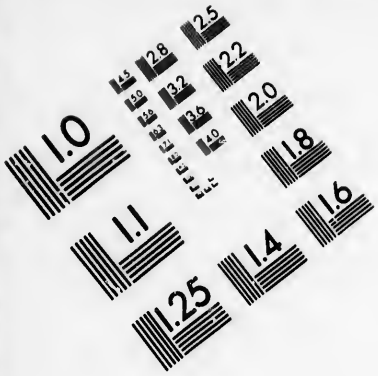


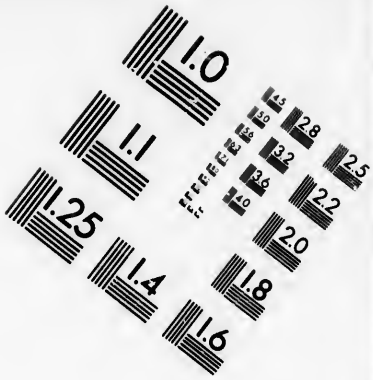
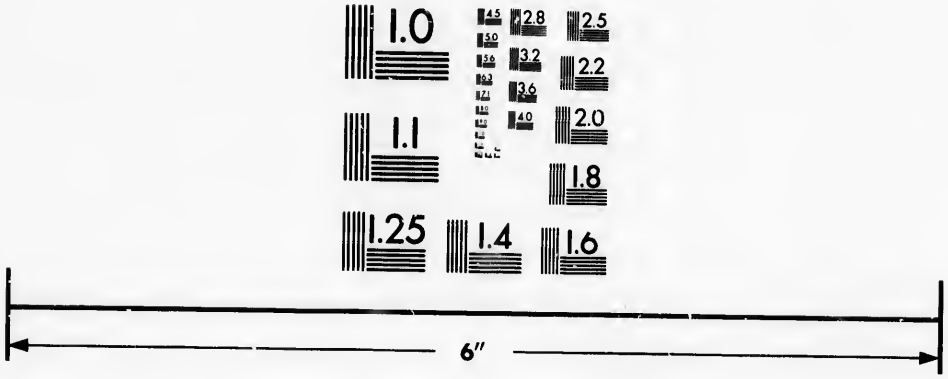
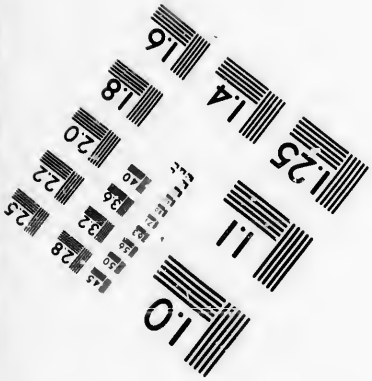
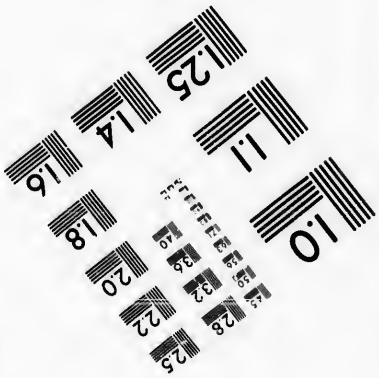


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- [ ] Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/ Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations/ Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [ ] Bound with other material/ Relié avec d'autres documents
- [x] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/ La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/ Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- [ ] Coloured pages/ Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged/ Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated/ Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/ Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [x] Pages detached/ Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough/ Transparence
- [x] Quality of print varies/ Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [ ] Includes supplementary material/ Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- [ ] Only edition available/ Seule édition disponible
- [ ] Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image/ Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.
- [x] Additional comments:/ Commentaires supplémentaires: Pagination as follows : [7] - 388, [1] p.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
			✓								

H

Deduc
litie
Def

Printed

Almon John

AN IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

OF THE LATE

WAR.

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

LONDON:

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

M.DCC.LXIII.

H

From t

W

which th
nada wi
extirpate
To clear
fessed of
of theFr
Aix la Ch
arms, pr
intended

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR.

CHAP. I.

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

WHOEVER 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

Ohio

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 extentive 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 harrass 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-

ing

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 Maſſachuſet's Bay upon this occaſion to the governor of Canada, we have procured a copy of it, and ſhall here print it.

SIR,

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 Abenaqui Indians, [who ſpread themſelves between Maſſachuſets 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 Maſſachuſet's 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 coucluded 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 Maſſachuſets 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 tranquility 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,

Its

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 pleaſed to call in your letter, "Dependencies of the government of 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, give 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 in it. †

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

It

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 Louisbourgh; then having pitched upon a spot for the settlement, he set 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 peninsula, 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 English, 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 appointment of commissaries from both nations, who were to settle in an amicable manner, the limits of the respective colonies. This proposal was agreed to, and some time after, Wm. Shirley governor of Massachusets 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 Silhouette commissaries on the part of France.

It is proper to observe, that on the nomination of these commissaries, the two courts agreed expresly to this stipulation "That no fortification, new settlement, or innovation, should be attempted on those countries, the fate of which was to be finally determin'd by their sentence." Notwithstanding this mutual stipulation, the French sent quite different instructions to their governors in America; for M. de la Jonquiere, who succeeded Galissonniere in the

govern-

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 Puysieulx, 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. Puysieulx 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 depradations committed by the French. Jonquiere had appointed the chevalier de la Corne and father Loûtre, 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 Loûtre 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 Beausejour, 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 to advance, aud 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 negociator. 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—— m——.

which

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 negociation, 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 á 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 declarés être telles; que la couronne de France a souvent receües comme telles; & que les negociations qui ont precedé le traité d'Utrecht prouvent avoir été considerées 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'oüest.

" Pour montrer que ces limites ont toujours été recües par les deux couronnes, comme les anciennes limites de l'Acadie, nous

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 géné al d'Acadie, toute cette contrée depuis le fleuve St. Laurent jusqu'à Pentagoët, que la Grande Bretagne reclame aujourd'hui commme 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 précisement, l'autorité du pere Charlevoix, la lettre de Louis XIII en 1638, qui regle la jurisdiction des Sieurs de Charnisay & de la Tour, les commissions subsequentes du gouvernement Francois 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 Pentagoet & 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 Pentagoet, St. Jean & Port Royal, comme forts situés en Acadie.

" Pour montrer le sentiment de la France en 166 , lors du renoveilement 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 Pentagoet 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 consequence, & la continuation de la possession par cette puissance avec les mêmes limites jusqu'en 1654, comme des preuves de l'equité & de la vilidité de la pretention qu'il formoit alors ; dans laquele pretention, & la

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 166 , entre les deux couronnes, ſur les limites de l'Acadie, que la France avoit penſé qu'l étoit ſi clair par ſes premieres determinations & ſes premieres poſſeſſions, que les veritables anciennes bornes étoient Pentagoet 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 recla.ma de nouveau les limites qu'elle avoit reclamées en 166 ; & que la Grande Bretagne, après quelque diſcuſſion, aiant acquieſé 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'etendant depuis l'iſle Percée, qui eſt à l'entrée du fleuve St. Laurent, juſqu'á 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 reſtrainſtre les limites de l'Acadie à la riviere St. George.

" Nous avons produit la redition de Port Royal en 1710, dans laquelle l'Acadie eſt decrite avec les mêmes limites avec leſquelles la France l'avoit reçuë 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 Chrêtienne

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 appellée Nova Scotia, & expressément sur Port Royal, autrement Annapolis Royal ; & nous avons montré, par des faits incontestables, que le détail des differentes 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 eûs 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 renvoié aux offres de la France en 1712, dans lesquelles elle propose de restraindre 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 sistême montre clairment, que la Grande Bretagne ne demande rien que ce que l'explication naturelle des termes du traité d'Utrecht lui donne necessairement ; & qu'il est impossible qu'aucune chose porte un caractère plus frapant de candeur & de bonne foy, que la demande actuelle du Roi de la Grande Bretagne. Il resulte incontestablement des differentes preuves que l'on a apportées pour apuïer cette prétention, que les Commissaires Anglois n'ont assigdé aucunes limites, comme anciennes limites de l'Acadie, que celles que la France détermina être telles en 1662, & posseda en consequence de cette determination jusqu'en 1654.

" Qu'en 1662 la France reclama, & reçû 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 genéral. Que la France ne considera jamais l'Acadie depuis 1632, jusqu'á 1710, comme aiant aucunes autres limites que celles que nous assignons aujourd'hui ; & que par le traité d'Utrecht elle eut intention de transferer comme Acadie la même contrée qu'elle avoit toujours conservée & possedée, & que la Grande Bretagne reclame aujourd'hui comme telle.

" Si par conséquent la France veut decider quelles sont les anciennes limites de l'Acadie, par le declarations qu'elle a faites si frequement

as such, and which the preliminary proceedings of the treaty of Utrecht prove to have been considered

---

frequement dans des discussions semblables sur le méme point, par une possession de presque un siecle, & par sa description de l'Acadie pendant la négociation de ce même traité qui a elevé 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 transferée à la Grande Bretagne, par le 12e article de ce traité. Il y a certainement une consistance dans les reclamations du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, & une suite complette dans les preuves que nous aportons pou les apuier, 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 sureté de regler ses prétentions par les declarations conneus & répétées, ou par la possession de l'autre.

" Pour reprondre 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 dabord dans leur memoire, comme une distinction faite par le traite d'Utrecht, que les anciennes limites raportées par ce traité sont differentes de celles avec lesquelles ce te contrée peut avoir passé dans les traités de St. Germain & de Breda ; & ensuite ils se sont efforcés de montrer, par les temoignages des cartes & historiens, que l'Acadie & ses limites étoient anciennement confinées à la partie sud-est de la peninsule. Pour apuier ce sistême 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 assignment ; ils alléguent 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 & *pais circonvoisins*, & non sur l'Acadie seulement ; qu'il est impossible de suposer, 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 particuliere, & assurent que plusieurs parties de ce que nous reclamons comme Acadie ne peuvent jamais avoir été en Acadie, parceque les historiens & les commissions Françoises

de

fidered as such by the two crowns at that very time. " These

---

de governeur les placent expressément dans la nouvelle France. Ils avancent qu'on ne peut déduire aucune preuve du sentiment d'aucune couronne, par raport aux limites d'aucune contrée, de ses déclarations pendant la negociation d'un traité; & enfin, se fondant sur les cartes & sur les historiens, pour leurs anciennes limites de l'Acadie, ils traitent de " *Preuves étrangeres* " *à l'etat de la question*," les allegations de la restitution expresse du traité de St. Germain & de la possession de la France en consequence de ce traité, de la possession prise par la France en conséquence du traité de Breda, après une longue discussion des limites, & de la declaration de la France pendant la negociation du traité d'Utrecht.

" L'examen que nous avons fait des cartes & des historiens qu'ils ont cités pour apuier ce sistême prouve evidemment, que si cette question devoit être décidée sur ces autorités quil's prétendent apartenir, & devoir être appliquées à cette discussion, les limites qu'ils assignent sont entierement incompatibles avec les meilleures cartes de toutes les concrées qui sont des autorités favorables à presque toutes les parties de la reclamation 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 ecrits, s'accorde avec les deux premiers historiens. Toutes ces preuves s'accordent avec des traités & les differentes transactions entre les deux couronnes pendant prés d'un siecle, & en confirment l'autorite. Les commissaires François en passant des traites & de la conduite des deux couronnes aux historiens anciens & aux cartes, n'on fait que passer de l'autentique à une espece de preuves insuffisantes, & ont jetté les commissaries Anglois dans une recherche qui ne prouve que les preuves propres & impropres, regulieres & etrangeres, sur lesquelles cette matiere est apuiée, refutent également les limites qu'etablissent les commissaires François comme les anciennes limites de l'Acadie.

" Nous avons montré que les termes païs circonvoisins, sur lesquels les commissairies François rejettent toutes les preuves que nous tirons des commissions de France aux governeurs d'Acadie, pretendant, sur l'addition de ces termes, que ces commissions n'étoient pas pour l'Acadia seulement, étoient des expressions

" These limits are the southern bank of the river St. Laurence to the north, and Pentagoet to the west.

To

---

pressions de forme, insérées 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 commissaries François les ont citées par méprise.

