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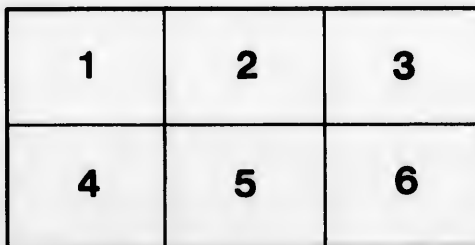
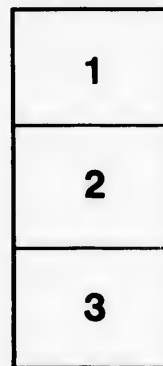
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THE GENERAL
HISTORY of the Late WAR:
CONTAINING IT'S
Rise, Progress, *and* Event,
IN
EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA.

AND EXHIBITING

The STATE of the Belligerent Powers at the Commencement of the War; their Interests and Objects in it's Continuation; and REMARKS on the Measures, which led GREAT BRITAIN to Victory and Conquest.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The CHARACTERS of the able and disinterested STATESMEN, to whose Wisdom and Integrity, and of the HEROES, to whose Courage and Conduct, we are indebted for that

NAVAL and MILITARY

Success, which is not to be equalled in the Annals of this, or of any other Nation.

AND WITH

Accurate Descriptions of the SEAT of WAR, the Nature and Importance of our Conquests, and of the most remarkable BATTLES by Sea and Land.

Illustrated with

A Variety of HEADS, PLANS, MAPS, and CHARTS,
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V O L. IV.

Historici est: nequid falsi, audeat dicere: nequid veri, non audeat.

POLIB.

By the Rev. JOHN ENTICK, M. A.
And other GENTLEMEN.

L O N D O N :

Printed for EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultry;
And JOHN MILLAN, at Charing-Cross.

M.DCC.LXIII.

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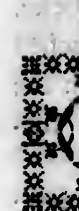
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THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR.

THE French scheme was to penetrate
into Hanover, and to take up winter-
quarters in that Electorate. But
Prince Ferdinand, notwithstanding
his miscarriages against Franckfort,
and the advantages gained by the French afterwards,
had kept so close to their heels, and was now in
such a situation, that they could not complete
these designs, without risking a battle, to force
the post occupied by a strong body of the allies
near Minden, well entrenched near the river, and
supported by the main army, at a little distance.

The French general saw his own critical situa-
tion, and could so far penetrate into the intention
of Prince Ferdinand's motions, that he soon dis-
covered his danger increasing on every side, the
longer he remained at Minden. This obliged

A. D.
1759.

The allied
army.

Critical
situation of
the French,

A. D.
1759.

How they
attempted
to clear
themselves.

him to enter upon measures to facilitate his operations. He began with an attempt to block up a small garrison, which the allies had at Vechte; intentionally to proceed, and prevent Prince Ferdinand's collecting his detachments, and to cut off his retreat after a general battle, which was likewise determined. Prince Ferdinand detached M. de Schlieffer, his aid de camp, with 40 hussars and 200 dragoons, to the relief of Vechte; which was effected: and these, being reinforced by the garrison of Bremen, proceeded to Osnabruck, garrisoned by the volunteers of Clermont, and made themselves masters of it by a coup de main. M. Contades had also occupied the pass of Lubeke. Against which the Hereditary Prince was detached with 6000 men, and dislodged the enemy on the 28th, the same day that Osnabruck was surprized.

Prince Ferdinand's
masterly
motions.

From this time Prince Ferdinand laid a snare for his French antagonist; and to draw him into the toil. For this purpose he, on the 29th, made a short march, of the grand army on his right, towards Hille; left General Wangenheim with a body of troops in his camp at Thörnhausen, and the troops entrenched near the river, to observe the army under M. Duke de Broglie; he also sent orders to the Hereditary Prince, in conjunction with the troops that could be spared from Osnabruck, to take the rout of Hervorden, and so to post themselves at Kirchlinninger, as to intercept or prevent the coming of the enemy's convoys from Paderborn, on which their immediate subsistence

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sistence greatly depended. This was done on the 31st of July. A. D. 1759.

M. Contades was hourly convinced of the danger of procrastination. As soon as he was acquainted with the several advantages gained by the enemy, he summoned his generals; at six in the evening of the 31st of July, he held a grand council of war, composed of all his general officers, who agreed to march that very night against the allies, and to attack them at break of day; and the marshal ordered that the army should march in eight columns to the ground, on which they were to be formed in battle array. There was also a reserve formed, under the Duke de Broglie; which, augmented with eight battalions of the grenadiers of France, and the royal grenadiers, were ordered to make a ninth column, and to keep on the right, proceeding on the left bank of the Weser.

This plan of action was formed by the French marshal upon a vague supposition, taken from artful dispositions made by Prince Ferdinand; whose motions, on the 29th, had induced him to believe, that his Serene Highness had carried his principal force to his right, and that the corps at the brink of the Weser was neither very numerous, nor in a situation capable of being supported by the army, that was encamped at Hille. The Duke de Broglie was particularly appointed to attack this corps: and it was so looked upon, as impossible for him to miscarry; inasmuch, that his orders bore, That after over-whelming and

A. D. 1759. routing that corps on the Weser, the Duke should fall upon the left flank of the enemy, and thereby facilitate the attack and victory of the marshal's army.

Prince Ferdinand's precautions.

Prince Ferdinand, that same evening, gave orders for his army to be ready to march at one o'clock next morning, and required the advanced posts to be very attentive, and to transmit an account of the least motion they should observe in that night. Two deserters, that same evening, arrived in the camp, with intelligence that the enemy was advancing to attack General Wangenheim, and had already passed the Marsh. This most important news was delivered to M. de Radan, the adjutant-general, at Hactim at ten o'clock: but was not conveyed to Prince Ferdinand till almost three in the morning.

Prince Ferdinand's orders for attacking M. Contades.

His Serene Highness dispatched his orders; without loss of time, for every officer to be at his respective post with his corps under arms, to strike their tents, and to be ready to march and attack, as he should see convenient to direct, they having before been disposed, with great judgment, in the following line of battle:

His line of battle.

FRONT LINE.
 Lieutenant Generals.
 Major Generals.
 Cannon.

<p><i>First Brigade.</i></p> <p>12 twelve pounders. 2 howitzers. 3 three pounders.</p>		<p><i>Second Brigade.</i></p> <p>10 twelve pounders. 2 howitzers.</p>
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1759.

