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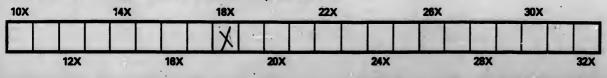
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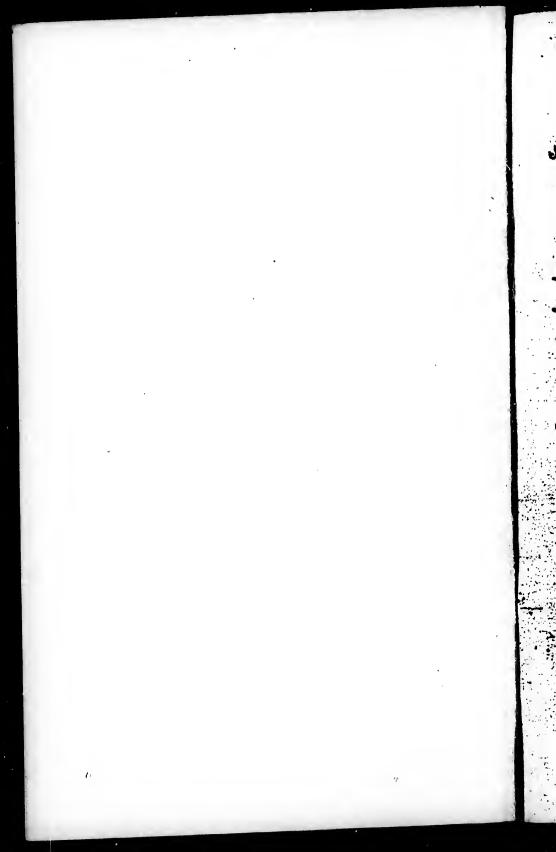
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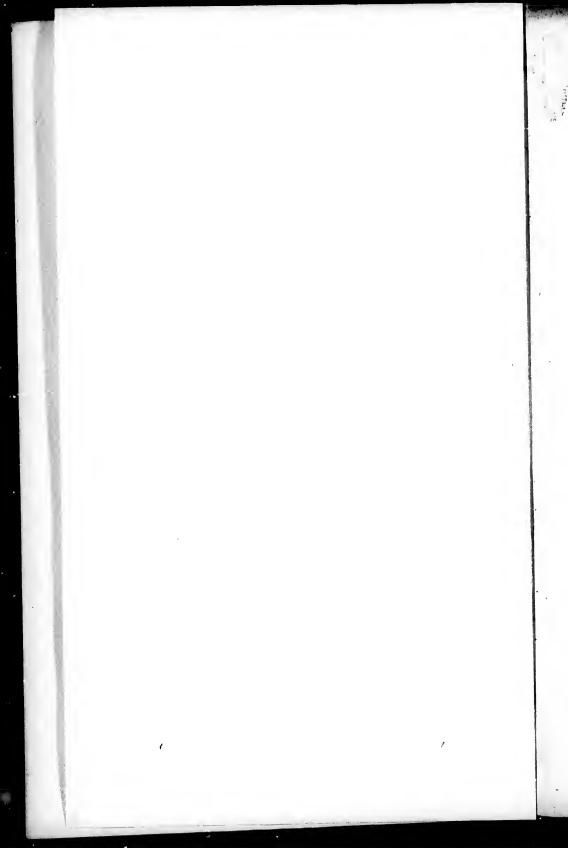
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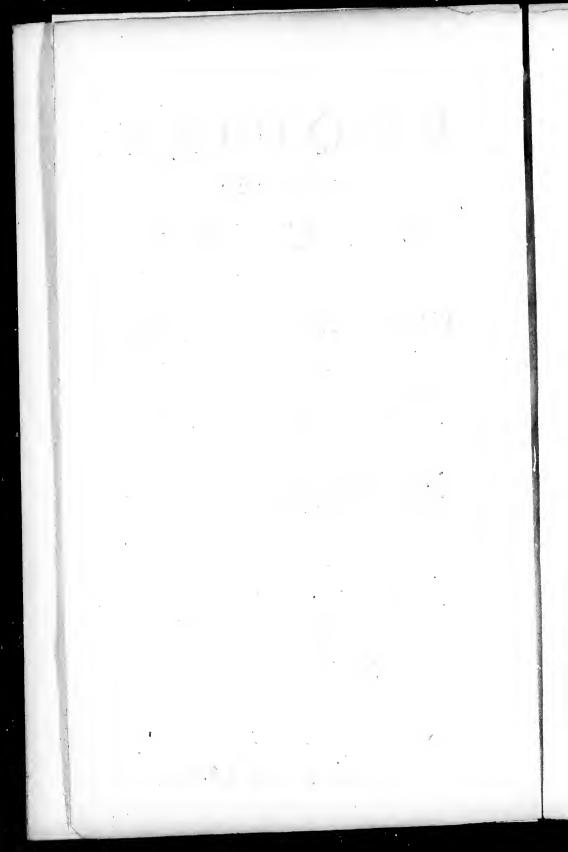
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Printed for R. GRIFFITHS, in Pater-noster-Row? MDCCLVII.