" Nous avons montré par l'autorité d'une lettre de Louis XIII. de 1632, & par les commissions du sieur Charnisay 1647 & du sieur de la Tour en 1651, que la prétention qu'il y eut differentes commissions données pour des commandemens particuliers en Acadie aux sieur Charnisay & de la Tour est une méprise des commissaires François ; & que dans le fait Charnisay ni la Tour n'ont jamais eû aucun commandement particulier semblable ; & que leurs premières & 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 plesieurs 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 suposer, qu'il y ait jamais eû une province particuliere formée sour le nom de la Bay Françoise ; & qu'il ne resulte 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 considerée 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, sur l'autorité des actes les plus solemnels

" To ſhew that theſe limits have *ever* been received by the two crowns as the ancient limits of

---

lemnels du gouvernement de France, dans leſquels le terme nouvelle France eſt toujours emploié 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'equivalent offert deux fois en 1712, étoit une preuve frapante de ſon ſentiment ſur les limites de l'Acadie qu'elle étoit ſur le point de ceder, 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 declarations les plus ſolemnelles pendant la negociation de ce traité.

" Nous avons donné une reponſe complette au pretexte 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 reclamation de l'Acadie depuis Pentagoet juſqu'à St. Laurent en 1662, de ſa poſſeſſion en conſéquence du traité de Breda en 1669, & des differentes reclamations des mêmes limites depuis 1667 juſqu'à 1710; & nous avons montré que toutes ces differentes preuves ſont concluſives pour le point actuel, & les ſeuls témoignages convenables que l'on peut citer pour eclaircir 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 premiere découverte & de l'etabliſſement de l'Amerique, & ſeulement par un motif pui n'a pas la moindre connection avec la matiere dont il s'agit.

" Nous avons démontré que toutes les preuves qu'aportent par conſéquent les commiſſaires François pour apuier leur ſiſtême, tendent à le détruire, & ſont appliquées de la maniere la plus frapante à ſoutenir la reclamation de la Grande Bretagne. Nous avons repondu entierement aux objections que l'on fait contre les raiſonnemens & les preuves qu'ont aporté les commiſſaires Anglois; & il eſt manifeſte que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne ne tire aucunes preuves de ſources qui ne ſoient autentiquies,

of Acadia, we have proved upon the authority of Monsieur d'Estrades, 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 Pentagoet, which Great Britain now claims as such.

---

auntentiques, & est soutenu dans sa reclamation par toutes les transactions entre les deux couronnes pendant plus d'un siécle: 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'equité & la bonne foi, reconnoitre comme une reclamation juste aux termes de la cession faite par le tratré d'Utrecht.

" Les Commissaires François, au contraire, sont également hors d'état d'apuier leur sistême & 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 generaux de restitution, ni à la possession de la France pendant plus de cent ans successivment, ni à aucunes déclarations faites par la France dans le tems du traité d'Utrecht; mais rejettant toutes ces preuves que nous tirons des tems certains & dont l'epoque est connue, ils sont obligés d'avoir recours à des cartes & á des historiens peu sûrs par ràpport au tems, & peu exacts par le genre même de leur matiere; lesquels encore, lorsqu'on vient à les examiner de près, detruisent absolument leur sistême; s'accordent avec le sens & l'effet de l'evidence plus solide & plus recente des traités & des transactions entre les deux couronnes, & deviennent autant de preuves auxiliaire, qui appuïent la reclamotion de la couronne de la Grande Bretagne.

A Paris, 23 Janvier, 1753.

" To

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 colonel Sedgwick, we have cited Monſieur d'Eſtrades, who expreſly 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 expreſly 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

and

and 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, he 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 Pentaquid, 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.

" We

"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 expreſly 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

it

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 seld om 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.

" 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 & *Païs 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 expreſly 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 reſtitutution of the treaty of St. Germain's and the poſſeſſion of France in conſequence

etail of conclusive
v turn to the real
missaries have in
as a distinction
that the antient
treaty are differ-
ountry may have
Germain's and
shew, upon the
ns, that Acadia
ed to the south-
support of this
e had recourse to
, as they assert,
mits they assign;
the French go-
e have cited as
e assign, to have
Païs circonvoisins,
is impossible to
ajesty claims as
dered as such, as
er had, and do
t names. They
e in itself, and
claim as Acadia
ecause historians
government ex-
They assert that
opinion of any
of any country,
negotiation of a
upon maps and
of Acadia, they
e treaty of St.
France in conse-
quence

quence of it, the possession taken by France in consequence of the treaty of Breda after a long discussion of the limits, and the declaration of France during the negotiation of the treaty of Utrecht, to be "*Preuves étrangeres à l'etat de la question.*"

"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 *païs 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 parallelled 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

Baye

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 proceedings 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 reassertions of these same limits from the 1667 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 n 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 tranſactaction 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;

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 procedings 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.

recover

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 siécle, & les grandes richesses qu'ils en rapportèrent, ayant anime 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 Oliphi 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.

" En

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 & fidéle 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 Dominica, Marie-Galante, Deſſuda, Todoſantes, la Gaudaloupe, Antigoa, Montſerrat, Redendo, la Barbudo, Nevis, Statia, Saint-Bartolomée, 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 ſeulemant 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

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 Antilles, 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 aud faithful couſin and counſellor, James lord Hay, baron of Sawley, viſcount Doncaſter and earl of Carliſle; having 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-circonſtanciellement la poſſeſſion de la Grande-Bretagne en 1639, & ſe déclare contre tout droit de la part de la couronne de France ſur cette iſle, qu'on voudroit 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."

barons

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

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'Esnambuc 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'Esnambuc 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 Françoise à Messrs. d'Esnambuc & Rossey, 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 isle; elle ne sert uniquement quá conférer le pouvoir de pendre possession de Saint-Christophe & de la Barbade nomément."

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

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 degrè de force, & ſe trouve convertie en conviction, quand on on ſe repeile d'un côte, qu'au temps dont il s'agit, la Sainte-Lucie avoit ète dècouverte & plantèe parles Anglois, & que leur poſſeſſion avoit ètè ſoutenue, de temps á autres, par des corps de recrues ou de nouveaux habitans, & que l'iſle fuit inſèrèe nommèment 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 dècouverte Françoiſe de cette iſle non plus que d'aucune autre des Caraïbes; mais qu'au contraire tous les hiſtoriens Francois placent la premiére dècouverte Francoiſe de quelqu'unes des Antilles dans la même année 1627, & leur premiére 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 alléguent aucune découverte antérieure à la date de la commiſſion ſus mentionnée, ni même aucune poſſeſſion actuelle, d'alors, que celle qu'ils voudroient faire naître, comme d'avance,

ſion; 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 anterieure, ſe trouver converti dans un acte de poſſeſſion, & tel qu'il devroit être pour acquérir le moindre droit, fût-ce même ſur un pays qui ſe trouveroit, pour lors à l'abandon & deſtitué de tout autre propriétare?

" 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 précéde, 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 éte affermi & maintenu d'une mnière uniforme, & par une ſucceſſion de temps à autre juſaques dans l'année 1639, auquel temps les hiſtoiriens François conviennent tous que nous nous trouvions en poſſeſſion de l'iſle Sainte-Lucie, ſans que les mêmes hiſtoriens

commission to M. d'Esnambuc, 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 sense, 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 á 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 Messr. d'Esnambuc & Rossey, dont leur interprétation a été démontrée insoûtenable; tandis qu'en leur allouant un dessein de la couronne de France, d'y comprendre par sous-entente la Sainte-Lucie comme une isle à sa bienséance. L'évidence d'une pareille intention ne signifieroit

" 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 à un prétendu acte arbitraire de possession désignée de la part de la couronne de France.

" Nous avons présentement transmis les differentes 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 conste 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, ajoûtant 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

---

envoyé en conséquence un Régiment de troupes en 1664, sous la conduite & le commandement du Colonel Caren, celui-ci y fut recu par lefs natifs d'une manière fort amicale & conséquente a cet achat, y proclama le droit de la Grande-Bretagne, en reprit la possession sur les François, & s'y at[illegible]que temps comme vice-Gouverneur.

" Dans l'année 1665, le sieur Robert Cook, gentilhomme Anglois, fut gouverneur de Sainte Lucie, & lord François Willoughby étant 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 commissaires susdits du commerce & de plantation.

" Depuis ce temp[illegible] à jusqu'aujourd'hui l'isle de Sainte-Lucie a toûjours été considérée comme dépendante de la Barbade, & a été constamment insérée comme telle dans toutes les commissions & instructions relatives à ce gouvernement.

" Ceux qui réfléchissent un moment sans partialité, sur l'origine & les circonstances de ce massacre & de la fuite subsequente des Anglois, doivent s'apercevoir & reconnoître qu'ils quittérent Sainte-Lucie, temporis causâ, & non animo abjiciendi. Et si les François eux-mêmes ne l'eussent pensé ainsi en ce temps-là, ils ne se 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'etat 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 délaissement ;

" Et que les Anglois eussent acquiescé d'intentention manifeste à leur possession pendant maintes années successives, pour lors l'année 1640 pourroit être censée & réputeé fatale au réclame actuel

du

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'iſle par un maſſacre, les Francois en prirent occaſion de s'en emparer ſur le champ furtivement & de s'y fortifier à la hâte : le ſilence ou pluſtôt 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 voie de fait ; & on les a conſtamment repétées 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'eſperer qu'après une expoſition auſſi ſincére & auſſi authentique de toutes les circonſtances que les commiſſaires de ſa majeſtè trés Chrètienne ſe rangeront à l'opinion que l'èpoque de 16,0 n'eſt pas plus favorable à la prètendue poſſeſſion da la couronne de France, fondèe ſur l'invaſion injuſte de M. du Parquet, que celle de 1627 á la prètendue prioritè de dècouverte & de établiſſement, fondée ſur la commiſſion vague & prèmaturèe a Meſſrs. d'Eſnambuc & Roſſey ;& que par ainſi le titre etabli dans la couronne de la Grande-Bretagne ſur l'iſle Sainte-Lucie, n'eſt pas ſeulemens fondè ſur une prioritè, 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'iſle de Sainte-Lucie, il ſeroit toûjours vrai qu'ils y étoient à l'inſçû & 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 commissaries 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'expédient proposé 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 soûmettre un droit quelconque à l'épreuve & à la décision d'une discussion impartiale & amicale à la réquisition & pour ne pas rompre en visière aux pretentions 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'historie, & 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, maintainu, revendiqué & rassuré par tous les actes d'autorité possibles, & par toutes les démarches requises de la part d'un gouvernement politique & même

" Upon the restoration of the royal family, Charles the second no sooner found himself seated in 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 tres-chrétienne n'ont [illegible] rien à opposer à ce droit, qu'une prétendue découverte [illegible] désignée possession ancienne, que leurs propres historiens [illegible]ent & détruisent, & dont ils n'alleguent 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 contrarées & 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 conçûe de la part de la couronne de France, que le droit de proprieté, 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 [illegible] avenue, 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 solemnelle existante entre les deux couronnes, par laquelle tout droit & toute prétention à l'égard de l'isle de Sainte-Lucie a été soûmise 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 carribbee 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 goverment 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 acknowlenge 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 have

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 d'Eſnambuc 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

" 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 conclude, 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

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, 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 Penſylvania, and running a courſe of 400 miles through Virginia, &c. falls into the river Miſſiſippi 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 Louiſina, they ſhould have as eaſy and direct a communication with Europe as the Engliſh. To execute this project, they ſeized

two

on 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 communication with the Indians: and here lay the foundation of that more latent aim, which was nothing less than hoping one day to extirpate the English entirely from the whole continent of North America. 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 Apalachean mountains, and pretended a right to the western confines of Pensylvania and Virginia. Now it 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 Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oncedas and Mohawks; the Tuscarros, 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, his Britannic majesty's subjects had a right of possession from lake Erie to the Chikasas on the Mississippi. 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 or driven out by the Twightwees, who settled in their room. As this spacious country adjoins to Virginia; Colonel Wood, who dwelt on 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 1699, made a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, and having opened a communication between that and Canada, began to form a design of joining those 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, as appears by the event; a grant of 600,000 acres in 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 with

the

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 Pensylvania, acquainting them that our Indian traders had incroached 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 Pensylvania.