<p><i>Third Brigade.</i> 12 six pounders. 1 howitzer. 10 three pounders,</p>	<p><i>Fourth Brigade.</i> 12 twelve pounders. 2 howitzers. 8 three pounders.</p>
<p><i>Right reserve Battery of Light Guns.</i> 2 twelve pounders. 4 howitzers. 3 six pounders. 1 four pounder.</p>	<p><i>Left reserve Battery of Light Guns.</i> 4 twelve pounders. 2 howitzers. 3 six pounders. 2 four pounders.</p>

SECOND LINE.

Lieutenant General. Majors Generals.

Abstract of the Army.

<i>Nations.</i>	<i>1st Line</i>		<i>2d Line</i>		<i>Total.</i>	
	<i>B.</i>	<i>Sq.</i>	<i>B.</i>	<i>Sq.</i>	<i>B.</i>	<i>Sq.</i>
British	3	8	3	6	6	14
Prussians	0	5	0	4	0	9
Hanoverians	9	12	8	8	17	20
Hessians	6	8	6	8	12	16
Brunswick	4	0	3	0	7	0
Buckeburg	1	0			1	0
Total	23	33	20	26	43	49

The Duke de Broglio had passed the Werra, that runs along the Morass; was in order of battle before day-light, part of it to front General Wange-
 genheim's corps at Dofdenhausen, and part to face Hille, and advanced within musket-shot of the ground of the advanced guard of the corps he was ordered to attack. His first line consisted of nine battalions, his second of nine and his re-

Duke of Broglio's march against General Wange- genheim.

A 4 serve

Third

A. D.
1759.
Order of
battle.

serve of three. Behind the left infantry were posted his cavalry, in battle array; to support the infantry, in case of need, and also to support three brigades of foot, which was a division under the command of Lieutenant General Nicolai, that joined to his left, but had no cavalry behind them. The left wing of the French army was committed to the command of Lieutenant General de Guerchi, and joined to a rivulet, which formed a kind of morass. The center of the Marshal's army consisted of sixty squadrons of horse, without any other support than the infantry, which formed the line on their right and left.

This disposition of the enemy was well intended, and might probably have succeeded to cut off Prince Ferdinand's communication with the Weser, could they have surpris'd the allies. But, as his Serene Highness was meditating an attack upon their camp, his army was prepared against all events, and the resolution of the enemy to advance and to attack his camp, was an advantage he could not expect, and enabled him with little trouble and loss to prevent the execution of their plan at this time. Besides the effects of Broglio's attack of Wangenheim's corps might have succeeded more to his favour, had he not halted, and suspended the attack till Lieutenant General Nicolai's division and M. de Beaupreau's had got to their ground.

Halts.

Unseasonably.

This was a very unseasonable delay. Success on this quarter depended upon expedition and surprize. While Broglio halted, the corps he was

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to attack had time to prepare for their defence. A. D. 1759: 1
 It is true; when the French began the attack, they were very brisk. As soon as the several divisions Advances and attacks of the guards. were arrived at their posts, Broglio caused some platoons of foot to advance, and charge the allied grand guards, and under favour of these platoons, he himself advanced to the summit of the eminence, which ran along his whole front, and entirely hid the dispositions of the allies. The unconcern with which the allies in this post received this primary attack, and his whole disposition, confirmed the supposition, upon which the marshal had formed his plan of the attack. The posts on that side appeared to be filled only with small parties. But how was he struck with surprize, when, from the summit of the hills, he discovered the main body of the allied army ranged in order of battle, and extending from the bank of the Weser to the wood, and to the morass, in front of the late French camp, with the farmhouse of Tostenhausen, of which they had made an entrenched post, in their line. A disposition, which discouraged M. Broglio, and does great honour to the abilities of the Prince, who displayed his generalship in so masterly a manner on this occasion. For, though the Duke de Broglio made his cannon advance, which began to play about five in the morning, he could not forbear expressing his doubts to his general officers, and sent an account of the disposition and situation, in which he discovered the allies, so contrary to that, on which the plan of attack had been formed: and receiving

Surprized at the sight of the allies.

His message to M. Contades.

ing

A. D. 1759. ing no satisfactory answer, the Duke, at last, disposed his wing in the best order he could, and went himself to the M. Contades, in the center, for fresh orders. But it was too late now to change the plan. The Duke de Broglio had trifled away three hours in cannonading to no purpose against an army, he acknowledged too powerful for him to encounter, and Prince Ferdinand had advanced so far, as to threaten the center.

Allied army formed.

The allied army was, at this time, formed as follows. General Wangenheim's corps had improved the opportunity given by the halt of the Duke de Broglio, waiting for the troops under General Nicolai, and quitting their camp, passed through the dyke of Landwehr, and formed in order of battle, at the same time, with the rest of the army: in such a manner, that Wangenheim's grenadiers took post at the right of the batteries of Thornhausen; the eight battalions of infantry, in the hedges of Keutenhausen, upon the right of the grenadiers, and his eighteen squadrons of horse in the open fields, upon the right of the foot. This corps, with some German cavalry, composed the left, under the Prince of Holstein. The right consisted of cavalry, under Lord George Sackville, and extended towards the village of Hartum: and the center was composed of infantry. In the situation of these troops there happened an unavoidable misfortune. The wood on the left of the right wing, though thin and open, intercepted the sight of the infantry in the center.

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However, the rest of the country covered by this army was very open. That in front was divided into corn fields for some distance, which terminated with an open plain; whereon the piquets of the army, under the Prince of Anhalt, were drawn up: a detachment of whom, with two howitzers, drove out two battalions of the enemy from the adjacent village of Hahlen.

A. D.
1759.

By this disposition the French found themselves cooped up in a most disagreeable and dangerous situation, between the Weser, the morass and the Hanoverian army. Yet there was no receding: they must fight at all adventures. The allies pressed forward in eight columns: the French put on the best countenance their circumstances required: and the Duke de Broglio attempted with great vigour, to penetrate between Wangenheim's corps and the main body of the allies. For which purpose he maintained for some time a smart fire from a battery erected on the front of his left wing. But the Count de Buckebourg, grand master of the artillery under the allies, was prepared with a battery of 30 pieces of cannon, in the front of the right wing, that in less than ten minutes, silenced the French, and made great havock amongst the grenadiers and the Swiss.