[Price One Shilling.]

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expect a Detection of ministerial Schemes, or whose Malignity may call for Gratification, by the Aspersion of particular Characters, that they will be but ill entertained by a Perusal of his Pamphlet.

He well knows the Genius of his Countrymen; he would more willingly fay of Mankind, that it has a fecret, or rather an avowed Pleafure, in discovering the Guilt of Individuals. But Truth is not to be wrested to gratify the black Paffions of Depravity; and the Enquirer, whether interested or not; ought to be impartial as the Eye of Justice. After this has been faid, it will be neceffary to observe, that as no private characters will be aspersed, so none will be obliquely defended; that as Envy will not be indulged by conjectural Reproach, fo neither shall Impartiality possibly be tranftransgreffed by an unpleasing Defence of any obnoxious name.

The People of Great-Britain are aftonish'd to fee their Arms unfuccessful, their Efforts baffled, their Settlements plundered, and their Enemies triumph: and to a People dreaded for their Courage, fam'd for their Victories, and respected by all the Powers in Europe, these, it must be confest'd, are mortifying Circumstances; how these Circumstances came to be ours, is the Subject of the present Enquiry.

Many, unable or unwilling to penetrate **1** into more abstracted Causes, have heard of their Country's Missfortunes with a Kind of philosophic Ease, concerned only as at the Events of common Chance; and have readily acquiesced in the most obvious Excuses; such as, the superiority of Numbers, or the Accidents of War. These

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These may be good Men and peaceful Subjects, but it admits of a Dispute, whether this ought on all Occasions to be the Behaviour of a free People.

If we have not known our Loffes fo many, our Expeditions fo vain, and our Expences fo great, it is but natural ftrictly to enquire why the first have not been prevented ? why the second were unfuccessful ? and to complain that the last have been ruinously misapplied.

France, whose Punic Faith is branded to a Proverb, has, many many Years ago, done enough to inform a discerning People, that she is jealous, ambitious, faithless, and defigning.

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out Miftruft, very unambitious, confcientioufly faithful in her Engagements, and confequently without any Defign on the Poffessions of others.

When fuch are the Difpofitions of two Kingdoms, Rivals in Intereft and in Power, between which there exifts a Kind of hereditary Enmity, it will not be wondered that no pacific Treaty, however folemnly ratified, can long continue : those whom no Engagements of Honour can bind, would only wait a favourable Opportunity to gratify their Ambition : the French, from the Commencement of the late glorious Peace, have only fludied how they might renew the War

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to an Advantage, and I with we could now fay that their Defigns have been unfuccefsful.

Our American Poffeffions, the Glory of the British Crown, and the Bafis of our Commerce, they have long envied us: And for that, among other Reasons, these became the first Object of their Depredations.

In the Year 1753, 1500 regular Forces fent from *France* built three Forts on the Obio, on Lands which, by a Grant from his Majefty, were the Property of feveral Gentlemen in London and Virginia. In Ostober of the fame Year, the Governor of that Province thought proper to fend Mr, Washington to demand of the French Com-

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Commandant, the Reasons of their fettling on the Properties of the Britifi Subjects? and to require them in a folemn Manner to withdraw. Mr. Washington's painful Journey only procured this Anfwer, that the Marquis Duguisne should be confulted, and his Determinations followed; and that, in the mean time, the French were refolved to keep their Station. This Conclusion, however, might have been made from fome Hints which the French Officers, when Wine * had taken off Referve, inadvertently threw out; and their unwarrantable Pre-

* When Mr *Washington* was with fome of the General Officers, in the Freedom of the Bottle, they told him, That their Defign was, to prevent the English from building Forts on the Ohio.