* That the Indians were never consulted with respect to the grant 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 Celeron, 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

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 ripling 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 Pensylvania, 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

" your

" 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,

" SIR,

" 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 rouze 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 aud 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 Pensylvania 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. Contrecœur, 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 20,000l. 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 con-

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 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 Townshead a commissioner of the board of admiralty.

New

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 unparrallelled 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

over

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 suspence about the fate of the English and French squadrons, the preparations for a vigorous sea war were going forward in England with an unparallelled 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 Pa let 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

r both of those squa-
ence about the fate
uadrons, the prepa-
were going forward
d spirit and success.
court still flattered
, out of tenderness
ons, desist from hos-
act with great sin-
nces with the British
that their admirals,
lers to fall upon the
ld meet with them.
mal declaration, in
e first gun that was
all Europe into a
the designs of the
French;

uiring his majesty to go
ns in the minds of men,
n in his journey, or pre-
de a motion in the house
ngdom at this juncture;
om his question. Not-
ontinued still to be very
ended that there would,
agreement amongst the
highness William duke
ishop of Canterbury,
ncellor; John earl of
arles duke of Marlbo-
utland, steward of the
d chamberlain; Archi-
tle, first commissioner
of

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 seperated; 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 f.om 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 Holdernesse, 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.

fleet,

fleet, which had been seperated 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 defiles.

from the others by
ish fleet on the 10th
were the Alcide, of
Hocquart, and the
ting only 22, and a
we, now lord Howe,
Andrews in the De-
tagonists. The Al-
What is the name of
replies the English-
m well, he is a friend
e called, *You, sir!*
swered the French-
ony. The engage-
kirk fired first; and
and yard arm, both
th eight companies
bout 8000 l. for the

general Braddock
troops, under con-
d appointed com-
forces in America.
Quesne, and drive
he Ohio. For this
Cumberland about
erland to fort du
an 130 miles. Mr.
the former on the
ion under the com-
erable were the dif-
a country rugged,
e Allegheny moun-
ods and dangerous
defiles.

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 the

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.

T

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—alledging, 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.*

CHAP.

CHAP. 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 any thing; 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 Massachusets 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

ouſe with cannon mounted on their ſide of that ver, and the reſt were poſted in a ſtrong breaſt-ork of timber, by way of ou work to the block-ouſe. But our troops attacked the breaſt-work ith ſuch ſpirit, that in an hour's time the enemy were bliged to fly, and leave them in poſſeſſion of the reaſt-work; whereupon the garriſon in the block-ouſe deſerted it, and left the paſſage of the river ee. From hence our little army marched and at-cked the French fort, called Beau Sejour, on the th of June; which they bombarded with ſuch fury nd effect, that the garriſon thought fit to capitulate n the 16th; they had 26 pieces of cannon mounted, nd plenty of ammunition in the fort. The terms ey obtained were, for the regulars to be carried to ouiſbourg, but not to bear arms in America for x months, and the French inhabitants to be par-oned, as they had been forced into the ſervice. To is fort colonel Monckton gave the name of Cum-erland; and next day he attacked and reduced the ther French fort upon the river Gaſpereau, which ns into Bay Verte, where he likewiſe found a large uantity of proviſions and ſtores of all kinds, being e chief magazine for ſupplying the Indians and bel French inhabitants with arms, ammunition, nd every thing they had occaſion for. The colonel tended next to have gone to reduce the French rt at the mouth of the river St. John; but the rench ſaved him the trouble, by abandoning the lace, after demoliſhing, as far as they had time, all e works they had raiſed there. In this whole ex-edition we had but about 20 men killed and as any wounded. Thus was a ſolid tranquility given Nova Scotia; the diſpute concerning which had been

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 advices; 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. To 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 aa 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.

to

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

from

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 re-
" ducing this fort, the Engliſh camp muſt neceſ-
" ſarily 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,

a

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 ground and center at-"tack; 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

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 fortinate 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'Ginneſs 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. Wraxal, 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 Dieſkau won the day, equally ready had they

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 chuſe 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-

perſe

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 Cologue, 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 gallies, 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 500,000l. 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 ſubſiſtance 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 aſtoniſh-

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 master. 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

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 100,000l. as a ſubſidy to the empreſs of Ruſſia; 54,140l. to the landgrave of Heſſe; and 100,00l. 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 deficiences 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 Mediteranean, 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 veſ-"ſels 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 march-"ing into Rouſillon 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 Keene, our miniſter at Madrid, on the 1ſt of September tranſmitted to ſir Thomas Robinſon an authentic liſt of the fleet at Toulon.

Conſul Birtles wrote from Nice, of June 26, 1756, "that "he had been told by ſome, who had the beſt intelligence from "France, that by letters received three days before, ſixty bat-"talions were ordered to march into Provence, to be com-"manded by the duke de Richlieu; that between ſixty and ſe-"venty 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-"ment

withſtanding information upon information, notwithſtanding the importance of the Britiſh commerce

---

" 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, " left 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 or- " dered 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 Edgecombe wrote from Leghorn to the lords of the admiralty, who received his letter on the 14th 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. Villettes 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 Phœnix, 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."

Lord

vernor of Minorca, representing the weakness of the garrison in St. Philip's castle, yet did the m—y leave

Lord Bristol wrote from Turin on the 21st of February, that repeated orders had been sent to Toulon to hasten the workmen; 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 Mar-"seilles 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 for

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 m ſt odious and bitter appellations. At length when the deſtination of the enemy's armament was univerſally known, they ſeemed to rouze 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 indifferent 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

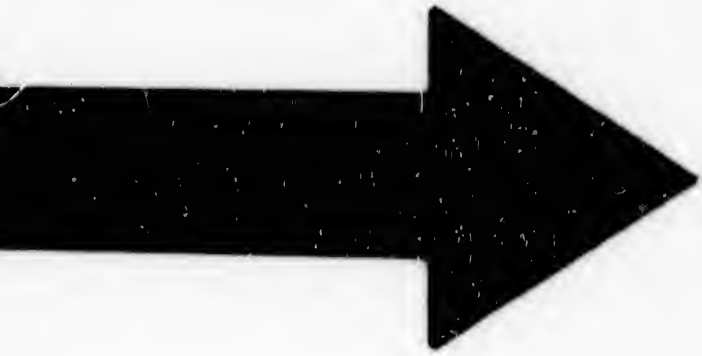
for the Mediterranean. But the equipping of theſe ſhips was attended with ſuch directions, that their departure was delayed to the 7th of April for want of men; the admiral being ordered to haſten the fitting up the Sterling Caſtle, and to complete her complement of men in preference to any other; and 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 cruize 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.]

Byng

rotected, except
hips and frigates
l the month of
ſend to general
n England upon
ate. In a word,
or their ſupine-
alms did not fail
d bitter appel-
nation of the
y known, they
f lethargy; yet
uadron ſuperior
ection of an of-
urage, together
eral Blakeney;
en ſhips of the
ip, in very in-
ed, and com-
who had never
or was he at all
, as part of his
to be landed at
y officers, and
nforcement for
which admiral

f theſe ſhips was
ture was delayed
iral being ordered
d to complete her
her; and not to
ay, Effex, Prince
, ſays Mr. Clev-
wanted to cruize
cept four frigates
re, which could

Byng



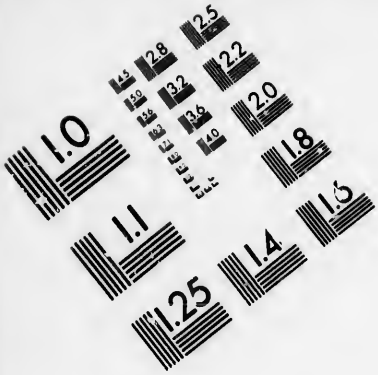
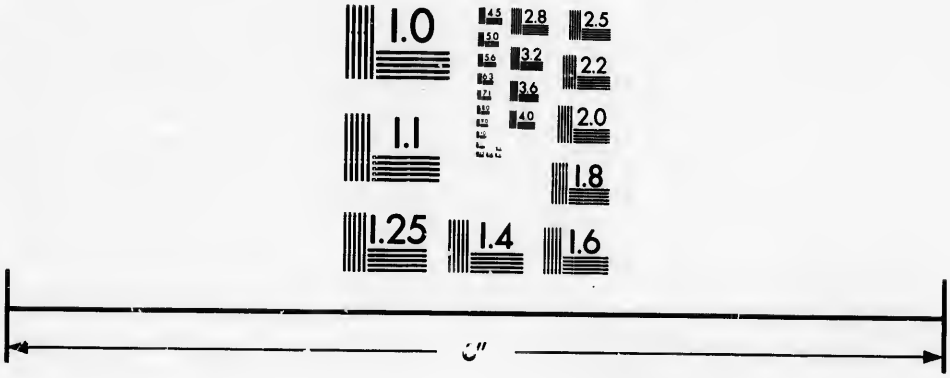
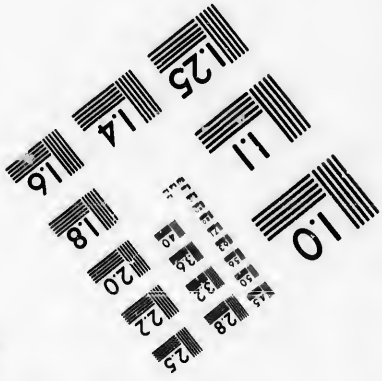


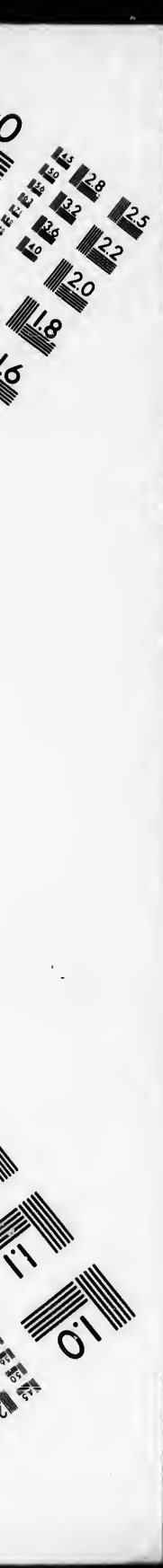
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)





Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503


2.8
3.2
3.6
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

ADMIRAL BYNG

Byng
wher
Frenc
they
gone
West
the re
Byng
three
a mer
enem
matio
and h
Admi
where
one sh
French
island
of thir
la Gali
had be
admira
lieuten
of Gibr
to a ba
council
ders, w
the secr
sistent a
that no
except a
little sq
left a nu
assist in
finding t
attended

Byng received were actually amazing; he was, when he came to Gibraltar, to enquire whether any French squadron had passed the Streights, 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 Galissionere, 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

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.