The French caught in a snare.

Obliged to fight.

This so checked the motions of the French, that not advancing as expected, Prince Ferdinand commanded his infantry in the center to advance against the center of the enemy, in which was placed the flower of their cavalry. This body consisted of no more than six regiments of

Attacked.

A. D. 1759.

of English infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, who marched about 1500 paces, through an extreme smart cannonade from two French batteries, erected at some distance from each other, and played on them obliquely. There now remained no resource for the French cavalry in the center, but to advance and to anticipate the approaching shock. But notwithstanding the briskness of their charge, they were repulsed. The brigades of foot of Touraine and Rouerge, which were on the same line on the right; though they kept up for awhile the fire of their musquetry, were not able to stand their ground. And the enemy, in their own account of this action, confess that from the moment the enemy's foot fell upon the cavalry in the center, the day might have been supposed to be lost. The Duke de Broglio, and the generals of his corps, being repulsed by the left wing, immediately determined what to do. The reserve quickly joined Nicolas's division; and those two corps were conducted, by the Duke in person, to mask the center in confusion, and to make a sort of rampart to it. This was the critical minute for the total destruction of the French army. But that was not to be done without cavalry to support the brave corps of infantry, which, with unshaken firmness, and with a resolution and expertness in their manoeuvre scarce to be equalled, had driven the whole French

Kingsley's, Napier's, Stuart's, Hulke's and Brudenel's regiments, the Hanoverian guards and Hardenberg's regiment.

Broglio repulsed.

Repairs to the main body.

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army to the last distress; to surrender or to trust to a dangerous flight. Therefore Prince Ferdinand dispatched Captain Wintzingerode, his aid de camp, to Lord George Sackville, with orders for his Lordship to advance, with the cavalry under his command, through the thin of the wood on his left, to the rear of the infantry, and to support them. But instead of fulfilling this order with that exactness, precision and expedition, which the immediate service required, Lord George is supposed to misunderstand the rout his troops were to take; and instead of taking the road through the thin of the trees on the left, he prepared to move in a direct line forwards; ordered Captain Hugo, his aid de camp, to clear his front of the Saxe Gotha regiment of foot, which had been posted before him; sent Captain Broome, another of his aid de camps, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy; and dispatched Captain Lloyd, a third aid de camp, to find out and to bring him an account of the situation of the Hanoverian infantry. This delay, in about eight minutes occasioned another order, by Captain Ligonier, from the commander in chief, to advance with the cavalry to seize the advantage, which then offered by the confusion of the enemy's cavalry. His lordship then drew his sword, gave the word of command to march, and moved a few paces forward; but was told by Captain Ligonier, that he was to march to the left. At this instant, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy, a third aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, came up to his lordship,

A. D.
1759.

Lord Geo.
Sackville
ordered to
advance.

His delay.

A. D. 1759. lordship, and delivered an order for him to advance to the left, with the British cavalry only.

Demurs to the orders.

To which his lordship demurred, and said to Captain Ligonier, that their orders were contradictory. But the Captain remarked, that they only differed in numbers, and that their destination was the same to the left: and Colonel Fitzroy offered to lead the column himself through the wood on the left. After much altercation about the consistency and propriety of the order, his lordship persisting in his being dissatisfied with the order, resolved to leave his division and to ride in quest of the Prince to have it explained. But as he followed Colonel Fitzroy to the Prince through the woods, and the road he was ordered to take, and not finding them so impassable as he had conceived, his lordship sent back Captain Smith, one of his aid de camps, to bring up the British cavalry. His Serene Highness, dissatisfied with this conduct and delay, and convinced of the necessity of immediate support for the infantry, to

Rides to seek the Prince.

Orders sent to the Marquis of Granby.

Lord Granby immediately obeys.

complete the success and glory of the day, thought it expedient to send the same orders to the Marquis of Granby, before Lord George came up. Lord Granby, who commanded the second line of cavalry, did not hesitate a moment. He took his rout to the left: and while Lord George was taking the Princes orders, shewed him the line of cavalry coming through the wood. His Serene Highness then gave his lordship his final orders, to form the cavalry on the heath, and to support the infantry: which Lord George proceeded

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ceeded to put in execution; came up with his division and placed himself at the head, after it had got through the wood, and conducted it to the rear of the infantry: but now it was too late for the purposes intended. Broglie availed himself of these delays. He covered their retreat under favour of the good countenance of the right, the center repassed the rivulet, and went and formed in order of battle in their old camp. The left followed it, as did likewise the cavalry of the right. The infantry of the right remained in the hedges, under the cannon of Minden; breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit over the marsh.

A. D
1759.

Favourable
to the
French.

Who re-
treat.

The French account adds, “ There was nothing to oblige us to retire further: and the battle would have been nothing but an attack, for which we were to make reprisals. But just as the enemy threatened the center, the marshal received advice from M. de Brisac, who was posted at Coesfeldt with a body of troops to secure the communication with Hervörden, that the hereditary Prince of Brunswick had attacked him at half an hour after five in the morning, with 10,000 men and forced him to retire to Minden. This blow rendering the Prince master of the passes, the marshal resolved to place his army on the other side of the Weser. And the most surprizing thing of this day’s action was, Prince Ferdinand’s judgment and boldness in sending out a detachment of 10,000 men,

French
account.

A D. “men, the moment he was going to engage a
1759. “superior army.”

