing; though had he came but a day sooner, he had probably saved the islands. Before the end of the month the island of Marigalante surrendered. The news of such a series of successes, so advantageous to England, and destructive of the power of the enemy, were received with raptures of joy; and the people turned to the minister as to a divinity, who had wrought miracles in their favour.

C H A P. XII.

Affairs in Asia.

IN this quarter the English were as successful as the warmest friends could wish. Considering the enemy's superiority, it was impossible to prevent Lally's laying siege to Madras; for which we left him last year making preparations. The French army advanced to the place, but one of their regiments was roughly handled by colonel Draper, who sallied out of the town to impede their approach: he fought bravely, * but the enemy's

* In this attack major Pollier, who had commanded at fort St. David's, was mortally wounded. He had been tried by a court martial concerning his surrender of that place: his personal behaviour

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my's fresh reinforcements at length obliged him to retire. The garrison of Madrafs was at this time commanded by colonel Lawrence, and the town by governor Pigott, who both provided every thing in their power to defend the place to the last extremity. On the 6th of January 1759, Lally opened the trenches against it. He maintained a heavy fire for some time, and advanced very near the glacis; he poured his bombs into the town in order to set fire to the houses, and intimidate the inhabitants, but the vigilance and bravery of the English officers disappointed his expectations; and the fire of the garrison was so warm as to oblige him to abandon some of his batteries. In the mean time Major Caillaud, with a few Europeans and a body of the country forces, hovered on the skirts of Lally's army, and greatly embarrassed him, as well as retarded the operations of the siege: he cut off Lally's supplies, repulsed several of his detachments, and kept him in continual alarm. At length Lally was so provoked by this flying camp, which he said was like the flies, no sooner beat off from one part than they came to another, that he resolved to send out such a large force as

behaviour was much commended; but the court thought he acted injudiciously in defending some out posts, when he ought to have collected his little force within the fort; and they said he might have held out longer. To wipe off this disgrace he was for fighting on every future occasion, whether proper or not. In this affair he was a volunteer. He was certainly a brave man; but too hasty and passionate, which sometimes occasioned much uneasiness to himself and those about him. He had served the East-India company on many occasions with reputation; and it is thought that the ill opinion which he entertained of the garrison was the principal cause of his delivering up fort St. David.

would

would crush them effectually : but he was disappointed, for the English made so brave a stand, that his troops gained no material advantage. Chagrined by this event ; by the obstinate defence and the superior fire of the garrison, which obliged him gradually to decrease his own ; by the villainous arts of the commissaries and contractors, who had engaged to supply his army ; he, in the wild transports of rage and despair, resolved to raise the siege and resign his command of the army. This was on the 14th of February ; when he wrote a letter to M. de Leyrit, governor of Pondicherry, containing his resolutions : but his messenger who was carrying it fell into the hands of Major Caillaud,* who sent it into Madras, and thereupon

* The letter is curious, because it is truly picturesque of the chagrin and mortification of the writer ; therefore we shall insert a correct translation of it :

From the camp before Madras, the 14th of February, 1759.

‘ A good blow might be struck here : there is a ship in the road, of 20 guns, laden with all the riches of Madras, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The expedition is just arrived ; but M. Gorlin is not a man to attack her, for she has made him run away once before. The Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas ; and on the vague report of 13 ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright, and after landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough even to take on board twelve of her own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

‘ If I was the judge of the point of honour of the company’s officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some others of them.

‘ The Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the aforesaid Bristol, with her 12 guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make

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thereupon came nearer in order to harrafs the enemy. Lally had not time to burn the Black Town

‘ themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage
‘ so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and
‘ Tremillier are said to be good men; and were they employed
‘ only to transport 200 wounded men, that we have here, this
‘ service would be of importance.

‘ We remain still in the same position: the breach made these
‘ 15 days; all the time within 15 toises of the wall of the
‘ place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

‘ Precken we shall, at our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour
‘ to learn some other trade, for this of war requires too much
‘ patience.

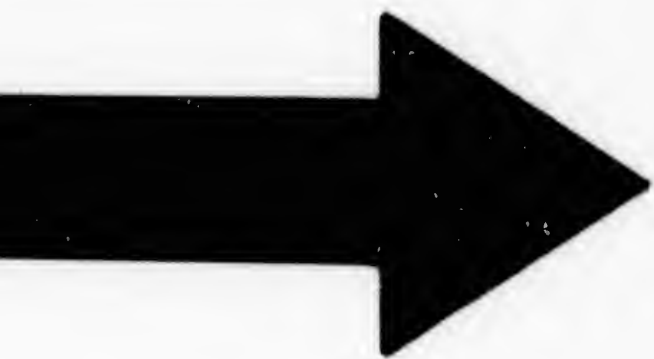
‘ Of 1500 Cipayes which attended our army, I reckon near
‘ 800 are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with
‘ sugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they
‘ are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we
‘ came here.

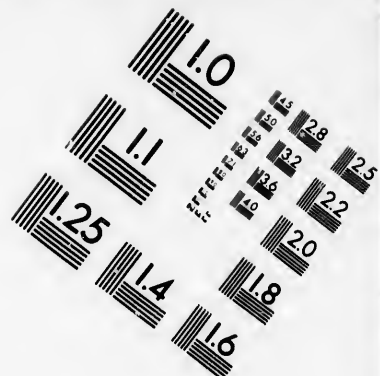
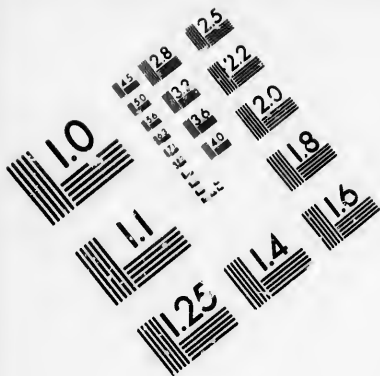
‘ I am taking my measures from this day, to set fire to the
‘ Black-town, and to blow up the powder mills.

‘ You will never imagine, that 60 French deserters, and 100
‘ Swifs, are actually stopping the progress of 2000 men of the
‘ king’s and company’s troops, which are still here existing, not-
‘ withstanding the exaggerated accounts that every one makes
‘ here, according to his own fancy, of the slaughter that has been
‘ made of them; and you will be still more surprized, if I tell
‘ you that, were it not for the two combats and four battles we
‘ sustained, and for the batteries which failed, or, to speak more
‘ properly, which were unskillfully made, we should not have lost
‘ 50 men, from the commencement of the siege to this day.

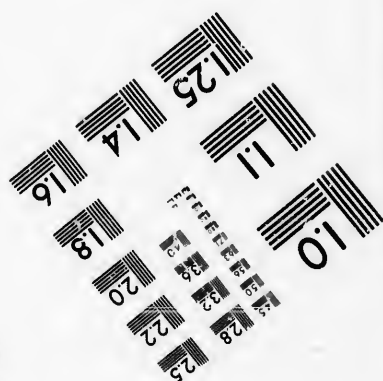
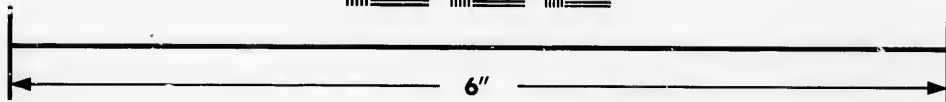
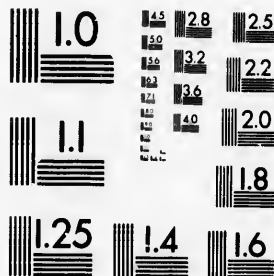
‘ I have wrote to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not com-
‘ ming here, let who will raise money upon the Paleagers for me,
‘ I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a month
‘ ago I would) meddling, directly or indirectly, with any thing
‘ whatever, that may have relation to your administration, whe-
‘ ther civil or military: for I had rather go and command the
‘ Caffres of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it







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Town, as he intended, for a man of war and a company's ship arriving in the road on the 16th with succours, he precipitately retreated in the utmost haste and left his artillery behind him. Thus was Madras saved after a siege of nine weeks. A part of the garrison, commanded by the Major Brereton, failed out after him, but were for some time too weak to undertake any thing of importance. At length, in the month of September, they resolved to attack him in his strong camp at Wanderwash, but they met with a severe repulse, and were obliged to retire in confusion. Captain Maitland, who commanded an expedition to Bombay, had better success. He dispersed the French troops, took the town of Surat by assault, and obliged the castle to surrender. In the mean time admiral Pococke and M. d'Ache disputed the superiority of the sea. On the 10th of September they came to an engagement off Pondicherry, which raged with great fury for the space of two hours; when d'Ache, finding himself unable to sustain Pococke's heavy

' is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy, sooner or
' later, even though that from heaven should not.

' I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

' LALLY.

' P. S. I think it necessary to apprise you, that, as M. de
' Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this
' army, which I have offered to him, and which he is impowered
' to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my
' commission, you must of necessity, together with the council,
' take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it
' back, either to Arcotte or Sadrasse. Send therefore your orders,
' or come yourselves to command it; for I shall quit it
' upon my arrival there.'

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and destructive fire, fled in the best manner he could. The English fleet however were too much damage to pursue; but soon after, being resisted, they went again in quest of the French, who descrying their approach off Pondicherry slipped out to sea, and avoided another engagement. Mr. Pitt, apprehensive that the enemy's additional force in the East Indies might seize some of the English settlements, dispatched a fleet from Europe, as soon as he heard of Lally's design to attack Madras, under the command of commodore Cornish, who about this time joined Admiral Pocoke, and gave such a superiority to the British power in the east, as in a little time after totally destroy the French force on the coast of Coromandel. Commodore Cornish brought with him a reinforcement of troops, commanded by colonel Coote, who took the command of the whole army, and prepared to make head against general Lally. He reduced Wandewash, and some other places of less in portance, before the end of the year.

The great extension of the British trade in this quarter of the globe, excited the jealousy and envy of the Dutch, who secretly formed a scheme for extirpating the English out of Bengal; they tampered with the nabob Jaffier Ali-Cawn, and he connived at their intentions. Their first aim was to engross the whole salt-petre trade; a part of which they enjoyed by their factory at Chinsurra, where they had a strong fort on the river Bengal, higher up than Calcutta. The governor of Batavia, having charged himself with the execution of this roguish action, chose the opportunity while the British squadron were absent; and having equipped seven ships, and put on board them 12,000 troops, on pretence of rein-

forcing the Dutch garrisons in Bengal, they sailed for the river of Bengal, and in October three of them arrived there. Col. Clive, who resided at Calcutta, having notice of their design, sent word to the Dutch commodore, that he could not allow them to land their forces and march to Chinsurra; but no sooner were the rest of the troops arrived, than the troops were landed, and began their march for Chinsurra. The Dutch commodore, by way of retaliating the affront, he pretended to have received, in being denied a passage to Chinsurra, took several English vessels on the river; and one of the Indiamen coming down at that time, he told the captain, that if he presumed to pass he would sink him; upon which the vessel returned to Calcutta, where colonel Clive ordered three Indiamen that were there to go down and fight the Dutch; and they obeyed this order with so much vivacity and courage, that they compelled three of the Dutch ships with the commodore to surrender; two ran away, and they drove the last ashore. In the mean time the Dutch troops were not more fortunate than their ships: colonel Clive detached colonel Forde, with 500 men, to oppose their progress; on the 25th of November he met with them and gave them battle with great resolution; in a short time they gave way, and were totally defeated: during this action, the nabob, with a considerable army looking on, observed a suspicious neutrality, and in all probability would have declared for the Dutch, had they proved victorious; but no sooner had the English gained the victory, than he offered them his service. The Dutch finding their whole scheme defeated, began to think of accommodating matters; a treaty was concluded, by which the ships were restored; and the pri-

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soners were released as soon as the Dutch factory at Chinfurra had given security to indemnify the English for the damage they had sustained. — How similar is this to the affair of Amboyna? how timid were we to let it pass unrevenge'd?

C H A P. XII.

Affairs in Germany.

THE inclinations of the powers at war were not the least altered at the beginning of this year from what they were at the close of the last: however, the plan of operations in Germany was something different; last year the king of Prussia and prince Ferdinand acted independently; this year they resolved to act in concert: it was designed to first destroy the Russian magazines in Poland, while prince Ferdinand should drive the French towards the Rhine, and getting them between them and the army of the empire, cut off their communication: prince Henry was to rush out of Saxony, and cut off the communication between the Imperialists and Austrians; and count Daun and the king of Prussia were left singly to oppose each other. The first of this plan was executed with success: so early as the month of February, the Prussian general Wobersnow, destroyed as many magazines in Poland, as would have subsisted 50,000 men for three months. In the month of April, prince Henry executed his part with equal celerity and good fortune; the king of Prussia making a motion, which drew the Austrians towards Silesia, the prince entered Bohemia, and turned the army of the empire into

into Voigtland, where he skirmished with them to advantage, and raised contributions in the country; he even disabled Franconia from giving them any assistance; but as he found prince Ferdinand had not succeeded, and the French army could succour them, he returned to his old situation in Saxony. Prince Ferdinand purposing to drive the French troops from Francfort, which they had illegally seized, and from which they derived no small advantage; as it secured to them the course of the rivers Maese and Rhine, by which they could receive supplies and refreshments, he, in the month of March, put himself at the head of a corps of the allies, and advanced to execute this design; but the duke de Broglio, with a considerable detachment of the French troops, posted himself in a very strong and judicious manner at Bergen, between Francfort and Hanau; which post, prince Ferdinand found it necessary to force, before he could penetrate to Francfort. Lord George Sackville, who commanded the British forces, protested against such an attack as rash and imprudent: however, prince Ferdinand ordered the prince of Isenbourg to attack the enemy's intrenchments, which he did with great intrepidity, and was repulsed; twice more he returned to the charge, and in the latter fell, with near 2000 of his countrymen. Prince Ferdinand, finding it impossible to force this post, withdrew, while the French with a prodigious superiority obliged him to retreat, and act on the defensive until the month of August; when having followed him to the town of Minden on the Weser, M. Contades, who was still the French commander, resolved to give him battle; the vicinity of the two armies, for several days, had made prince Ferdinand apprehensive

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apprehensive of such a step; but he did not expect it on the day it happened: he was conscious, that they intended to deprive him of the course of the Weser; and that was one of the principal advantages they expected to derive from an action: therefore general Wangenheim, with a considerable corps, was entrenched at Dodenhausen, on the banks of the Weser, while the rest of the army was encamped at a small distance near the village of Hille. On the last day of July Contades gave his orders for fighting; he directed the duke de Broglio to march in the dead of the following night and early in the morning to force Wangenheim, who it was apprehended was not strong, and place himself between the allied army and the Weser, while Contades should, on a sudden, surprize the prince in front. Broglio, to his great astonishment, found Wangenheim's troops drawn up in excellent order, entrenched and defended by a numerous artillery; this discovery put a stop to his operations. About the same time Contades fired upon Hille, which alarmed the allies, who forthwith put themselves in order, expecting the French were come to give them battle; but finding them not so near as they had apprehended, they advanced to the plain of Minden, and there saw the enemy. Broglio attacked Wangenheim with great vivacity; but the artillery was so admirably served against him, that his troops recoiled, and he found it necessary to retire. Contades directed his cavalry to charge the allied infantry, whom he perceived to be advancing: here the brunt of the action fell: six regiments of English infantry and two battalions of Hanoverian guards sustained the efforts of the whole French centre, consisting of horse, the flower of their cavalry

and the strength of their army, with a resolution and expertness in their manœvre, as perhaps never was equalled. During this conflict, orders were sent to the British and Hanoverian horse on the right, commanded by lord George Sackville, divided from the infantry by a wood, to come up and sustain the infantry; but the commander apprehending these orders to be not sufficiently explicit and consistent, he hesitated in the execution, by which it is believed by some, that the precious moment was lost; the British infantry having defeated the French cavalry, and there was no horse at hand to effectually finish the work. Others say, that had these orders been immediately obeyed, his lordship could not come up time enough to have had any share in the action*. There was a strange confusion this day; the

* We shall not pretend to give our own opinion in this nice point, but only endeavour to elucidate it as far as we are able. It is supposed, that lord G—— S—— had early in the campaign, shewn a dislike to prince Ferdinand's plan of operations, and from hence arose a difference between them; the English officer was said to be haughty in his behaviour, and always carried himself with that spirit of independence, that scorns to pay servile court to foreign hirelings; his extensive understanding, penetrating eye, and inquisitive spirit, could neither be deceived, dazzled, or soothed into tame acquiescence: this was diametrically opposite to what the German general would have been glad to have found; the opportunities which he had of making a fortune would not have been opposed, had the commander of the *pay-all* been a docile pliant tool, whom he might make to believe whatever he pleased, and mould into all his views. By exhibiting many marks of a prying disposition, L— G— at length became so disagreeable to the commander in chief, that nothing seemed to be so eagerly desired as an opportunity for removing him: hence it has been supposed, that the German general determined

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the artillery had no orders till very late, and the engineers were galloping about the field in quest of orders,

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terminated in the first battle to so manage in sending his orders to him, as to puzzle him in the execution of his duty. For which end it was affirmed, that during this action two expresses were sent to the English officer, almost at the same instant, the one for him to march with the cavalry under his command, which was begun to be obeyed; when a second express came [the intended puzzler] directing him to bring the British cavalry only. As this step would break the line, which lord George could not think the prince intended, he went to the commander, who ordered him to bring up the whole; but then it was pretended they were too late for service, and were therefore ordered to dismount, because they should not pursue. That this was a scheme to perplex lord G— has been gathered from an account of the battle published at the Hague, by the authority of P— F— himself, wherein it is expressly declared, that the cavalry on the right was not destined to sustain the infantry, and that if it had really been designed for action, it would have been posted in another place. It was asserted by the duc de Belleisle, that the evening before the action there was laid upon Ferdinand's table the order of the battle, precipitately drawn up by M. Contades himself; by which prince Ferdinand perceived that the French marshal was so impatient to give battle, that he had not taken care to secure the passes in case of a retreat. Without doubt Contades's impatience was the rock on which he split; but with regard to the order of battle, it is rather to be doubted than affirmed; for the circumstances of the action clearly shew, that the whole army of the allies, except the corps of Wangenheim, were surprized, and therefore prince Ferdinand had no such previous information. After the battle prince Ferdinand paid some compliments to several officers for their gallant behaviour; but although the English had the greatest share in obtaining the victory, yet he cast a cloud over their triumph in some expressions, that conveyed a severe reflection on lord G—: he in his letter of thanks required with an emphasis, that his orders for the future be punctually obeyed: he expressed his concern, that the marquis of Granby had not

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orders, when aid du camps ought to have spared them the necessity of quitting their stations: at length, lord George Sackville directed them to proceed to the front: were they were of the utmost service towards obtaining the victory. Contades, finding that his cavalry could not resist the British

the command of the British cavalry; and observed, that if it had been so, the action would have been more compleat. The oblique insinuation concerning the disobedience of orders, and the invidious compliment to a subordinate officer, were strong and, as some think, malicious reflections on the conduct of lord G— S—, because they contained nothing positive, which a brave and honest man, unconscious of design, would not have been afraid to assert. As soon as these dark and censorious implications were published in the London Gazette, the people were in an instant alarmed, they grew outrageous in their indignation against lord G—; he was branded by the rash multitude as a traitor and a coward: the German war being popular, the not having done any thing in Germany, was worse than neglecting the real national good in America. As soon as that extraordinary letter of thanks was given out lord G— S— resigned his command and returned to London, just when the flame was at its utmost height, and when every mouth was opened with execrations against him: here he had the mortification to hear the name of the German general extolled throughout the whole kingdom in raptures of exaggeration; and, as a mark of royal approbation, to hear of his being invested with the order of the garter, and presented with 20,000*l.* while his own was mentioned with the most virulent abuse, and himself dismissed from every employment he held under the government. After being acquainted with the particulars of his imputed guilt, he solicited, and at length obtained a trial, by a court martial, to whom it appeared, the orders of prince Ferdinand had not been obeyed; therefore he was adjudged unfit for future service, and the king ordered the sentence to be read at the head of all his troops, and struck him off the list of privy-counsellors.

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infantry, and that these troops broke every corps before them, ordered a retreat, which the duke de Broglie covered in a very excellent manner. The loss of the French amounted to near 7000 men, slain and prisoners; that of the allies exceeded 2500. The vanquished retreated across the Weser, and for want of subsistence precipitately fled towards Cassel: the allies took several towns in the pursuit, and laid siege to Munster; but the French by relieving it, set a bound to the progress of the allied arms, who left the enemy at the conclusion of the campaign, just where they had found them at the beginning.