SIR,

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. Edgcumbe (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 number 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 determined to sail up to*

Minorca

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 betwtten 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 Phœnix 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, SIR,

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 Gibralar; 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 chached 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-

sion

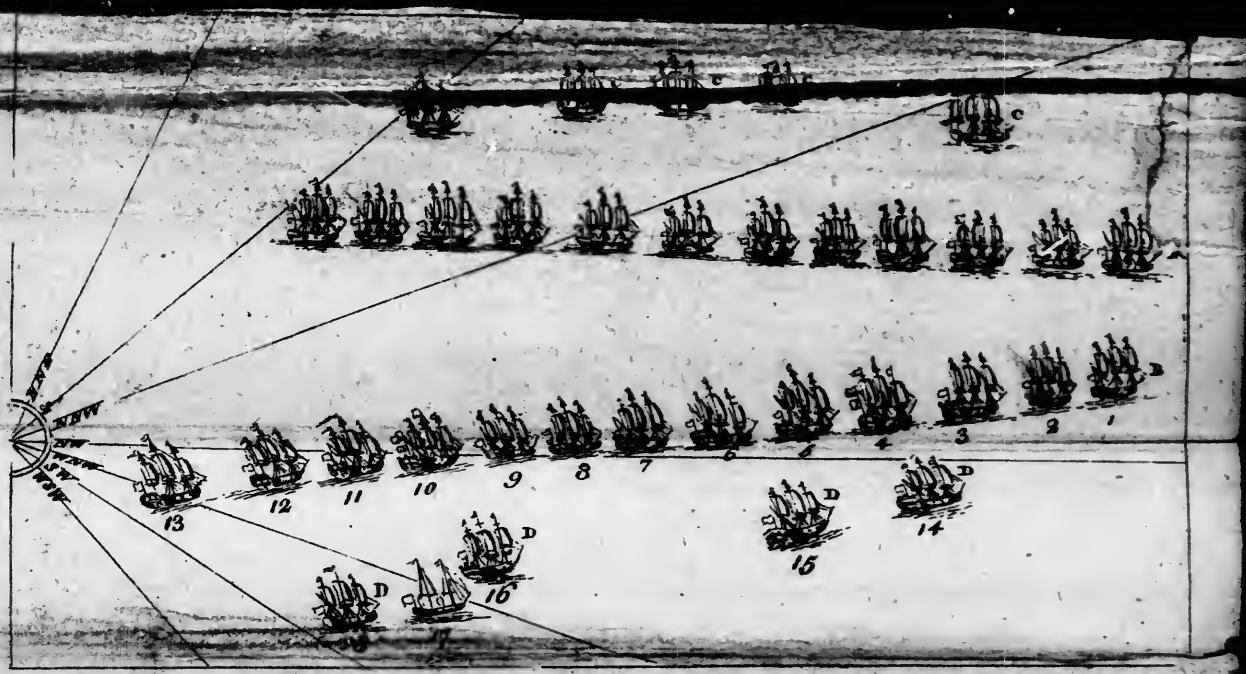
ſion ſeven points from the wind, and, cloſing down upon the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that the ſhips which oppoſed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly ſuſtained by the van, in all probability the Britiſh fleet would have obtained a complete victory: 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 cooly 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

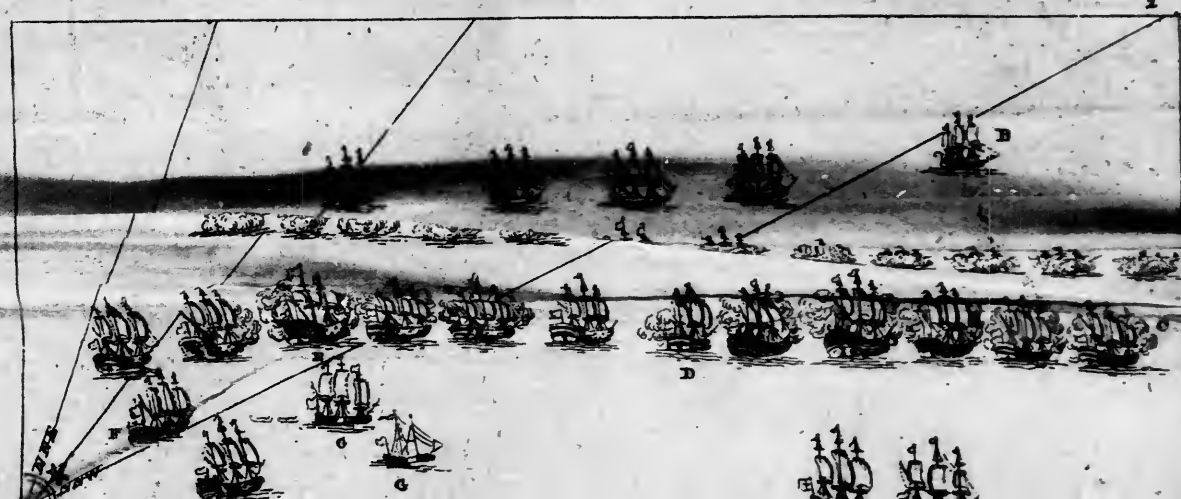
had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and tho' he was rather ſuperior to the Engliſh in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuſe to abide the conſequence of a cloſer fight with an enemy ſo expert in naval operations: he therefore took advantage of Mr. Byng's heſitation, and edged away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been diſcomfited. The Engliſh admiral gave chace; 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

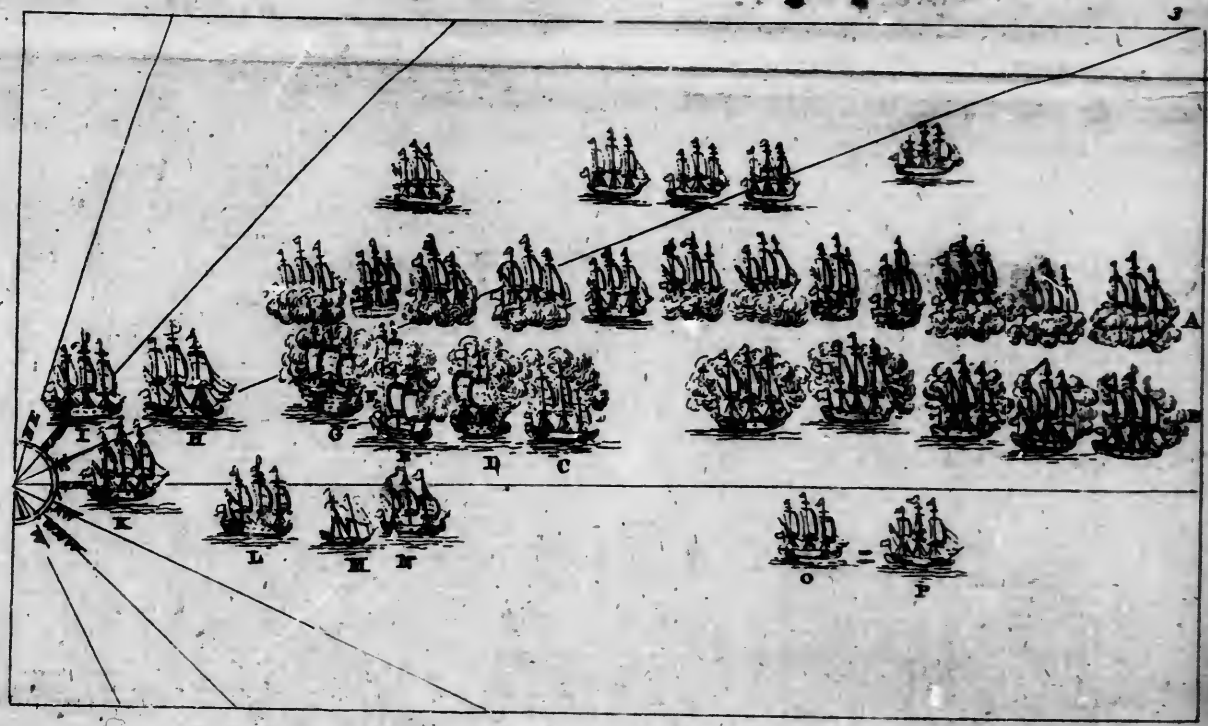
; and tho'
n number of
ot chuſe to
th an enemy
refore took
edged away
n had been
hace; but,
l not come
ed at their
n the other
nemy; and
t of ſight.
to, at the
e detached
hich joined
to the con-
of killed
n Andrews
and ſixty-
pital ſhips
that they
rd to their
ne ill, and
ted into an
is ſituation
which he
t. He re-
rior to the
s of men;
eir wound-
time they
; that, in
elieve St.
make the
hich might
require



Three Views of ye Engagement between Admiral Byng & M de la Galissoniere off Minorca May 20. 1756.
At two o'Clock in ye Afternoon.



At half an Hour past Two.



At three in ye Afternoon.

require i
curring in
according
would ce
the engag
ſkirmiſh,
a ſecond
iſſue of th
be no way
was extrem
Galiſſonie
covering
gainſt C
quadron i
ry well a
r the reli
ve lande
have fou
urage.
conduct
d his ret
cowardi

REFER

ſt poſitio
on, May
elve ſhips
naſt, but
going do
gnal for t
ng on the
nd. 3 L
in. 6 Int
Camillies.
French fri
es to wind
œnix. 17

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 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.

The position of the English and French fleets at two in the afternoon, May 20, 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 and bring on the enemy, and avoid being raked. — 1 Defiance, 2 Portland. 3 Lancaster. 4 Buckingham. rear-admiral West, 5 Captain. 6 Intrepid. 7 Revenge. 8 Princess Louisa. 9 Trident. 10 Damillies. 11 Culloden. 12 Deptford. 13 Kingston. C. The 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

PLATE II.

Position of the English and French fleets at about half an h after two in the afternoon, May 20, 1756, when the Fre fleet began the engagement. A. French line going with wind upon the beam, and maintopsails to the mast, the fou and fifth ships began the fire, and very soon it became general B. French frigates to windward.— C. English line, the van yet fairly up to their respective adversaries, and consequently the rear, as the angle after tacking must be greater in the than the van, yet all but the two sternmost were even within gun shot.—D. The Intrepid putting right down out the headmost ships way, by which, in bringing up, she was mediately disabled.—E. The admiral, with the signal out engage the enemy, returning their fire, which he had rece from the three ships for a considerable time going down, wit answering it, as not thinking himself near enough.—F. Dept ordered out of the line.—G. G. Phœnix, with the schooner attend her in case of burning, to receive her people. —H. C terfield.—I. I. The Experiment and Dolphin.

PLATE III.

Position of the English and French fleets, at three in the ternoon, May 20, 1756, wind about S. W. by W. A. Fre line engaged, the three headmost bearing up, the fourth fifth ships setting topgallant sails, and also bearing up; the o firing on the English van at some distance, the eleventh sh the enemy's line having lost her maintopsail-yard, ran out of line from admiral Byng's ship, who was fired at by the t sternmost of the French line.—B. The Defiance, Port Lancaster, Buckingham, and Captain, engaging the ene van. — C. The Intrepid had her foretopmost shot in bringing up to engage, and was much shattered; lay ungovernable.—D. The Revenge aback close to the trepid.—E. The Princess Louisa aback to avoid running board the Intrepid and Revenge, and shot out of her as she brought up to the wind. — F. The Trident a for the same purpose, and close on board the admir G. The admiral throwing aback to keep clear of the ships a of him, that in the smoke of the engagement he was near on board of without seeing them immediately.—H. The loden.—I. The Kingston —K. The Deptford.—L. The C terfield.—M. The Phœnix.—N. A schooner.—O. The phin.—P. The Experiment.

As ſoon as advice was brought to England of the French army being landed on the iſland of Minorca, it was 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 our neutral iſlands in the Weſt Indies ſhould be effected, (which was expreſly 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:

and

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 to 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;

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 lieu-

tenants of our ſeveral counties, governors of our forts and garriſons, and all other officere 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 advertiſe 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 Kenſingson, the 17th day of May 1756, in the 29th year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

The

The French King's Declaration of War against the King of England, dated at Versailles, June 9, 1756, and proclaimed at Paris the 16th.

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 monerate 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 rectprocally owe to each other. At the time

that the English ministers, under the appearance of good faith, imposed upon the king's embassador 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 as

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 expreſly prohibits all communication, commerce, and intelligence with them,

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.

CHAP. 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 Cieudadella, 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 Blakeney 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 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 reboubled 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

squadron

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 Richlieu

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

the

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 palisadoes 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 counterscarp was not yet taken, nor on account of the rocky soil could be taken, except by assault, which would cost

the

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

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.

SIR,

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.

SIR,

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

To

ntained in the fol-

absence, to the com-
garrison at Gib-

March 21, 1756.

ou, that it is his
into your garrison
o do duty there;
that the French
is majesty's island
easure, that you
oops in your gar-
commanded by a
be the eldest in
oard the fleet for
niral shall think
o the said island.

servant,

B.

sence, to the com-
rrison in Gib-

April 1, 1756.

ou receive into
n belonging to

To

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

War-Office, May 12, 1756.

SIR,

I wrote to you by general Stewart, *if* that order s *not* complied with, *then* you are now to make a etachment of 700 men out of your own regiment nd Guises; and also another detachment out of ulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them n board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But *if* hat order *has* been complied with, *then* you are to ake only one detachment of 700 men, to be com-anded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, nd to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain l such empty vessels as shall come into your har-our, and keep them in readiness for any *farther ansportation of troops*. I have also his royal high-ess the duke of Cumberland's commands to desire, at you will keep your garrison as alert as possible, uring this *critical time*, and give such *other assistance* may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; king care, however, not to fatigue or *endanger* our own garrison.