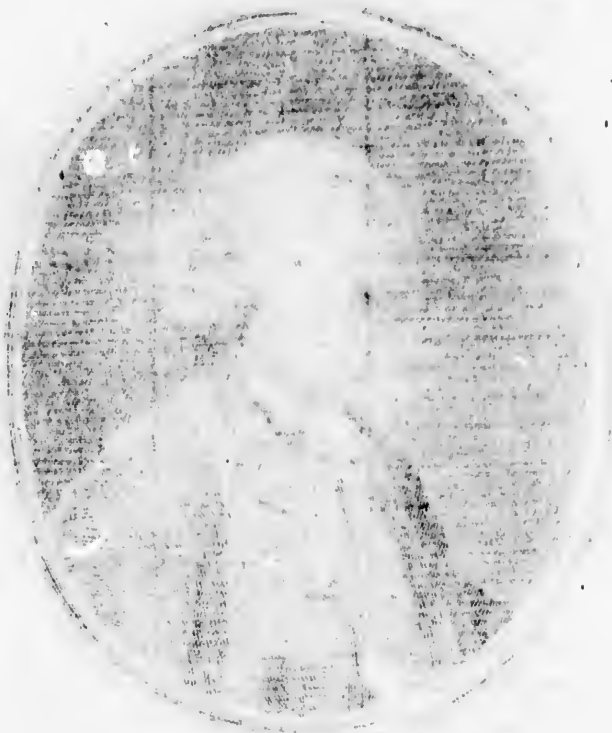
Prince Ferdinand in his account of this battle, takes no praise to himself, but highly extols the courage and conduct of those, that bore the heat of the action. “The British infantry, who were there, says that account, as well as the Hanoverian guards, performed wonders. Every regiment that was engaged distinguished itself highly, and not a platoon in the whole army gave way one single step, during the whole action.” In which commendations that Prince, commander in chief, was more particular the day after the battle: when he ordered his greatest thanks to be given the whole army for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the British infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing, and to General Wangenheim’s corps, particularly the regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du Corps and Hamerstin’s; the same to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His Serene Highness declared publickly, that next to God he attributed the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which he assured them he should retain the strongest sense of, as long as he lived; and if ever upon any occasion he should be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it would give him the utmost pleasure. His Serene Highness ordered his particular thanks to be likewise given to General Sporken,

Prince Ferdinand's
thanks to
the army.

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ken, the Duke of Holstein, Lieutenant-Generals Imhoff and Urff. His Serene Highness expressed his extreme obligation to the Count de Buckeburg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was served with great effect; likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of artillery, viz. Colonel Browne, Lieutenant-Colonel Hütte, Major Hasse, and the three English Captains, Phillips, Drummond, and Foy. His Serene Highness declared himself infinitely obliged to Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley, for their great courage and good order, in which they conducted their brigades. *His Serene Highness further ordered it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, that he was persuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant.* In short, his Serene Highness ordered, that those of his Suite, whose behaviour he most admired, be named, as the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilson aid de camp to Major-General Waldegrave, Adjutant-Generals Erstoff, Bulow, Durendolle, the Count Tobe and Malerti; his Serene Highness having much reason to be satisfied with their conduct. *And his Serene Highness desired and ordered the generals of the army, that upon all occasions, when orders were brought to them by his aid de camps, that they be obeyed punctually, and without delay.*

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1759.
Loss on
both sides.

A considerable number of prisoners were taken, both in the field of battle and in the pursuit; besides deserters, who came in by whole columns. The killed and wounded did not amount to less than 8000 men. The Prince de Chimai, or Camille, was killed: the Duke de Montmorenci, the Marquis de Monti, and many other general officers and persons of distinction were wounded. They were obliged to leave 30 pieces of cannon in the field, and lost ten pair of colours and seven standards. Afterwards, on the 5th, General Urfff took at Detmold all the heavy baggage of the enemy, with an escort of 800 men, part horse, part foot. An immense booty, in which was found 40,000 florins, belonging to the Saxon military chest: the baggage of M. Contades, of the Prince of Conde, of Count de St. Germain, of the Duke of Brisac; and the archives and some papers of great importance. To these losses were added some others not less felt by the enemy, as the magazines at Osnaburg, Minden, Bielfeldt, Paderborn, &c.

On the part of the allies, the killed and wounded did not exceed 1000, amongst whom was not found one officer of distinction. In this number the greatest loss was amongst the English^b.

The

^b *A list of the killed, wounded, and missing, in his Majesty's five regiments of British infantry and artillery, in the above-mentioned battle of Thornbaufen.*

12th Regiment, Major-General Napier. Killed, Lieutenants Falkingham, Probyn, and Townshend, four serjeants, one drummer, 77 rank and file. — Wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel

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37th Reg
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—Missing,

51st Regim
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The advantages of this victory were enlarged by the success of the hereditary Prince, on the same

A. D.
1759.

Duke of
Brisac de-
feated.

Colonel Robinson, Captains Murray, Clowdesly, and Campbell, Captain-Lieutenant Dunbar, Lieutenants Fletcher, Barlow, Lawless, Freeman, Campbell, and Rose, Ensigns Forbes, Parkhill, and Kay, 11 serjeants, four drummers, 175 rank and file.—Missing, Captains Chalbert and Ackland, 11 rank and file.

20th Regiment, Major-General Kingsley. Killed, Captains Frierson, Stewart, and Cowley. Lieutenants Brown and Norbury, Ensign Crawford, one serjeant, 79 rank and file.—Wounded, Captains Grey, Parr, and Tennent, Captain-Lieutenant Parry, Lieutenants Luke Nugent, Thomson, Denshire, and Boswell, Ensigns Erwin, Dent, and Renton. 12 serjeants, 212 rank and file.

23d Regiment, Lieutenant-General Huske. Killed, Four serjeants, 31 rank and file.—Wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel Pole, Captains Fowler and Fox, Captain-Lieutenant Bolton, First-Lieutenants Orpin, Reynell, Groves, Barber, and Patterson, Second-Lieutenant Ferguson, six serjeants, three drummers, 153 rank and file.—Missing, Ten rank and file.

25th Regiment, Lieutenant-General Earl of Home. Killed, One serjeant, 18 rank and file.—Wounded, Captain Gore, Lieutenants A. Campbell, Sterrop and Wilson, Ensigns Pintard, Edgar and Lockhart, four serjeants, 115 rank and file.—Missing, Nine rank and file.

37th Regiment, Lieutenant-General Stuart. Killed, Lieutenant and Adjutant Green, one serjeant, 41 rank and file.—Wounded, Captains Cliffe, Bayly, Blunt, Græme, Parkhurst, and Lord Viscount Allen, Lieutenants Smith, Barbutt, Spencer, Slorach, and Hamilton, Ensign Elliot, four serjeants, four drummers, 180 rank and file.—Dead of their wounds, Captain-Lieutenant Hutchinson, Lieutenant Brome, —Missing, Twenty two rank and file.

51st Regiment, Colonel Brudenel. Killed, Lieutenant and Adjutant Widdows, 20 rank and file.—Wounded, Lieutenant-

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1759.

same day, detached with 10,000 men, just on the eve of a battle, with an army much superior to his own when united. M. Contades had posted the Duke of Brisac, with a corps of seven or 8000 men near Coesfeldt to guard his convoys, and to keep possession of the passes in his rear. This general encamped so advantageously on the 31st of July at night, with his left to the village of Coesfeldt, his right to the Saltpits, and his front to the Werta, that there was no attack could be made in the front; nor any other way to come at him, but by surrounding his left.