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tences + to a Right on the Obio, that they were determined not to quit their Forts, till banished by Superiority of Numbers; which, tho' the *English*, they owned, could eafily raife, yet, fo well they knew the Tardiness of their Operations, they had no Thoughts of being foon obliged to abandon the Settlements they had usurped.

When an Enemy is fo kind as to point out to us our weak Parts, we ought furely to be alarmed, and principally to defend the Object of his Sword.

Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

+ They pretended a Right to the Obio, by the Difcovery of one La Solle, made about 60 Years ago.

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In the Spring, 1754, Ordero were fent from England, to repel Force by Force, and to drive the Enemy from the Forts they had built, and the Settlements they had established contrary to Treaty. Accordingly a Number of Forces, to the Amount of 2,000, draughted from the feveral Provinces, were ordered to form a Camp on the Obio. While these military Preparations were making, the French caft off all Pretexts, pushed their Encroachments. and committed open Hoftilities. But hear the Success of this Campaign. Were the Ufurpers banished from their Forts? Was their Plunder recovered ? Were their fettling Schemes defeated? No-Unlefs it could have been effected by a trifling

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trifling Skirmich; for that, it must be owned, happened between a few Provincials, under Col. Washington, and a Party of the Enemy: And in that ended the Operations of the Seafon. Can any one observe the Progress of these Affairs, and not be aftonished at our Neglect ? While we ftupidly fuffered our Enemies for whole Seafons to ftrengthen their Powers, to fpread their Infinuations, and to extend their Encroachments !-- However blameable our Colonies were, in that they did not unite with the neceffary Vigour and Dispatch to destroy the Enemy, the British P------t must have been in a great Degree more fo. If, instead of the loofe Orders that were difpatched to the Governors of our Colonies, a Number of Transports had been fent over with Ammunition, Money,

ney, proper Officers, and proper Inftructions, we should not now expect Accounts of fresh Depredations, and new Encroachments. But the Pomp and Contests of Electioneering seem to have made our Representatives forget the Cause of their Election.

The French, however, not fo inactive in affaulting as we in defending our Properties, did not fail to take the Advantage of that Tardiness they forefaw, and that Negligence which they furely found to exceed their Expectations. They were continually reinforcing their Army in America with whatever its Necessities required; nor did it make that Use a modern Britischer Army might have made of the Supplies which it received.

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the Beginning of the Year In 1755, it was concluded, that the Enemy was no longer to be trifled with, and that fuch a Number of Forces should be sent from England, as, with those that might be raised from the feveral Colonies, would effectually put a Stop to the Proceedings of the French, if not totally drive them from the Continent. Accordingly General Braddock with Dunbar's and Halket's Regiments, under Commodore Keppel, arrived in America .--A general Council was held at Annapolis in Maryland, and upwards of thirteen thousand Men were found ready for Action. Thefe, in feveral Parties, had feveral Destinations; the Troops in New England and

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and Nova Scotia united to repel the Enemy in the last mentioned Provinces, which they effected. Colonel Johnfon was dispatched with a good Force against Crown-Point; Governor Shirley marched to attack another Fort at Niagara; General Braddock was destined to the Ohio; and General Monkton to drive the French from two Forts in the Bay of Fundy.

We foon received an Account of Monkton's Succefs: which, indeed, we fhould have expected from that brave Officer, had he been engaged in a more difficult Enterprize;—and this Event encouraged the Hopes we had before entertained of effectually banifhing our Enemies from the C Lands Lands they had feized, and the Forts: they had built.