These letters Mr. Fowke received at one time om the same hand. The third letter not men-oning that it superceded the first left it in full rce. The word *if* at the beginning of this last tter, and other parts of it, seemed to imply that e other order was discretionary. Upon the whole, r. Fowke thought they were both together unin-lligible, and he called a council of war at Gib-ltar, not to deliberate, whether he *should obey* em, but *how* he should *understand* them. By the t letter lord Robert Bertie's regiment, commonly

called

called the fuziliers, was ordered into garrison: the second he was ordered to receive the wives a children, who must have disembarked with the r giment [this letter was meant, that the govern should conclude from it the regiment was to be se to Minorca, and it was to prevent any usel mouths going thither: but is not this drawing co clusions without premises? or is it customary military orders, which cannot be too clearly e pressed?] and by the third, the regiment was s posed to be on board. Now does it appear, th Mr. Fowke was to send a detachment, togeth with the fuziliers to Minorca? or that he was send a detachment from the garrison, detaining fuziliers at Gibraltar? After 275 men had b spared to captain Edgcumbe, the whole garri was but 2531, and the ordinary duty required 8 therefore there was not enough for three relie and this too, at a time when the place was suppo to be in danger, nay, when the government the selves thought so, as is evident from the conclu of the last letter. This determined the counci war not to send any troops to Minorca. But sup sing the orders had been positive, and he obeyed them, as they ought to have arrived, sent 700 men according to the first letter, and according to the third, would he have had eno left for the defence and preservation of the fort And to crown the whole, what could be the m ing of that order to detain all empty vessels f *farther* transportation of troops,—was he to em the whole garrison, and abandon the place?

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

sid

into garrison: [illegible]dent, who in these cases has the casting vote, gave
eceive the wives a[illegible] against the prisoner; and the king soon after dis-
arked with the [illegible]missed him from his service; but his present ma-
, that the govern[illegible]esty has restored him to his rank in the army.
ment was to be se[illegible] The trial of admiral Byng was held the 27th of
revent any usel[illegible]ecember on board the St. George man of war in
t this drawing co[illegible]ortsmouth; when, after a long sitting, the court
is it customary [illegible]nanimously agreed, he had been negligent in the
be too clearly e[illegible]erformance of his duty at the time he ought to
regiment was s[illegible]ave engaged the French admiral; but that this
oes it appear, t[illegible]egligence partly arose from an error in his judg-
tachment, togeth[illegible]ent; and from many favourable symptoms they
or that he was [illegible]ought him an object worthy of mercy, and therefore
rison, detaining [illegible]commended him, because the 12th article of war
75 men had b[illegible]nder which he fell) prescribes death without mitiga-
the whole garri[illegible]on in cases of negligence. Many of the officers, who
duty required 8[illegible]mposed this tribunal, manifested signs of grief at his
for three relie[illegible]ndemnation, and it was generally believed that the
place was suppo[illegible]dmiral thought he had fully discharged his duty;
government the[illegible]t he relied too much on conscious innocence.
rom the conclu[illegible]reat interest was made in his behalf, and perhaps
ned the counci[illegible]s preservation would have been effected, had it
norca. But sup[illegible]t been judged necessary to sacrifice him, to ap-
tive, and he [illegible]ease the fury of the people; but the warrant of
have arrived, [illegible]e lords of the admiralty, directing his execution,
rst letter, and [illegible]e gentleman of the board refused to subscribe for
have had eno[illegible]e following reasons:

—l F——s's *reasons for not signing the warrant for admiral Byng's execution.*

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

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

name

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.

"Admi

" 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 expresly 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 expresly 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 offerts: 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, 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

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 chearfulness 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 crouded 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 in
taking air
threw his
tied one
dropped t
who fired
through h
instant.
from his w
posited in

* The sen
nity, when t
the following
be delivered
ments will n
rustrate the
them a life s
ustice done
e done to n
nising and kee
ne, will be se
ive myself)
ntment of a
cts. My e
appy for me,
nocence, and
rtunes can be
ood may con
; but canno
y duty accord
ertion of my
vice. I am
ore success;
oved too wea
uth has prev
ed off the ig
al courage, a

possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled 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*.

We

* 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 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."

J. BYNG.

quently

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 conspiration 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 Vesur, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages, situated near Pondicherry, granted their request; and Anawedi Khan, nobob 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

Ali

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 conjuction with Sundah 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

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 Madraſs, 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.

offered

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 thirteeeth 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.

About

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 Madraſs, where the gentlemen of that town have their country ſeats, which they had began 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 battle. 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-

ments

ments on the first day of March, 1752, and advanced in orderrof battle, taking possession of a rising ground on the right, on which they placed fifty Europeans; the front consisted of fifteen hundred Sipoys, 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 tumbrels 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 11th day of March. Here he found major Lawrence, just 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 Sipoys, 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 Koyl-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 Sipoys, 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 Syrinham

with

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 fortress 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 Sipoys. 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 Sipoys, 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 Duplieux 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 t told D'Anteuil had retreated. He arrived t 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 Saheb'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,

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 eſtabli'hed Mahommed Ali Khan in his government of Arcot, and obliged monſieur Duplieux 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 ſo 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 England,

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 Tiruchinapalla, 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 at least six hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; together with ten pieces of cannon, which

fell

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 negociation 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, Bahir, and Orixa; 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; splenetic 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 affront, nor manifested the least dislike to his person or government.

His

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 Muxadavad 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

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. Holwell, 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 less agitation on the dreadful night I am going to describe, and with a grateful heart sincerely acknowlege, 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, viceroy of Bengal, Baker, and Orixa] 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

us,

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 carpenters 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 Revely, 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 abovementioned, 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

a ſmall

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 platrorm, 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 ſouthermoſt 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 patheric 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.

Death,

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 Jemmautdaar 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 endeavoor 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 belief 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 upou 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-

tween

tween two of the bars, I obtained air enough to give my lungs eas' 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 dilirious: "Water, Water," became the general cry. And the old Jemmautdaar, beforementioned, 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 savings 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 lose 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

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

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

ſtill

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 preſpiration 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 in-

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

By half an hour after a eleven the much greater number of thoſe living were in an outragious 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 opprobrius 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

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 abhorrance 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

dead

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 ſaſh 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 yatch) 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 Jemmautdaars 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 Jemmautdaar, 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.

I

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 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 begun 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 houshold 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

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 ſeverely. 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-

quis

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 Os-

wego,

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.

CHAP. 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 tranquility, 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 Silesia 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 conceived to the court of Petersburgh: 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 removing 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-

duct,

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 *.

As

* 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, expostulating 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 indispensible 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 Britanny; 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 countermarches, 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 this latter step was so carefully avoided, that most people apprehended 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 are 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 regent, 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 for

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 please.

treaty;

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 empress 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 guarantee 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 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 in 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 the king of the Romans. The cry of religion served a handle for both sides. The partizans of the house

of

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 evedent, that each side had resoved 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'eclat; 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 negociations. 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

to

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 Leipsic 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 unadviseable. 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. Picolomini, 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,

both

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 Rutowiski, 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

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 chancellor

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

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.

CHAP. 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 oppo-nents 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

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 diſmiſſion 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

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 seemed 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,

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 4 ,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, Britanny and Normandy, with a view of proceeding to the empire, and attack the king of Prussia, as they pretended, in consequence of their

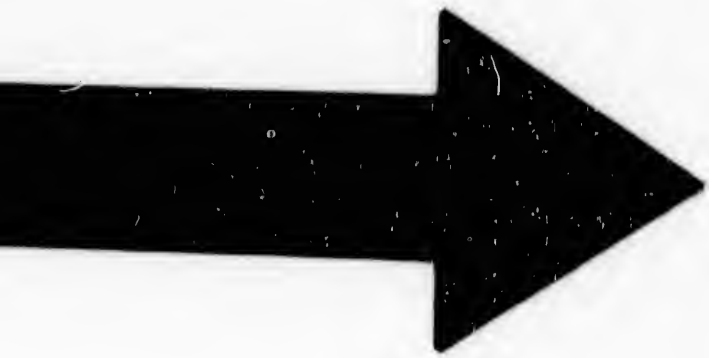
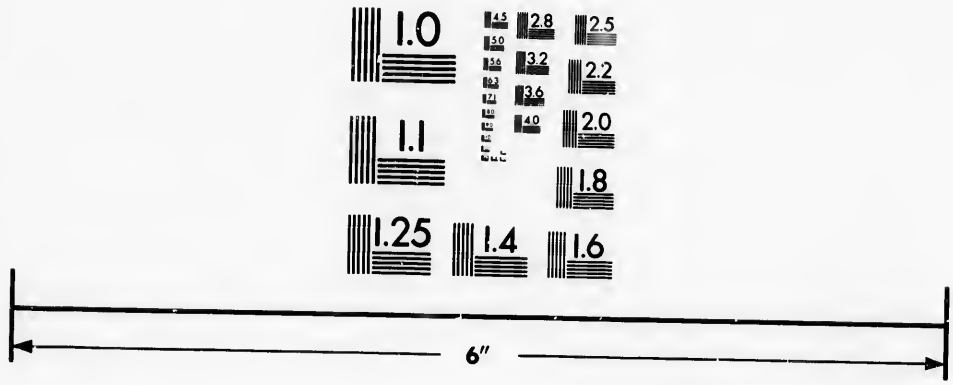
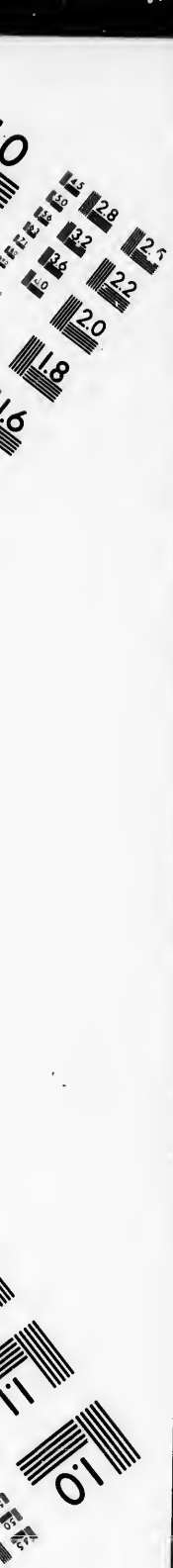


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503


2.8
3.2
3.6
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.0

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 diſpiſed

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 ban, 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 Lorrain 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, while

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 10,000 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 unadviſeable, 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

in

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 rule 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 tyranous 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-

serted

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 or 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

reduce

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,

ful, he determined to draw off, and called aloud to the prince of Bevern: 'Nous ferrons 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 loſs 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

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 harrass 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 almast 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,

except

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 Stralsund, 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 desarts, 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 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 the

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 ſought 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 Leipsic. 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

their

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 forimdable 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 Leipsic 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.

and

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 conquaſt that the Auſtrians were informed of the king of Pruſſia's ſucceſs at Roſbach, 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 infatuated with ſurprize at having, as they thought,

their

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 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 havock; 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

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 aud castle of Harbourg; the town was easily mastered, but the castle maintained

greatly fa-
. Notwith-
in, the king
fended by a
ed it to ſur-
garriſon were
aving recon-
z, he pene-
the Auſtrian
re, which ſo
, that before
e number of

ach not only
eir deſign of
l the ſpirits
encouraged
the French
nd infamous
mpoſſible to
oldiers were
methods of
o take away
ſſian troops.
on unbound
as the king
ach, it was
y; and the
l a general,
ck, brother
r in his own
undertook
le of Har-
ut the caſtle
maintained

FRED. III^D. K^G. OF PRUSIA.

FRED. III^D. K^G. OF PRUSS

maintained a vigorous siege; at length it surrendered.

CHAP. VI.

Affairs in America and Asia.

THE British affairs in America this year seemed with misfortunes and disgraces, not little owing to our own political divisions, indecisions and languor; the attack on Crown Point which had been the principal object in the beginning, was now laid aside; the French were masters of all the lakes, and had nothing to prevent their collecting the Indians together against us: nay, as did more in behalf of the French, than the French could have done for themselves; we attacked the Iroquois, who were our allies, and might have been preserved, and the whole country to the enemy; and thus without one native Frenchman, our whole frontiers were exposed to the incursions. Instead of attacking Crown Point, we engaged of more consequence to go against Louisbourg. Accordingly a plan was laid for it; it was supposed to have been concerted at the ministry as soon as it was finished. The importance of the place was sufficient to surprize the French ministry to provide immediately, for its

maintained a vigorous ſiege; at length it ſurrendered.