The hereditary Prince found the enemy in this situation on the 1st of August, and as his orders were to fight, he never boggled at the difficulty, nor danger. Having reconnoitred the situation of the Duke of Brisac's army, the Prince resolved to form three attacks at once: all of which were to depend on the success of that on the right.

Colonel Furye Captains Montgomery, Blair, Donnellan, and Walker, Lieutenants Gordon, Knollis, and Green, Ensign Peake, three serjeants, 75 rank and file.—Missing, One serjeant, four rank and file.

Royal Regiment of Artillery. Killed, two rank and file.—Wounded, Lieutenants Rogers and Harrington, one serjeant, nine rank and file.—Missing, Lieutenant Carden, two rank and file.

Total killed, three captains, seven lieutenants, one ensign, 11 serjeants, one drummer, and 269 rank and file.—Wounded, three lieutenant-colonels, 23 captains, 28 lieutenants, 12 ensigns, 41 serjeants, 11 drummers, and 919 rank and file.—Missing, two captains, two lieutenants, one serjeant, 58 rank and file.—Dead of their wounds, one captain-lieutenant, one lieutenant.

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The troops destined for that attack consisted of a battalion of Diepenbroick, two of the Brunswick guards, 200 volunteers, and four squadrons of Bock's dragoons; the four battalions of Old Zastrow, Bohr, Boch, and Canitz, and one squadron of Charles Breitenbach, with all the heavy cannon, composed the center; the left was formed of three battalions, Boch, Dreves, and Zastrow, and of four squadrons of Busch. The troops of the center were designed to keep the enemy at bay, whilst those of the right should surround their left; those of the left were to march to the bridge near the salt-pits, in order to prevent the enemy's retreat to Minden. The hereditary Prince marched with the right; Count Kielmansegge was in the center; and M. de Dreves and M. de Boch brought up the left. In this order they set out at three o'clock from their camp at Quernam, and found that the enemy, on their part, had likewise intended to attack them: for, as soon as Count Kielmansegge was come out of the defile of Beck, the enemy presented themselves before him; and a cannonade began on both sides. The right was to pass the Werta, in order to turn the enemy's left, at the village of Kirchlinger, upon a very narrow bridge. This difficulty however was in some measure removed by the spirit of the troops, the infantry fording the river, by the Prince's example, partly behind the horsemen, and partly in peasants waggons. By the passage of the Werta, the position of the enemy was entirely changed; the fire of the artillery was brisk on both sides,

A. D. 1759. and lasted for two hours; but that of the allies had always the superiority. At last, upon the Hanoverians shewing themselves upon their rear, they immediately gave way, and, in filing off, came upon the skirts of M. de Boch, who received them with a discharge of artillery, which was well supported. When, finding themselves entirely surrounded, they had no other resource but in flight; leaving five pieces of cannon and their baggage.

Loss. The allies in this action lost only 300 men; but the slaughter of the French was very considerable: for the field of battle was covered with a vast quantity of arms, and such number of the slain, that, 2000 peasants were full employed for some days to bury the dead.

M. Contades abandons Minden. The French army, under M. Contades, finding that it would be impossible for him to maintain his post at Minden, that no way was left him to retreat, but by Eimbeck, and that his parties were pursued and harrassed every where, made a very short halt at Minden, where he left 300 men to favour his escape, who next day were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, and to open the gates to the victorious army under Prince Ferdinand. Minden surrenders to Prince Ferdinand. being informed that the enemy had taken the rout of Hesse, immediately made dispositions to pursue them. The hereditary Prince was ordered, with 15,000 men and all the light troops, to pass the Weser, at Hamelen; which he effected between the 4th and 5th, and had continual skirmishes

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mishes with the enemy. And the rest of the army marched under the command of Prince Ferdinand himself, on the 4th to Coesfeldt, and directly forward to Paderborn. The hereditary Prince came up with the main body of the French at Eimbeck, and cannonaded them with success: his light troops in the next night took 200 prisoners, and on the 10th he attacked the enemy's rear, and took 50 waggons laden with provisions.

The allied army reached Delem on the 11th, and on the 13th entered the country of Waldeck, with intention to gain the flank of the enemy, posted at that time in the neighbourhood of Cassel.

While this was endeavoured, M. Contades thought it most adviseable to decamp, and to abandon that city to the mercy of the Hanoverian chafseurs, whose commander, Major Fridricks, on the 19th, summoned it, and after exchanging a few shot, the garrison of 400 men, and 1500 wounded, surrendered prisoners of war. Here fell a considerable magazine also into the hands of the allies. In the mean time Luckner's hussars routed a strong party of the enemy at Volckmiffen on the 15th: the hereditary Prince dislodged a part of M. d'Armentiere's corps at Wofshagen on the 17th; and the Duke of Holstein, in sight of the enemy's grand army, on the same day, took, sword in hand, a whole battalion of the grenadiers royaux, at Naumberg. General Imhoff was likewise detached with a strong corps to besiege Munster.

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1759.

Cassel evacuated by the French.

A. D.
1759.
The bad
situation
of M.
Contades.

Thus M. Contades was obliged to quit his strong post near Minden; to pass the Weser; to retreat eastward of that river, through a country badly provided for subsistence, and where he had taken no measures for his support against such an event, and, in fine, to forfeit all the advantages he had gained during the whole campaign.

Insinuations against the abilities, &c. of Prince Ferdinand.

How admirable soever the conduct of Prince Ferdinand appeared in the manœuvres, which brought on the battle, and in the masterly motions, which drew the cautious French marshal out of his impregnable camp: however bravely the battle was won by his superior skill, and courage of his troops: and however great were the effects of this victory; his Serene Highness has been represented in a light, which, if deserved, would strip him of all the merit, due to a triumphant victorious general. Prince Ferdinand, on the contrary, disapproved of the conduct of the commander in chief of the British forces within his command:

And

*Letter from Prince Ferdinand of Brunfwick, to *** ***,*

Most Sacred!