Notwithstanding the destruction of the Russian magazines, early in the year, that power nevertheless puts its army in motion about the same time as usual; and these troops, numbered at 70000 men, commanded by count Soltikoff, prosecuted their march to Silesia. Count Dohna, who commanded the Prussian army in those parts, finding them too numerous for him to attack with any prospect of success, contented himself with watching their motions and harassing their march: though this conduct was extremely prudent and justifiable, yet the king of Prussia, fired with his usual precipitation and impatience, disapproved of it; upon which count Dohna resigned, and general Wedel was ordered to take the command of the army, and at all events to fight the Russians. Accordingly on the 23d of July he with 30,000 men attacked their advantageous post at Zullichau, near Crossen; and after maintaining the conflict with great resolution, though under many difficulties, for several hours, he retired with the loss of at least 8000 men; in consequence of which, the Russians gained possession of Crossen and Francfort
upon

upon the Oder. The king of Prussia, exasperated by this defeat, resolv'd to give them battle himself, and immediately seperated from his army a considerable corps, with which he began his march to join the troops of Wedel, leaving prince Henry with the remainder to observe count Daun; but this able general knowing the king of Prussia's design, detached a body of 12000 horse under general Laudon to the assistance of the Russians, and by extreme good fortune this junction was effected: however, the king of Prussia having assembled an army of 50,000 men, determined to give them battle: and accordingly, on the 12th of August early in the morning, he found the enemy in an entrenched camp at Cunnersdorff, defended by an incredible number of cannon; he attacked the left wing with great bravery, and after a bloody dispute of six hours, he mastered a defile and several redoubts, took a great number of cannon, and obliged the enemy to begin to retreat. At this juncture he dispatched a billet to his queen, couched in the following terms, "Madam, we have beat the Russians from their entrenchments: in two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." But he was deceived; the Russians were not yet defeated: they had retired indeed to a place called the Jews Burying Ground; but this was an eminence, and the most advantageous post, which in these circumstances they could have chosen: however, he resolv'd to drive them still further, though this enterprize was of a most difficult nature; his generals perceiving this rashness, unanimously represented to him, the imprudence of attempting to push the advantages they had gained any further; the enemy, said they, were still numerous, had a vast artillery, the post which they

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they occupied was of great strength, his troops had been engaged a long time in the severest action they ever knew, and one of the hottest days they ever felt, were too much fatigued for such a new assault, that might even stagger fresh troops; they urged that the advantage which he had gained, would be as decisive in its consequences as that at Zorn-dorff; that the enemy would soon be obliged to retire into Poland, and he would be at liberty to act in other quarters where his presence was more necessary. All these excellent arguments weighed as nothing, he obstinately adhered to his fool-hardy resolution. Thus rejecting every thing that was prudent, and actuated by frenzy, he began a new attack which was beyond his strength. Now putting all to the hazard, his fainting army with some little remains of unexhausted ardor, fought against the enemy's impregnable situation. These feeble battalions being uncovered with cannon, because they could bring none up, and the enemy having recovered from their consternation, were repulsed with great slaughter, yet still did the king of Prussia, with a mad and inhuman perseverance, order them to return to the charge; when being routed with great slaughter, he in a wild ungovernable passion of despair and revenge, put the affair to the cavalry, notwithstanding the horses as well as the riders had been previously spent; they made several unsuccessful efforts, and being intirely broke, the Austrian cavalry which had hitherto been inactive, fell amongst them, threw them into utter confusion and completed their destruction; the remains of the army, which but lately had been victorious, were now seized with a panic, and dispersed in the best manner they were able, without any thoughts.

thoughts of preserving their baggage, cannon, or one single utensil; life alone was the prevailing consideration, and night preserved them from total ruin. The king had two horses killed under him, and several balls went through his cloaths. There was scarce a general, or even an inferior officer in his army that was not either killed or wounded. His loss was greater in this action than in any he had ever seen before; at least 19,000 of his troops were slain, a great number were made prisoners, all his baggage, cannon, and every thing he brought into the field, fell into the hands of his enemy. When he abandoned this horrible scene, he dispatched another billet to the queen, thus expressed, "Retreat from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." It is not difficult to conceive the terror and confusion this intimation produced at Berlin, in the midst of their rejoicings occasioned by the first messenger. The loss of the conquerors amounted to about 11 or 12,000 men. Next day the king of Prussia retreated over the Oder, and began to collect his fugitives; in a little time he recovered from his disorder, without any obstruction from the enemy, and drew a fresh train of artillery out of the stores at Berlin. He saw with joy and astonishment the enemy's forbearance to improve their victory; they, instead of overwhelming him with ruin, or advancing towards his capital, contented themselves with joining count Daun in Lusatia and holding consultations with that general; in which it is more than probable the Austrians were not willing the Russians should take possession of Brandenburg, therefore his safety flowed from this jealousy or disappointment.

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ment. In the mean time the army of the Empire had penetrated into Saxony, and reduced the towns of Hall, Leipzig, Torgau and Dresden. The king of Prussia apprehending the Russians had a design on Great Glogau, took post in such a manner as to cover that town; while count Daun suspecting that prince Henry of Prussia intended to retake Dresden, made a forced march in order to save that capital. The Austrians and Russians being thus separated, and the latter baffled in their scheme on Great Glogau, and beginning to think of retiring, the king of Prussia formed a plan for cutting off count Daun's retreat into Bohemia: he detached general Finck with 20,000 men to take possession of the defiles of Maxen behind the Austrians; which was no sooner done, than Daun reconnoitred his situation, and resolved to attack him; for this purpose he first secretly surrounded the Prussians, and on the 24th of November Finck perceived the enemy's approach on every side. In this emergency he began to think of foiling their attempt in some part, so as to obtain a retreat; for a whole day he made the most intrepid efforts to disengage himself, but it was impossible, the enemy's numbers had secured every avenue. Next morning he saw the enemy on every side presenting a wall of bayonets, through which it was madness to think of penetrating, considering his great loss on the preceding day; therefore he surrendered with the whole army prisoners of war. This was a terrible blow to the Prussian power in this present critical state; yet while the king of Prussia was staggering under it, he felt another: a body of his troops, posted on the Elbe opposite to Meissen, was on the 4th of December attacked by the Austrians, and between 3 and 4000 of them

were

were killed and made prisoners. While the king of Prussia was suffering under these misfortunes, he received a supply from prince Ferdinand, who detached the Hereditary Prince to his assistance, the king hoping by this means to gain some advantage over M. Daun; but this general acting with so much caution, that he finding it impossible, the Hereditary Prince returned to the allies, who by this time had recommenced the siege of Munster, and reduced it. After these transactions all the armies went into winter-quarters.

C. H. A. P. XIII.

Naval and domestic affairs.

THE British naval transactions were as brilliant and successful as the most sanguine wish could desire. Though the French were in possession of the island of Minorca, yet the English squadron in the Mediterranean plainly evinced it was of little service to them; for notwithstanding the many pretended benefits arising from this possession, they could not protect their marine. Admiral Boscawen, who had succeeded admiral Osborn, appeared before Toulon, and though he received some damage from two forts which he attempted to destroy, yet it shewed the spirit and bravery of an English admiral. Having retired to Gibraltar to rest, M. de la Clue, who commanded the French squadron in Toulon, seized the opportunity of sailing, hoping
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he should pass the Streights mouth unobserved, and then proceed to join the grand fleet at Brest, which the French had equipped with a view of invading England; but the vigilant Boscawen had stationed cruizers at several places to keep a good look-out, and give him timely notice of de la Clue's approach. Accordingly on the 17th of August signal was made of the enemy's being on the Barbary shore; upon which the English Squadron sailed in quest of them, and fell in with seven ships off Cape Lagos, the rest having separated in the night. Boscawen run along side the French admiral, and began a furious engagement; but being necessitated to change his flag, his antagonist in the interim escaped to the Portuguese shore: however two ships, one of 64, and the other of 74 guns, were taken, who had also run to the coast, another was bulged and burned, and de la Clue having quitted his ship, she was taken by the victors, who finding it impossible to get her off, destroyed her. This in some measure violated the neutrality of Portugal; but that power was in no condition to resent.

The French spent this summer in meditating and preparing an invasion of the British dominions: all their ports on the ocean were full of men of war, and transports, and flat-bottomed boats. They talked of a triple embarkation, one from Dunkirk against Scotland, under the direction of M^r Thurot, a bold adventurer, who, from a captain of a privateer, in which he had greatly annoyed the English trade, became a commodore in the king's service. The second from Havre de Grace against England, which being the shortest voyage, was to be attempted by flat-bottomed boats. The third, supposed to be against Ireland, was to be made from Vannes,

Vannes, where the troops lay encamped under the command of the duke d'Aiguillon, and were to be conducted by the Brest squadron, commanded by M. Conflans. Had this design been such as it was represented, and had put it into execution, there is no doubt but it would have caused great confusion. But the excellent measures taken by the British government, frustrated the projects of the enemy whatever they were. Thurot was blocked up in Dunkirk by a squadron commanded by commodore Boys. The brave and vigilant admiral Hawke, with a large fleet, confined Conflans in Brest; he likewise kept a watch upon the design at Vannes. Admiral Rodney was dispatched from England, with a proper squadron to bombard Havre de Grace, and destroy the preparations there, which service he performed with tolerable success. However, they continued their preparations with great celerity, and they seemed resolved at all events to hazard the transportation of a body of troops from Vannes. Even when winter approached, the same resolution was pursued, perhaps from an expectation that the tempestuous weather would compel the British navy to take refuge in their own harbours, and their fleets might then come out unopposed. This hope was not disappointed: Sir Edward Hawke was by a violent storm obliged to quit his station off Brest, and to come with his whole fleet to Torbay. The enemy availed themselves of his absence, and on the 14th of November put to sea. The whole English nation was alarmed, but not confused. And now the event of the whole war was to be put to the issue, for on the good or ill success of this stroke every thing depended. Admiral Hawke lost not a moment's time; he put to sea on the same day that

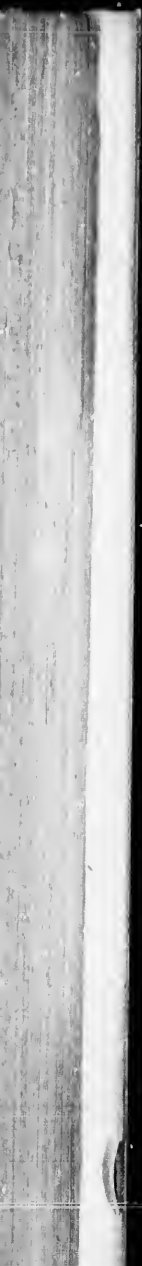
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Conflans did, and judging that the rendezvous of the enemy's fleet would be at Quiberon, he directed his course for that bay: after beating against an high wind some time, he at length saw the desired object in his reach, but his situation was extremely dangerous; the rocks, sands, and shoals, round about were innumerable; the British pilots knew nothing of the place, the wind blew a violent storm, and the waves ran mountains high. Some commanders would have been intimidated in these circumstances, but Hawke considered the public safety, and was animated. He ordered his nearest ships to the enemy to engage, which they did with great intrepidity. Conflans acted with ridiculous irresolution: he at first had two choices, either to fly, or stand and fight; for a while he followed the latter, but when it was too late, he pursued the former. Hawke, who was in the Royal George, ordered the fire of that great ship to be reserved for the French admiral, and directed his captain to carry her along side him; but a French ship of seventy guns generously put herself between them: here Hawke was obliged to bestow his fire, and at one broad side he sunk her to the bottom, with every soul on board: another French ship shared the same fate, and a third struck. The enemy's fleet fled on all sides, and night saved them from utter destruction. However, two of the English ships, in the eagerness of pursuit, ran upon a sand, and were lost. Seven of the French ships threw over their guns, and escaped up the river Villaine, and as many more put to sea. The night that succeeded this action was perhaps the most terrible that can be conceived; the wind blew a violent storm all night long, it was a pitchy darkness, and a dangerous
coast





A View of the Engagement between Admiral HAWKINS



Admiral HAWKE & Monsr. CONFLANS off Belle-Ile nov. 20. 1759.

coast surrounded them. A continual firing of distress guns was heard, but nobody knew whether they came from friend or enemy: the badness of the coast and the darkness of the night made the hearers equally unwilling and unable to seek to give any assistance. In the morning they perceived the French admiral had run ashore, as well as another ship; the first the enemy set on fire, and the other was burned by the victors. Thus the long threatened invasion, which was to repair the French losses in every part of the world, was defeated, and a finishing blow, for this reign, given to the naval power of France; for during it they never undertook any thing of consequence. The squadron of M. de Thurot for a little while had better fortune. He escaped out of Dunkirk, and proceeded northward. Commodore Boys, who had blocked him up in Dunkirk, pursued him as far as Scotland; but to no purpose; he took refuge in Bergen, where he remained on account of the boisterous weather till January 1760, when he set sail in great want of provision for the coast of Scotland: he landed on the island of Isla, where he was informed of the defeat of M. Conflans; having refreshed his men, and obtained a comfortable, though a small supply of provisions, he set sail for Ireland. On the 21st of February he effected a descent on that kingdom at Carrickfergus, and compelled a few troops in garrison there to surrender; he likewise extorted some contributions; but as a body of troops were assembling, he found it unsafe to remain on shore, and therefore re-embarked. While this adventurer continued in these northern seas, the coasts of the two kingdoms were filled with alarm; but these apprehensions dissipated in a few days. Captain Elliot, who

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who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, being informed by a dispatch from the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, of Thurot's situation, immediately set sail in quest of him, and on the 28th of February their squadrons, consisting of only three frigates each, came to an engagement off the isle of Man. During the conflict Thurot was killed, soon after which his ship surrendered, and the other two followed her example. These repeated disasters to the French fleet, as well as their losses in every part of the world, reduced them to the necessity of stopping payment of the following public debts, viz. 1. The three kinds of rents created on the posts. 2. Those constituted upon the chest of redemptions. 3. The coupons of bills on the same chest. 4. Those of the two royal lotteries. 5. The reimbursement of bills drawn to bear on the same chest: 6. The bills of the two royal lotteries. 7. The rents created on the two sols per pound of the tenth penny. 8. The reimbursement of the capitals of rents. 9. The payments of bills dischargeable in nine years, known under the name of annuities. 10. Those of the new actions on the benefit of the farms. 11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government, amounting to 1,233,000*l*.

On the other hand, the credit of Great Britain was risen to an astonishing height; the parliament met in the month of November, and having fixed the number of sailors to be employed in the ensuing year at 73,000, and that of the soldiers at 57,000; they granted for the maintenance of these forces, and other uses, the sum of fifteen millions, five hundred three thousand, five hundred and sixty-three pounds.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIV.

Affairs in Germany.

DURING the winter the kings of Great Britain and Prussia made offers towards a general pacification; but they had no effect; perhaps because the French hoped to retake some of the places they had lost, and thereby be enabled to insist on better terms than at this time they could expect. The empress-queen determined to exert her forces, in order to recover Silesia. General Laudohn, with 50,000 men, opened the campaign with the siege of Glatz; but finding his operations exposed to much annoyance from 23,000 Prussians, who were at Landshut, under the command of general Fouquet, he raised the siege, and attacked the Prussians on the 23d of June in their entrenchments. After a very warm dispute of five hours, in which both sides lost a great number of men, he at length forced them, and, except about 4000 of the Prussians who escaped, the vanquished, together with their commander, were all made prisoners. The conqueror then reduced Glatz. He next marched to Breslau, the siege of which he undertook; but prince Henry of Prussia advancing to its relief, obliged him to relinquish his designs. The king of Prussia, who was all this while in Saxony watching count Daun, finding that the enemy's great push was in Silesia, and that the Russians were advancing to join Laudohn, in order to reduce it, quitted Saxony, and

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marched for that duchy himself. Daun was no sooner informed of this movement, than he followed him with such expedition, that in a short time he gained two days march on him. The king perceiving his design frustrated, suddenly returned into Saxony, and immediately laid siege to Dresden. Daun finding himself duped by this stratagem, returned likewise, and obliged the king of Prussia to raise the siege. The affairs of Silesia now becoming critical, the Russians being on the point of joining Laudohn, the king resolved to march into that duchy at all events. Daun again followed him; but the king gained possession of a strong camp at Leignitz, which prevented the enemy gaining any material advantage over him at that instant. However, he had not remained long there, before he found himself in danger of being surrounded, and consequently exposed to a surprize: but he drew his enemies into the snare. It was concerted to surprize his camp, in like manner as had been done at Hohkirchen. He was aware of it, and therefore secretly quitted his camp; and when general Laudohn advanced to the attack, he fell upon him unexpectedly at three of the clock in the morning, and, after a conflict of three hours, totally defeated him with the loss of 8000 men. The scheme being thus frustrated, Daun turned his attention another way: he marched to Schweidnitz, and laid siege to that place. The king followed him, and obliged him to raise the siege. In the mean time the Russians, who could not, on account of Laudohn's defeat, effect their junction with the Austrians in Silesia, entered Brandenburg, and penetrated even to Berlin, where they levied heavy contributions, and committed the most cruel and horrid ravages.

vages. Notwithstanding his Prussian majesty had gained a great victory, he was still encompassed by his numerous adversaries; the army of the empire was in possession of Saxony; the Russians were on one side of him, and count Daun on another*. He knew not which way to turn, till at length hearing that the Russians were in possession of Berlin, he instantly marched to its assistance. But the Russians retired on his approach, and marched into Silesia, where they for some time threatened to lay siege to Breslau; but at length they retired into their own country, after having unsuccessfully attempted the reduction of Colberg. Count Daun had followed the king of Prussia out of Silesia. The king having reinforced his army with the troops which had defended Saxony and Brandenburg, began to meditate some important blow. Daun was at this time encamped near Torgau. The king resolved to put the event of the campaign to the hazard. He attacked Daun on the 3d of November, and after four vigorous assaults forced his camp, and obliged his troops to retreat in utter confusion. The Prussians lost about 3000 men, and the Austrians above

* In this uncomfortable situation he wrote a letter to the marquis d'Argens (author of the Jewish Spy) a native in France, who resided at Berlin under his protection, in which is this remarkable passage, confirming the opinion, that the French by their German engagements lost their settlements in the distant parts of the world: 'Well, my dear marquis, what is become of the peace with France? Your nation, you see, is more blind than you imagined. *Those fools lose Canada and Pondichery to please the queen and the czarina.* Heaven grant that a prince Ferdinand may well reward them for their zeal. The officers, innocent of these evils, and the soldiers, will be made victims, and the illustrious offenders will suffer nothing.'

twice that number. This defeat obliged count Daun to call general Laudohn out of Silesia, as he stood in need of reinforcement to prevent being drove into Bohemia. Silesia thus reverted into the hands of the Prussians. Both armies then took up their winter quarters in Saxony, and matters were thus put nearly on the same footing as at the opening of the campaign. The noble struggles made by the king of Prussia had foiled all the attempts of his adversaries.

The French grand army was this year commanded by the duke de Broglio, who had succeeded to that post on the disgrace of M. de Contades. Besides this army the French assembled another of 30,000 men, the command of which was given to the count de St. Germain. Broglio intending to penetrate through Hesse into Hanover, made some motions as if he would join St. Germain for that purpose: upon which prince Ferdinand resolved to prevent the junction, and ordered the hereditary prince, with the advanced guard of the army, to attack the enemy, which he did at Corbach, and met with a severe repulse; however he soon after retrieved his reputation, by attacking a party of the enemy at Exdorf, which had advanced on the left of the allies; Elliot's English light horse bravely distinguished themselves in this encounter. This corps of the enemy were routed; but Broglio did not seem to mind these actions: he effected his junction with St. Germain. However that officer conceived a disgust to him, and resigned his command, which was given to the chevalier de Muy. Broglio directed him to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, while he entered Hesse. De Muy took his posts near Warburg, where prince Ferdi-

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mand attacked him in both flank in rear, and obliged him to fly in the utmost precipitation, with the loss of 1500 men and some cannon. The marquis of Granby, who had succeeded to the command of the British troops on the resignation of lord George Sackville, greatly distinguished himself in this attack. While prince Ferdinand's attention was employed here, the duke de Broglio, without any difficulty, entered Hesse and took Cassel. To make amends for this, the hereditary prince undertook an expedition to the Lower Rhine, where he scoured the country, and took Cleves: he next invested Wesel, and would have taken the place had not his operations been retarded by heavy rains. When Broglio heard of this adventure, he detached M. de Castries with a large body of troops to drive the hereditary prince out of the country. These officers came to an action near Campen, when the French, by the advantage of the ground and superiority in numbers, defeated the allies, who lost 1600 men, chiefly British, among whom was lord Downe. The hereditary prince then repassed the Rhine, and joined the grand army; soon after which both armies went into winter quarters. All the advantage which the French could be said to have gained by their two armies this campaign, was only the possession of Hesse.

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C H A P. XV.

American and naval affairs.

THE French force in Canada, notwithstanding the conquest of Quebec, was still formidable. The fortifications of that city being in a ruined condition, general Murray, who was appointed governor of it, with 6000 men, began to repair them: but before this could be done, the marquis de Vaudreuil, the French governor of Canada, collected his forces together, and in the month of April gave battle to general Murray on the heights contiguous to the town; from which, by their vast superiority, they compelled him to retire, and throw himself into the town, which they immediately besieged. However, as soon as the river was open, a squadron of ships, under the command of lord Colville, who sailed up the river, obliged the enemy to raise the siege and retire to Montreal, the only place which the French held in Canada. Against this place general Amherst directed his motions; he assembled his troops as early as possible at Oswego, and embarked his forces on board a number of battoes, and sailed down the river St. Lawrence till he came to the island of Montreal, where he landed in the month of September; and next day the marquis de Vaudreuil proposed terms of capitulation for the surrender of all Canada, which were agreed to.

In the West-Indies commodore Holmes, who was stationed there, detached capt. Norbury, of the Hampshire, of 50 guns; the Boreas, capt. Uvedale, of 28; and the Lively, capt. Maitland, of 20, to intercept a fleet and convoy bound from Hispaniola to Old France. On the 18th of October the Boreas fell in with the French commodore of 32 guns, and, after an engagement of three hours, obliged him to strike. The Lively attacked the Vateur, another French frigate of 20 guns, and, after an engagement of an hour and a half, obliged her to strike. In the mean time the Hampshire engaged the Fleur de Lis and the Prince Edward, of 32 guns each, and run them ashore near Port au Prince, where they were entirely destroyed. There was another ship in company, which being a very swift sailer, escaped. They were all laden with indigo and sugar. The squadron stationed in the Leeward Islands, commanded by Sir James Douglas, were no less distinguished by their bravery. The ships Temple and Griffin being on a joint cruize, silenced the batteries defending one of the harbours in the island of Granada, and took out four privateers. They next entered another harbour, and took out three more ships. In their return to Antigua they fell in with 13 ships bound to Martinico, all which they took. The other ships of the squadron in cruising round Guadaloupe took nine French privateers. Thus did the English commerce in the West-Indies flourish under the protection of the commodores Holmes and Douglas.

In Europe, the fleet stationed on the coast of France blocked up all the French ports, and thereby put an almost entire stop to their commerce. Some of our ships took the little island of Dumet, which

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proved of considerable service to the fleet, by furnishing a sufficiency of water, which had been hitherto been sent by transports from England at a great expence to the nation.

In England great part of the summer was employed in making preparations for a grand expedition. A considerable fleet was equipped, and a body of land forces was assembled to be put on board; but all this served no other purpose than amusing the attention of the people; for *unfortunately* when this great armament, which had cost near half a million in preparations, was just ready to sail, his majesty George II. died *, upon which the whole design was laid aside.

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C H A P.

* His majesty expired at the age of 77, after a reign of 34 years. This event happened between the hours of seven and eight in the morning at Kensington. He had rose at his usual time without any apparent signs of indisposition. He called his page, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as if anxious for the arrival of the mails, which had then been detained in Holland a considerable time. He opened his window, and seeing it a fine day, said he would walk in the gardens. This passed while the page attended him at breakfast; but on leaving the room he heard a deep sigh, immediately followed by a noise like the falling of a billet of wood from the fire, and, returning hastily, found the king dropped down from his seat, as if in attempting to ring the bell, who said faintly, ' Call America, ' and then expired. He was instantly raised and laid upon the bed; the princess was called, who was told he was dead upon her entering the room; but being a little deaf, and her spirits hurried by the alarm, she did not understand what was said, and ran up to the bedside, and stooping tenderly over her father, as thinking he might speak to her in a low voice, she then first discovered he was dead: this shock so sudden, so unexpected, and so violent, threw her into an agony. His majesty
in.

in the fall received a small hurt on his temple, and his physicians and surgeons being sent for, came instantly to his assistance, but without effect. An attempt was made to bleed him, but the issues of life were dried up.