CHAP. 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 Louiſbourgh. 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 Beaufremont ſailed 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 ſlipt 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.

adjoining

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 8 frigates, &c. Near a month was spent at Halifax in exercising the troops, and by feints 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 ma-'king sham fights and planting cabages*, when

* 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 Louisbourgh; but on the 4th a supposed French packet, ‡ from Louisbourgh 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 Louisbourgh 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.

terribly

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 Louiſbourgh, 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 ſa-

* 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 ſcouts 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. Kersaint, who, in the month of November, 1756, sailed from France on an expedition to scour the English settlements on the coast of Guinea, 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 it,

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 ‡.

In

---

it, Mr. Bell, the English governor, obliged him to sheer off. He then set sail for the West-Indies. The Dutch at fort Elmina stood tame spectators of the fire, wishing (as they afterwards publickly 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 c—s. 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.

restitution

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 Chandenagore, 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 fickle 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. 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,

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.

CHAP. 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,

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.

'SIR,

'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 re-"turn ſooner;" 'I am now to ſignify to you the 'king's pleaſure, that you do not conſider the a-'bovementioned 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,' "Attempt-"ing, as far as ſhall be found practicable, a deſcent "on the French coaſt, at or near Rochefort, in or-"der to attack if practicable, and, by a vigorous "impreſſion, force that place, and to burn and de-"ſtroy, 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 ope-'ration 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

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 September, that an attempt on Rochefort was neither 'adviseable nor practicable, though at that time 'there were no troops nor batteries on shore to prevent a descent.' From hence it appeared, that the officers had been guilty of disobedience of orders. The reader may perhaps startle at this assertion; but we will give him a part of such of the evidences as tended to prove the attempt *was practicable*. Lieutenant-colonel Clark said, that he, with three more officers, went on shore, and walked two miles, over a spungy neck of land, called Isle 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 Quebec) 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 Broderick described 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 Edward 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 ignorant of the navigation of that river?

come

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 some where else. In this point the minister could not be to blame; for he intended the expedition to annoy the enemy; to make him susceptive 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, purporting 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 'clerks 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 ex'pedition, or to that effect; whereupon the motion was imme'diately withdrawn.' [*The public news-papers.*]

At

At home he was unanimouſly applauded; and having rouzed 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 *.

On

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

On the 1st of December the parliament met; they voted 60,000 seamen and 54,000 soldiers. The supplies amounted to 10,486,457l. Notwithstanding the greatness of this sum (of which 1,861,897l. 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.

passion,

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 embryoes 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.

CHAP. 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 acqaintance with the Moorish king of that part of South Barbary, called by us the gum coast, or the sandy desart 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

* But called by the natives Legibelli.

his

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

their ſmall force. The miniſtry finding the ſucceſs of the firſt enterprize, diſpatched commodore Keppel 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.

M. d'Ache

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 ſeperated; the French returned to Pondicherry, and the Engliſh to Madraſs; 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 deſart 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 Madraſs. 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 ſailed in

queſt

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 chace, 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 Madraſs, 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 Maſſulipatum to the marquis de Conflans. Soon after M. de Buſſy 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.

CHAP. 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

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,

* 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 Carthagena. 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

a Clue; but
der to fruſ-
nder the di-
ned at the
urt equipped
gthen de la
through the
n was given
d before the
by admiral
agena. Du
in with the
uns, captain
f 80 guns,
r a conſide-
have taken
the enemy's
ning up, du
captain of
vely fought
he Orphee,
viſ taken;
was drove
remaining
named the
er, eſcaped
ngs of this
ving Louiſ-
being able
s, returned
up. The
nerica, was
ſix ſhips of
having on
ard Hawke
was

Seen the Night by Moon-light.

[illegible] in a fleet to prevent it. As soon as the enemy saw him approach, the ships ashore, and threw their guns, stores, even ballast overboard, in order to lighten them further out of his reach. Thus and the equipment were totally defeated; been said, that the guns, stores, and la[illegible] entirely lost. A number of small crafts ployed to drag the ships through the which they were preserved; but they did to venture out to sea again. In the mea[illegible] miral Boscawen arrived in America, where of three different operations were to be e[illegible] the speedy reduction of the enemy. Th[illegible] of lord Loudon, who was last year com[illegible] chief in America, had not given that [illegible] which was expected from him; it was co[illegible] inactive; therefore he was called lord[illegible] command devolved on major general A[illegible] who afterwards published, or nearly pu[illegible] lordship's plans. The first, and indeed plan of their operations, was an expedi[illegible] against Louisbourg; the fleet under the direct[illegible] miral Boscawen, who was arrived at [illegible] gether with the troops, in number abo[illegible] commanded by major general Amherst, brigadier general Wolfe. On the 28th o[illegible] armament departed from Halifax, and o[illegible] June the fleet appeared off Louisbourg, prodigious fair wafted all along the shor[illegible] were six days off the coast before a landing [illegible] practicable. The governor of Louisbou[illegible] interest exerted all his skill to prevent the [illegible] he established a chain of posts that co[illegible] leagues and a half along the most accessible

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

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 unparallelled, 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 harbonr; 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, amounting

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 atchieved, 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 rivalſhip 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

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 vollies, 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 oreered the troops to be drawn off, and to retreat, after the lois of about 2000 men; which was accordingly done without any molestation from the enemy. More fortunate, however, was an enterprize, which general Abercrombie detached lieu-

tenant-

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 ſurrouuded 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 reguiar approaches, prudently abandoned the fort in time, and retired to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi. Next day (Nov. 25th) the Engliſh troops, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the fort; the contention for which, with the lands contigious 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.

At

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 ſervility 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* politicions 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

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 Cancalle 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 reimbarked 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 ſollicitations 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 inervating our power at home; and, if the expeditions to France ſhould be continued, which, conſidering the expence of firſt equiping 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 Bligh; 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, baſon, ſluices, ſloodgates, 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

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 conveniency 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 Bligh 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

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.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

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 surprise 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, 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, 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,

Clermont having collected the fugitives, retired and took refuge under the cannon of Cologne; where he was a tame ſpectator of the reduction of Duſſeldorp 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.

gained

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 reassembling, 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

his prince now
ine in order to
f Marlborough,
l the prince of
. M. de Che-
aſſed the Rhine
ge Duſſeldorp;
ate heavy rains,
an Hanoverian
en at Meer, to
Rees, to ſecure
d preſerve the
dinand and the
gn was to ſeize
d cut off the
v he attacked
his officer ha-
aken his mea-
e repulſed the
him to retire
little victory
to the allies
d marched to
ith whom he
l hitherto been
nce Ferdinand
ine, and drew
g; and that
began to re-
n was, in the
Soubiſe, who
ſhewed a de-
which prince
with 13,000
e command of
the

PRINCE EUGENE.

the w
to. So
them
hagen
1500
order,
reap a
was to
this tir
try Co
up thei
campai
among
number
were no
deed e
friends
come to
fatality
ſter; th
ried off
for reaſo
ours, wl
any inte
vourite
hid; yet
to a com
command
During
Saxony t
nate city
execution
duke obli
ſon would

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, i. to 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-

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 eclat 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 speediest,

Silesia. His next consideration was to act offensively in the Austrain territories: but first he provided

'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 au'thorized 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 Holdernesse, one of his principal 'secretaries of state; Philip 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 coun'sellor of embassy and minister plenipotentiary at the court of 'his Britannic majesty, and Lewis Michell, his *charge d'af'faires* at the said court; who, after having communicated to 'each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the 'following articles.

'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 Prus'sia, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to 'six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling; which en'tire sum shall be paid at once, immediately after the exchange 'of the ratifications, upon the requisition of his Prussian ma'jesty.

'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 com'mon cause, and for the end proposed by their aforesaid ma'jesties, 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

'by

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 Brandenburgh 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 expreſly 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 con-'vention, 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 pre-'ſent 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.

camp,

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 convoy, 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 ſuddedly 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 Koningſgratz. 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 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 Brandenberg, 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-

flicts

flicts 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 Brandenburgh. 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.

tageous

tageous opportunity, left 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 Neiſs, 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 Neiſs 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

the

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 Leipſic; 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 ‡.

CHAP.

‡ 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 cruizers 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 belligerants 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 chearfulneſs and unanimity, voted the ſupplies, which amounted to 12,761,310l. 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 unparallelled 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

CHAP. 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

---

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

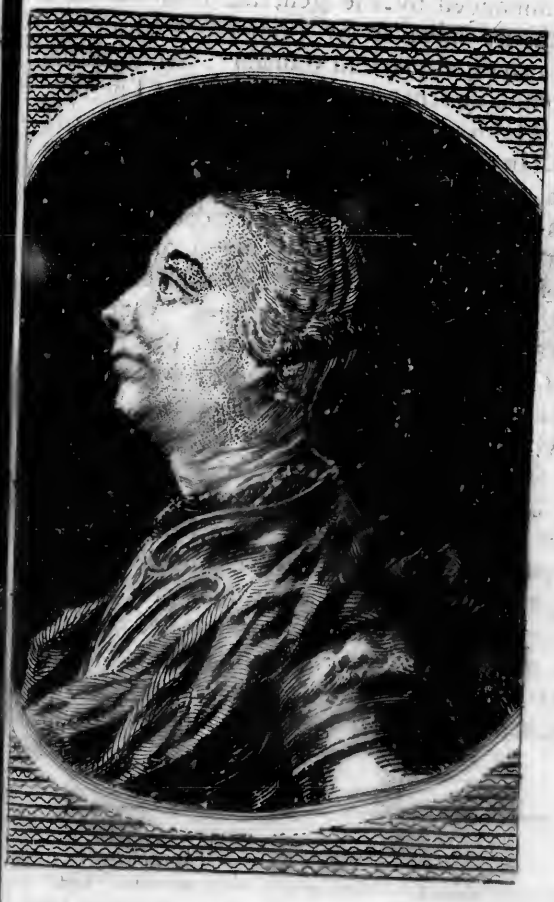
Quebec,

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 Otchterlony, when Mr. Peyton, who lay

that while
rd body of
ideaux and
o Montreal,
uch was the
The fleet
n on board
ned for the
nce, and in
on the isle
of which he
e continent,
Quebec at
he garrison
n army of
de Mont-
hus so well
reduce it,
enchments
ntmorenci,
led on the
it till they
dour, that
ted rushed
rior, they
The loss
was

nant Peyton
led, and fell
rtally, being
only in his
the utmost
ical knives.
eyton, who
ley



Genl. WOLFE.

was co
the ge
riage
appear
to be
feemed
failure
aggrav
mind
that m
the tra
heard t
victoric
throug
vived

lay reclin
immediat
vage adva
more tim
fition,
with the
though fa
was oblig
through t
caped the
Otcherlon
with the
' you !
' will be
' a few
' ſervice,
ſame time
ing to crav
on his bac
in which
near the

was considerable; bnt 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 fusee, 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.

which

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

and

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. Unindebted 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 compleated 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.

and

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 brighest 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,

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.

The

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 extreamly 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

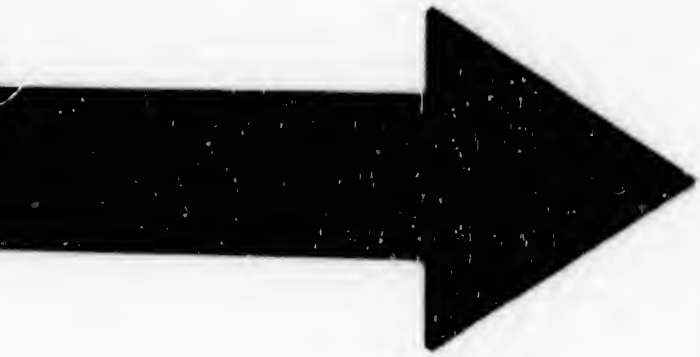
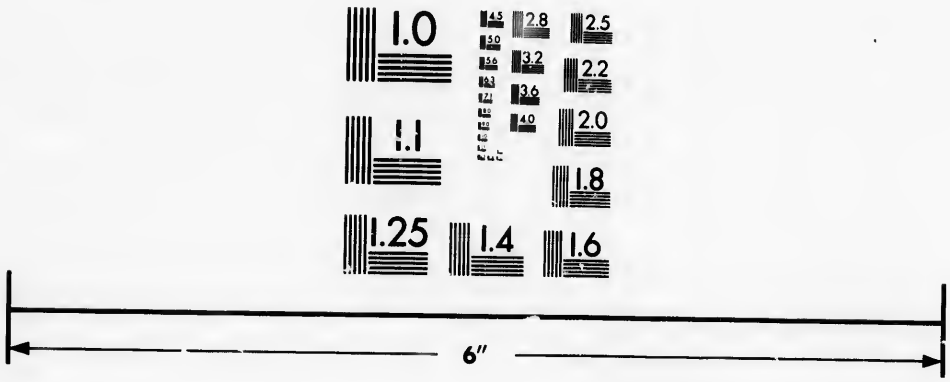


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503


2.8
3.2
2.5
3.6
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.0

mander finding he was too late, ſailed 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.