"The enemy having called in all their small detachments, this discovery engaged me to give the army, at five o'clock in the afternoon, orders to hold themselves in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning, on the 1st of August, the cavalry expressly, to be saddled at that hour. I recommended it to all the advanced posts to be very attentive, and to inform me of the least motion they should observe during the night. It passed without my receiving any intelligence. About three in the morning, M. de Redan, adjutant-general, informed me of the arrival of two deserters, with the news, that the army

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And we shall see, that this victory was not so complete, as to deprive the French of the means
to

A. D.
1759.

of the enemy was marching to attack me, and that they had passed the Marsh at midnight. These deserters came to Hactim at ten o'clock in the evening,—but how important soever was the news they brought, it did not reach me 'till towards three in the morning. That I should lose no time, I sent every aid de camp I had about to the camp, in order to make the army move without the least delay. I was obeyed with great readiness, except by the cavalry on the right; which, notwithstanding my former orders, were not saddled; and one of whom, the conductor, L. G. S. did not come to his post till very late. According to my order of battle, the cavalry on the wings, and the infantry in the center. The enemy had on the contrary, placed the cavalry in the center, and their infantry on the wings. The British infantry attacked with an amazing intrepidity. The success of it was so great, that the cavalry of the enemy, which was facing your brave infantry, was routed, and totally put in confusion. This was the moment for the cavalry to have completed the defeat of the enemy. I sent my aid de camp, Captain Ligonier, to L. G. S. with orders to advance with the cavalry, in order to make the most of the advantages, which the infantry had just obtained. My aid de camp, Captain Winchenzerode, was sent by me to L. G. S. with a like commission. My lord feigned at first, not to comprehend the orders, which he carried: at length he seemed to give way to them, and concluded with doing nothing.

Before Ligonier came back, the cavalry of the enemy had rallied, and returned to the charge, supported by the Saxon infantry, and a very brisk cannonade, which took our infantry obliquely in front, and directly in flank. M. Fitzroy was then sent to L. G. S. to press him to advance, without loss of time, to support the infantry, which suffered; but he did nothing. Expecting, with reason, to find a disposition in Lord G——y to distinguish himself, I sent Colonel Webb to him
with

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1759.

to recover their strength, and to maintain their ground.

Prince

with my orders to advance with the second line of the cavalry; but L. G. S. hindered him, by stopping him from advancing. Colonel Fitzroy and Captain Ligonier returned, and told me, that the cavalry had not stirred one step: notwithstanding my orders, L. G. S. did not give credit to what they had told him; said, that he did not understand what they had said; and that he would come and speak to me himself. He came, and in short found me: I repeated to him what Ligonier and Fitzroy had told him from me; but the cavalry never advanced near enough, either to gather the laurels which your infantry had prepared for them, or to protect them while they suffered. In short, L. G. S. very far from repairing the fault, which the cavalry on the right had committed, in not being saddled at the appointed time, and which he himself had committed, in not having remedied it in time, and also in his coming too late to his post; in not doubling his pace during his march, to regain the time he lost also; and the greatest opportunity which has, perhaps, ever existed to acquire glory, which was not only offered him, but he was commanded to seize; the cavalry remained, during the whole action, out of cannon shot. Toward the end of the action, the Duke of Richmond went from me, with orders for L. G. S. to advance the cavalry to the edge of the marsh, which was executed.

I confess I cannot but think with great vexation of the conduct of L. G. S. and I cannot but declare, on the contrary, the good opinion I had of Lord G—y, from the readiness he shewed to execute my orders, by whomsoever they were brought; which leaves me no room to doubt, considering the favourable opportunity, which the cavalry had to act in, that they would have rendered this victory as decisive, as any ever had been. If L. G. S. who had been insensible to the fine opportunity, which he had to acquire glory, was offended at the acknowledgment, which I made in favour of Lord G—y, accord-

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Prince Ferdinand is not allowed by some people, to have made those masterly motions, which drew the French out of their camp, with any such design: and they go so far as to accuse him of so great ignorance, or inattention, that he had not provided a sufficient communication to support the detached camp on the bank of the river, and that General Wangenheim's corps must have there been cut off, and his whole army surprized, had the Duke de Broglio obeyed his orders with vigour and punctuality. And in order to account for the duke's halting so unseasonably, it is pretended, that his Grace acted in that dilatory manner to deprive M. Contades of that favour, in which a victory would have established him at court, and thereby to supplant him in the chief command, to which the Duke de Broglio zealously aspired. What were the motives of Broglio's conduct in that particular is not material, in the vindication of Prince Ferdinand. His ambition might lead him to behave in such a manner,

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1759.

Duke of
Broglio
asperised.

according to his manner, he could not avoid thinking it an indirect censure of his own particular conduct. He wrote me a letter, by which he thought proper to demand from me, to recal the compliments, which I had made to Lord G—y. I answered him absolutely in the negative. My L. G. S. then set himself about propagating many false reports in the army; which determined me, at last, to write to your m——y on this particular subject. My L. G. S. a few days after my letter went off, received his recal. He then appeared to be struck with it, and wrote me a letter to complain of his fate; since which there has been no interview between him and me.”

A. D.
1759.

Prince
Ferdinand
defended.

as to bring disgrace upon the only man, he apprehended, stood in his way to promotion. But the French themselves were convinced of the perfect and finished pieces of generalship exhibited in the motions of Prince Ferdinand; and the ruinous situation, within which the French found their army circumscribed, so as not to be in a condition to exert their whole strength, and to be defeated, with such considerable loss, by a handful of the allies, are stubborn facts, that prove both the skill and attention of his Serene Highness; without entering into the reasons and foresight of those orders, which he issued on the evening of the 31st of July, for attacking the enemy the next day.

Reasons
for his
complaint.

The subject of Prince Ferdinand's complaint arose from what he conceived injurious to the service, and disobedience to his orders by Lord George Sackville; who had not obeyed the order delivered to the general officers, the evening before, to be at their posts by a certain hour; nor thought any thing of an action, till he was awakened by the discharge of the enemy's cannon: and who, instead of proceeding immediately through the wood on the left, according to orders, to support the infantry, that were driving the enemy before them, lost the opportunity of totally destroying the French army, by doubts and explanations, which neither the case required, nor the time would admit. This was the reason, why the Prince sent his ulterior orders to the Marquis of Granby to advance with the cavalry. But it was then too late to execute the finishing stroke of the
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grand scheme to ruin the French army. The Prince resented Lord George's conduct, and therefore you have read in the order of thanks, That his lordship is not mentioned in the number of those officers, whom the commander in chief honoured with his approbation and commendation, on the account of their distinguishing behaviour in the time of action^d.