The cause of a monarch's death is always enquired into with such minuteness, that it may be thought necessary to give the following account of what appeared to the serjeant surgeons on opening the body. On opening the belly they found all the parts in a natural and healthy state, except that on the surface of the kidney there were some watry bladders, which, they said, could not have been at this time of any material consequence. On opening the breast, they observed the pericardium, or bag, which contains the heart, extraordinarily distended, which was owing to a large effusion of blood that had been discharged therein, from a rupture in the substance of the right ventricle of the heart. The quantity of the blood in the pericardium was at least a pint, the most part of which was strongly coagulated. The rupture of the ventricle, and the consequent effusion of blood in the pericardium, was certainly the immediate cause of his sudden death. The brain, lungs, and all the other parts, were in a perfect state. This case is said by the faculty to be of the most extraordinary kind, because he was of a healthy constitution, unaccustomed to excess, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be supposed to flow with a dangerous impetuosity.—We will now proceed to his character.

King George was in his person well shaped and erect, but he was rather below the middle size. His complexion was fair, his nose high, and his eyes large. His mein was majestic; and he wore age so extremely well, that time sat on his countenance with a grace; perhaps not a little owing to his regular way of living, which was temperate and extremely methodical. In his temper he was sometimes sudden and violent; however, he was merciful, and, on numberless occasions, humane; he has been censured as parsimonious, and this censure was not wholly without foundation. In the character of a soldier he appears with great lustre; he loved war, studied it as a science, corresponded on the subject with some of the best officers in Germany, and, above all, was personally brave. To say he was perfectly acquainted with our constitution, would, in the opinion of some men, be paying him as disputable a compliment, as to say he perfectly knew our language. However it must be acknowledged, he was a thorough statesman with regard to the
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affairs of Germany. It is true, his government seldom deviated from the established forms of law; yet it was distinguished by a close attention to the interests of Germany, and his mind marked by a strong affection for that country, and his reign was not less remarkable for German wars; in all which Great Britain was constantly plunged, either to trim the balance of power, or enter into trammels for the defence of the protestant religion. He lived to see the spirit of party extinguished, though it was not until the close of his reign, to enjoy the comfortable satisfaction of having his family firmly and immoveably seated on the throne, to experience the fullest measure of his peoples affection, and to see the intrepidity of his arms and the power of his kingdoms raised to a higher pitch of success and glory, than it was once thought they could possibly arrive at: when all these were accomplished, it was his earnest desire to see an end of the war, his disposition being naturally pacific. He was an enemy to no religion; he did not molest the free and full exercise of the powers of the human mind: among the many sects which divide and compose the people of Great Britain, this mildness and general toleration will endear a respect to his memory, which the followers of all opinions will not cease to pay: they will likewise respect him because he reigned so long, and they will not forget that during his government they enjoyed many internal blessings, and if we except one momentary storm of war (the rebellion of the Scots in 1745) an uninterrupted series of tranquillity.

He was succeeded on the throne by his grandson George III. under whose auspices the people, in their first and warm transports of loyalty and zeal, seemed to promise themselves more than human felicity. Their affections were not misplaced, because the object of them is good and gracious; but in their expectations they were disappointed. We stand too near the time to explain matters, therefore shall leave them to the future historian.

C H A P. XVI.

Affairs in Asia.

GENERAL Lally finding the tide of war turning fast against him, assembled all the French troops at Arcot, about the latter end of 1759, and resolved to retake Wandewash, as it was a place of the utmost consequence to both the French and English. Colonel Coote, determined to preserve it, began a forced march for its defence. The siege, however, was formed, and a breach made, before col. Coote approached. On the 21st of January, 1760, the British forces arrived within a small distance of the French, and it was resolved to give them battle instantly. The armies drew up, and the firing began about one o'clock. In less than an hour the left wing of the French army was totally routed by the bravery of major Brereton; upon which their right wing precipitately quitted the field, abandoning their camp, in which was found 22 pieces of cannon, to the victors. The French lost in this action upwards of 800 men. Among the prisoners was brigadier-general Bussy, who had but lately come from the kingdom of Bengal to reinforce Lally's army. The vanquished fled first to Chittiput, and having collected their fugitives, retreated in the best manner they were able to Pondicherry. In a few days col. Coote laid siege to Chittiput, and obliged the garrison to surrender prisoners of war. Major Monton was detached to reduce Timmerly, which he effected, and obliged the garrison

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garrison to surrender prisoners. In the mean time col. Coote marched to Arcot, which place he besieged, and by the 10th of February compelled to surrender at discretion.

These signal successes reduced the French to so low an ebb, that the chief inhabitants of their settlements and their military officers were on the verge of despair. Nothing could be a greater proof of their distress than their circulation of paper-money to their dependents and commercial friends, until it was refused: and in like agonies of extremity the inhabitants of their few remaining settlements were at different times obliged to deliver in their plate, even to their swords and shoe-buckles, that they might be coined into rupees, in order to maintain the troops, who were grown intolerably mutinous.

When colonel Coote had finished the conquest of Arcot, he was ordered to go to Bengal, where troubles were supposed to be again breaking out. Jaffier Aly Cawn was far from enjoying the esteem of the natives; and being conscious of this defect, he kept a numerous army about his person, which still made him more disagreeable; and as the natives of this country are extremely jealous of each others proceedings, besides there were still a great number of adherents to the late Salajud Dowla. The English indeed had not looked upon him in the same favourable light since the affair of the Dutch as before; they had found he was prying and deceitful. When colonel Coote began his march for Bengal, he left the direction of affairs on the coast of Coromandel to major Monson. This officer took the forts of Allumparvey, Permacoil, &c. Afterwards he laid siege to Karical, while rear-admiral Cornish blocked it up by sea. This fortress, which is ninety miles

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south from Pondicherry, was at this time the only settlement which the French had on the coast of Coromandel except Pondicherry, and on that account it was of the next importance. The squadron bombarded it furiously, while major Mason, finding it a regular fortification (built upon the plan of Lille in Flanders) attacked it vigorously, and in a short time obliged the garrison to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The French admiral M. d'Ache, who had failed to the islands of Mauritius, not only to repair the damages he had received from admiral Pococke in the engagements last year, but also to take in ship-stores and other necessaries, resigned his command to Count d'Estain, and returned to Europe. His successor, instead of going near the coast of Coromandel, set sail with part of the squadron to the island of Sumatra, in order to destroy the English settlements upon it, and he was so successful in this enterprize, that he ravaged, plundered, and destroyed almost the whole coast, with very little opposition. The little garrisons of the forts Bender-Abassi, Mascata, Nattal and Tappanopoly were made prisoners: at the last mentioned place he met with some resistance, and two or three small vessels were taken under these forts. Count d'Estain proceeded next to fort Marlborough, three miles east from Bencoolen. Unfortunately, a little before he approached, the Denham Indiaman had arrived there. Governor Carter persuaded Captain Tryon to stay before the place, as the enemy were every day expected, and his force would greatly add to the strength, and he hoped, the safety of the fort. On the 2d of April, 1760, Count d'Estain with two ships appeared before the fort; and as one of
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them, full of men, bore down upon the Denham, it was judged proper to set her immediately on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy; which was accordingly done, and the crew had just time enough to escape; they were kindly received into the fort, where, with this addition, the number of Europeans did not exceed 300 men. On the 3^d the enemy came to an anchor as near as possible to the fortification, and as they at first appeared under English colours, they continued them flying till four o'clock in the afternoon, when they began to cannonade the fort for about two hours, and then ceased. The fire was returned, but not to do them any damage, as governor Carter had only eight guns which could reach them. In the night the fort was abandoned, and next morning the enemy landed without opposition. Had they been attacked during their landing, or in their boats, before they gained the shore, there is the greatest probability to believe they would have been defeated; but the garrison had fled into the country, and devoted themselves up to despair; mean while the enemy took possession of fort Marlborough and the town of Bencoolen. On the Good-Friday the fugitives surrendered to the enemy, in order to avoid being cut to pieces by the natives, which they had reason to expect if they continued in that defenceless condition. The French commander promised that their effects and private property should be secured for them, but his proceedings were quite the contrary; he allowed his soldiers and sailors, who came thither in rags, to plunder and ransack all the houses, and put on the cloaths of the inhabitants, as well as to steal and put on board the ships all the moveable effects they could find. In June they were sent away

to Batavia, and from thence to Bengal ; but before they arrived at this latter place many died of the flux, occasioned by the bad food which they had from the French.

Immediately after the surrender of Karical, major Monson began his march for Pondicherry, and came within sight of this dernier resource of the French about the beginning of September. As Pondicherry was fortified by a boundary or chain of redoubts and intrenchments, it was determined to attack these first, that a regular siege might be carried on against the town itself. At day break on the 10th the major, with a party of Highlanders, landed from the Sandwich Indiaman, and a party of Draper's and Coote's regiments attacked the fort of Aracupong, about seven miles from Pondicherry : It was almost inaccessible, being defended by a thick wood lined with cannon and a large battery. The Highlanders attacked the enemy in the wood sword in hand, and drove them out ; the others reserved their fire till they came within sight of the French, when giving them a full discharge, they fled precipitately. The Highlanders cut through a hedge, and rushing upon the enemy's cannon, seized them immediately ; but unfortunately major Monson, who had put himself at the head of this little corps, in order to give greater spirit to the action, received a cannon-shot in his thigh, which broke it. The enemy perceiving the English in possession of their cannon abandoned the fort and fled to Pondicherry. Of the 22 pieces which were taken, 16 or 17 were loaded almost to the mouths with square bars of iron, at least six inches long, and lesser pieces of jagged iron, &c. Major Monson's misfortune prevented this advantage being made the best use of at present ;

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but colonel Coote was no sooner informed of this disaster, than he prepared to assume the command, and immediately began his march from Madras, (which he had reached in his way to Bengal) for Pondicherry. In a short time after his arrival the enemy were driven from all their outworks, and they had not a single post or redoubt but what were within the walls. He next formed the blockade, which was done in so effectual a manner, that there was not the least communication between the inhabitants of the town and the natives of the country. His army consisted of no more than 3,500 Europeans, and about 7000 sipoys. In the mean time the admirals Stevens and Cornish, with the fleet, formed the blockade by sea.

Thus was Pondicherry shut up on every side, so that it could not receive reinforcements or supplies from any part. Though no operations of a siege were yet carried on, nor the town in the least pressed from any quarter, yet a great number of deserters came from it, principally owing to the general dislike, and even hatred, which was shewn to Monsieur Lally, the governor. He had shot one of his officers, and hanged two others, for murmuring at his proceedings, which occasioned the number of deserters to increase considerably. It cannot be doubted that Lally was an excellent soldier, possessed great martial abilities, with an enlivening wit, and a large fund of good sense ; but all these qualities were obscured in a savage ferocity of temper, in which his mildest cruelties seemed like the transports of rage ; pride was in him, perhaps, carried to the highest pitch it ever was in any man : he despised every person that was below the character

rafter or dignity of a general, and his contempt of mankind brought the contempt and detestation of mankind on himself; yet, with all this haughtiness of spirit, he was a beast in his person, and was frequently known to wear the same shirt, stockings and slippers for weeks together.

As the monsoon season was every day expected to set in, colonel Coote thought it most prudent not to open any trenches against the town, till the tempestuous and rainy weather was over, but only to continue a strict blockade, which he was sensible must in time reduce the enemy to great hardships by the want of provisions. There being some ships in the harbour, which had got in at the beginning of the year, admiral Stevens judged it necessary to cut them out, to prevent their escaping to the islands, and returning to the garrison with supplies, which it was expected they would, as they were preparing to sail. Accordingly on the 6th of October in the evening the boats were manned and armed, and at two o'clock next morning they rowed into the harbour, and attacked under the walls of the town the *Balcine*, a French frigate, and the *Hermoine*, an Indiaman, with such uncommon spirit and alacrity, that, notwithstanding the enemy's crews made a vigorous opposition, and there was a warm fire of both cannon and musquetry from the town, they cut their cables, and carried them off to the squadron.

The season now beginning to grow precarious, the admirals Stevens and Cornish prepared to leave the coast of Coromandel during the monsoons, and retire to the Dutch island of Ceylon, where they could refit the squadron, and shelter it from the storms which were expected to come on. Agreeable

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to this resolution they set sail on the 23d, and committed the blockade of Pondicherry by sea to captain Haldane, with five ships of the line. By this time the garrison and inhabitants began to be in great distress for provisions. Lally found means to convey an account of his situation and miseries to the commander of the French fleet; upon which seven of the ships sailed away for the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived there in December, in order to take in eight months provision for 16,000 men; but as they did not depart again till January, it was impossible they should arrive at Pondicherry time enough to give the garrison any relief.

As to the operations of the siege, the best, and indeed the only authentic account which has yet been received, is contained in colonel Coote's letter to the secretary of state, which is as follows:

‘ On the 9th of November, says the colonel, I
 ‘ ordered a ricochet battery for four pieces of can-
 ‘ non to be erected to the northward, at about 1400
 ‘ yards from the town, more with a design to har-
 ‘ rass the enemy, than any damage we could think
 ‘ of doing to the works at so great a distance. On
 ‘ the 10th we began to land our stores, and to pre-
 ‘ pare every thing for the carrying on the siege with
 ‘ vigour. The rains being over by the 26th, I
 ‘ imagined the distresses of the enemy might be
 ‘ much augmented, and garrison duty rendered
 ‘ very fatiguing, if some batteries were erected on
 ‘ different quarters of the town: I therefore gave
 ‘ directions to the engineers to pitch on proper
 ‘ places, at such distances and in such situations, that
 ‘ the shot from them might enfilade the works of
 ‘ the garrison, and our men and guns not to be ex-
 ‘ posed

posed to any certain fire of the enemy. Accordingly the following batteries were traced out, one (called the Prince of Wales's) for four guns, near the beach on the north side, to enfilade the great street, which runs north and south through the White town: one for four guns had two mortars, to the north-west quarter, at 1000 yards distance, to enfilade the north face of a large counterguard, before the north-west bastion, called the duke of Cumberland's: a third, called Prince Edward's, for two guns, to the southward, at 1200 yards distance, to enfilade the streets from south to north, so as to cross the fire from the northern battery: and a fourth to the south-west, called Prince William's, for two guns and one mortar, at 1100 yards distance, in order to destroy the guns in St. Thomas's redoubt, and to ruin the vessels and boats near it. On the 8th at midnight they were all opened together, and continued firing till daylight. On the 9th the enemy kept up a warm fire on our batteries, without doing much damage to them. On the 25th admiral Stevens, with four ships of the line arrived off Pondicherry, having parted company with admiral Cornish and his division the 16th instant in hard weather. On the 29th a battery, called the Hanover, was begun, for ten guns and three mortars, to the northward, at 450 yards distance from the town, against the north-west counterguard and curtain.

On the 1st of January, 1761, we had a very violent storm of wind and rain; it began at eight o'clock in the evening, and lasted till between three and four the next morning. I gave directions for the repairing our batteries, which the storm had al-

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most ruined, and the putting every thing into the
best order our present situation would admit. *
On the 4th we had again the agreeable fight of
admiral Stevens. On the 5th I attacked a post
of very great consequence to the enemy, in which
were four twenty-eight pounders, called St. Tho-
mas's redoubt, and carried it without any loss.
At day-light on the 6th 300 of the enemy's gre-
nadiers retook it, owing to the officer command-
ing the redoubt not being able to keep his Sipoy
together. This day admiral Cornish arrived;
and as most of the ships which had been disabled
were now refitted, the blockade of Pondicherry
was as compleat as ever. On the 12th, the Ha-
nover battery being repaired, kept up a very brisk
fire, and greatly damaged the counter-guard and
bastion, and made a breach in the curtain. On
the 13th, in the evening, I ordered a working
party of 700 Europeans and 400 Lascars, with
the pioneers company, under the command of a
major, to the northward, where the engineers had
traced out a battery for eleven guns and three
mortars. At eight o'clock they began a trench
for introducing gabions of four feet high, which
were to form the interior facing of the battery.
At the same time a parallel was begun, 90 yards

* At this time many deserters came to the English camp, and reported, that so great was the distress among the garrison for provisions, that a cat had been known to sell for 20s. sterling, and that half of a dog had been sold for 16s. They had supported themselves a considerable time on a cocoa-nut tree, the heart of which they cut and boiled. A pint of rice sold for two pagods or 16s. Their fire at present was very slow, but after the 9th it was tolerably brisk.

' in the rear, of 250 yards long, and an approach
 ' of 400 yards in length. Notwithstanding the
 ' moon shone very bright, and the battery within
 ' 500 yards of the walls, every thing went on
 ' without the least disturbance from the enemy. By
 ' morning six embrazures were in a condition to
 ' receive guns, and the rest far advanced. This
 ' was called the Royal Battery. On the 14th the
 ' Hanover battery kept up a constant fire the whole
 ' day, which entirely ruined the west face and flank
 ' of the north-west bastion. On the 15th the Royal
 ' battery was opened, which by eight o'clock in the
 ' morning silenced the fire of the enemy, and gave
 ' us an opportunity of beginning a trench to con-
 ' tain our Royal mortars and three guns, for the
 ' more speedy demolition of the demi-bastion and
 ' ravelin of Madras-gate. This evening colonel
 ' Durre, of the royal artillery, the chief of the
 ' Jesuits, and two civilians, were sent out by M.
 ' Lally, with proposals for the delivering up the
 ' garrison. On the 16th, at eight o'clock in the
 ' morning, the grenadiers of my regiment took
 ' possession of the Villenour gate, and in the even-
 ' ing those of Draper's of the citadel. The com-
 ' missaries were immediately ordered to take an
 ' account of all the military stores found in the
 ' place.'

To this detail of the siege we must add one of
 another circumstance which belongs to it, but is of
 a different complexion. The admirals, animated
 with zeal for the service they were on, renewed the
 blockade of Pondicherry before the tempestuous
 weather was over; they knew some of the enemy's
 ships had been sent to the Cape of Good Hope to
 take in provisions for the garrison, and that they

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were shortly expected on the coast of Coromandel, and were therefore resolved to have a sufficient force to prevent any succours being thrown into the town. Unfortunately on the first of January, about ten o'clock at night, such a violent storm came on, that admiral Stevens soon found it would be impossible to weather it out; therefore he ordered the ships to cut their cables and put to sea; but the wind shifting a few minutes after, drove the Aquetain and Sunderland, two 60 gun ships, on the coast, where they foundered, and their whole crews, except 11 men, perished: the Newcastle of 50 guns, the Queenborough of 20, and the Protector fire-ship, were also drove ashore and lost; but most of their crews were saved, as well as their cannon and stores; three other ships were dismasted, but providentially the remainder of the squadron did not receive much damage, and part of it was entirely out of the storm, though only at ten leagues distance. These were the ships which left Ceylon after admiral Stevens, and were now on their passage to join him, which they did when he returned to Pondicherry road, a day or two after the storm had subsided; and their seasonable assistance was of the utmost importance at this critical time. The damaged ships were repaired as fast as possible, and every thing on board the fleet put in a proper state of defence, in case of an attack from the French squadron, whose appearance they every day expected.

As soon as general Lally was informed of the misfortune which had befallen the English fleet, he immediately ordered a public thanksgiving; but with the cruelty of an infidel, he ordered his garrison to fire at one of the wrecks which the wind drove near the harbour,

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harbour, lest any body should be saved; in return for which providence seems to have rewarded him according to the desert of his inhumanity; though the beach was covered with the ships provisions, any of which would have been a comfortable relief to the distressed garrison, yet the sea did not wash a bit near the fort. At the same time he dispatched a letter to Monsieur Raymond, the French resident at Pullicat, which was intercepted by admiral Stevens, and of which the following is a literal translation.

Pondicherry, January 2, 1761.

‘ Mr. Raymond,

‘ The English squadron is no more, Sir: out of the twelve ships they had in our road, seven are lost, crew and all; the four others dismasted; and it appears there is no more than one frigate that hath escaped; therefore don’t lose an instant to send us chelingsoes upon chelingsoes loaded with rice: the Dutch have nothing to fear now; besides (according to the rights of the nations) they are only to send us no provision *themselves*, and we are no more blocked up by sea.

‘ The saving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already: if you miss the present opportunity it will be entirely your fault: don’t forget also small chelingsoes: offer great rewards: I expect seventeen thousand morattoes within these four days. In short, risque all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time.

(Signed)

LALLY.’

As letters of this kind might have been sent to other persons, which the admiral had not the good fortune

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fortune to intercept, he immediately wrote and dispatched circular letters to all the Dutch and Danish settlements, acquainting them, ' that notwithstanding the representations of general Lally, he had eleven sail of his Britannick majesty's ships of the line, and two frigates, under his command, in condition for service, holding the blockade of Pondicherry; and as that place was closely invested and blockaded by land and sea, and as, in that case, it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral power to give them any succour or relief, he had determined to seize any vessel or boat, that should attempt to throw any provisions into that place.'

Lally, in certain expectation of relief from the French squadron, allowed himself to be blockaded within the town for eight months, till at length, not having a morsel of any thing to eat, he was compelled by famine to surrender. He made no kind of articles for the inhabitants: the chief of the Jesuits demanded of the colonel, that their effects and houses should not be injured; but that they should have liberty to move or stay as they pleased, and continue in the free exercise of their religion, with all their privileges preserved as heretofore. But he returned no answer.

There were found in the placé 567 pieces of cannon, iron and brass, 15 howitzers, 89 mortars, and a large quantity of shot, powder, shells, &c. &c. with muskets for upwards of 50,000 men, and a prodigious number of pistols, carbines, swords, bayonets, &c. &c. and great store of every other kind of military necessaries. But, contrary to the expectations of some, who fancied the town was rich, there was no treasure found in it.

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It will be an eternal ignominy on Monsieur Lally's character, that when he marched out of the citadel, the private men, and many of his officers, saluted him with a loud hiss, and expressed their avowed hatred to his person by loading him with the most opprobrious names. His commissary, who had been a dupe to his passions, attempted to vindicate him; but he paid for his officiousness with his life: and even Lally himself, had he not at this instant fled to the English, would also have been assassinated by the incensed soldiery*. The garrison consisted of about 1450 men. The governor's house and other edifices were blown up; and the fortifications were almost wholly erased, in the same manner as the French had done at fort St. David in 1758.

C H A P. XVII.

Conquest of Belleisle, and naval transactions.

PART of the squadron, which had last year been equipped for the intended expedition, were employed in cruising on the coast of France, and afterwards were part of another fleet equipped for a second expedition. The object of its destination

* At his arrival in France his officers accused him of mal-administration and other crimes, for which he was executed at the Greve.