CHAP. 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 Madraſs; 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

my's fresh reinforcements at length obliged him to retire. The garrison of Madrass 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 vigilence 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 embarassed 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 Madrass, 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 Madrass, 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 Madrass, 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 other 'of them.

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

he was disap-
rave a stand,
al advantage.
stinate defence
which obliged
the villainous
ors, who had
in the wild
olved to raise
of the army.
y; when he
governor of
ons: but his
nto the hands
Madras, and
thereupon

picturesque of the
ore we shall inser

ebruary, 1759.
is a ship in the
f Madras, which
e expedition is just
k her, for she ha
ol, on the other
fore St. Thomas
from Porto Novo
isions with which
h even to take o
d lent us for th

of the company
ell as some other

e aforesaid Bristo
sufficient to mak
themselve

LORD BLAKENEY

thereupon
enemy.

' themſelves
' ſo as to get
' Tremillier
' only to tra
' ſervice wou
' We rema
' 15 days; a
' place, and
' I reckon
' to learn ſon
' patience.
' Of 1500
' 800 are en
' ſugar, pepp
' are all empl
' came here.
' I am tak
' Black-town
' You will
' Swiſs, are a
' king's and c
' withſtanding
' here, accordi
' made of the
' you that, we
' ſuſtained, an
' properly, wh
' 50 men, fron
' I have wr
' ming here, le
' I will not do
' ago I would)
' whatever, th
' ther civil or n
' Caffres of Ma

thereupon came nearer in order to harrass 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.

'I reckon 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 50 French deserters, and 100 'Swiss, 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 unskilfully 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 co-'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

'is

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, sailed 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 apprize 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 Sadraste. Send therefore your or-'ders, or come yourselves to command it; for I shall quit it 'upon my arrival there.'

and

and destructive fire, fled in the best manner he could. The English fleet however were too much damage to pursue; but soon after, being refitted, 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 Madrass, 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 importance, 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 cammodore, 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-

soner

ſoners were releaſed as ſoon as the Dutch factory at Chinſurra 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 unrevenged?

CHAP. 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 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

h them to
e country;
them any
inand had
ld succour
n Saxony.
he French
d illegally
small ad-
urse of the
could re-
the month
orps of the
sign; but
erable de-
imself in a
ergen, be-
post, prince
before he
orge Sack-
, protested
ent: how-
ce of Isen-
nts, which
repulsed;
and in the
ountrymen.
o force this
prodigious
act on the
hen having
the Weser,
commander,
of the two
e Ferdinand
pprehensive

The Battle of

Battle of Minden.

The

apprel
it on
tney
the W
vantag
therefo
ble co
banks
encam
Hille.
his ord
Broglio
and ea
it was
ſelf be
Contad
in front
Wange
entrenc
this diſ
the ſam
alarmed
order, e
battle;
apprehe
den, and
Wangen
was ſo a
recoiled,
tades di
fantry, v
the brunt
liſh infa
guards
centre, co

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

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

termined 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 the

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 outragious 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 20,000l. 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.

infantry,

infantry, and that these troops broke every corps before them, ordered a retreat, which the duke de Broglio 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 harrassing 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 the Oder. The king of Prussia, exasperated by this defeat, resolved 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 Lauden 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 resolved 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

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 Zorndorff; 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 inpregnable 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 perseverence, 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 compleated 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 uteniſil; 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, "Re-"move from Berlin with the royal family. Let "the archieves 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 begun 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 Brandenburgh, therefore his ſafety flowed from this jealouſy or diſappointment.

ment. In the mean time the army of the Empire had penetrated into Saxony, and reduced the towns of Hall, Leipſic, 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.

CHAP. 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 refit, M. de la Clue, who commanded the French squadron in Toulon, seized the opportunity of sailing, hoping he

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. 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

Conflans

under the
vere to be
nanded by
as it was
n, there is
confusion.
British go-
he enemy
ked up in
ommodore
l Hawke,
Brest; he
t Vannes.
England,
e de Grace,
service he
ever, they
erity, and
hazard the
n Vannes.
resolution
n that the
ritish navy
and their
This hope
was by a
off Brest,
ay. The
e, and on
he whole
used. And
be put to
this stroke
lost not a
ne day that
Conflans

A View of the Engagement between Admiral HA

ral HAWKE & Mons.r CONFLANS off Belle-Isle nov.

A View of the Engagement

Conflan
the ene
rected h
an high
fired ob
tremely
round a
knew no
lent sto
Some co
these cir
lic safety
ships to
great int
irresoluti
fly, or st
latter, b
former.
ordered t
the Frenc
her along
guns ger
Hawke
broad sid
loul on b
fate, and
all sides,
tion. H
eagerness
Seven of
and escap
more put
action wa
conceived
long, it

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

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-imbarked. 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,

wh

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 chargeable 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 1,233,000l.

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.

CHAP. 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

marched

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 Brandenburgh, 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 Brandenburgh, 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

twice

* In this uncomfortable situation he wrote a letter to the marquis d'Argens (author of the Jewish Spy) a native of 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 Pondicherry to please the queen and the czarina.* Heaven grant that 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-

nand 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.

CHAP.

r, and ob-
tion, with
The mar-
the com-
ion of lord
nself in this
ention was
vithout any
To make
dertook an
he scoured
xt invested
had not his
ns. When
tached M.
o drive the
These offi-
when the
and supe-
, who lost
was lord
repassed the
after which
All the ad-
id to have
, was only

CHAP.

Gen.l AMHERST

T H
i
dable.
ruined
pointed
repair th
marquis
nada, co
of April
heights
their vaſt
and throv
mediately
was open
of lord C
the enem
treal, the
nada. A
his motion
ſible at Of
number o
Lawrence
where he
next day
of capitul
which wer

CHAP. 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 Valeur, 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 Leward 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 cruizing 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

prove

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.

* 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 Amelia,' 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 c ſe 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

affairs

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 tranquility.

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.

CHAP. XVI.

Affairs in Asia.

GENERAL Lally finding the [illegible] of war turning fast against him, assem[illegible] 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 Monson was detached to reduce Timmery, which he effected, and obliged the garrison

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

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 Liſle 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 ſailed 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 ſhipſtores 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 them

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 3d 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 begun 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 fugetives 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

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; but

but colonel Coote was no sooner informed of this disaster, than he prepared to assume the command, and immediately began his march from Madrass, (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

racter 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

to

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 day light. 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 almost

most ruined
best order
On the 4
admiral Ste
of very gre
were four t
mas's redo
At day-ligh
nadiers reto
ing the redo
together.
and as most
were now
was as comp
nover batter
fire, and gre
bastion, and
the 13th, in
party of 70
the pioneers
major, to the
traced out
mortars. A
for introduci
were to form
At the same

* At this time
rported, that so
rovisions, that a
nd that half of a
rted themselves
eart of which they
gods or 16s. T
e 9th it was tolera

'most ruined, and the putting every thing into the 'best order our present situation would admit.*

'On the 4th we had again the agreeable sight 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. Thomas's redoubt, and carried it without any loss. 'At day-light on the 6th 300 of the enemy's grenadiers retook it, owing to the officer commanding the redoubt not being able to keep his Sipoys '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 Hanover 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

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 contain our Royal mortars and three guns, for the more ſpeedy demolition of the demi-baſtion and ravelin of Madraſs-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 evening those of Draper's of the citadel. The commiſſaries 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 were

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,

harbour, left 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 chelingoes upon chelingoes loaded with 'rice: the Dutch have nothing to fear now; be-'ſides (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 op-'portunity it will be entirely your fault: don't for-'get alſo ſmall chelingoes: 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 fortun

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 con'dition for service, holding the blockade of Pondi'cherry; 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 place 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.

It

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 opprobious 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.

CHAP. XVII.

Conquest of Belleisle, and naval transactions.

PART of the squadron, which had last year been equipped for the intended expedition, were employed in cruizing 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.

was

was kept a profound ſecret; but from many circumſtances which have ſince appeared, it is very evident, that it was intended for the Eaſt-Indies, in order to reduce the iſle of Bourbon; but the oppoſition, 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 tranſports; and the fleet, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, &c. commanded by commodore Keppel, ſailed from Portſmouth on the 29th of March, and on the ſeventh of April came to an anchor in the great road of Belleiſle, where a diſpoſition was made for landing the forces. The commanders 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 intrenched themſelves on the heights, appeared ſuddenly 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

bu

PETER the GREAT

but this adva
ſhed. Abou
rable numbe
kenzie and
ſeemed to vi
lour and act
clerk's grena
Monſieur de
troops were
thouſand me
lais, and prep
now joined b
to four thouſa

On the 23
formed into
wards the cap
Hodgſon ord
take poſt at S
fantry took
where they b
but they were
grenadiers: t
itſelf in the
implements o
on board the
rendering it i
French gover
ſix redoubts t
theſe were fini
before genera
mence his op
mean time, w
the inhabitant
themſelves un
vernment, th

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 Paterson 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 of

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 13th at day-break. A terrible fire from four pieces of cannon, and above thirty cohorns, 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 quarters,

ters, and ab
ſtroyed, after
men. The
maged; ſhe
wounded.

Captain H
in the chann
man of war,
dies, and af
her to ſtrike.
board, and
The loſs on
after a Fren
26 guns, bu
Land's End
the Comete
taken off U
admiral Sau
French ſhip
the Iſis, lieu
engagement
only four m
Wheeler, wh
beginning
flamme in ki
50 men.
was perform
dron. Capt
ther with the
being ordere
with a view
two French
at length ver
by the Engli
midnight the

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, cruizing 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 Proby, in the Thunderer, together with the Modeſte, Thetis and Favorite ſloop, being ordered to cruize 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 cruizers on the 16th of July. About midnight the Thunderer came up with the Achilles,

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 convoyed 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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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 conveniency 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 manœvre, 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

taken

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 Broglio, 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 armies, and resolved to give battle to prince Ferdinand. Accordingly early in the morning on the 16th of July, while he was encamped at Hoenhover, 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, seperated 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 Wolfembuttle, 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

de

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.

CHAP. 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 Petersburg 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 ſeperate negotiation. Accordingly miniſters were ſent from each kingdom. Mr. Stanley went to France, and M. Buſſey 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 guarantied 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 mhnkind. 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

theſe

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. Bussy 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

* Spain 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 Bussy, 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 Bussy'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. Bussy then set himself to work another way. He found other persons who received him with affability. By his courtesy 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. Bussy 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.

alarm:

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 incompatable 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 confirmed; 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, at

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 mi'niſtry by the people, to whom he conſidered him'ſelf 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,

therto, he thought this the propereſt time to reſign his truſt, when he could no longer be uſeful in the execntion 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 3000l. 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

R.T HON.BLE W.M PITT ESQ.R

delivered a pa
answer of the
conduct of M
raigned, that
monarch's dec
William Pitt.

War declared
by Spain
tugal inva

ALL mar
at an e
1762 was the
which was do

His Majesty's

GEOR
The consta
accession to th
an end to the
public tranqui
tion. To pre
tended still far
mony betwee
times, the m

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.*

CHAP. 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.