A. D.

1759.

His dislike
of the con-
duct of
Lord Geo.
Sackville.

This

^d The Prince, upon revising the order of thanks, observing an omission of Captain Macbean, wrote the following letter in his own hand, which was delivered to him by Count la Lippe Buckeburg.

“ S I R,

It is from a sense of your merit, and a regard to justice, that I do in this manner declare, I have reason to be infinitely satisfied with your behaviour, activity, and zeal, which in so conspicuous a manner you made appear, at the battle of Tornhausen, on the 1st of August. The talents, which you possess in your profession, did not a little contribute to render our fire superior to that of the enemy; and it is to you and your brigade that I am indebted for having silenced the fire of a battery of the enemy, which extremely galled the troops, and particularly the British infantry.

Accept then, Sir, from me, the just tribute of my most perfect acknowledgments, accompanied with my sincere thanks. I shall be happy in every opportunity of obliging you, desiring only occasions to prove it, being with the most distinguished esteem,

Your devoted, and
entirely affectionate servant,

FERDINAND,
Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg.”

And his Serene Highness again on the 3d, issued another order, viz.

“ I n

A. D.
1759.

How felt
by that
Lord.
His letter
to Colonel
Fitzroy.

This token of Prince Ferdinand's dislike was sensibly felt by the English commander in chief, as appears by his letter to Colonel Fitzroy, dated at Minden on the 3d of August, in which he complains of being judged, condemned and censured in a most cruel and unprecedented manner; endeavours to exculpate himself, and throws out several hints to the prejudice of the Prince. To which Colonel Fitzroy replied as follows :

“ My

“ In the compliment his Serene Highness made to the troops yesterday, he forgot four regiments, that particularly distinguished themselves, viz. Hardenburg's third battalion of Hessian guards, Prince William's, and Gillse's: it is not that his Serene Highness has reason to complain of any others, but as they had particular opportunities of distinguishing themselves, it is for that reason his Serene Highness mentions the attention he himself gives to their good conduct,”

Soon after another order came out to the following effect: “ His Serene Highness Duke Ferdinand sent orders to Monsieur Hedeman his treasurer, to pay the following officers of the British artillery, the under-mentioned gratuities, as a testimony of his great satisfaction of their gallant behaviour in the late action of the first of this month :

To Captain Philips	1000 crowns.
To Captain Mackbean	500
To Captain Drummond	500
To Captain Williams	500
To Captain Foy	500

I hope the said gentlemen will accept of this present from his Highness, as a mark of his particular esteem for them.”

“ Dear Sir,

The orders of yesterday, you may believe, affect me very sensibly. His Serene Highness has been pleased to judge,

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THE L A T E W A R.

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“ My Lord,

A. D.
1759

His Serene Highness, upon some report made to him by the Duke of Richmond, of the situation of the enemy, sent Captain Ligonier and my-

condemn, and censure without hearing me, in the most cruel and unprecedented manner; as he never asked me a single question in explanation of any thing he might disapprove: And as he must have formed his opinion on the report of others, it was still harder he would not give me an opportunity of first speaking to him upon the subject: But you know, even in more trifling matters, that hard blows are sometimes unexpectedly given. If any body has a right to say that I hesitated in obeying orders, it is you. I will relate what I know of that, and then appeal to you for the truth of it.

When you brought me orders to advance with the British cavalry, I was then very near the village of Halen, I think it is called, I mean that place, which the Saxons burnt. I was there advanced by M. Malhorte's order, and no further, when you came to me. Ligonier followed almost instantly; he said, the cavalry was to advance. I was puzzled what to do, and begged the favour of you to carry me to the Duke, that I might ask an explanation of his orders:—But that no time might be lost, I sent Smith with orders to bring on the British cavalry, as they had a wood before they could advance, as you directed; and I reckoned, by the time I had seen his Serene Highness, I should find them forming beyond the wood.—This proceeding of mine might possibly be wrong; but I am sure the service could not suffer, as no delay was occasioned by it.—The Duke then ordered me to leave some squadrons upon the right, which I did, and to advance the rest to support the infantry. This I declare I did, as fast as I imagined it was right for cavalry to march in line.—I once halted by Lord Granby, to compleat my forming the whole. Upon his advancing the left before the right, I again sent to him

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myself with orders for the British cavalry to advance.—His Serene Highness was, at this instant,

him to stop:—he said, as the Prince had ordered us to advance, he thought we should move forward.—I then let him proceed at the rate he liked, and kept my right up with him as regular as I could, 'till we got to the rear of the infantry and our batteries.—We both halted together, and afterwards received no order, 'till that which was brought by Colonel Web and the Duke of Richmond, to extend in one line towards the Morafs.—It was accordingly executed; and then, instead of finding the enemy's cavalry to charge, as I expected, the battle was declared to be gained, and we were told to dismount our men.

This, I protest, is all I know of the matter, and I was never so surprized, as when I heard the Prince was dissatisfied that the cavalry did not move sooner up to the infantry.—It is not my business to ask, what the disposition originally was, or to find fault with any thing.—All I insist upon is, that I obeyed the orders I received, as punctually as I was able; and if it was to do over again, I do not think I would have executed them ten minutes sooner than I did, now I know the ground, and what was expected; but indeed we were above an hour too late, if it was the Duke's intention to have made the cavalry pass before our infantry and artillery, and charge the enemy's line.—I cannot think that was his meaning, as all the orders ran to sustain our infantry:—and it appears, that both Lord Granby and I understood we were at our posts, by our halting, when we got to the rear of our foot.

I hope I have stated impartially the part of this transaction, that comes within your knowledge.—If I have, I must beg you would declare it, so as I may make use of it in your absence: for it is impossible to sit silent under such reproach, when I am conscious of having done the best that was in my power.—For God's sake, let me see you, before you go for England. I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful

Humble Servant,

GEORGE SACKVILLE."

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one or two brigades beyond the English infantry, towards the left.—Upon my arrival on the right of the cavalry, I found Captain Ligonier with your Lordship.—Notwithstanding, I declared his Serene Highness's orders to you: Upon which you desired I would not be in an hurry.—I made answer, that galloping had put me out of breath, which made me speak very quick.—I then repeated the orders for the British cavalry to advance towards the left, and, at the same time, mentioning the circumstance, that occasioned the orders, added, “That it was a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves, and that your Lordship, by leading them on, would gain immortal honour.”