The unhappy Braddock's Expedition had a different Event. Nothing fhould be faid to nurt the Memory of that brave Leader, who fell a Sacrifice to his Courage; but it is univerfally acknowledged, that he was unfit for any Operation in America, where fo much was to be done by cool Circumfpection and affable Behaviour, and where Stratagem and Ambuscade were more to be expected than any regular Battle. A calm Temper, and a difcerning Head, were not fo much the Characteristics of Braddock, as rash Courage, and an impolitic Attachment to the Laws of War.

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But those who appointed that General to a Command in America, wanted either Skill or Honesty, as appeared from several unsuccessful Events during their Administration. An Instance or two will prove the Truth of this Affertion.

Boscawen went out with eleven Ships of the Line and one Frigate, to intercept the French Fleet, which, when it came out, was found to confift of twenty-five Ships of the Line. Had they then the neceffary Intelligence, or was Boscawen defigned to beat the French?

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But groß as this Management was, it was made still worse by Holborne's Dispatch to reinforce Boscawen. This Affair might have been of the most ruinous Consequence, as it might posfibly have deprived us of two Fleets, which being attacked separately by the Enemy, would both have been taken or destroyed.

Thus by a Neglect of the neceffary Intelligence, to fay no worfe, was the *French* Power fuffered fo infinitely to increafe in *America*; and by the Choice of an improper Commander to go against them, were those Forts fuffered to continue in the Enemy's Hands, which we had been two Years inineffectually aiming to deftroy; and which it was the more fhameful to leave undemolished or untaken, as most Part of the Time they were defended but by a Handful of Men.

After this Event, Virginia was left naked, exposed to every Incursion of the Enemy, that Cruelty, Revenge, or the Hopes of Plunder might excite: an almost universal Stop was put to Trade, and the Inhabitants were busied only in hiding their Effects, and consulting for their Safety,

Such were the dreadful Apprehenfions after *Braddock*'s Defeat; and happy it was that the expected Confequences did not enfue: For tho' many Families on the Frontiers were either mur-

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murdered, or ruined in their Circum. fances by the Enemy, yet that valuable Province is still ours.

Soon after, however, a more fuccefsful Event cleared the Gloom of Defpondency, and made the unhappy Provincials once more refume their Courage, and hope for Superiority.

This was the sharp Engagement between Col. Johnson and Baron Dieskau, in which the latter was taken Prisoner, and a great Number of his Men perished.

This Success might have had a good Effect both on our own People, and the Indians in our Favour, but another discouraging Circumstance at that that Time, unluckily retarded the Wheel of Prosperity in its Career.

The Supplies voted by the Affembly of *Penfylvania*, and fo much wanted and expected at this Time, were ftopped by the ill-timed Differences between that Body and the Governor. However justifiable those Disputes might have been at any other Time, they were then of the worst ¹ Consequence, and highly blameable.

Though Difputes concerning the Method or Legality of raifing Supplies, or the Means to be used for repelling an invading Enemy, are so unnatural and detestable when carried to such a Pitch as to frustrate their End, that one would expect no prudent People ple would admit them; yet, as they are found frequent in all Countries, the Method of raifing Supplies for Variety of Occafions ought to be fixed and indifpenfable as every conflitutional Law

This Misfortune of the Differences in *Penfylvania* was aggravated by the Remiffness of some other Provinces in confulting, at this important Criss, for the common Good.

The northern Colonies, which had been both more active and unanimous, were alfo diffatisfied to find that their Mother Country diftributed her Favours, and her Care, more liberally among those that had been more inactive, and consequently not so deferving; certainly a great Neglect in us, and might unfortunately cool the Ardour, and unnerve the Activity of those who found their most vigorous Efforts neglected, and the Supine and Indolent carry the Palm of Favour.

These Differences, and these Diffatisfactions, we knew; but did we avail ourselves of the Intelligence? Were we sufficiently active in inspiriting the Indolent, in reconciling Disputes, and exciting a right Emulation by rewarding and encouraging those whose Merits entitled them to Encouragement and Rewards.

Nothing could have fo effectually contributed to deter the Enemy, and

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to afcertain the Refources of Provifions, and other Necessaries, as uniting the feveral Colonies, and by that Means engaging them in a mutual Exertion of their Strength, and an unanimous Defence of the common Liberty. Had this been done, all must have contributed proportionably, and Murmuring and Partiality had not been of any ill Confequence. For want of this Unanimity and general Contribution, was Johnson, after his Advantage over the French, left without common Necessaries of a Campaign; and though he had a fufficient Force to have taken Crown-Point, had he not wanted Provisions, that Fort was left to be the Object of another Spring's Operations.