GEORGE 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 tranquility 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 been

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, expreſly 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 approaching

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 hostilely 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 dissembled 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

and

and we will,
gorously pros
of our crown
prosperity of
at all times
support, are
And we d
and comman
for executing
Great-Britain
ties, governo
other officers
land, to do a
prosecution o
Spain, his va
attempts; wi
take notice
strictly forbid
munication w
jects: and we
and advertise
ever, not to
powder, amm
to any of t
countries of
taken, shall b
And whereas
doms divers o
do hereby de
all the Spanis
dutifully tow
and effects.
Given a
day o
of ou

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 adverti ſe 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 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, his

his kingdoms, eſtates, and ſubjects; and that in conſequence thereof, proper orders ſhould be ſent to all parts of my dominions, where it ſhould be neceſſary, for their defence and that of my ſubjects, as well as for acting offenſively againſt the enemy.

For this end, I order my council of war to take the requiſite meaſures that this declaration of war may be publiſhed at my court, and in my kingdoms, with the formalities uſual upon ſuch occaſions; and that in conſequence all kind of hoſtilities may be exerciſed towards the Engliſh; that thoſe of them who are not naturalized in Spain may leave my kingdoms; that they may carry on no trade there; and that only thoſe who are employed as artizans may be ſuffered to remain: that for the future my ſubjects may have no dealings with thoſe of England, nor with the eſtates of that crown, for any of their productions or fiſheries, particularly cod, or their manufactures or merchandize; ſo that the inhibition of this trade may be underſtood to be, and may be in fact, abſolute and effective, and ſtamp a vicious quality and a prohibition of ſale on the aforeſaid effects, productions, fiſheries, cod, merchandize, and manufactures of the dominions of England: that no veſſels whatſoever, with the abovementioned 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 prohibited in my kingdoms, though they may have been brought or depoſited in buildings, baggage, warehouſes, ſhops, or houſes of merchants or other private perſons, my ſubjects or vaſſals, or ſubjects or vaſſals of provinces and ſtates with whom I am in peace or alliance, or have a free trade, whom, nevertheleſs, 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

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 cedules, 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 de-

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 Torrero at Estremos, 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.

Decree,

Decree, or declaration of w[illegible] issued by order of his Portuguese m[illegible] against Spain.

Whereas the ambas[illegible]r of Castile, don Joseph Torrero, in conjunction with don Ja[illegible]b O'Dunne, minister plenipotentiary of France, by their repre[illegible]tations, and the answ[illegible] Th[illegible]ven thereto, it appears t[illegible]at one of the projects agreed [illegible]tween 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 inc[illegible]atible pretext of assisting me against enemies, which they su[illegible]posed 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 [illegible]y 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 ports of this kingdom, all commerce and communication cease with the aforesaid monarchies of France and Spain, and all fruits,

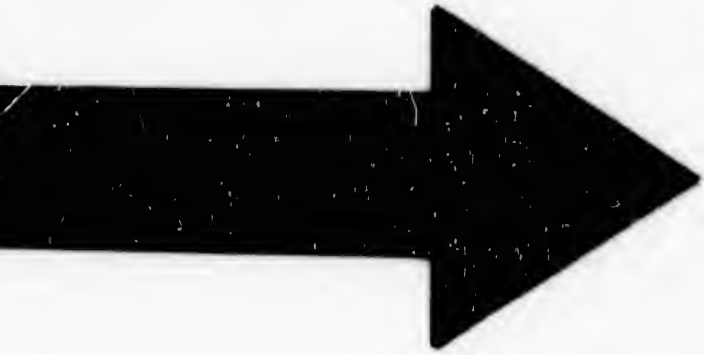
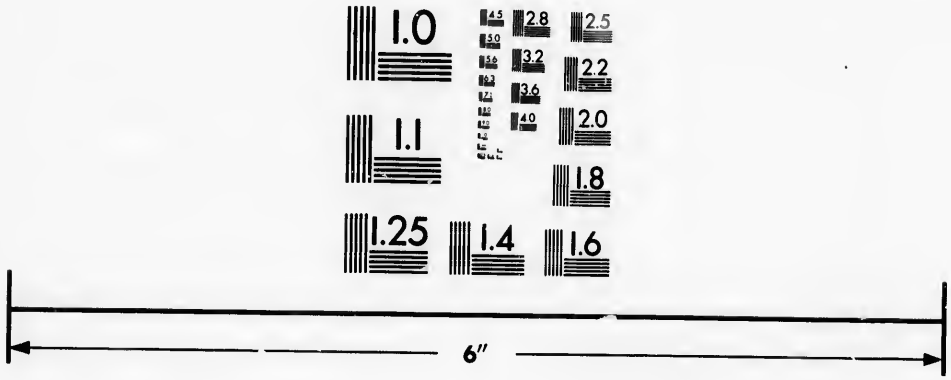


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

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

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 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,

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, sage-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 sequestrated; his majesty, by way of just reprizals, commands, that all the Portugueze 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.

Versailles, 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 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 Tros-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 Tras-os-Montes. On the 25th of Auguſt this fortreſs was ſurrendered, after a ſiege of only nine days, and before a practicable breach

breach had been made, by the governor Alexandro de Palleres Cœllo 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 mean time lord Tyrawley, who had been commander of

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 dismission, 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 18 frigates,

18 frigates, &c. commanded by Sir George Pococke, 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 Coximar, about six miles to the eastward of the Havannah. 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 village of Guanamacoa. On the 11th the fort of Chorera (on the west side) was abandoned by the Spaniards; after having been battered by the Belleisle, captain Knight; and colonel Carleton attacked a redoubt upon the Cavannos (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 attention of the enemy and proved of considerable service. After the previous and necessary prepa-

rations

rations were compleated, 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 lime-kiln, 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 Lindsay 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.

Captain

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.

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 343 killed or drowned, 37 wounded, and 326 made priſoners; in all 706. The loſs of the Britiſh troops was trifling, conſiſting in 14 killed and 28 wounded.

On

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

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 chearfully 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 chearful emulation, to render it 'but one; uniting in the ſame principles of honour 'and glory for their king and country's ſervice.'

This

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.

CHAP.

CHAP. 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 23,000l. 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

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.

CHAP. XXII.

Martinico, &c. in the Weſt-Indies reduced.--- Newfoundland taken and retaken.

SOON after the reduction of Belleiſle, an expedition was ſet on foot for the reduction of Martinico. The preparations were greatly interrupted by

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 Raiſonable 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

Genl. MONCKTON.

of the Ca
and Gran
and marc
which co
roads be
Monckto
gades, h
tenant-co
were atta
freebooter
ſent over
a warm r
precipitat
The tr
reinforced
were ſpar
to beſiege
make his
the heigh
enemy ha
to the laſt
ving erec
vine whic
a diſpoſiti
cution, on
of the mo
grenadiers
tacked th
briſk fire
with his b
up on th
raiſed alo
colonel Sc
advanced
poſſible, t

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,

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 hunnred, 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-

fort

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 ſurpriſing 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 own

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 Hansonville, slipt 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. 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.

CHAP. 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

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 enjoys 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 hardly made peace with Prussia, before he threatened Denmark with a war, on account of his pretensions to part of the dutchy of Holstein-Schleswick in

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 veit 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

ascending

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 begun. 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-

nœvres, 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

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 Jaucrnick, blew up that fort, with about 200 soldiers and several officers. 3. By this accident the besieged found themselves deprived of their powdery 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

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, over almost 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 waggons 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 diet 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 di-

rectly ordered to retire to their respective countries 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. At this instant the courts of London and Petersburg redoubled their efforts towards effecting a reconciliation between her and the king of Prussia. The unhopeful prospect which the face of her affairs presented, induced her haughty and stubborn spirit to accept of the mediation. Conferences were accordingly opened at Hubertsburg; but her minister made his demands in such an imperious tone, that had he not been softened by the indefatigable exertion of British and Russian influence, the negociation would have abruptly broke off. However, the province of Silesia, which was the great object of the war, is to remain with the king of Prussia as well as the county of Glatz, both of which are extremely fertile, rich, and yield large revenues. In lieu of which the empress queen obtains some inconsiderable places, which are annex[illegible] in situation to some of her dominions in the Netherlands. To this peace the court of Dresden acceded, in order to obtain some trifling indemnification for Saxony.

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

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 Areniberg, 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 Gottingen. 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 Calldorf 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 Wilhemstahl, 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. Reidesel 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 passed 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 Fritlar, 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, passed 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

Marq.s of GRANBY.

of th
Frenc
Or
Hessi
and C
Frenc
de L
up to
four
trenc
tally
and
lant
armie
ever,
reduc
had b
the p
their
forcen
ſtroyi
withir
of Co
marſh
of Au
Friedl
the ſte
below
grand
and S
forcen
and f
were
princ
vourir

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 Gilsen, 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 wastes, 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 Johonnes-berg into the plain below by the vigorous charge of the allies; but the grand army of France under the marshals d'Etrees and Soubise 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,

dinand, 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 200 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

beyond

beyond the bridge. About these two posts there commenced a warm and bloody action on the twenty-first, which continued from six in the morning 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 determined 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 several 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 obstinate 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 intermitted 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 Frederick of Brunswick to lay siege to Cassel. This was the only place of real importance which the

French

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.

In

In order to ſum up in a few words what each power has gained by this long and bloody war, we ſhall range the names of the reſpective conceſſions and equivalents, in ſeperate columns and diſtinct articles, as they belong to the different powers, and as they ſtrictly appear upon the evidence of authority.

YIELDED,

To GREAT BRITAIN.	*To* FRANCE.
Minorca.	Belleiſle.
Senegal.	Goree.
Part of Louiſiana.	St. Lucia.
The evacuation of territories belonging to our allies in Germany, viz. Cleves, Weſel, and Guelders, and the evacuation of Nieuport and Oſtend.	The ſaving of the remainder of their Weſt India ſettlements, and the ranſomleſs releaſe of above twenty thouſand priſoners.
Delivery from the German war.	Delivery from the German war.
The bleſſings of peace.	An extenſive ſettlement on the iſland of Newfoundland.
	The iſlands of Miquelon and St. Peter: with full

full liberty to fish in many parts of those seas, and in the gulph of St. Laurence; by which they recover an immense trade, and their great nursery of seamen.

The Grenadilloes.

Granada.

St. Vincent.

Dominique.

Tobago.

Guadaloupe.

Marigalante.

Desirade.

Martinico.

And their settlements in India.

To GREAT BRITAIN.

Florida, and the fortresses on its peninsula,

The right of adjudging prizes by the laws of nations and of treaties; and desisting from a preten-

To SPAIN.

The demolitions of our forts in the Bay of Honduras, &c. with the allowance of the rights of sovereignty to Spain: and our acceptance to cut logwood *by favour*.

sion

ſion to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland.	
The right of cutting logwood, by the ſufferance of Spain.	A virtual ſurrender of our friendſhip with the free Muſquito Indians.
The evacuation of a barren and mountainous part of Portugal.	The reſcue from danger of all their colonies throughout the world.
The bleſſings of peace to Great Britain and to Portugal; but without any new advantages whatever in trade.	The reſtoration of the Havannah, the key of their Weſt Indies, with what we had conquered beſide on the iſland of Cuba, and our rights of indemnification for the charges of an unjuſt war.

Such is a fair ſtate of conceſſions, ſurrenders, and advantages, between Great Britain, France, and Spain. What we have principally acquired, is ſome ſort of ſecurity to our North American colonies: as for the iſlands of Grenada and the Grenadilloes, with the acknowledgment of our right to the three worſt of the neutral iſlands, they are of little conſequence, and therefore ſcarce worth eſtimation.

What France has acquired, is the important iſland of St. Lucia, which greatly adds to the over-balance of power ſhe had before in that quarter. She recovers beſides her loſt ſugar iſlands, which give her the monopoly of that article for foreign markets: ſhe recovers alſo a fiſhery, which may be made

made equal in extent to what she enjoyed before the war; and therein a most lucrative branch of trade, and such a nursery of seamen, as will enable her to continue our rival in maritime strength; the whole of which she derives by encroachments on our rights: she moreover recovers her settlements and trade on the coasts of India. All of them objects of the highest importance.

Spain is, indeed, upon the whole, a sufferer: but she has great reason to rejoice at her most fortunate escape from the perils of her indiscretion: and she only pays, as French allies always do, some of the penalties of their wickedness, from the folly of such an attachment.

FINIS.

before the
h of trade,
able her to
the whole
our rights:
d trade on
cts of the

a sufferer:
most fortu-
etion: and
o, some of
he folly of

DIRECTIONS to the BOOKBINDER for placing the CUTS.