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was kept a profound secret ; but from many circum-
 stances which have since appeared, it is very evi-
 dent, that it was intended for the East-Indies, in
 order to reduce the isle of Bourbon ; but the oppo-
 sition, which was at this time made to the measures
 of Mr. Pitt, retarded its sailing till it was too late.
Then, and not till *then*, it was proposed, rather than
 lay the whole aside, as was done last year, to send
 it to reduce the isle of Belleisle on the coast of France.
 The troops amounting to ten battalions, commanded
 by general Hodgson, were put on board the trans-
 ports ; and the fleet, consisting of ten ships of the
 line, besides frigates, &c. commanded by commo-
 dore Keppel, sailed from Portsmouth on the 29th of
 March, and on the seventh of April came to an an-
 chor in the great road of Belleisle, where a dispo-
 sition was made for landing the forces. The com-
 manders having agreed that the descent should be
 made on the sandy beach near the point of Lomaria,
 towards the south-east end of the island, a feint was
 made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large
 ships convoyed the troops to the landing-place, and
 silenced a battery which the enemy had there erected.
 This service being performed, the flat-bottomed boats
 advanced to the shore, and about two hundred and
 sixty landed, under the command of major Purcel
 and captain Osborne ; but the enemy, who had in-
 renched themselves on the heights, appeared sud-
 denly above them, and poured in such a severe fire,
 as threw them into confusion, and intimidated the
 rest of the troops from landing. Captain Osborne,
 at the head of sixty grenadiers, advanced with great
 intrepidity so near as to exchange several thrusts
 with the French officer, until having received three
 shots in the body, he fell dead on the spot. Major
 Purcel

Purcel shared the same fate, which was extended to several other officers. In a word, this handful of men being overpowered with numbers, were totally routed, and either killed or taken prisoners; so that this attempt was attended with the loss of near five hundred men, including two sea-officers, and about fifty mariners belonging to the ships that endeavoured to cover the landing. This discouraging check was succeeded by tempestuous weather, which damaged some of the transports. When the wind abated, the Prince of Orange ship of war sailed round the island, in order to survey the coast, and discover, if possible, some other place for disembarkation; but the whole seemed to be secured by rocks and batteries in such a manner, as precluded all access.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable prospect, another scheme was laid, and the execution of it crowned with success. On the 22d day of the month in the morning, the troops were disposed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the island, as if they intended to land in different places: thus the attention of the enemy was distracted in such a manner, that they knew not where to expect the descent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. Mean while brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterson, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with astonishing intrepidity, and sustained the fire of a strong body of the enemy, until they were supported by the rest of the English troops, who now landed in great numbers. Then the French abandoned their batteries, and retired with precipitation

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but this advantage was not gained without bloodshed. About forty men were killed, and a considerable number wounded, including colonel Mackenzie and captain Murray of the marines, who seemed to vie with the marching regiments in valour and activity, and captain Paterion of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who lost his arm in the dispute. Monsieur de St. Croix perceiving that all the English troops were disembarked, to the number of eight thousand men, recalled all his detachments to Palais, and prepared for a vigorous defence, his forces, now joined by the militia of the island, amounting to four thousand men fit for service.

On the 23d of April, the English troops were formed into columns, and began their march towards the capital of the island. Next day general Hodgson ordered a detachment of light horse to take post at Sauzon; and on the 25th a corps of infantry took possession of a village called Bordilla, where they began to throw up an intrenchment; but they were dislodged by a party of the enemy's grenadiers: the whole army, however, intrenched itself in the neighbourhood. The artillery, and implements of siege for breaking ground, being still on board the fleet, and the tempestuous weather rendering it impracticable to send them ashore, the French governor seized this opportunity for erecting six redoubts to defend the avenues of Palais; and these were finished with admirable skill and activity, before general Hodgson had it in his power to commence his operations. All that he could do, in the mean time, was to publish a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants, declaring, that if they would put themselves under the protection of the British government, they should be indulged with the free ex-

ercise of their religion, and retain all the rights and privileges which they had ever enjoyed. This assurance produced a considerable effect among the natives, a good number of whom immediately closed with the proposal. The next step the general took was to summon the French commandant, who remained encamped under the walls of the citadel, and declared he would defend the place to the last extremity; and indeed it must be owned, for the honour of this gentleman, that, in the course of the siege, he performed every thing that could be expected from a gallant officer, consummate in the art of war. About the latter end of April, some mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, within the walls of which the enemy now retired; and at this juncture Sir William Peere Williams, a captain in Burgoyne's light horse, was shot by a French centinel, in reconnoitring their situation. He was a gallant young gentleman, of a good family and great hopes, consequently his fate was universally regretted.

The besiegers broke ground on the 2d of May; but next night the trenches were attacked by the enemy with such vigour, that the piquets on the left were thrown into confusion. Major-general Crawford, who commanded in the trenches, rallied the troops, and endeavoured to animate them by his own example; but on this occasion they did not act with their usual spirit: some hundreds were killed, and the major-general with his two aids-du-camps fell into the hands of the enemy, who retreated without having made any attempt upon the right, where the piquets stood ready to give them a warm reception. The damage they had done was next day repaired; a redoubt was begun near the right

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of their works ; and from this period the operations of the siege were prosecuted with unremitting vigour, notwithstanding a severe fire maintained without interruption, and a succession of well-concerted sallies, which were not executed without a considerable effusion of blood.

The engineers giving it as their opinion that the works could not be properly advanced, until the French redoubts should be taken, the general made the disposition for the attack, which began on the 17th at day-break. A terrible fire from four pieces of cannon, and above thirty cohorts, was poured into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank : then a detachment of marines, sustained by part of Loudon's regiment, advanced to the parapet, drove the French from the works, and, after a very obstinate dispute with their bayonets fixed, took possession of the place. All the other five were reduced, one after another, by the same detachments, reinforced by Colvil's regiment, under the command of colonel Teesdale and major Nesbit; and a considerable slaughter was made of the enemy, who retired into the citadel with some precipitation. Such was the ardour of the assailants, that they entered the streets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives, made a good number of prisoners, and took possession of the town, in which they found the French hospital, and some English prisoners, who had been taken in different sallies.

The English being now masters of the whole island, except the citadel of Palais, bent all their endeavours to the reduction of this fortress, which was very strong both by art and situation, and defended with uncommon courage and perseverance on the side of the besiegers. Parallels were finished,

barricadoes made, and batteries constructed; and an incessant fire from mortars and artillery was mutually maintained, by night and by day, from the 13th of May to the 25th, when that of the enemy began to abate. In the course of such desperate service a great many men must have been killed, and many died of distemper. The island was in itself so barren, and Mons. de St. Croix had taken such effectual precautions to remove its produce, that the English army had neither fresh provision nor refreshments, except what was brought by sea from England. From thence, indeed, they were tolerably well supplied with live cattle: they were also reinforced by one regiment from Portsmouth, and another from the island of Jersey. By the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and notwithstanding the indefatigable industry of the garrison and the governer in repairing the damage, the fire of the besiegers increased to such a degree, that great part of their defences was ruined, and the breach practicable by the 7th of June, when Mons. de St. Croix, being apprehensive of a general assault, demanded a capitulation. He obtained the most honourable conditions, in consideration of his noble defence; but the victors lost near 2000 men.

The English cruizers were extremely successful. In January the Richmond frigate of 32 guns fell in, with the Felicite, a French frigate of the same force off the coast of Holland, and began a warm engagement near Gravesande, about eight miles from the Hague, to which place the prince of Orange, the English and French ambassadors, and a great multitude of people, repaired to see the fight. In about two hours both ships ran ashore; nevertheless the action was maintained, until the French fled from their quar-

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ters, and abandoned their ship, which was destroyed, after having lost her captain and about 100 men. The Richmond soon floated without any damaged; she had only three men killed and thirteen wounded.

Captain Hood, of the *Minerva* frigate, cruising in the channel, met with the *Warwick*, an English man of war, taken by the French in the West-Indies, and after an engagement of an hour obliged her to strike. The *Minerva* lost her masts by the board, and had 14 men killed and 35 wounded. The loss on board the prize was the same. Soon after a French frigate, called the *Entrepenant*, of 26 guns, but pierced for 44, was taken off the Land's End by the *Vengeance* frigate. In April the *Comete* and *Pheasant*, two French frigates, were taken off Ushant. In the Mediterranean, where admiral Saunders commanded, the *Oriflamme*, a French ship of 40 guns and 370 men, was taken by the *Isis*, lieutenant Cunningham, after a running engagement of four hours and a half. The *Isis* had only four men killed and nine wounded: captain Wheeler, who commanded her, was killed in the beginning of the action. The loss of the *Oriflamme* in killed and wounded was between 40 and 50 men. About two months after another exploit was performed by a detachment from the same squadron. Captain Prøby, in the *Thunderer*, together with the *Modeste*, *Thetis* and *Favorite* sloop, being ordered to cruise upon the coast of Spain, with a view to intercept the *Bouffon* and *Achilles*, two French men of war, which lay in Cadiz: they at length ventured to come forth, and were descried by the English cruisers on the 16th of July. About midnight the *Thunderer* came up with the *Achilles*, which

which struck after a warm engagement of half an hour; yet in this short action capt. Proby had 40 men killed and near 100 wounded. About seven in the morning the *Thetis* engaged the *Bouffon*, and the fire was maintained on both sides with great vivacity for half an hour, when the *Modeste* ranging up and firing a few guns, the French captain submitted. The *Thetis* and *Modeste* suffered greatly in their rigging and crews.

On the 10th of August, the *Bellona*, of 74 guns, captain Faulkener, and the *Brilliant* of 36, captain Logie, coming from Lisbon, fell in with off Vigo the *Courageux*, a French man of war of 74 guns, and two frigates of 32 guns each. The *Bellona* attacked the *Courageux*, and after an engagement of three quarters of an hour, obliged her to strike. She had 240 men and 100 wounded. The *Brilliant* engaged the frigates; but soon after the *Courageux* was taken, they bore away. The *Bellona* had only six men killed and 28 wounded. The *Brilliant* had five killed and 16 wounded.

In the West Indies, commodore Holmes, in the *Hampshire*, in company with the *Centaur*, attacked the *St. Anne*, a new French ship of war, pierced for 64 guns, but on account of her being heavily laden with coffee, indigo and sugar, had only 40 mounted, and took her after a trifling resistance.

In the month of June the island of *Dominique*, one of the neutral islands in the West-Indies, was attacked and reduced by a small body of troops, under the command of lord Rollo, who were conveyed thither from *Guadaloupe* by Sir James Douglas. They drove the French from four intrenchments, one above another, on the face of a steep rock, and made all the French troops, with *M. de Longrie*, their commander, prisoners of war.

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C H A P. XVIII.

Affairs in Germany.

THE Prussians and Austrians were for some time in a state of total inactivity. The king commanded in Silesia in opposition to baron Laudohn, and his brother prince Henry in Saxony in opposition to count Daun. For several months these four armies continued in their camps all acting upon the defensive. In the mean time a large body of Russians invested Colberg. They had several times attempted to take this place in former campaigns; but now they resolutely begun the siege, being determined to take it at all events. It was a place to them of the utmost importance; for, being a sea-port, they could by means of it transport provisions from Russia to either their army in Brandenburg or Pomerania; for want of which convenience their troops, at the end of every campaign, had been obliged to retreat into their own country. The Russian fleet blocked it up by sea; but they were soon after dispersed by a storm; while their troops, commanded by general Romanzoff, cannonaded it by land; but the Russians being unaccustomed to sieges, were from the beginning of August to the middle of December before they made any impression on the place. At length, in spite of the rigour of the season, which they seemed to set at defiance, they mastered a small fort, which commanded the harbour; upon which colonel Haden, the governor, finding the garrison would be in dan-

ger of perishing by famine, surrendered on the 17th of December. During the languid and slovenly operations of this tedious siege, the grand Russian army, commanded by general Butterlin, entered Silesia and cannonaded Breslau; but on the approach of a body of Prussians they abandoned that work, and joined the Austrians. The affairs of the king of Prussia seemed now desperate. The junction of two such powerful armies seemed to threaten his certain destruction. However he was not abandoned by his stratagems and courage. He secretly detached a body of troops into Poland, where they burned three of the Russian magazines; upon which Batterlin separated from the Austrians, and marched to the protection of the rest. To make amends for this manœuvre, baron Laudohn formed a project for taking Schweidnitz by surprize. He picked out a number of his best men, and on the first of October, at three in the morning, during a thick fog, he ordered them to advance to the place, where, without opposition, they fixed their scaling ladders, and had begun to mount before they were perceived by the garrison. The Austrians resolutely entered the town, and, being well supported, attacked the Prussians with success on all sides, and at day-break obliged general Zastrow, the governor, with his whole garrison, to surrender prisoners of war. Their loss in this affair was only about 600 men. Thus did the Austrians, to the surprize of the whole world, become suddenly masters of a very strong and important fortress, defended by a garrison of 3000 men, in which they found a vast magazine of meal and a numerous train of artillery. Although in the public accounts this is called a surprize; yet private ones, which are often more true, assert it was

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taken by *treachery*, and there is reason to believe it. This affair obliged the king of Prussia to change his position. He drew nearer to Breslau, and there put his troops into winter-quarters. While he was here, the court of Vienna set on foot a conspiracy against his life. They engaged one baron de Warkotch, a man of fortune in Silesia, and one Schmedt, a priest, to execute their scheme; which was, 'to seize the king when he should come forth unattended, and convey him to the Austrian camp.' The discovery was made by one of the baron's servants, who was carrying a letter to Schmedt, and suspecting the contents, carried it to the king; upon which the baron was seized; but he afterwards found means to escape through a window: Schmedt also found means to fly. Count Daun attempted nothing of consequence during the whole campaign: in November he put his troops into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Dresden. Prince Henry by his well-regulated motions and watchful eye made head against count Daun, the army of the empire, and the Swedes, and kept them all at bay.

The allies opened the campaign in February. The Hereditary Prince took Fritzlar, and prince Ferdinand pushed forward in a rapid manner to retake Cassel before the French army should be reinforced; but he found it impossible. The garrison was numerous, and held out vigorously. The French army, commanded by the duke de Broglie, approached; upon which he was obliged to raise the siege and retire. A second French army was assembled on the Lower Rhine under the prince de Soubize: Detachments of the allies for some time harassed both these armies, and did them considerable damage; upon which their commanders joined their

their armies; and resolved to give battle to prince Ferdinand. Accordingly early in the morning on the 16th of July, while he was encamped at Hohenhover, they attacked his camp; but he having information of their design, gave them so warm a reception in all their attempts to force his post, as at length obliged them to retire with the loss of 4000 men; the allies lost about 1200 men. This battle, which the French distinguish by the name of Fellinghausen, separated their two armies. It was a misfortune to the French, that their generals could never agree. There was a pique between Soubize and Broglio at the time of this action, in which each wished to see his coadjutor sacrificed: had this not been the case, the victory would not have been so easily obtained; for after the battle prince Ferdinand was not able to look Broglio's great army alone in the face. That general, by dint of his prodigious superiority, and being stimulated to retrieve his late disgrace, took some places, penetrated into Hanover, and gained several little advantages; but prince Ferdinand by a forced march approached Cassel, which obliged Broglio to draw off and protect that place. However the French general laid the whole country under contribution. The Hereditary Prince, in order to make reprisals, scoured the country of Hesse, by which he rendered it difficult for the French army to subsist. At the same time Broglio sent a detachment to seize the city of Wolfembutte, which was accordingly performed. This detachment then laid siege to Brunswick, upon which the Hereditary Prince quitted Hesse, and flew to the relief of his father's capital. The French abandoned the place with such precipitation on his approach, as to leave their cannon and 500 men behind. In September the prince

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de Soubize sent off a detachment, which seized Embden and plundered Osnabrug. Afterwards they made an attempt on Bremen; but the inhabitants joining the garrison, they were obliged to fly. Broglio in the mean time lay entirely inactive, and prince Ferdinand's army being greatly inferior, could not undertake any thing offensive, so that the armies of both nations went into winter-quarters without any farther operations.

C H A P. XIX.

A negotiation for peace. Resignation of Mr. Pitt; and rupture with Spain.

THE very great success of the British arms having reduced France to the lowest state of adversity, she set on foot a negotiation for peace: she began by refusing the payment of her subsidies to her needy allies, particularly to Sweden, to whom it was told that the exhausted condition of France, which could be no longer concealed, made her unable to adhere to the letter of her engagements, and that therefore she desired peace in earnest. The courts of Vienna and Peteriburg then agreed with France to offer proposals to renew the short negotiation for peace, which had abruptly broke off last year. Under the mediation of Spain, they delivered their memorials in London on the last day of March.

Their

Their proposals being accepted both by England and Prussia, a congress was appointed to be held at Augsbourg. But the disputes between England and France being of a different nature to those among the German powers, it was agreed that they should be previously settled by a separate negotiation. Accordingly ministers were sent from each kingdom. Mr. Stanley went to France, and M. Bussy came to England. But France did not trust to this negotiation: she was sensible she must sacrifice a great deal; therefore she looked out for another resource, and she found one in Spain, with whom she tampered on the great power of the English in America, urging that the Spanish colonies would lie at the mercy of the English, if the French power in America should be wholly annihilated. The Spanish ministry took the alarm. They fancied they saw danger. A treaty between France and Spain was instantly concluded and signed at Paris on the 25th of August; purporting, that whoever should declare war against one, did at that instant become an enemy to the other: and they bound themselves by mutual oath to assist each other in all wars offensive and defensive; they guaranteed each others dominions; and their natural born subjects are to enjoy all rights, privileges and immunities, &c. in both kingdoms; and their ambassadors at all foreign courts are to live in perfect amity and association. In a word, it is a treaty of firm union and concord, formed by ambition to destroy all balance of power, and for ever to disturb the peace of mankind. This is what is called the *family compact*. It was concluded in so secret a manner, that not above one or two persons, except the signers, had for some time any knowledge of it. The connexions between

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these two branches of the house of Bourbon were not rivetted, when Mr. Pitt discovered the intentions of Spain to assist France. It was, when the plan of the separate negotiation between England and France had been settled; when every thing that human wisdom could foresee had been happily arranged and fixed, in laying the basis of the treaty, that the machinations of France and the designs of Spain were discovered. M. Buffy delivered a memorial, signifying that the catholic king desired to settle his differences with Great Britain at the same time that France did*. Mr. Pitt instantly took the

* Sp-in demanded the restitution of some captures made on her flag: a privilege to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of the English settlements in the bay of Honduras.

It is proper to observe, that in the conferences between Mr. Pitt and M. de Buffy, the British minister, with a dignity and spirit becoming his character and the greatness of his nation, always treated him short: he said little, and what he said was always final: he left no room for prevarication; and when it was attempted, he constantly withdrew: he distrusted the sincerity of Buffy's intentions, and the integrity of the French court. The French agent was thus deprived of coming at the secrets of England, which long conferences and chance expressions might give him some intimation of. M. Buffy then set himself to work another way. He found other persons who received him with affability. By his courtly and address he made himself agreeable to them. Here he employed his dexterity. He threw into a sarcastical light every virtue of those who were for making the most of our advantages: he converted resolution, firmness, and intrepidity, into quixotism, obstinacy, and insolence; dignity into pride, and manly boldness into haughty presumption. Buffy found Mr. Pitt had enemies: to them he gave this doctrine, and they spread it abroad with uncommon industry; they wrote with a malignity that would disgrace the pens of the lowest dregs of mankind.

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alarm: he saw the insincerity of France; and he rejected with disdain the offer of negotiating ' through ' an enemy humbled, and almost at his feet, the ' disputes of his nation, with a power actually in ' friendship with us.' He returned this offensive memorial as wholly inadmissible, and declared that any further mention of it would be looked upon as an affront to the crown, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to lord Bristol, the English minister at Madrid, to remonstrate with energy and firmness, the unexampled irregularity of that court. The Spanish ministry vindicated their proceedings with France, and insinuated their attachment to that kingdom. Mr. Pitt was now consumed; he clearly saw the secret views of Spain; and he saw that the artifices and expressions of friendship for Great Britain, were only made use of to conceal those views, till the Spanish treasure from the West-Indies should be arrived, and then the king of Spain would declare himself. The unseasonable interposition of Spain was the true cause of the negotiation breaking off. All other matters might perhaps have been settled. Mr. Pitt by it received an incurable suspicion of the designs of France and Spain. After which it was impossible to bring things to an happy issue; therefore the two ministers returned to their respective courts in the month of September.

Mr. Pitt instantly prepared for war. He was fully satisfied Spain had resolved to assist France. He had received intimation, if not a copy of the treaty of union between them: he saw the designs of Spain on Portugal. He resolved to prevent both; not by the cautious and tardy steps of an ambassador; but by the early appearance of our commanders in chief,

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at the head of a great squadron, on the coast of Spain, categorically demanding the fullest security and satisfaction of friendship and neutrality; and if he refused, instantly declaring inveterate enmity; and being armed with the force of the nation, begin to destroy; to strike terror into the bowels of Spain; to intercept the treasures, and thereby cutting the Spaniard off from his nerves and sinews of war, precipitate him into his own snare. This was a vigorous resolution, such as is rarely to be met with, and such as will be an illustrious and eternal monument of Mr. Pitt's penetration and spirit, because time proved the rectitude of it. At this time he was beset by opponents: he had of late met with frequent opposition to his schemes; therefore, when he proposed this measure, he declared that 'this was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved that this was the *last* time he should sit in that council. He thanked the ministers of the *late king* for their support; said he himself was called into the ministry by the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct; and he would no longer remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide.' In this grand and leading motion he was supported by lord Temple; that nobleman had been his fellow compatriot and coadjutor from the beginning of his administration, and continued so to the end: all the rest opposed it. He now saw his influence in the state entirely at an end. He resolved on resigning: his motives for it were fair and honest: they were, as he knew himself able to answer and account for every part of his conduct hitherto,

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therto, he thought this the properest time to resign his trust, when he could no longer be useful in the execution of it; but must either obstruct and embarrass the measures carried on by others if he opposed them; or sacrifice his own fame and honour if he concurred in them contrary to his own conviction, and what he apprehended to be the interest of his country. Mr. Pitt and lord Temple immediately resigned, September 5, and they gave to his majesty their reasons in writing. The king expressed his concern for the loss of Mr. Pitt, and offered him any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. To have refused would have been insult. Next day an annuity of 3000*l.* was settled on him, and a title was conferred on his lady and her issue. Never was a pension so well bestowed, nor nobility so truly merited.

On the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the earl of Egremont was appointed secretary of state. The earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at Madrid, was ordered to demand an explanation of the secret treaty, which had been lately ratified between France and Spain; and to declare that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war. The Spanish court had already taken all their measures in concert with France, and only waited for an opportunity to provoke Great Britain to a rupture; therefore they replied, that such a step could only be suggested by the spirit of haughtiness and discord, which reigned in the British government; that it was in that very moment the war was declared, and the earl might retire when and how he pleased. Accordingly the earl was recalled; and the count de Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador at London, prepared to set out for Spain; but first he, on the 25th of December, delivered

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delivered a paper to lord Egremont, in which the answer of the Spanish court was repeated, and the conduct of Mr. Pitt so falsely and indecently arraigned, that many people termed it, *the Spanish monarch's declaration of war against the person of William Pitt.*

C H A P. XX.