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If it should be asked what General Sbirley, and the 3,000 Men under his Command were doing during the Summer, it can only be answered, that, after having built two small Forts at Ofwego, he retired in Winter-Quarters.

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The Miferies that fucceeded this ineffectual Campaign might have been expected, but they were indeed terrible: the unhappy Backfettlers experienced all the Diftrefs that human Nature can fuffer, whether in the Lofs of Circumftances, or the Lofs of Life!

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How great ought the Talents of those intrusted with the public Welfare to be! How extensive their Knowledge! How indefatigable their Endeavours! it may also be added, how sensible their Hearts of the Distresses of others, that they may be careful less any Neglect or Misconduct of theirs should expose the meanest Subject to Ruin or to Pain,

These Confiderations seem not at all to have taken Place with our Ministry at a Time when they should have had the greatest Effect. After we had so sensibly seen the unfortunate Conferquences of Delay, in both the preceeding Summers, the Operations of the the Year Fifty-fix were expected to be managed with the greatest Vigour and Difpatch.3" But whoever expected it, was furely deceived . The fame. dilatory Spirit full Julling our Councils, and retarding our Action. Nor will this Gomplaint appear unjuft, when it is confidered, that the Supplies fent to America were not embarked till the latter End of April; that the General appointed to command the Forces, and who, therefore, should have been at their Head as early as possible, did not go forward till a Month after these; and feveral of theOfficers and the Ammunition, not till a Month after him. The difcreet Method of shipping the Ammunition is fo well known, that it need not be mentioned.

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Thus was the Seafon for Action loft in the moft inexcufable unaccountable Delays! Delays which, in their Confequence, we could forefee to be dangerous, and which were the more unpardonable, not only as the then Situation of Affairs demanded the greateft Expedition, but as we had very fenfibly experienced their bad Effects before.

The frequent Change of our Commanders in America was neceffarily attended with great Inconveniencies; the laft appointed had the Plan of the Country and the Genius of its Inhabitants to enquire into, and to form his Operations accordingly. No other Arguments need be used to prove the Truth of this Affertion, as unfortunately teres standards good in

nately nothing from Practice can be proved against it.

Crown-Point, whofe Capture was the Object of general Hope, and for which this Seafon was particularly defigned, was unmolefted, unattempted. The French, it is true, were now greatly increafed in Numbers; but that could be no Obftacle, as we had still a fufficient Force to fend against it.

By what ftrange Fatality then! by what unaccountable Negligence, or unreafonable Cowardice, did we leave the Defign of reducing that Fort unexecuted? The ftricteft Enquiry, I believe, would produce nothing more than Aftonifhment; for we

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we only find, that what was practicable was left unattempted.

But let us fuppole, that our Commanders were diverted from their Attention to Crown-Point, upon hearing that the Enemy had a Defign on Ofwego. Of this they had timely Notice, as the French had formed a large. Camp within about thirty Miles of that Fort, the Intent of which could only be to attack it; and of this Notice they industriously availed themfelves. They had long before experienced the ruinous Consequences of Delay, and were determined to give one Instance of Vigour and Dispatch : Accordingly General Webb was fent. with a Reinforcement to Ofwego, at: most two Days after it was taken !

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However, let it not be faid, that our Forces, during this Summer, eat the Bread of Idleneis: Tho' they durft not fight, they could dig with Safety; and the Seafon was spent in making Entrenchments at Lake George, and fortifying Fort William Henry.

Let us now turn from the melancholy Prospect of that wretched Year, and fee if the prefent will not afford us a more pleafing one. With the second of the second of the The sector of the sector

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The Beginning of this Year was employed in Preparations for an Expedition against Louisbourgh; a Scheme which, if it had been rightly concerted, might probably have fucceeded :

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ceeded : But its Succefs entirely depended on an early Motion in the Spring, before the Enemy could be reinforced by Supplies from Europe or Quebeck. As this was the Cafe, there was never any Probability of executing that Defign this Year : Admiral Holborne could not be expected to arrive fooner than June; and whether he would bring a Number of Ships with him fuperior to the French Fleet, was equally uncertain with the Time of his Arrival. When he came to Halifax, he found that the Enemy's Fleet confisted of more capital Ships, befides Frigates, than his own; and that they had a much greater Number of Guns. A Council of War was thereupon held, and it was agreed to one Vote, that the Attempt was impracticable at that Time.

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This Council of War ought not, however, to be look'd upon in the fame Light as fome of those Councils of Peace which have been held upon our European Expeditions. Had Holborne inconfiderately rifqued a Battle with the Enemy, he might, in all human Probability, have been conquered, and the Confequences of that Defeat would have been terrible indeed : The Tranfports, with upwards of ten Thousand Land-Forces on board, would have been taken or deftroyed, and New York, and perhaps North America, had been loft in Confequence of that Event. The Courage of the Admiral was never doubted. After the Land-Forces were difmiffed, he was determined himself to see the Strength of the E 2 Enemy ;

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Enemy; and it is well known, he would have hazarded a Battle, though upon a moderate Difadvantage.

That his Fleet has been difperfed and damaged by a Storm, is an unfortunate Accident; but it is to be hoped, that the Commissioners of the Navy will, without Loss of Time, fend him a Reinforcement that shall make him equal, if not superior, to the French Fleet.

Before I have done with American Affairs, one Particular more is to be confidered, which, however, can give the Reader no great Satisfaction at his Difmiffion. I know not whether it will be expected that I am going to mention the Lofs of Fort William Henry,

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Henry, as that Event, I cannot tell for what Reafon, did not much alarm us. If we fhould refume the Defign of reducing Crown-Point, it would be very neceffary for the Attempt, as it commands the Lakes; but whatever was its Ufe, the Circumftances of its Capture were fo fhameful, that they cannot fure be heard without Indignation.

General Webb, the fame who was fent to the Relief of Ofwego, was informed by the unhappy Affair of Colonel Parker, which happened about the 21ft of July, that a large Body of Frencb and Indians was coming against them, but he could not believe the Report, and fo neglected to call in by Express the Militia of the Provinces, and to provide every necessiary Supply. On the fecond of August their their Scouts discovered them upon the Lake: that very Night was the prudent General for marching off to Fort *Edward*: in the Morning he went, escorted by a strong Guard; and after his safe Arrival he ventured to write by his Aid de Camp to the commanding Officer at Fort *Henry*. The Contents of his gallant Letter may be thus epitomized.

SIR,

" The Roads are fo invefted that a Letter can fcarce get Paffage. As you know my ftrength, you know how dangerous it would be for me to join you. I have fent Express presses upon Expresses for the Militia. If neither I nor they should come to your Affistance, you must make the " best

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" best Terms you can, and I pray God give you Success."

If, as it is urged, the Fort was illbuilt, and it was impossible to defend it, why, in the name of common Senfe, did not the Garrison quit it before it was invefted by the Enemy. They might by that Means have faved the Provisions and every thing elfe, which, upon a Surrender, were loft. They had not then been exposed to the Plundering and Butchering of the favage Indians, nor had they been incapacitated, by the Terms of Capitulation, to take up Arms against the French-Befides, had the Garrifons of Fort William Henry and Fort Edward been joined by the Militia, they might, by the Diferetion of a prudent Commonder,

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der, have cut off the Enemy's Retreat, and inftead of our lofing a Fort, the *French* might have loft an Army. It was expected indeed, that Lord *Lou*don would fall upon them in their Return, but those Expectations were founded on bad Intelligence, for they returned victorious, and unmolefted.

Thus much of America — from a Reflection on the whole it appears, that the Forts on the Obio were fuffered to remain in the Enemy's Hand, becaufe of the Indiferetion of the Commander that was fent against them: that General Johnson was unable to profecute his Victory over the French in 1755 by Want of Provisions and other Necessaries: that Crown-Point was was unattempted in 1756, to all Appearance through mere Cowardice; and that O/wego was loft through Cowardice or through Negligence. The Defign against Louisbourgh was ineffectual, because it could not be executed at a proper Season; and the Loss of Fort William-Henry was the Effect of Ignorance and Delay.