War declared by Great-Britain against Spain, and by Spain against Great-Britain, &c. Portugal invaded. Expedition to the Havannah.

ALL marks of friendship with Spain being now at an end, the first transaction in the year 1762 was the declaring of war against that crown, which was done in the following words:

His Majesty's declaration of war against the king of Spain.

G E O R G E R.

The constant object of our attention, since our accession to the throne, has been, if possible, to put an end to the calamities of war, and to settle the public tranquillity upon a solid and lasting foundation. To prevent these calamities from being extended still farther, and because the most perfect harmony between Great-Britain and Spain is, at all times, the mutual interest of both nations, it has
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been our earnest desire to maintain the strictest amity with the king of Spain, and to accommodate the disputes between us and that crown in the most amicable manner. This object we have steadily pursued, notwithstanding the many partialities shewn by the Spaniards to our enemies the French, during the course of the present war, inconsistent with their neutrality; and most essential proofs have been given of the friendship and regard of the court of Great-Britain for the king of Spain and his family. After a conduct so friendly, and so full of good faith, on our part, it was a matter of great surprize to us; to find a memorial delivered on the 23d day of July last, by Monsieur Bussy, minister plenipotentiary of France, to one of our principal secretaries of state, expressly relating to the disputes between us and the crown of Spain; and declaring, that if those objects should bring on a war, the French king would be obliged to take part therein. Our surprize was encreased, when, afterwards, this unprecedented and offensive step, made by a power in open war with us, was avowed by the Spanish minister to our ambassador at Madrid, to have been taken with the full approbation and consent of the king of Spain.

But as this avowal was accompanied with the most becoming apologies on the part of the king of Spain, and with assurances, that such memorial never would have been delivered, if it had been foreseen that we should have looked upon it in an offensive light; and that the king of Spain was at liberty, and ready, to adjust all his differences with Great-Britain, without the intervention or knowledge of France: and soon after we had the satisfaction to be informed by our ambassador at Madrid, that the Spanish minister, taking notice of the reports industrious spread of an

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approaching rupture, had acquainted him, that the king of Spain had, at no time, been more intent on cultivating a good correspondence with us; and as the Spanish ambassador at our court made repeated declarations to the same effect, we thought ourselves bound in justice and prudence to forbear coming to extremities.

But the same tender concern for the welfare of our subjects, which prevented our accelerating precipitately a war with Spain, if it could possibly be avoided, made it necessary for us to endeavour to know with certainty, what were the engagements and real intentions of the court of Spain. Therefore, as we had information that engagements had been lately contracted between the courts of Madrid and Versailles; and it was soon after industriously spread throughout all Europe, by the ministers of France, that the purport of those engagements was hostile to Great-Britain, and that Spain was on the point of entering into the war; we directed our ambassador to desire, in the most friendly terms, a communication of the treaties lately concluded between France and Spain; or of such articles thereof as immediately related to the interests of Great-Britain, if any such there were; or, at least, an assurance that there were none incompatible with the friendship subsisting between us and the crown of Spain. Our concern and astonishment was great, when we learned, that, so far from giving satisfaction upon so reasonable an application, the Spanish minister had declined answering, with reasonings and insinuations of a very hostile tendency; and as, at the same time we had intelligence, that great armaments were making in Spain, by sea and land, we thought it absolutely necessary to try, once more, if a rupture could be avoided:

avoided: we therefore directed our ambassador to ask in a firm, but friendly manner, whether the court of Madrid intended to join the French, our enemies, to act hostily against Great-Britain, or to depart from its neutrality; and, if he found the Spanish minister avoided to give a clear answer, to insinuate, in the most decent manner, that the refusing or avoiding to answer a question so reasonable, could only arise from the king of Spain's having already engaged, or resolved to take part against us, and must be looked upon as an avowal of such hostile intention, and equivalent to a declaration of war, and that he had orders immediately to leave the court of Madrid.

The peremptory refusal by the court of Spain to give the least satisfaction, with regard to any of those reasonable demands on our part, and the solemn declaration at the same time made by the Spanish minister, that they considered the war as then actually declared, prove to a demonstration, that their resolution to act offensively was so absolutely and irrevocably taken, that it could not be any longer dissolved or denied. The king of Spain, therefore, having been induced, without any provocation on our part, to consider the war as already commenced against us, which has in effect been declared at Madrid; we trust, that by the blessing of Almighty God on the justice of our cause, and by the assistance of our loving subjects, we shall be able to defeat the ambitious designs, which have formed this union between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; have now begun a new war; and portend the most dangerous consequences to all Europe. Therefore we have thought fit to declare, and do hereby declare war against the said king of Spain.

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and we will, in pursuance of such declaration, vigorously prosecute the said war, wherein the honour of our crown, the welfare of our subjects, and the prosperity of this nation, which we are determined at all times with our utmost power to preserve and support, are so greatly concerned.

And we do hereby will and require our generals and commanders of our forces, our commissioners for executing the office of our high admiral of Great-Britain, our lieutenants of our several counties, governors of our forts and garrisons, and all other officers and soldiers under them, by sea and land, to do and execute all acts of hostility, in the prosecution of this war, against the said king of Spain, his vassals and subjects, and to oppose their attempts; willing and requiring all our subjects to take notice of the same; whom we henceforth strictly forbid to hold any correspondence and communication with the said king of Spain and his subjects: and we do hereby command our own subjects, and advertise all other persons, of what nation so ever, not to transport or carry any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the said king of Spain, the same being taken, shall be condemned as good and lawful prize. And whereas there may be remaining in our kingdoms divers of the subjects of the king of Spain, we do hereby declare our royal intention to be, That all the Spanish subjects, who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall be safe in their persons and effects.

Given at our court at St. James's, the second day of January, 1762, in the second year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

The

The king of Spain's declaration of war, which was published at Madrid on the 18th of January.

THE KING.

Although I have already taken for a declaration of war by England against Spain, -the inconsiderable step of lord Bristol, the Britannick king's ambassador at my court, when he demanded of Don Richard Wall, my minister of state, what engagements I had contracted with France, making this the condition of his demand, or rather adding this threat, That if he did not receive a categorical answer, he would leave my court, and take the denial for an aggression: and though, before this provocation was received, my patience was tired out with suffering and beholding, on many occasions, that the English government minded no other law, but the aggrandisement of their nation by land, and universal despotism by sea: I was nevertheless desirous to see whether this menace would be carried into execution; or whether the court of England, sensible of the inefficacy of such methods towards my dignity and that of my crown, would not employ others that should be more suitable to me, and make me overlook all those insults. But the haughtiness of the English was so far from containing itself within just bounds, that I have just learned that on the 2d instant a resolution was taken by the Britannick king in council, to declare war against Spain. Thus seeing myself under the hard necessity of following this example, which I would never have given, because it is so horrible and so contrary to humanity, I have ordered by a decree of the 15th instant, that war should likewise be immediately declared, on my part, against the king of England,

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his kingdoms, eftates, and fubjects; and that in
confequence thereof, proper orders fhould be fent to
all parts of my dominions, where it fhould be ne-
ceffary, for their defence and that of my fubjects, as
well as for acting offenfively againft the enemy.

For this end, I order my council of war to take the
requisite meafures that this declaration of war may
be publifhed at my court, and in my kingdoms;
with the formalities ufual upon fuch occafions; and
that in confequence all kind of hoftilities may be
exercifed towards the Englifh; that thofe of them
who are not naturalized in Spain may leave my
kingdoms; that they may carry on no trade there;
and that only thofe who are employed as artizans
may be fuffered to remain: that for the future my
fubjects may have no dealings with thofe of Eng-
land, nor with the eftates of that crown, for any of
their productions or fisheries, particularly cod, or
their manufactures or merchandize; fo that the in-
hibition of this trade may be underftood to be, and
may be in fact, abfolute and effective, and ftamp a
vicious quality and a prohibition of fale on the afore-
faid effects, productions, fisheries, cod, merchan-
dize, and manufactures of the dominions of Eng-
land: that no veffels whatfoever, with the above-
mentioned effects on board, may be admitted into
my harbours, and that they may not be permitted
to be brought in by land, being illicit and prohi-
bited in my kingdoms, though they may have been
brought or deposite'd in buildings, baggage, ware-
houfes, fhops, or houfes of merchants or other pri-
vate perfons, my fubjects or vaffals, or fubjects or
vaffals of provinces and ftates with whom I am in
peace or alliance, or have a free trade, whom, ne-
verthelefs, I intend not to hurt, or to infringe the
peace,

peace, the liberty, and privilege which they enjoy by treaty, of carrying on a legal trade in my kingdoms with their ships, and the proper and peculiar productions of their lands, provinces, and conquests, or the produce of their manufactories.

I also command that all merchants, who shall have in their possession any cod, or other fish or produce of the dominions of England, shall in the space of fifteen days from the date of this declaration, declare the same, and deliver an account thereof, either at my court, or elsewhere, to the officers who shall be appointed by the marquis de Squilace, superintendant-general of my revenues, that the whole may be forthcoming; and such of the said effects of which a list shall not be so delivered in the space of fifteen days, shall be immediately confiscated; two months, and no more being allowed, for the consumption of those which shall be declared; after which time the merchants shall be obliged to carry the said effects to the custom-houses, and, where there is no custom-house, to the houses that serve instead thereof, that they may be publickly sold by an officer or officers nominated for that end, or, if none should be appointed, by the judges, who shall give the produce of the sale to the proprietors; but none of the said merchandizes, prohibited in the manner just described, shall return to their warehouses or shops.

I have given a separate commission, with all the necessary powers, to the marquis de Squilace, superintendant-general of my revenues, that in that quality he may see that this prohibited trade be not suffered, and that he may immediately issue such orders and instructions as he shall think necessary for this important end; taking cognizance, in the first instance,

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instance, in person, and by his sub-delegates, of the disputes which shall arise on occasion of this contraband, with an appeal to the council of finances in the hall of justice; except however what relates to contraband military stores, arms, and other effects belonging to war, particularized in treaties of peace, the cognizance of disputes on these articles belonging to the council of war and the military tribunals.

And I command that all that is above be observed, executed, and accomplished, under the heavy penalties contained in the laws, pragmatiques, and royal cedulae, issued on like occasions in times past, which are to extend also to all my subjects, and the inhabitants of my kingdoms and estates, without any exception, and notwithstanding any privileges; my will being, that this declaration of war shall come as soon as possible to the knowledge of my subjects, as well that they may guard their persons and effects from the insults of the English, as that they may labour to molest them by naval armaments, and by other methods authorized by the law of arms. Given at Buen-Retiro, Jan. 16, 1761.

I THE KING.

The king of Spain had no sooner declared war against Great-Britain, than he resolved to invade Portugal; for to the crown of that kingdom he laid claim. Perceiving in the king of Portugal some partialities for the English, he, in conjunction with the French, required by several memorials, that the king of Portugal join in the confederacy against England, and that Spanish troops be admitted into the principal towns and ports of Portugal. The Portuguese monarch repeatedly desired

fired to continue in his neutrality ; but that was not allowed him. The king of Spain instantly denounced war by the following declaration :

The king of Spain's declaration of war against Portugal.

Neither my representations, founded in justice and utility, nor the fraternal persuasives with which I accompanied them, have been able to alter the king of Portugal's blind affection for the English. His ministers, engaged by long habit, continue obstinate in their partiality, to the great prejudice of his subjects; and I have met with nothing but refusals, and been insulted by his injurious preference of the friendship of England to that of Spain and France. I have even received a personal affront by the arresting of my ambassador, don Joseph Torero at Estremoz, who was detained there in violation of his character, after he had been suffered to depart from Lisbon, and had arrived on the frontier, in virtue of passports from that court; but notwithstanding such insults were powerful motives for me to keep no longer any measures with the king of Portugal, nevertheless adhering to my first resolution of not making an offensive war against the Portuguese, unless forced to it, I deferred giving orders to my general to treat them with the rigours of war; but having read the edict of the king of Portugal of the 18th of last month, in which, misrepresenting the upright intentions of the most christian king and myself, he imputes to us a pre-concerted design of invading his dominions, and orders all his vassals to treat us as enemies, and to break off all correspondence with us both by sea and land; and forbids the use of all productions coming from our territories, confiscating the goods of the French and Spaniards, and likewise ordering them to leave Portugal in a fortnight; which term, however straight, has been further abridged, and many of my subjects have been expelled, plundered, and ill-treated, before the expiration of it. And the marquis de Sarria having found, that the Portuguese, ungrateful to his goodness and moderation, and the exactness with which they have been paid for every thing they have furnished for my troops, have proceeded so far as to excite the people and soldiery against my army, so that it would be dishonourable to carry my forbearance any farther. For these causes I have resolved, that from this day my troops shall treat Portugal as an enemy's country, that the property of the Portuguese shall be confiscated throughout my dominions, that all the Portuguese shall leave Spain in a fortnight, and that all commerce with them shall be prohibited for the future.

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Decree,

Decree, or declaration of war, issued by order of his Portuguese majesty against Spain.

Whereas the ambassador of Castile, don Joseph Torrero, in conjunction with don Jacob O'Dunne, minister plenipotentiary of France, by their representations, and the answers I have given thereto, it appears that one of the projects agreed on between the aforesaid powers in the family-compact was. to dispose of these kingdoms as if they were their own, to invade them, to occupy them, and usurp them, under the incompatible pretext of assisting me against enemies, which they supposed for such, that never existed; and whereas different general officers of his catholic majesty have successively, since the 30th of April last, spread various papers through my dominions, prescribing laws and sanction to my subjects, invading at the same time my provinces with an army divided into various bodies, attacking my fortified places, and perpetrating all the aforesaid hostilities, under pretence of directing them to the advantage and glory of my crown, and of my subjects, and in such light even the catholic king himself has represented the case to me; and whereas, notwithstanding all these contradictory and unheard-of motives, an offensive war has been made against me, contrary to truth and justice, by the aforesaid two monarchs, through mutual consent: I have ordered it to be made known to all my subjects, that they hold all disturbers or violators of the independent sovereignty of my crown, and all invaders of my kingdom, as public aggressors and declared enemies; that from henceforward, in natural defence, and necessary retortion, they be treated as aggressors and declared enemies in all and every sense; and that to oppress them in their persons and effects, all military persons and others, authorised by me, made use of the most executive means which in these cases are supported by all laws; and that in like manner, all said military and every other person or persons, of whatever rank, quality or condition they be, quit all communication and correspondence with the said enemies, under the penalties decreed against rebels and traitors. I likewise order that all the subjects of France and Spain, that reside in this city, or in the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarva, retire within the precise term of 15 days, to reckon from the day of the publication of this decree, otherwise they shall be treated as enemies, and their effects confiscated; and that in all the wet as well as dry parts of this kingdom, all commerce and communication cease with the aforesaid monarchies of France and Spain, and all fruits,

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manufactures,

manufactures, or goods of any kind, of the produce of the said monarchies, be deemed contraband, and the entry, sale and use of them be prohibited. Ordered that this decree be affixed and transmitted to every county, that it may come to the knowledge of all my subjects. I have given orders to the intendant general of the police to grant passports to all the aforesaid, who have entered these kingdoms, *bona fide*, on their business, that they be permitted to retire unmolested.

Palace of Nossa Senhora-da Adjuda, 18th of May, 1762.

With the rubrick of his majesty.

Published 23d May, 1762.

ANTONIO LUIZ DE CORDES:

As by the family compact no one could be the enemy of either France or Spain, without being an enemy to both, France, agreeable to this engagement, likewise declared war against Portugal.

The French king's declaration of war against Portugal.

The king and the catholic king being obliged to support a war against England, have entered into reciprocal engagements to curb the excessive ambition of that crown, and the despotism which it pretends to usurp in every sea, and particularly in the East and West Indies, over the trade and navigation of other powers.

Their majesties judged that one proper step for attaining this end would be, to invite the king of Portugal to enter into their alliance. It was natural to think that the proposals which were made to that prince on this subject, in the name of his majesty and of his catholic majesty, would be readily accepted. This opinion was founded on the consideration of what the most faithful king owed to himself and to his people, who from the beginning of the present century have groaned under the imperious yoke of the English. Besides, the event hath but too clearly shewn the necessity of the just measures taken by France and Spain with regard to a suspicious and dangerous neutrality that had all the inconveniences of a concealed war.

The memorials presented to the court of Lisbon on this subject have been made public: all Europe hath seen the solid reasons of justice and conveniency, which were the foundation of their demand on the king of Portugal: to those were added, on the part of Spain, motives of the most tender friendship and affinity, which

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May, 1762.

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which ought to have made the strongest and most salutary impression on the mind of the most faithful king.

But these powerful and just considerations were so far from determining that prince to unite with his majesty and his catholic majesty, that he absolutely rejected their offers, and chose to sacrifice their alliance, his own glory, and the good of his people, to his unlimited and blind devotion to the will of England.

Such conduct leaving no doubt concerning the king of Portugal's true intentions, the king and the catholic king could consider him, from that time, only as a direct and personal enemy, who under the artful pretext of a neutrality which would not be observed, would deliver up his ports to the disposal of the English, to serve for sheltering places for their ships, and to enable them to hurt France and Spain with more security and with more effect.

Nevertheless, his majesty and his catholic majesty thought it their duty to keep measures with the most faithful king; and if the Spanish troops have entered Portugal, this invasion, which was become indispensably necessary, was not accompanied with any declaration of war; and the troops have behaved with all the circumspection that could be required even in a friendly and neutral state.

All this moderation has been thrown away: the king of Portugal hath just now declared war in form against France and Spain. This unexpected step forced the catholic king to make the like declaration against Portugal; and the king [of France] can no longer defer taking the same resolution.

Independent of the motives which are common to the two monarchs, each had separate grievances to alledge against Portugal, which of themselves would be sufficient to justify the extremity to which their majesties see themselves with regret obliged to proceed.

Every one knows the unjust and violent attack made by the English, in 1759, on some of the [French] king's ships under the cannon of the Portugueze forts at Lagos. His majesty demanded of the most faithful king to procure him restitution of these ships: but that prince's ministers, in contempt of what was due to the rules of justice, the laws of the sea, the sovereignty and territory of their master (all which were indecently violated by the most scandalous infraction of the rights of sovereigns and of nations) in answer to the repeated requisitions of the king's
ambassador

ambassador on this head, made only vague speeches with an air of indifference that bordered on derision.

At the same time, the court of Lisbon, pretending to be ignorant that sovereigns, who hold their rank of their birth only and the dignity of their crown, can never permit, under any pretext, any potentate to attempt to infringe prerogatives and rights belonging to the antiquity and majesty of their throne, hath pretended to establish, without distinction, an alternative of precedence between all the ambassadors and foreign ministers about the king of Portugal. The king, being informed by his ambassador of the notification that had been made to him of this extraordinary and unexampled regulation, signified in writing to the most faithful king his just dissatisfaction; and his majesty declared, that he would never suffer any attempt to be made to diminish the right essentially inherent in the representative character, with which he is pleased to honour his ambassadors and ministers.

However justly the king was authorised to express, at that time, his displeasure on account of these grievances, and several other subjects of complaint which he had received from the court of Portugal, his majesty contented himself with recalling his ambassador, and continued to keep up a correspondence with the most faithful king, which he very sincerely desired to render more intimate and more lasting.

That prince, therefore, can only blame himself for the calamities of a war, which he ought, on every account, to have avoided, and which he hath been the first to declare.

His offers to observe an exact neutrality might have been listened to by the king and the catholic king, if past experience had not taught them to guard against the illusion and danger of such proposals.

In the beginning of the present century, the court of Lisbon was very forward to acknowledge king Philip V. of glorious memory, and contracted formal engagements with France and Spain: Peter II. who at that time filled the throne of Portugal, seemed to enter cordially into the alliance of the two crowns; but after dissembling his secret intentions for three years, he broke all his promises, and the neutrality which he had afterwards solicited, and which, in a letter to the republic of the united provinces he had even advised her to embrace, and joined the enemies of France and Spain. The same confidence, and the same security, on the part of the two crowns, in the present state of things,

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things, would undoubtedly have been followed by the like defection in the court of Lisbon.

United to the catholic king by indissoluble sentiments of tender friendship and common interests, the king hopes that their united efforts will be favoured by the God of hosts, and will in the end compel the king of Portugal to conduct himself on principles more conformable to sound policy, the good of his people, and the ties of blood which unite him to his majesty and his catholic majesty.

The king commands and enjoins all his subjects, vassals, and servants, to fall upon the subjects of the king of Portugal; and expressly prohibits them from having any communication, commerce, or intelligence with them, on pain of death; and accordingly his majesty hath from this day revoked, and hereby revokes, all licences, passports, safe-guards, and safe-conducts, contrary to these presents, that may have been granted by him or his lieutenant generals, and other officers; declaring them null and void, and of no effect; and forbidding all persons to pay any regard thereto. And whereas, in contempt of the XVth article of the treaty of peace between France and Portugal, signed at Utrecht, April 11, 1713 (and by which it is expressly stipulated, 'That in case of a rupture between the two crowns, the space of six months after the said rupture shall be granted their subjects respectively to sell or remove their effects, and withdraw their persons if they think fit') the king of Portugal hath just now ordered, that all the French who are in his kingdom should leave it in the space of fifteen days, and that their effects should be confiscated and sequestered; his majesty, by way of just reprisals, commands, that all the Portuguese in his dominions shall, in like manner, leave them within the space of fifteen days from the date hereof, and that all their effects shall be confiscated.

Verfailles, June 20, 1762.