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Thus unfuccessful have we been in America; and yet what we have done in Europe only adds to the Weight of our Misfortunes, and, if possible, heightens our Difgrace.

Who can confider the Lofs of Minorca without an Indignation, which Time can no more foften than the. F Death

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Death of an executed Admiral could appease? When we act thus ineffectually for ourselves, it is no wonder that our Allies should be deceived in us. It is in States as in private Life; He that cannot do well for himfelf, as certainly proves a helplefs Friend; and a Kingdom unfuccessful in its own Wars, mun be a hopeless Ally. The brave King of Pruffia is indeed to be pitied, as he has not only his own Enemies but ours to repel. Great-Britain, once the Scourge of France, was thought fufficient, not only to defeat that Kingdom in any Attempt, but to affift her Allies, should their Necessities, even then, call for her Relief. Not one of us, I dare fay, but is perfuaded that the brave Monarch, whom we have fo inglorioufly deferted, would not have relinquished us in the like Circumftances.

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ftances. But it is much to be wifned that the War be not closed by a Peace as shameful as the Treaty for H——.

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As a National Enquiry has been made into the Caufes of our Lofs of Minorca, it would be Arrogance unpardonable in a private Man to affign any other than those which have been pointed out by the wife Council of This however, by the the Nation. Courtefy of England, may be faid ; If Byng was capitally guilty for neglecting to do all in his Power to fave the Island, those who were then at the Head of Affairs, and neglected, though they had timely Intelligence, to fend a Fleet that might prevent the Enemy's Landing -who, when the Fleet was difpatched, fent no more than a Hand-

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ful of Land-Forces in Comparison of the Enemy along with it, whose Service, could they have been thrown in, would have been ineffectual, while the *French* Fleet was able to cruise off the Island :—Those, certainly, in some Degree, partook of his Crime, who did not do all he might have done to fave the Island.

In the Corfican Expedition, indeed, we have not been difappointed; becaufe we had no Expectations from it. No Perfon of common Sagacity could ever fuppofe that the Malcontents of that Ifland, who were labouring to throw off one Yoke, would, like the Horfe in the Fable, fubmit to another. If we only meant to have the Privilege of a Watering-Place in Return turn for affifting the Rebels, could we be fo flupid as to think that a People who live on Plunder, would be bound by any Laws of Gratitude? Or, in Times of Scarcity, be perfuaded by any moral Confiderations, to fpare their Benefactors?

With Refpect to the Secret Expedition, this may be faid in Favour of the Defign, and to the Honour of those that formed it; Had we been successful, and destroyed the Shipping at Rochelle or Rochfort, the French would not have been able to fend a new Fleet into America in the Spring, because their Artificers must have been employed in repairing the Loss. But why, then, was not this useful Design put in Execution? Was it impossible to land the Men, or to make an Impression

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prefion on the Works? This will not be avered, even by those who neglected to make the Attempt. Why then the Neglect? The Attempt was dangerous. But why those Delays within Sight of the destined Coast, till it was covered by the Militia of the Country? Was it not a Secret Expedition, and its End to furprize?---

Thus have we by Negligence, Delays, Mifconduct and Cowardice, failed in every Attempt we have made, and been vanquifh'd by every Affault of the Enemy.— How the War will end, it cannot now be determined; but if we make not Reprifals by a vigorous Campaign, in the approaching Summer, we may tremble for the Confequence. Should the deferted King of *Pruffia* be fwallowed up by his numerous Enemics,

(46)

(47.)

mies, what will be the next Object of the French Ambition?

However useless fome may think it, to enquire into the Caufes of unfuccessful Events, or to shew how the Misfortunes we have fuffered might once have been avoided ; there is certainly no Way fo effectual to make us attentive to our future Conduct, as to confider the Loffes we have fustained, and the Sources from whence they fprung: And it is undoubtedly the Wish of every good Subject, That the Senfe of our past Sufferings and Difgrace may animate our Commanders with that noble Indignation, and excite in them those Sentiments of Glory, which must be for ever followed by Victory and Success.

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