Before any of these declarations were published, it had been resolved in England to succour the king of Portugal; therefore a number of troops were embarked as soon as possible; and as there was no general, either English or Portuguese, that was supposed to possess such military talents, as could entitle him to the investiture of the chief command, that

that high rank was conferred on the count La Lippe Buckebourg, an officer in the allied army, and reckoned a most skilful engineer. On the other hand, the French assembled 12,000 men for the assistance of Spain. But they never entered the field time enough for action. The Spanish army being nearest to the devoted scene, entered Portugal the beginning of June, consisting of 56 battalions and 45 squadrons, under the command of the marquis de Saria. They made themselves masters of Miranda, Braganza, Torre di Moncorvo, and Chaves, without much loss or opposition. They demolished the fortifications of the two former cities, and left a strong garrison in the latter. They divided their forces, which were in the province of Trás-os-Montes, into three parts: the principal body was encamped near Miranda: the second, consisting of 5000 men, at Torre di Moncorvo: the third of the same number at Chaves. Another body of 8000 men entered the Portuguese frontier near Almeyda. This corps suffered by desertion, and its detached parties were often repulsed by the militia of the country. The summer months in that warm climate being unfavourable to military expeditions, the Spaniards could do little more than chastise the peasants of the country, whose natural aversion overcame the oath of obedience which they had taken, and who did every thing in their power to cut off the convoys of provisions designed for their camp. These peasants, and the Portuguese companies called auxiliaries, however were easily defeated and dispersed. At last the Spaniards formed the siege of Almeyda, a frontier town in the province of Trás-os-Montes. On the 25th of August this fortress was surrendered, after a siege of only nine days, and before a practicable breach

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breach had been made, by the governor Alexandro de Palleres Caello de Brito, for which he was afterwards put under confinement at Coimbra; 1500 regulars and 2000 peasants were permitted to retire with the honours of war, on condition of not bearing arms for six months. A great number of cannon and a large quantity of ammunition were found in the place. The British troops, who had been landed in Portugal some time, but on account of the summer months could not act, began now to take the field. On the 27th of August general Burgoyne, with part of his regiment of light dragoons, pushed into the Spanish town of Valença d'Alcantara sword in hand. The guards in the square were all killed or made prisoners before they could use their arms. After the body of the British regiment was come up and formed in the square, some desperate parties attempted an attack; but they were entirely cut to pieces. The general gave no quarter to those who fired single shots from the windows. At last he forced some priests through the town to declare to the people, that he was determined to set fire to it at the four corners, unless all the doors and windows were instantly thrown open. This menace had the desired effect. The garrison, consisting only of 82, instantly surrendered. The rest had been destroyed. General La Lippe, who command the grand army of British and Portuguese, took post at a small distance from Lisbon, and strongly occupied all the roads and avenues leading to that capital, in order to protect it. The prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, who had embarked for Portugal with the British troops, was by his Portuguese majesty complimented with the command of a regiment. In the meantime lord Tyrawley, who had been commander of

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the British troops, resigned, upon a difference between him and the court of Lisbon, and was succeeded by lord Loudon. On the other hand, the Spanish general, the marquis de Sarria, solicited and obtained his dismissal, and the count d'Aranda was appointed general in his room. On the 28th of September the Portuguese abandoned Celorico: the Spaniards afterwards took possession of Penamacor, Salvaterra, and Segura. In the second of these places was a garrison of 400, which capitulated on condition of not serving for six months. Early in October the Spaniards made themselves masters of the defile of St. Simon, and of Villa Velha, a Moorish castle near the Tagus. The latter was supported for some time by general Burgoyne across the river. A few days after colonel Lee, with 400 men, chiefly British, attacked the Spanish encampment near Villa Velha, burnt some magazines, spiked up six pieces of cannon, brought off 60 mules, a few prisoners, and a quantity of valuable baggage. The heavy rains falling at this time prevented the operations being carried on, and by the time the season was advanced for renewing the work, the preliminaries of peace were signed, which put an end to war; but it is believed the Spaniards would never have made much progress in Portugal; for they were in great want of provisions and forage, and being in a mountainous part of the country, could get none from Spain: besides these disadvantages, they were exposed to the vigilant and vigorous attacks of the British troops, under the direction of an officer of experience and abilities.

In England great attention was paid in the spring of the year to the equipping a grand expedition. The fleet consisted of 19 ships of the line and about

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18 frigates, &c. commanded by Sir George Poc-
cocke, with 150 transports, having on board 10,000
troops, under the command of lord Albemarle.
These being destined against the Havannah, passed
through the old streights of Bahama, between the
27th of May and the 5th of June. On the 7th of
June the troops were landed, without opposition,
between two forts on the rivers Bocanao and Cox-
imar, about six miles to the eastward of the Ha-
vannah. Captain Hervey in the Dragon silenced
Coximar castle, and enabled the army to pass that
river unmolested. On the 8th a small corps, under
colonel Carleton, repulsed and dispersed the Spanish
regiments of Edinburgh dragoons, two companies
of grenadiers, and many officers, together with a
body of militia on horseback, the whole amounting
to near 6000 men advantageously posted upon a
rising ground between the British army and the vil-
lage of Guanamacoa. On the 11th the fort of Cho-
rera (on the west side) was abandoned by the Spa-
niards, after having been battered by the Belleisle,
captain Knight; and colonel Carleton attacked a re-
doubt upon the Cavanos (an hill above Moro
castle) which he carried with little resistance and
loss: a post was established here under the name of
the Spanish Redoubt. By the 12th, the Spaniards
had sunk three ships of the line in the entrance of the
harbour's mouth, by which it was effectually blocked
up and secured. On the 15th a detachment of 1200
men under colonel Howe, and 800 marines under
the majors Campbel and Collins, were landed and
encamped at Chorera, about seven miles to the
westward of the Havannah, where they engaged the
intention of the enemy and proved of considerable
service. After the previous and necessary prepara-
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rations were completed, which employed the time of the army from the 12th of June to the 1st of July, the artillery began to play upon Moro castle. The enemy landed on the 29th of June two detachments two detachments from the Hauannah of 500 men each, consisting of grenadiers and chosen troops, together with armed negroes and mulattoes, to interrupt the besiegers in their operations. One of these detachments marched upon the right under the Moro; the other upon the left neat the limekiln, where the besiegers had raised one or two batteries to remove the shipping to a greater distance, which had annoyed them considerably: the piquets and advanced posts repulsed these detachments, wounded many, and killed or took prisoners 200 men, with the loss only of 10 men killed and wounded on their side. On the first of July the Cambridge of 80 guns, Dragon of 74, and Marlborough of 66, all under the command of captain Hervey, attacked the north-east part of Moro castle for the space of near six hours, when they were called off. The two former ships received great damage from the height of the fort, whilst the fort itself suffered very little from their fire. This attack divided the attention of the garrison, and enabled the army to obtain a superiority of guns on the land side. Captain Goostry of the Cambridge was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and his place was supplied by captain Lindsey of the Trent, who acquitted himself with honour during the remainder of the action. The conduct of captain Campbell of the Stirling Castle was censured by captain Hervey, and ordered to be examined into by a court martial: 42 seamen were killed and 140 wounded in this desperate service.

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Captain Mackenzie of the *Defiance* brought the *Vengenza* frigate of 26 guns, and the *Marte* of 18, out of the harbour of Port Mariel, after some firing. All but 20 men had left them. The harbour of Port Mariel is about seven leagues to the leeward of Chorera, and was afterwards taken possession of by Sir George Pococke as a place of security for the shipping against the dangers of the season, in which he was at that time advanced. A schooner loaded with coffee, and bound from Hispaniola to New Orleans, fell into the hands of the cruizers belonging to the fleet. On the 2d of July the grand battery caught fire, and the labour of 5 or 600 men for seventeen days was destroyed. Had not this accident intervened, the castle would probably have been reduced in a short time. On the 11th the merlons of the grand battery again caught fire, and the whole was irreparably consumed. Amidst these difficulties, and the uninterrupted communication which the castle maintained with the town of the Havannah and the ships, together with the nature of the soil which was all rocky, and the consequent necessity of carrying on all the approaches above ground, the siege proved a work of time. From the 17th to the 22d the besiegers proceeded against the Moro by sap and mines. About four in the morning of the 22d, fifteen hundred men made a sally from the Havannah, divided into three parties; two of these parties were repulsed and driven back into the town; the third retreated without venturing upon an engagement. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart of the 90th regiment, at the head of 30 men only, sustained the attack of one of these parties for an hour, when he was supported by about 100 sappers and the third battalion of Royal Americans.

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ricans. The loss of the Spaniards was computed at near 400 men in killed, drowned and taken: that of the British troops amounted to about 50 killed and wounded: brigadier Carleton was among the latter. On the 26th a two decked Spanish merchant ship was sunk by an howitzer; and on the 28th a large merchant ship was destroyed by lightning in the harbour. The works were continued from the 23d to the 30th, and the usual advances were made, step by step; and on the 30th two mines were sprung; one in the counterscarp, the other in the right bastion; the latter had the most considerable effect, and made a practicable breach. Orders were immediately given for the assault. Twenty-two officers, 15 serjeants, and 281 rank and file, commanded by the gallant lieutenant-colonel Stuart of the 90th regiment, together with 150 sappers under a captain's command; all sustained by 17 officers, 14 serjeants, and 150 rank and file, making in the whole 499 men; mounted with the greatest resolution, formed expeditiously on the top of the breach, drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts, and planted his majesty's standard upon the bastion. Thus fell Moro castle after a siege of 29 days. Of the Spaniards, don Louis de Velasco, captain of the Reyna, colonel and commander in chief of the castle, was mortally wounded in defending the colours sword in hand; a brave officer, deservedly regretted both by friends and enemies; the marquis Gonzales, captain of the Aquilon, colonel and second in command in the castle, was killed; their loss in the assault amounted to 345 killed or drowned, 37 wounded, and 326 made prisoners; in all 708. The loss of the British troops was trifling, consisting in 14 killed and 28 wounded.

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On the 10th of August in the morning, the batteries being prepared to play from the Cavannos on the east side, and ground being ready to be opened on the west side, lord Albemarle summoned the governor of the Havannah to capitulate, who returned a civil but resolute answer; the next day, the artillery men and sailors silenced, in about six hours, all the guns in the Punta Fort and the north bastion of the town. The governor hung out a white flag and beat a parley. The capitulation was signed on the 13th, by which the town of Havannah with all its dependencies surrendered to his majesty's arms; all ships in the harbour, all money and effects *whatever* belonging to the king of Spain; all the artillery, arms, ammunition, and naval stores without reserve, and all the catholic king's slaves, were to be delivered up to Sir George Pococke and lord Albemarle; the regular troops, sailors, and marines, all making part of the garrison, were to be transported to the nearest port of Old Spain at the expence of his Britannic majesty, and the militia were to deliver up their arms to the commissary appointed to receive them. The Tigre, Reyna, Soverano, Infante, and Aquilon, of 70 guns, the America, Conquestado, San Genaro and Santo Antonio, of 60 guns, fell into the hands of the conquerors; the Neptuno of 70, the Asia of 64, and the Europa of 60, were sunk in the entrance of the harbour; there were two more ships of war on the stocks, and several merchant ships. The regulars who capitulated were composed of the second regiment of Spain, the second regiment of Arragon, the Havannah regiment, artillery companies, Edinburgh and Havannah dragoons, amounting to 936, exclusive of the prisoners on board the men of war, and the sick and

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and wounded on shore. In the course of the siege, the loss of the British troops consisted in 11 officers, 15 serjeants, 4 drummers, and 260 rank and file killed; 19 officers, 49 serjeants, 6 drummers, and 576 rank and file wounded; 39 officers, 14 serjeants, 11 drummers, and 632 rank and file dead of diseases and the climate; and one serjeant, 4 drummers, with 125 rank and file missing; 4 officers, 1 drummer, and 51 rank and file died of their wounds. The whole amounted to 1822. The officers of note were, the lieutenant-colonels Thomas, Gordon, and Leith; the majors M'Neil, Mirrie, and Ferron; the captains Suttie, Tyrwhitt, Schaak, M'Donald, Menzies, Crofton, Windus, and Goreham, *dead*; captain Strachey *killed*; brigadier Carleton and the captains Balfour, Morris, Spendlove and Gordon, *wounded*. Three hundred and fifty-one pieces of brass and iron ordnance were found in the Moro castle, Punta, and the town of Havannah. Major-general Keppel commanded the attack of the Moro castle. Sir George Pococke, commodore Keppel, lieutenant-general Elliot, in particular; and, in general, every officer, soldier and sailor, carried on the service with the greatest spirit and zeal. The seamen cheerfully assisted in landing cannon and ordnance stores, manning batteries, making fascines, and supplying the army with water. The unanimity which subsisted between the army and fleet cannot be better described than in Sir George Pococke's own words: ' Indeed,' ' says he, ' it is doing injustice to both, to mention them as ' two corps; since each has endeavoured, with the ' most constant and cheerful emulation, to render it ' but one; uniting in the same principles of honour and glory for their king and country's service.'

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This capture of 12 great ships of the line (including the three which were sunk) besides two men of war on the stocks, three frigates, and an armed storeship, was a more severe blow to Spain than that which she felt from England in 1718, when Sir George Byng and capt. Walton took or burnt off cape Passaro and on the coast of Sicily, one ship of 74 guns, one of 70, four of 60, two of 54, one of 44, three of 40, one of 36, one of 30, and one of 24; in all 15: and if the situation of the Havannah, and the treasure found in it are considered, perhaps it may be safely affirmed, that the Spaniards have not suffered such a sensible and humiliating loss since the defeat of their celebrated armada. The narrow pass between the town and castle having been closely watched, a letter was intercepted from the governor of the former to the governor of the latter, desire him to maintain himself in the possession of the castle, and expressing his own inability to make any defence. After the castle was gallantly taken by assault, lord Albemarle acquainted the governor of the town, that he had been well informed of the weak state of the place, and that it would save much bloodshed to surrender; this was refused, Lord Albemarle afterwards sent his own letter to him, which immediately brought on the general capitulation.

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C H A P. XXI.

Naval transactions.

ON the 4th of February the *Acteon*, one of admiral Rodney's squadron, fell in with off Tobago, and took a large Spanish storeship, of 800 tons burthen, laden with cannon, powder, small arms, and ordnance stores for la Guayra. On the 11th of the same month the *Boutin*, a French East Indiaman, coming from Mauritius, was taken by the *Blonde* man of war: she was laden with coffee and pepper, which sold for 23,000*l*. On the 13th of March, a Spanish frigate of 26 guns and 300 men, called la *Ventura*, fell in with, off cape Tiberone, the *Fowey* man of war of 24 guns and only 134 men. She was coming from the Havannah, and had been paying the Spanish troops at Porto Rico and St. Domingo. The engagement having continued an hour and a half, both ships sheered off to repair their damages, which being done they began again; but it now being dark, they only exchanged a few broadsides. At day-light in the morning the *Fowey* bore down on the Spaniard, and engaged her with more fury than before. The dispute was long and well maintained: at length, at half past eight, the enemy struck. She was reduced to almost a wreck, and the *Fowey* was no less damaged; for when the *Ventura* struck, neither ship had a boat that could swim, or tackles left to hoist one out with. Both ships made the best of their way to Jamaica. The Spaniards lost between 40 and 50 men, and the English about 20. On the 3d of April the *Hussar* attacked, in Tiberone bay

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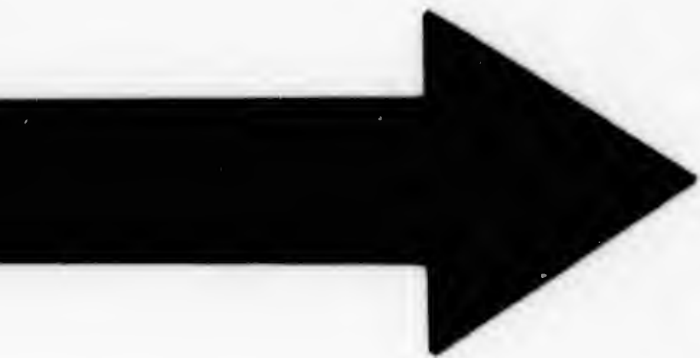
bay in the West-Indies, four ships of force; one of 16 guns was burnt; another of 14 was sunk; and the third of 16 and the fourth of 12, laden with flour and indigo, were cut out and carried to Jamaica. In this enterprize the Hussar had only one man killed and 12 wounded. On the 21st of May the Active frigate, capt. Sawyer, and the Favourite sloop, capt. Pownal, took off cape St. Vincent, and carried into Gibraltar, the Hermione, a Spanish register ship of 26 guns, bound from Lima to Cadiz. She had on board 2,600,000 hard dollars, together with a cargo of an immense value. On the 20th of June the Brilliant privateer, capt. Crichton, with the York privateer and sloop of Bristol, silenced a fort of 12 guns upon cape Finisterre, landed and struck the Spanish colours and hoisted English ones; sunk two vessels in the harbour, and brought away four others laden with wine. In Autumn a considerable fleet was equipped, and sailed to the coast of Spain, under the command of admiral Hawke, as was supposed, to intercept some rich Spanish ships; but in a short time the fleet was recalled, which did not fail to surprize the nation.

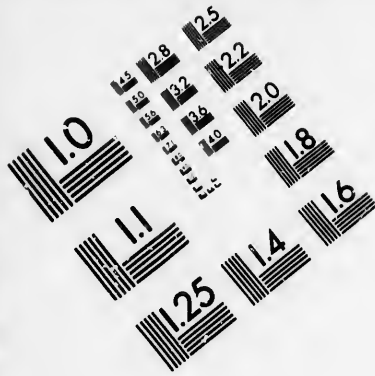
C H A P. XXII.

*Martinico, &c. in the West-Indies reduced.---
Newfoundland taken and retaken.*

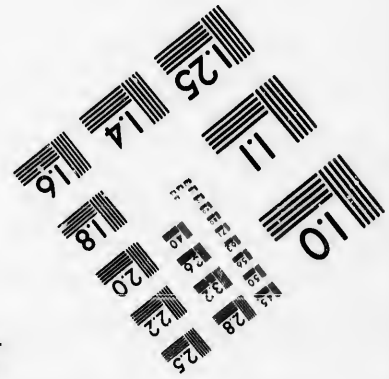
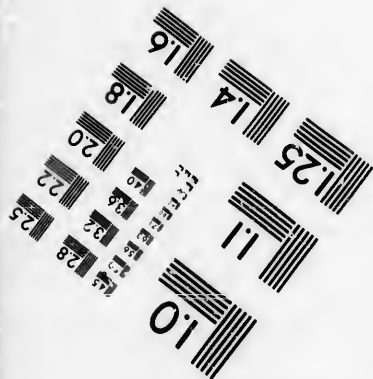
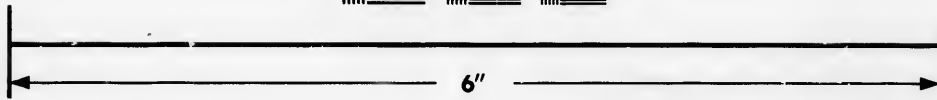
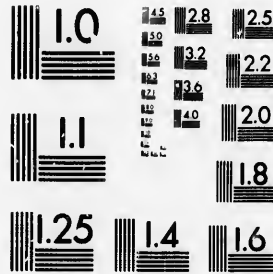
SOOON after the reduction of Belleisle, an expedition was set on foot for the reduction of Martinico. The preparations were greatly interrupted by







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by the negociation for peace between M. Bussy and the ministry. As that negociation proved fruitless, the expedition, which had been begun by Mr. Pitt, and intended against Martinico, was revived by those who succeeded upon his resignation, with only this difference, *the appointment of another naval commander.* In the month of October, 1761, admiral Rodney sailed from England with a squadron of ships, having under convoy a number of transports. He touched at Belleisle, from which he took four battalions, and then proceeded to Barbadoes, where he was joined by a body of troops from North America, under the direction of general Monckton, who now took the command of the troops, amounting in the whole to 18 battalions. On the 5th of January, 1762, the fleet, which had been joined by the ships on this station, and was now 18 of the line, besides frigates, &c. set sail with the troops from Barbadoes; and on the 8th the transports with the troops on board anchored in St. Anne's bay, in the eastern part of Martinico. In the course of this service, the *Raisnable* man of war was, by the ignorance of the pilots, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence she could not be disengaged, though the men were saved, together with her stores and artillery. The general, however, judging this an improper place for a disembarkation, two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Haviland and Grant, were detached under convoy to the bay of Petite-Anse, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the seamen and marines. These brigades were soon followed by the whole army, and the rest of the squadron; and other batteries being silenced, general Monckton and the forces landed without further opposition on the 16th, in the neighbourhood of

of the Cas des Navires. The brigadiers Haviland and Grant had made a descent in the other place, and marched to the ground opposite to Pigeon Island, which commands the harbour of Fort Royal; but the roads being found impassable for artillery, Mr. Monckton altered his first design. The two brigades, however, with the light infantry under lieutenant-colonel Scot, while they remained on shore, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes, who had been sent over from Fort Royal; but they met with such a warm reception as compelled them to retreat with precipitation, after having sustained some loss.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, which were spared from the squadron, the general resolved to besiege the town of Fort Royal; but, in order to make his approaches, he found it necessary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortueson, which the enemy had fortified, and seemed resolved to defend to the last extremity. The English commander having erected a battery to favour the passage of a ravine which separated him from those heights, made a disposition for the attack, which was put in execution on the 24th day of January. In the dawn of the morning, brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, supported by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced posts of the enemy, under a brisk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Rufane, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raised along the shore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, supported by the brigade of Walsh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if possible, to turn the enemy. They succeeded in
their

their attempt, while the grenadiers were engaged in driving the French from one post to another; and this motion contributed in a great measure to the success of the day. By nine in the morning they were in possession of the Morne Tortueson, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was fortified. The enemy retired in confusion to the town of Fort Royal, and to the Morne Garnier, which, being more high and inaccessible than the other, was deemed impracticable. During the contest for the possession of Tortueson, brigadier Haviland, at the head of his brigade, with two battalions of highlanders, and another corps of light infantry under major Leland, was ordered to pass the ravine a good way to the left, and turn a body of the enemy posted on the opposite heights, in hope of being able to divide their force; but the country was so difficult of access, that it was late before this passage was effected. In the mean time, the general, perceiving the enemy giving way on all sides, ordered colonel Scot's light infantry, with Walsh's brigade, and a division of the grenadiers, to advance on the left to a plantation, from whence they drove the enemy, and where they took possession of an advantageous post opposite to the Morne Garnier. They were supported on the right by Haviland's corps, when they passed the ravine; and the road between the two plantations, which they occupied, was covered by the marines. Next day the English began to erect batteries against the citadel of Fort Royal; but they were greatly annoyed from Morne Garnier. On the 27th, about four in the afternoon, the enemy made a furious attack, with the greatest part of their forces, on the posts occupied by the light infantry and brigadier Haviland; but they were so roughly handled,

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handled, that they soon retired in disorder. Such was the ardour of the English troops, that they passed the ravine with the fugitives, seized their batteries, and took possession of the ground, being supported by the brigade of Walsh and the grenadiers under Grant, who marched up to their assistance when the attack began. Major Leland, with his light infantry, finding no resistance on the left, advanced to the redoubt which was abandoned; and the brigadiers Walsh, Grant, and Haviland, moved up in order to support him; so that by nine at night the British troops were in possession of this very strong post, that commanded the citadel, against which their own artillery was turned in the morning. The French regular troops had fled into the town, and the militia dispersed in the country. The governor of the citadel perceiving the English employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which he was commanded, ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February the gate of the citadel was delivered up to the English; and next morning the garrison, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were sent from different quarters of the island, desiring a capitulation: but the governor-general, Mr. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he proposed to defend with uncommon vigour. On the 7th, Pidgeon Island, which was strongly fortified, and counted one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons, and obtained a capitulation similar to that of the citadel. It was agreed, that the troops of the French king should be transported to Roch-
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fort in France; that the militia should lay down their arms, and remain prisoners of war until the fate of the island should be determined. These signal successes were obtained at the small expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loss of the enemy was much more considerable. The most remarkable circumstance of this enterprize was the surprizing boldness and alacrity of the seamen, who, by force of arm, drew a number of heavy mortars and ships cannon up the steepest mountains to a considerable distance from the sea, and across the enemy's line of fire, to which they exposed themselves with amazing indifference. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal; and a much greater number, from other ports in the island, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in consequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other respects, were very favourably treated. Just when general Monckton was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, a very large and flourishing town, situated to leeward of Fort Royal, two deputies arrived with proposals of capitulation for the whole island on the part of Mr. de la Touche, the governor general. On the 14th the terms were settled, and the capitulation signed: on the 16th the English commander took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood; while the governor-general, with Mr. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the staff-officers, and about 320 grenadiers, were embarked in transports, to be conveyed to France. The inhabitants of Martinique found themselves considerably gainers by their change of sovereign; inasmuch as, together with the enjoyment of their

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own religion, laws, and property, they had an opportunity of exporting their produce to advantage, and being supplied with all necessaries from the dominions of Great-Britain; whereas, before they fell under the English government, their commerce was almost entirely interrupted, and they were obliged to depend even for subsistence upon the most precarious and hazardous methods of supply. By the reduction of Martinique, the islands of Antigua, St. Christopher's, and Nevis, together with the ships trading to these colonies, were perfectly secured against the depredations of the enemy; and Great-Britain acquired an annual addition in commerce, at least to the amount of one million sterling. While general Monckton was employed in regulating the capitulation, commodore Swanton sailed with a small squadron and some troops to the island of Grenada, those of the Grenadillas, and the St. Vincent, one of the neutral islands, all of which were taken without the loss of a man. The island of St. Lucia, which is the principal and most valuable of the neutral islands, about this time surrendered at discretion to captain Hervey.

An insufficient and trifling force being kept in North America, the French embraced the opportunity of seizing Newfoundland; accordingly two ships of the line and three frigates, commanded by M. de Ternay, with a body of troops under the command of count de Hanfouville, slipped out of Brest in the spring, and on the 25th of June appeared off Newfoundland, where they instantly landed, and on the 27th obliged the town of St. John's to surrender. Every thing belonging to the fishery in this and the contiguous harbours was entirely destroyed, and other considerable damage done.

done. As soon as Sir Jeffery Amherst at New York heard of this affair, he detached lieutenant-colonel Amherst with a body of troops, which being put on board some transports, sailed for Halifax, in order to join lord Colville, who commanded on that station; yet had but one ship of the line and a frigate, until joined by the Antelope with the trade from Europe, which on hearing of the disaster at St. John's, sailed away for Placentia, another harbour in Newfoundland, which the French had not ventured to attack. On the 11th of September colonel Amherst joined lord Colville, and as soon as possible proper dispositions were made for landing the troops on Newfoundland, which was done on the 13th of September near St. John's. The enemy were instantly driven from their out posts, and put to flight on every side. The French commodore seeing there was no hope of preserving the place, stole out of the harbour in the night, and shamefully fled before an inferior force. The town being now abandoned, the garrison, consisting of 689 men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

C H A P. XXIII.

Affairs in Germany.

THE first event, which this year distinguished the affairs of Germany, was the death of Elizabeth empress of Russia, which happened on the 5th of January, in the 52d year of her age, and

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and the 22d of her reign. She was succeeded by Peter III. her nephew and duke of Holstein. Her death delivered the king of Prussia from a formidable and determined enemy; as her successor adopted not only a different but an opposite system soon after his accession he agreed to a mutual exchange of prisoners without ransom, and to a general suspension of arms; he offered to sacrifice his own conquests to the re-establishment of peace, and invited all his allies to follow his example. By the accounts which were published of his early proceedings, he seemed, at least, to attend to the domestic happiness of his subjects; for he conferred upon his nobility the same independance which that order enjoyed in the other monarchies of Europe; and he lowered the heavy duties upon salt in favour of the commonalty. Thus gratifying both the greatest and meanest of his people, he appeared to those at a distance to be strengthening himself in the hearts of the Russians, and to be ambitious of a popularity equal to that which had been bestowed upon any of his predecessors. This was only the judgment of persons at a distance; those who were nearer the scene were hardly able to perceive any thing but a blind precipitation in affairs of moment, blended with a zeal for trifles. The diversified errors of his government made it believed, that he was meditating the design of setting aside the great duke Paul, in favour of the deposed prince Ivan. A design of such a nature must have arisen either from extreme madness, or from some family suspicion, which it would not become me to insinuate. He had hastily made peace with Prussia, before he threatened Denmark with a war, on account of his pretensions to a part of the dutchy of Hclstein-Schleswick in Germany.

Germany. He drove every thing before him with an extravagant and thoughtless rapidity. Instead of courting the affections of his guards, who had made and unmade the monarchs of Russia; some of these he slighted, all, perhaps, he affronted, by taking a ridiculous pleasure in the uniform of his Prussian regiment, and by placing an idle-confidence in his Holstein troops. He was obligated to communicate with the Greek church; yet he insulted the rites of it, and distinguished the fast days by a large piece of beef. He had not the virtues of the private man to compensate for the defects of the prince. His propensity to the northern vice of intemperance in drinking betrayed him into a discovery of his ill-concerted measures; whilst an open disregard of the empress, his consort confirmed her apprehensions of danger, and taught her to consult her own security. A conspiracy was formed, and he was deposed by the intrigues of his consort, who succeeded to the throne. Among the conspirators were, the empress, and the velt marshal Rosamowsky hetman of the Cossacks, whom the emperor had a little time before declared colonel of one of the regiments of foot guards. The empress, in her famous manifesto published after her husband's death, brought a variety of accusations against him; she charged him with ingratitude to the empress Elizabeth his aunt; with incapacity; an abuse of power; a contempt of religion and law; a scheme to remove the grand duke from the succession; to settle it in favour of a stranger; and even to put herself to death. Thus we have seen a sovereign prince of Holstein, great nephew of Charles the twelfth, grandson of Peter the first, and heir of those rival monarchs, once elected successor to the crown of Sweden, actually

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ascending the throne of Russia, hurled down, after a short reign of six months, from all his greatness, by the intrigues of a woman and the resentments of a standing force, supported by the concurrence of an offended nation; leaving an important lesson to princes, of the instability of human grandeur, and of the certain danger of an established military power under a weak and capricious government. This very unhappy monarch died within eight days after his deposition. The suspicion of the world, warranted by historical examples, has concluded that his death was violent: indeed it has been reported, that whilst he was great duke, a minister of state declared in words to this effect, 'That nothing could cure him but a black dose.'

Notwithstanding this revolution, the interests of the king of Prussia were not injured. The empress adhered to the engagements of her late husband, and peculiarly exerted herself in bringing about a peace in Germany. The Swedes followed the example of the Russians; they made a peace with the king of Prussia in May, by which both parties sat down just as they began. This monarch having now only the Austrians and the army of the empire to cope with, the empress-queen could not hope for much from a continuance of the war: yet her pride would not suffer her to condescend to offer terms of peace; therefore her armies as usual took the field. Count Daun put himself at the head of the Austrian army in Silesia, where he was opposed by the king of Prussia. Prince Henry of Prussia commanded in Saxony, where he had to deal with the army of the empire, reinforced by a considerable body of the Austrians. This army was repulsed at the opening of the campaign by the prince's well-timed ma-

nerves, and compelled to abandon their posts, and fly into Franconia and Bohemia. The king of Prussia, having no enemy to distract his attention but count Daun, easily laid siege to Schweidnitz; the trenches against which were opened on the 8th of August. The day after the garrison made a desperate sally; but were, after a smart action with the Prussians, obliged to retire without being able to damage any of the besiegers works. After this nine batteries were erected within 300 paces of the interior fortification of the town, which played night and day with great fury. Count Daun finding he could not prevent the king of Prussia laying siege to Schweidnitz, detached general Laudohn with a large corps to attack the prince of Bevern, who lay encamped with a body of Prussians at Riechenbach. The Austrians were greatly superior in number; but the Prussians making a most vigorous stand, gave the king of Prussia, who was informed of the action at its beginning, time to come to their assistance, which he did with a strong body of cavalry, dragoons and hussars, and falling furiously on the Austrians in flank, totally routed them with great loss, and made 1500 prisoners. After this defeat count Daun took no measures for the relief of Schweidnitz; and the governor of that fortress hearing of the unfortunate event, desired to capitulate; but the king of Prussia refused to accept of any conditions, except surrendering at discretion: upon which general Guasco, the commandant, resolved to hold out to the last extremity. The Prussians renewed their fire with redoubled vigour, by which considerable damage was done to the town in many places. At length, on the 8th of October at night, the besiegers sprung a mine, about which they had been employed several weeks, which

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which took away part of the rampart, made a considerable breach in the covered way, and filled the ditch with rubbish. The governor seeing every preparation making for a general assault at the breach, beat a parley in the morning, and surrendered with his whole garrison, amounting to 10,303 men, prisoners of war*. In this memorable and destructive siege above 5000 men were slain. The Austrians computed their own loss at 2000 men, and the Prussians allowed theirs to exceed three. In the mean time the army of the empire, in conjunction with the strong body of Austrians, re-entered Saxony, and compelled prince Henry, after some skirmishes, to abandon several of the posts he held there: upon which the king of Prussia, on the surrender of Schweidnitz, left his army in Silesia to the command of the prince of Bevern, and putting himself at the head of a large detachment, marched instantly to the assistance of his brother. But prince

* The Austrians say, that many circumstances concurred at the same time to enforce the reduction of Schweidnitz. In the first place, they say, the garrison had bread left but for five days. 2. A bomb from the enemy falling on the powder magazine at fort Jauernick, blew up that fort, with about 200 soldiers and several officers. 3. By this accident the besieged found themselves deprived of their powder, having only enough left to last them about 30 hours, at their usual rate of firing. 4. A great part of their artillery was rendered unfit for service; the touch holes of some of the cannon being wide enough to admit one's whole hand. 5. The garrison were in want of money, insomuch that they had contracted debts in Schweidnitz to the amount of 13,000 florins. 6. At length, the damage done by the springing of the mine. All these inconveniencies united, together with the inaction of count Daun, they affirm, laid the garrison under the necessity of capitulating.

Henry before his arrival changed the scene; for on the 29th of October he vigorously attacked the enemies near Freyberg, and, after an engagement of several hours, notwithstanding his inferior force, gained a comple victory over them, by which the town of Freyberg fell into his hands, together with 5000 prisoners and 30 pieces of cannon. The generals Stolberg and Haddick, who commanded the Imperial and Austrian armies, imputed their defeat to the treachery of one of their generals, named Brunian, who, they said, gave the Prussians intelligence of whatever passed in their military councils. As soon as the king of Prussia entered Saxony, he detached a large body of troops into Bohemia, where they exacted very heavy contributions, destroyed several magazines, and spread an alarm throughout the whole kingdom. His Prussian majesty then artfully proposed to the court of Vienna, a suspension of arms for the winter between their respective armies in Saxony and Silesia. The court of Vienna agreed to it, perhaps not a little owing to the irruption he made into Bohemia. Accordingly the Austrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter-quarters; but no sooner had they done so, than a body of Prussians under general Kleist marched into Franconia, where they raised heavy contributions and numbers of recruits; in which they have a great advantage of the Austrians, for the latter could pretend to do nothing but according to law; whereas the former, being in some degree declared rebels by the empire, were under no obligation to observe its laws. In the mern time the Imperial and Austrian generals could neither assemble their troops, nor march to protect the empire, until they got fresh orders from Vienna, another advantage, that

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that has often been of great service to the king of Prussia, and was upon this occasion the cause of his troops having an opportunity to spread themselves, without opposition, overalmost the whole circle of Franconia, where they raised large sums of money; for from the city of Nuremberg alone they insisted on 3,000,000 of crowns, part of which was paid, and they carried off some of the magistrates as hostages for the rest. Beside which, they carried off from thence twelve fine brass cannon, and six wag-gons load of arms and warlike stores. Even the city of Ratisbon itself began to apprehend a visit, and therefore applied to baron Plotho, the Prussian minister at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect, who frankly told them, that if they refused to pay the contribution, that his master's troops should demand, when they come to pay them a visit, they must expect to be compelled by force; but he had, before the Prussians entered Franconia, declared to the dyet in substance as follows :

That as all his master's declarations to the states of the empire had produced no effect, he was now resolved to employ more effectual means to make them recall their troops from the Austrian army; and was accordingly marching three different corps into the empire; one of which had already entered Franconia, the second was taking the route of Swabia, and the third would pass through Bavaria; and that they would every where conduct themselves according to the exigencies of war.

Upon this some of the states of the empire secretly solicited a neutrality, which the king of Prussia instantly granted. Then the rest desired to purchase their security upon the same terms, which were granted likewise; and their troops were directly ordered to retire to their respective countries

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in order to be disbanded ; great numbers of which afterwards entered into the service of the Prussians. Thus was the empress queen, by one well-conducted stratagem, deprived of the only assistance from which she had reason to expect fidelity.

On the contrary hand the king of Prussia was deprived of the subsidy which he drew from England by lord Bute the new British minister. Thus the two powers Prussia and Austria were left singly to themselves. Under the mediation of Russia a negotiation of peace was set on foot between them. The conferences were opened at Hubertsburg ; And on the 15th of February 1763 a treaty of peace was signed : by which the empress queen fully and entirely renounced all claim to Silesia : her forces restored to the king of Prussia Glatz, Cleves, Wesel, and Gueldres, with the artillery, in the same condition as when taken. The king of Prussia on his part evacuated Saxony. The king of Poland acceded to the treaty : but there was not a word mentioned of any indemnification for Saxony. Thus did the king of Prussia, to his own immortal honour, without any assistance from Great-Britain, by mere dint of his own policy and superiority in arms, make for himself a glorious, advantageous, and honourable peace. Can we say as much ?

The French opened the campaign against the allies in the month of March. About 4000 of their garrison at Gottingen marched out of that place, and on the 9th of March attacked some of the allied posts with tolerable success, obliging the occupiers to retire with precipitation. Soon after a skirmish happened between a detachment of the allies and this of the garrison, in which the latter were worsted, and from that time did not presume to stir out

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out of their walls. In the month of April the hereditary prince of Brunswick was detached from the allies to lay siege to the strong castle of Arensburg, which was of great service to the French, as by it they preserved a communication between their army on the Rhine and their garrisons at Cassel and Göttingen. On the 18th the prince opened his batteries against it, and next day he compelled the garrison, consisting of 240 men, to surrender prisoners of war. These operations stimulated the French court to attempt something of consequence: accordingly their grand army, which was this year under the command of the marshals d'Etrees and Soubize, was assembled in the month of June, and it was designed to attack prince Ferdinand the first opportunity. But the snare, which they were preparing for him, they fell into themselves; for on the 24th of June he found means to surprize and defeat them in their camp at Graibenstein. General Luckner attacked the marquis de Castries in their rear, who was posted at Carlisdorf to cover the right wing of the French: at the same time general Sporcken charged him in flank, and obliged him to retire with small loss; and the two Hanoverian generals continued their march, in order to take the camp at Graibenstein both in flank and rear: lord Granby with the reserve crossed the Dymel at Warbourg, and possessed himself of an eminence opposite to Furstenwald, and was prepared to fall upon the enemy's left wing: prince Ferdinand passed the Dymel, marched through the Langenberg, and came upon the center of the French which occupied an advantageous eminence. In this critical situation, the enemy struck their tents and retreated. M. de Stainville preserved their whole army by throwing himself

himself into the woods of Wilhelmstahl, and sacrificing the flower of his infantry to cover the retreat. The grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, and the regiment of Aquitaine, suffered severely in this action. M. Reidefel intirely routed the regiment of Fitz-James's horse. The first battalion of British grenadiers belonging to colonel Beckwith's brigade distinguished itself extremely. Lord Granby behaved with his usual intrepidity, and had a great share in the victory. The loss of the allies amounted in all to 697 men, of whom 437 were British. The French retreated under the cannon of Cassel; and a great part of their army afterwards pass'd hastily over the Fulda. They owned the loss of near 900 men killed and wounded; and it appeared, that the number of their prisoners amounted to 2732. After the action, prince Ferdinand occupied Friedlar, Feltzberg, Lohr, and Gudensberg.

While the French lay encamped under the cannon of Cassel, prince Ferdinand thought it would be dangerous to attack them in that situation; therefore the only measure he could pursue was to distress them, by cutting off their communication with the Rhine and Frankfort; and having received advice that M. de Rochambeau had assembled a corps near Hombourg, he ordered that officer to be attacked on the 1st of July by lord Granby. Elliot's regiment made the first charge, and was in great danger; till colonel Harvey, at the head of the Blues, pass'd the village of Hombourg on full gallop, overthrew every thing in his way, and came seasonably to his rescue. These two gallant regiments maintained an unequal combat till the arrival of the infantry, when the enemy retreated in the utmost hurry. The loss of

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of the allies fell short of 100 men; but that of the French was considerable.

On the 23d of July a body of Hanoverian and Hessian troops, commanded by the generals Zastrow and Gilfen, defeated part of the right wing of the French army, intrenched at Luttenberg under count de Lusace. The allies marched through the Fulda up to their waists, clambered up a mountain, took four redoubts, and drove the enemy from those intrenchments. A regiment of Saxon horse was totally destroyed, and 1100 men were made prisoners, and 13 pieces of cannon were taken; but this gallant action produced no consequences, for both armies continued in their respective situations. However, by these exploits it is certain the French were reduced to the utmost distress; for an army, which had been formed early in the year in Flanders, under the prince of Conde, was now obliged to march to their assistance; but before they received this reinforcement, they abandoned Gottingen, after destroying the fortifications, and collected themselves within a small space round Cassel. While the prince of Conde was on his march, in order to join the marshals d'Etrees and Soubize, he was on the 30th of August attacked by the hereditary prince near Friedberg. At first the French were driven from the steep mountain of Johannes-berg into the plain below by the vigorous charge of the allies; but the grand army of France under the marshals d'Etrees and Soubize having sent them a considerable reinforcement, the attack was renewed with vivacity and success. The allies, repulsed in their turn, were obliged to repass the Wetter. The hereditary prince was wounded in the hip, whilst he was endeavouring to rally his disordered troops. Prince Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, better informed of the situation of the French army than the hereditary prince, marched with a considerable part of his forces, and came in time to prevent the enemy from pushing their advantage. Colonel Clinton was wounded; yet he continued with the gallant hereditary prince two hours afterwards; and did not discover his misfortune, till the prince desired him to carry an account of the battle to prince Ferdinand, which obliged him to acknowledge that he was rendered incapable of executing his commands. The loss of the enemy, according to their own estimate, did not exceed 500 men in killed and wounded; whilst they calculated that of the allies at about 600 killed and 1500 prisoners. A letter from prince Ferdinand's headquarters confessed only the loss of 1398 men, together with ten pieces of cannon. The French, accustomed to defeat, demonstrated their sense of this victory by public rejoicings. The prince of Conde afterwards effected his junction with the French army, which now began to act on the offensive. On the 20th of September they made themselves masters of a redoubt and mill, on the left bank of the river Ohm, at the foot of the mountain of Amoeneburg. Next day they resolved to attack the castle of Amoeneburg, which was garrisoned by a battalion of the British legion, and a detachment of 200 men from the reserve of the allied army. For this purpose, under favour of a thick fog, they opened a trench, and established their batteries against it. The stone bridge over the Ohm at the Brucker-Muhl, was guarded by 260 men of Hardenberg's regiment, the greatest part of which were posted in a small work on the right of the bridge. The enemy were also in possession of a little work

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beyond the bridge. About these two posts there
 commenced a warm and bloody action on the
 twenty-first, which continued from six in the morn-
 ing till dark night. A fire of cannon and small
 arms was kept up for fourteen hours on both
 sides with the utmost severity and the most deter-
 mined resolution. There was no attempt on either
 part to pass the bridge. Fresh troops were reciprocally
 sent to support the posts which each maintained
 on the opposite banks of the river, as fast as the se-
 veral reliefs had expended their ammunition. The
 mill occupied by the enemy afforded rather more
 shelter to them, than the redoubt did to the allies.
 History hardly furnishes an instance of such an obsti-
 nate dispute. The execution of near 50. pieces of
 cannon was confined to the space of near 400 paces.
 The fire of the artillery and musquetry was not in-
 termitted one single moment. On the part of the
 allies, 17 complete battalions were employed, at
 different times, chiefly under the command of the
 marquis of Granby and general Zastrow. The
 total loss of the allies amounted to near 800 men.
 The French acknowledged the loss of 300 killed
 and near 800 wounded. Next day the castle of
 Amoeneburg surrendered, and the garrison were
 made prisoners of war, to the number of eleven
 officers—and 553 private men.

Notwithstanding this bloody encounter, prince
 Ferdinand determined to close the campaign with
 some advantage of importance; and with this view,
 he, with the main body of his army, kept the
 French on the alarm, while he detached prince Fre-
 derick of Brunswick to lay siege to Cassel. This
 was the only place of real importance which the
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French held; therefore if that could be retaken from them, they had scarce one single advantage to boast of since their armies entered Germany in 1756. The siege commenced on the 16th of October, and was carried on with great alacrity. The garrison several times sallied out, but without being able to interrupt the approaches. The siege and blockade were so close, that it was impossible to get any thing into the town; where provisions being scarce, the garrison in a short time were reduced to great extremities. In the mean time prince Ferdinand covered the operations in so effectual a manner, that the French did not attempt to relieve the place. At length on the first of November the garrison surrendered, being reduced to the utmost distress by the want of provisions. As a negociation for peace was at this time known to be far advanced, the garrison were not made prisoners, but conducted to the French army. This was the last military exploit in Germany on the part of the French and allies, and with it was concluded a long, bloody, and destructive war.

This negociation for peace had been some time set on foot. It was in the month of September, that the kings of Great-Britain and France agreed to send ministers plenipotentiary to their respective courts, in order to treat on this matter. On the 5th of September the duke of Bedford set out from England for Paris, and on the 10th the duke de Nivernois arrived in London. Spain and Portugal acceded to the negociation, and Fountainbleau was honoured with being the great scene of politics. On the 3d of November the preliminary articles were signed, and as soon as possible were ratified by the respective sovereigns: and on the 10th of February, 1763, the definitive treaty was signed.

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The DEFINITIVE TREATY of Friendship and Peace between his Britannic Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February, 1763. To which, the King of Portugal acceded on the same Day.

In the Name of the most Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those to whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong.

It has pleased the most High to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the Princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which, having arisen between England and France, during the reign of the most serene and most potent Prince, George the second, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the most serene and most potent Prince, George the third, his successor, and, in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal: consequently, the most serene and most potent Prince, George the third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch-Treasurer, and Elector, of the Holy Roman Empire; the most serene and most potent Prince, Lewis the sixteenth, by the grace of God, most Christian King; and the most serene and most potent Prince, Charles the third, by the grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries, signed at Fountainbleau the 3d of November last; and the most serene and most potent Prince, Don Joseph the first, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to compleat, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenepotentiary, viz. his Sacred

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Majesty, the King of Great Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord, John, Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavestock, &c. his minister of state, Lieutenant General of his armies, Keeper of his privy seal, Knight of the most noble Order of the garter, and his ambassador extraordinary and minister plenepotentiary to his most Christian Majesty; his sacred Majesty the most Christian King, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Cæsar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin, Peer of France, Knight of his orders, Lieutenant General of his armies, and of the province of Brittany, Councillor in all his councils, and minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances; his sacred Majesty the Catholic King, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the most Christian King's orders, gentleman of his Catholic Majesty's Bed Chamber in employment, and his ambassador extraordinary to his most Christian Majesty; his sacred Majesty the most Faithful King, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the order of Christ, of his most Faithful Majesty's council, and his ambassador and minister plenepotentiary to his most Christian Majesty.

Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are transcribed at the end of the present treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

Art. I. There shall be a christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholic, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places, or of persons: so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed, from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might, hereafter, prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each

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each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties; there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the war, which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimiguen of 1678 and 1679; of Riswyck of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chappelle of 1748; and that of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of Feb. 1715; and of the 12th of Feb. 1761; and that of the 11th of Ap. 1713, between Fr. and Port. with the guaranties of Gr. Br. serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty; and for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word, so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points which shall not be derogated from the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties; and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

III. All the Prisoners made, on all Sides, as well by Land as by Sea, and the Hostages carried away, or given during the War, and to this Day, shall be restored without Ransom, Six Weeks at latest, to be computed from the Day of the Exchange of the Ratification of the present Treaty, each crown respectively paying the Advances, which shall have been made for the Subsistence and Maintenance of their Prisoners, by the Sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained,

according to the attested receipts and estimates, and offer authentick vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other: and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant vessels which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes: And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies to the King of Great-Britain: Moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great-Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will consequently, give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty further agrees that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects,

effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; the terms limited for this emigration, shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as is specified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of C. Br. as well as to the other islands, and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph St Lawrence): and his Britannick Majesty consents to leave the subjects of the most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great-Britain, as well as those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coast of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great-Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his most Christian Majesty to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; And his said Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands, to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery, and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty, and those of his most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and

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the Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea ; and for this purpose, the most Christian King cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side the river Mississippi, except the town of the New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated which shall remain to France; provided that the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great-Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, inserted in the 4th article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. The King of Great-Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle ; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms ; provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions ; and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty ; but, as the liberty, granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them ; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his most Christian Majesty, that the

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number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only, all the effects, belonging to the English, being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands, and places restored to France, and that the merchandise, which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

IX. The most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Granadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this Colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada; and the partition of the islands, called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the Island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: And his most-christian Majesty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

XI. In the East-Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories, which that crown possessed as well on the coast of Coromandel, and Orixá, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his most christian Majesty renounces all pretension to the acquisitions which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His most christian Majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the East Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanouly, in the Island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages farther, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the
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Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for the lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jíng for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parts shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian Allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one side, or on the other, during the war.

XII. The Island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the said Island and the said fort were taken.

XIII. The town and Port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The Cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means to the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain.

XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Bückebourgh, which are, or shall be occupied by his most Christian Majesty's arms: The fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the French arms: And the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight, and metal.

XV. In case the stipulations, contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, should not be compleated at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wezel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, lower Saxony, on the lower Rhine, the upper Rhine, and in all the Empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective sovereigns; their Britannick, and most Christian

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Majesties promise to proceed, bona fide, with all the dispatch the case will permit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the fifteenth of March next, or sooner if it can be done; And their Britannick and most Christian Majesties further engage, and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours, of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

XVI. The decision of the prizes made, in the time of peace, by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of Nations, and according to the treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation, who shall have made the capture.

XVII. His Britannick Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: And his Catholick Majesty shall not permit His Britannick Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood. And for this purpose, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: And his Catholick Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages, and powers on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratifications of the present treaty.

XVIII. His Catholick Majesty desists, as well for himself, as for his successors, from all pretensions which he may have formed, in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the Island of Newfoundland.

XIX. The king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havanna; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in
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the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms; provided, that his Britannick Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands, and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecution: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty, granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons, and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed, between his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only: all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places, and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with fort St. Augustin, and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south east, of the river Mississippi. And, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholick King, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the said countries,

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countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; so that the
 Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said
 King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the
 most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees
 on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries, above
 ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: He will consequent-
 ly give the most express and the most effectual orders, that his
 new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of
 their religion, according to the rights of the Romish church,
 as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: his Britannick
 Majesty further agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or
 others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the
 said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, where-
 ver they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided
 it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away
 their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained
 in their emigrations, under any pretence whatsoever, except
 that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term, limited
 for this emigration, being fixed to the space of eighteen
 months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of
 the ratification of the present treaty. It is moreover stipula-
 ted, that his Catholick majesty shall have power to cause all
 the effects, that may belong to him, to be brought away,
 whether it be artillery, or other things.

XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the
 territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his faithful
 Majesty, in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have
 been conquered, by the armies of France and Spain, and shall
 restore them in the same condition they were in when con-
 quered, with the same artillery, ammunition, which were
 found there: and with regard to the Portuguese colonies in
 America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall
 have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same
 footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding trea-
 ties, which subsisted between the courts of France, Spain, and
 Portugal, before the present war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives,
 which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and
 places, that are restored, and those belonging to the coun-
 tries ceded, shall be, respectively and bona fide, delivered,
 or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is
 taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the
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ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall compleat, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the Empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadeloupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: and according to the conditions of the VIth article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter, and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The factories in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The fortress of the Havanna, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done: and, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter

enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his most Faithful Majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition, which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

XXVI. Their Sacred Britannick, most Christian, Catholick, and most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe, sincerely, and bona fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, We the under-written, their Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the tenth of February 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PEASLIN,

(L. S.) EL MARQ. DE GRIMALDI.

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SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. **SOME** of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in the full powers, and other acts, during the course of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, that no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties, and that the titles, taken or omitted, on either side, on occasion of the said negotiation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting Powers, and that they shall conform themselves, for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are used, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the present treaty having still the same force and effect, as if the aforesaid custom had been therein observed.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not signed the present definitive treaty, their Britannick, most Christian, and Catholic Majesties, acknowledge, nevertheless, that his most Faithful Majesty is formally included therein as a contracting party: and as if he had expressly signed the said treaty: consequently, their Britannick, most Christian, and Catholic Majesties, respectively and conjointly, promise to his most Faithful Majesty, in the most exprefs and most binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauses contained in the said treaty, on his act of accession.

The present separate articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten Ambassadors Extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary of their Britannick, most Christian, and Catholick Majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.) EL MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI.

His

His Britannic Majesty's Full Power.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c. to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas, in order to perfect the peace, between us and our good brother the most faithful King, on the one part, and our good brothers the most Christian and Catholick Kings, on the other, which has been happily begun by the preliminary articles already signed at Fontainebleau the third of this month, and to bring the same to the desired end, we have thought proper to invest some fit person with full authority, on our part; know ye, that we, having most entire confidence in the fidelity, judgment, skill, and Ability in managing affairs of the greatest consequence, of our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Baron Russel of Cheney's, Baron Russel of Thornhaugh, and Baron Howland of Streatheam, Lieut. Gen. of our forces, Keeper of our Privy Seal, Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the counties of Bedford and Devon, Knt. of our most noble order of the Garter, and our Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to our good brother the most Christian King, have nominated, made, constituted, and appointed, as by these presents, we do nominate, make, constitute, and appoint him, our true, certain, and undoubted Minister, Commissary, Deputy, Procurator, and Plenipotentiary, giving to him all and all manner of power, faculty, and authority, as well as our general and special command (yet so as that the general do not derogate from the special, or on the contrary) for us and in our name, to meet and confer, as well singly and separately, as jointly and in a body, with the Ambassadors, Commissaries, Deputies, and Plenipotentiaries of the Princes whom it may concern, vested with sufficient power and authority for that purpose, and with them to agree upon, treat, consult, and conclude concerning the re-establishing, as soon as may be, a firm and lasting peace, and sincere friendship and concord; and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded, for us and in our name, to sign, and to make a treaty or treaties, on what shall have been so agreed and concluded, and to transact every thing

thing else that may belong to the happy completion of the
aforesaid work, in as ample a manner and form, and with
the same force and effect, as we ourselves, if we were pre-
sent, could do and perform; engaging and promising, on
our royal word, that we will approve, ratify, and accept,
in the best manner, whatever shall happen to be transacted,
and concluded by our plenipotentiary, and that we will never
suffer any person to infringe or act contrary to the same, either
in the whole or in part. In witness and confirmation where-
of, we have caused our great seal of Great Britain to be af-
fixed to these presents, signed with our royal hand. Given at
our palace at St. James's the 12th day of November 1762, in
the Third year of our Reign.

His Most Christian Majesty's full Power.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, King of France, and Na-
varre, To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting.
Whereas the preliminaries signed at Fontainebleau the third
of November of the last year, laid the foundation of the
peace re-established between us and our most dear and most
beloved good brother and cousin the King of Spain, on the
one part, and our most dear and most beloved good brother
the King of Great Britain, and our most dear and most be-
loved good brother and cousin the King of Portugal, on the
other, We have had nothing more at heart, since that happy
epoch, than to consolidate and strengthen, in the most lasting
manner, so salutary and so important a work, by a solemn and
definitive treaty between us and the said powers. For these
causes, and other good considerations, us thereunto moving,
we trusting entirely in the capacity and experience, zeal and
fidelity for our service of our most dear and well-beloved cousin,
Cæsar Gabriel de Chollem, Duke of Praslin, Peer of France,
knight of our orders, Lieutenant General of our For-
ces, and of the province of Britany, Councillor in all our
councils, minister and secretary of state, and of our commands
and finances, we have named, appointed, and deputed him,
and by these presents signed him with our hand, do name,
appoint, and depute him, our minister plenipotentiary, giving
him full and absolute power to act in that quality, and to
confer, negotiate, treat and agree, jointly with the minister
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ther the king of Great Britain, the minister plenipotentiary
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the king of Spain, and the minister plenipotentiary of our most dear and most beloved good brother and cousin the king of Portugal, vested with full powers, in good form, to agree, conclude, and sign, such articles, conditions, conventions, declarations, definitive treaty, accessions, and other acts whatsoever, that he shall judge proper for securing and strengthening the great work of peace, the whole with the same latitude and authority that we ourselves might do, if we were there in person, even though there should be something which might require a more special order than what is contained in these presents, promising, on the faith and word of a king, to approve, keep firm and stable for ever, to fulfil and execute punctually, all that our said cousin the duke of Prassin, shall have stipulated, promised, and signed in virtue of the present full power, without ever acting contrary thereto, or permitting any thing contrary thereto, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, as also to cause our letters of ratification to be expedited in good form, and to cause them to be delivered, in order to be exchanged within the time that shall be agreed upon. For such is our pleasure. In witness whereof, we have caused our seal to be put to these presents. Given at Versailles the 7th day of the month of February, in the year of grace 1763, and of our reign the forty-eighth. Signed Lewis, and on the fold, by the king, the duke of Choiseul. Sealed with the great seal of yellow wax.

His Catholic Majesty's full power.

DON Carlos, by the Grace of God, King of Castille, of Leon, of Arragon, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordova, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarves, of Algecira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the East and West Indies, Islands and continent, of the ocean, Arch-Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant and Milan, Count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of Tirol and Barcelona; Lord of Biscay and of Molino, &c. Whereas preliminaries of a solid and lasting peace between this crown, and that of France on the one part, and that of England and Portugal on the other, were concluded and signed in the royal residence of Fontainebleau, the 3d of Nov. of the present year, and the respective ratifications thereof exchanged on the 2d of the same month, by ministers

nisters authorized for that purpose, wherein it is promised, that a definitive treaty should be forthwith entered upon having established and regulated the chief points upon which it is to turn : And whereas in the same manner as I granted to you, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, gentleman of my bedchamber with employment, and my ambassador extraordinary to the most Christian King, my full power to treat, adjust, and sign the beforementioned preliminaries, it is necessary to grant the same to you, or to some other, to treat, adjust, and sign the promised definitive treaty of peace as aforesaid : therefore, as you, the said Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, are at the convenient place, and as I have every day fresh motives, from your approved fidelity and zeal, capacity, and prudence, to entrust to you this, and other like concerns of my crown, I have appointed you my minister plenipotentiary, and granted to you my full power, to the end that, in my name, and representing my person, you may treat, regulate, settle, and sign the said definitive treaty of peace, between my crown, and that of France on the one part, that of England, and that of Portugal, on the other, with the ministers who shall be equally and specially authorized by their respective sovereigns for the same purpose ; acknowledging, as I do from this time acknowledge, as accepted and ratified, whatever you shall so treat, conclude and sign ; promising on my Royal word, that I will observe and fulfil the same, will cause it to be observed and fulfilled, as if it had been treated, concluded and signed by myself. In witness whereof, I have caused these presents to be dispatched, signed by my hand, sealed with my privy seal, and countersigned by my underwritten councillor of state, and first secretary for the department of state and of war. Buen Retiro, the tenth of December, 1762.

(Signed) I THE KING.

(And lower). Richard Wall.

Declaration of his most Christian Majesty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE king of Great Britain having desired that the payment of the lesters of exchange and bills, which had been delivered to the Canadians for the necessaries furnished to the French troops, should be secured, his most Christian Majesty, entirely disposed to render to every one that justice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that

that the said bills, and letters of exchange, shall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the distance of the places, and to what shall be possible; taking care, however, that the bills, and letters of exchange which the French subjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in the possession of the new subjects of the king of Great Britain.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten ministers of his most Christian Majesty, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
Declaration of his Britannick Majesty's Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the East-Indies.

WE the underwritten Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain in order to prevent all subject of dispute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, declare, in the name and by order of his said Britannick Majesty, that the said dominions of the Subah of Bengal shall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon exclusively, and that Yanaon shall be considered as included in the North part of the coast of Coromandel or Orixa.

In witness whereof, &c. We the underwritten Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Great Britain have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

ACCESSION of his most Faithful Majesty.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

So be it.

BE it known to all those to whom it shall, or may belong: The Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries of his Britannick Majesty, of his most Christian Majesty, and of his Catholick Majesty, having concluded and signed at Paris, the 10th of February

February of this year, a definitive Treaty of Peace, and separate articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

(*Fiat insertio.*)

And the said Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries having in a friendly manner invited the Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of his most Faithful Majesty to accede thereto in the name of his said Majesty; the underwritten ministers plenipotentiary, viz. on the part of the most serene and most potent Prince, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch-Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord, John, Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock; &c. Minister of State of the King of Great Britain, Lieutenant General of his Forces, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and his Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his most Christian Majesty; and on the part of the most serene and most potent Prince, Don Joseph the first, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the order of Christ, of his most faithful Majesty's council, and his Ambassador and minister Plenipotentiary to his most Christian Majesty, in virtue of their full powers, which they have communicated to each other, and of which copies shall be added at the end of the present act, have agreed upon what follows; viz. his most faithful Majesty desiring most sincerely to concur in the speedy re-establishment of peace, accedes, in virtue of the present act, to the said definitive treaty and separate articles, as they are above transcribed, without any reserve or exception, in the firm conscience that every thing that is promised to his said Majesty, will be bona fide fulfilled, declaring at the same time, and promising to fulfil, with equal fidelity, all the articles, clauses, and conditions, which concern him. On his side, his Britannick Majesty accepts the present accession of his most faithful Majesty, and promises likewise to fulfil, without any reserve or exception, all the articles, clauses, and conditions, contained in the said Definitive Treaty and separate articles above inserted. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged in the space of one month, to be computed from this day, or sooner if it can be done.

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In witness whereof, we, Ambassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary of his Britannick Majesty, and of his most faithful Majesty, have signed the present act, and have caused the Seal of our Arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.) DE MELLO ET CASTRO,

His most Faithful Majesty's full Power.

DON Joseph, by the grace of God, King of Portugal, and of the Algarves, on this side the sea, and on that side in Africa, Lord of Guinea, and of the conquests, navigation, commerce, of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, &c. I make known to those who shall see these my letters Patent, that desiring nothing more than to see the flame of war, which has raged so many years in all Europe, extinguished, and to co-operate (as far as depends upon me) towards its being succeeded by a just peace, established upon solid principles: And being informed, that great part of the Belligerent powers entertain the same pacific dispositions, I am to nominate a person, to assist, in my name at the assemblies and conferences to be held upon this important business, who by his nobility, prudence and dexterity, is worthy of my confidence; whereas these several qualities concur in Martin de Mello de Castro, of my council, and my envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of London; and as from the experience I have, that he has always served me to my satisfaction, in every thing I have charged him with, relying, that I shall, from henceforward, have fresh cause for the confidence I have placed in him, I nominate and constitute him my Ambassador and Plenipotentiary, in order that he may, as such, assist, in my name, at any congresses, assemblies, or Conferences, as well public, as private, in which the business of pacification may be treated; negotiating and agreeing with the ambassador and plenipotentiaries of the said belligerent powers, whatever may relate to the said peace; and concluding what he shall negotiate between me and any Belligerent Kings and Princes, under the conditions he shall stipulate in my Royal Name; therefore, for the above purposes, I grant him all the full powers and authority, general and special, which may be necessary; and I promise, upon the faith and word of a King, that I will acknowledge to be firm and valid, and will ratify within the time agreed upon whatever shall be contracted and stipulated.

In

stipulated by my said Ambassador and Plenipotentiary with the aforesaid Ambassadors and Ministers of the Belligerent Kings and Princes, who shall be furnished by them with equal powers; in witness whereof, I have ordered these presents to be made out, signed by myself, sealed with the seal of my arms, thereunto affixed, and countersigned by my secretary and minister of state for foreign affairs and war. Given at the palace of our lady of Ajuda, the 18th day of September, of the year from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1762.

T H E K I N G .

Locus Sigilli pendens.

Don Lewis da Cunha.

Letters patent whereby your Majesty is pleased to nominate Martin de Mello De Castro to be your Ambassador and plenipotentiary for the negotiation and conclusion of peace, in the form above set forth,

For your Majesty's inspection.

Declaration of his Most Faithful Majesty's Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary, with regard to the Alternating with Great Britain and France.

WHEREAS on the conclusion of the negotiation of the definitive treaty, signed at Paris the 10th day of February, a difficulty arose as to the order of signing which might have retarded the conclusion of the said treaty. We the underwritten, Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of his most Faithful Majesty, declare, that the Alternative observed, on the part of the King of Great Britain, and the most Christian King, with the most Faithful King, in the act of accession of the court of Portugal, was granted by their Britannic and most Christian Majesties, solely with a view to accelerate the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and by that means the more speedily to consolidate so important and so salutary a work; and that this complaisance of their Britannic and most Christian Majesties shall not be made any precedent of for the future; the court of Portugal shall not alledge it as an example in their favour; shall derive therefrom no right, title, or pretension, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever.

In witness whereof, we, Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary of his most Faithful Majesty, duly authorized for
this

this Purpose, have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

MARTIN de MELLO et CASTRO.

(L. S.)

On this treaty of peace the very sensible and well informed author of the "Review of lord Bute's administration" has made some useful and pertinent remarks which are too valuable to be omitted in any place wherever the treaty is inserted. We will therefore take the liberty of transcribing them out of that book for the benefit of the readers of this work.

"A very few remarks will shew the peace to be disadvantageous and insecure. They who made it, on our parts, plume themselves on acquiring Canada, which they call an extensive territory, without considering, that as it is uncultivated, and almost uninhabited; and that it will be long time, and be a considerable expence to England, before it can be made materially serviceable to us. The same may be said of Florida. As to the French, they are instantly raised to their great strength, as a maritime power, by the restoration of their West India islands, together with the island of St. Lucia, which has the only good harbour in that part of the world. Spain has likewise obtained her Havannah, which, in our hands, might have been a most effectual check on her conduct, and the surest safeguard against the designs of the family compact. These are places of great consequence, and immediate service, and such as the whole house of Bourbon united, could never have retaken. Our enemies will now profit by their error, and make these places stronger than before; so that in a future war, we may find it perhaps impossible to take them.

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them. We likewise restored five and twenty thousand seamen, which they could neither exchange nor ransom, to man their commercial fleets and ships of war. Thus have we raised France from a state of bankruptcy, to her principal traffic, power, and eminence; and consequently may expect another war from her, since her hatred towards us is irradicable. What French minister had a finer opportunity for exerting his political talents than the present at this time? The union of the house of Bourbon, which is not even attempted to be broke, is replete with reciprocal advantages. The French can recruit easier than we can, and are every where building ships, and, as fast as possible, putting their marine on a respectable footing. The fishery which we have given them, is like a mine of wealth to them. What therefore can we expect but another war? While we, before our acquisitions can be made valuable, shall, with one hundred and forty millions on our backs, have this dance to go over again. Every honest man must shudder, when he seriously reflects on our present condition, and the melancholy prospect there is of our future."

"In the same wise and wonderful manner we acted towards our ally the king of Prussia. It was stipulated in the preliminary articles, that the conquests which the French had made on Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, &c. should be *evacuated* and *restored*: though they were not in possession of above ten villages, or one hundred acres of land, belonging to the princes of those countries. But with respect to the king of Prussia, although the French were in possession of Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c. it was only said, that they should be *evacuated*.

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evacuated. Thus the French were left at full liberty to evacuate them either to the Prussians or Austrians, as they thought proper. The Prussians, however, at length got them; but not through any good offices of the British minister, who, in a low and vulgar phrase, peculiar to himself, said they were to be *scrambled for*. The Prussian minister in London thought their master so hardly treated by such a vague and partial stipulation, unbecoming an ally, that they, with resolution and firmness, entered a protest against the contents of the treaty, so far as it respected the king their master. The Austrians ordered a large body of troops to begin their march for the Netherlands, to seize those places as soon as the French should evacuate them. The king of Prussia did the same. The Netherlands were now threatened with becoming the theatre of war. France was also alarmed, because she saw she should be under a necessity of taking part in this war; to avoid which, she proposed to the king of Prussia to deliver up all those places to *him*, provided he would sign a neutrality for the Netherlands. He agreed to the proposal, and purchased his territories on that condition. Thus France has to boast of the honour of restoring those places to the king of Prussia, which England, his ally, though agreeable to good faith, *would not* stipulate for him; and which, in all probability, will, in some future day, become matter of more serious consideration than some at present deem it."

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