You yet expressed your surprize at the order, saying, it was impossible the Duke could mean to break the line.—My answer was, that I delivered his Serene Highness's orders, word for word, as he gave them.—Upon which you asked, which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide.—I undertook to lead them towards the left, round the little wood on their left, as they were then drawn up, where they might be little exposed to the enemy's cannonade.

Your Lordship continued to think my orders neither clear nor exactly delivered; and expressing your desire to see Prince Ferdinand, ordered me to lead you to him; which order I was obeying when we met his Serene Highness.—During this time I did not see the cavalry advance.—Cap-

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tain Smith¹, one of your aids de camp, once or twice made me repeat the orders I had before delivered to your Lordship; and I hope he will do me the justice to say, they were clear and exact. —He went up to you, whilst we were going to find the Duke, as I imagine, being sensible of the clearness of my orders, and the necessity of their being immediately obeyed. —I heard your

¹ *Copy of the Declaration of Captain Smith, aid de camp to Lord George Sackville.*

Minden, August 5, 1759.

What I have to say with regard to the orders Colonel Fitzroy brought, and to their not being put in execution, is — I heard Lord George Sackville say, on his receiving them, as they differed from those he had just before received by Captain Ligonier, he would speak to the Prince himself, and accordingly put his horse in a gallop to go to him. I immediately went up to Colonel Fitzroy, and made him repeat the orders to me twice. — I thought it so clear and positive for the British cavalry only to advance, where he should lead, that I took the liberty to say to his Lordship, I did think they were so; and offered to go and fetch them, while he went to the Prince, that no time might be lost. His answer was, he had also an order from the Prince, from Mr. Ligonier, for the whole wing to come away, and he thought it impossible the Prince could mean that. I replied, that if he would allow me to fetch the British, they were but a part, and if it was wrong, they could soon remedy the fault. — He said, then do it as fast as you can. — Accordingly I went, as fast as my horse could go, to General Moflyn. — He knows the rest. — This is all that pass'd, as near as I can recollect. — It was spoke as we galloped, and could not be long about, as I have been on the ground since, and do not believe, when his Lordship sent me back, I had above six hundred yards to go to General Moflyn.

J. SMITH.

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Lordship give him some orders.—What they were I cannot say—but he immediately rode back towards the cavalry.

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Upon my joining the Duke, I repeated to him the orders I had delivered to you, and appealing to his Serene Highness, to know whether they were the same he had honoured me with, I had the satisfaction to hear him declare, they were very exact.—His Serene Highness immediately asked where the cavalry was; and upon my making answer, that Lord George did not understand the order, but was coming to speak to his Serene Highness, he expressed his surprize strongly.

I hope your Lordship will think I did nothing but my duty, as aid de camp, in mentioning to his Serene Highness my orders being so much questioned by your Lordship.

I am, &c.

Repeated orders of thanks continuing to do honour to the rest of the officers and corps, without taking any notice of his Lordship, his situation grew very uneasy, and in prudence he endeavoured to acquire such attestations of his readiness to obey orders, as he was able; of which the letter from Colonel Fitzroy and Captain Smith's declaration, are the only pieces that have been made public. His next care was to re- criminate, or to set forth Prince Ferdinand in a disagreeable attitude, incapable and revengeful. But this part of his defence was most prudently reserved till his Lordship could obtain his Ma-

Lord George solicits for leave to return to England.

Resolves to re- criminate.

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1759.

His ad-
drefs to the
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jefty's leave to resign, and to return to England. Which part of his Lordship's conduct will appear more apt in his own address to the public, on his arrival at London, than in any other manner; wherein he says, "The various reports that have been propagated to my disadvantage, and the many falshoods, which have been asserted to ruin my character, lay me under the necessity of remaining not entirely silent, though I am debarred at present from stating my case to the public, as I should have done, had I not had assurances of obtaining a court-martial for my trial, the only legal and effectual method of convincing the world, how little foundation there has been for the torrent of calumny and abuse, which has been so maliciously thrown out against me.

I had rather upon this occasion, submit myself to all the inconveniencies that may arise from the want of stile, than borrow assistance from the pen of others, as I can have no hopes of establishing my character, but from the force of truth. I shall therefore, as plainly and distinctly as possible, relate a few circumstances, which will at least shew, that no body could be more desirous than I was to bring truth to light, and subject my conduct to the strictest scrutiny.

The instant I found by the implied censure given out in orders the 2d of August, that my conduct had appeared in an unfavourable light to Prince Ferdinand, on the day of action, I endeavoured to inform myself in what particular I had either failed in or neglected my duty; I heard in
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general of DISOBEDIENCE OF ORDERS; but I could fix no certain period of time to my supposed crime, till Colonel Fitzroy acquainted me with what had passed between his Serene Highness and him upon my subject, in regard to the orders delivered to me by him (Colonel Fitzroy) that day: whenever my trial comes, I shall endeavour to clear up that point to the satisfaction of the public: my own assertions may have little weight, but the oaths of witnesses, whose veracity cannot be called in question, will, I trust, prove my innocence beyond the possibility of doubt.

Under these circumstances, I immediately applied for his Majesty's permission to return to England, that I might answer any accusation that should be brought against me; for as commander in chief of the British forces in Germany, *no person there could order a court-martial for my trial*, had there been an accusation laid; the power of summoning courts-martial and approving their sentences, was vested in me by my commission, and no British officer or soldier could be tried by any other authority.

As soon as I arrived in London, on Friday evening the 7th, I instantly wrote the following letter to the secretary of state.

“ My Lord,

“ I have the honour of acquainting your Lordship with my arrival in England, in pursuance of his Majesty's permission, sent to me, at my request, by your Lordship.

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“ I thought myself much injured abroad by
 “ an implied censure upon my conduct; I find
 “ I am still more unfortunate at home, by be-
 “ ing publickly represented as having neglected
 “ my duty in the strongest manner, by disobey-
 “ ing the positive orders of his Serene Highness
 “ Prince Ferdinand: as I am conscious of neither
 “ NEGLECT, NOR DISOBEDIENCE of orders; as
 “ I am certain I did my duty to the utmost of
 “ my abilities; and as I am persuaded that the
 “ Prince himself would have found, that he had
 “ no just cause of complaint against me, had he
 “ condescended to have enquired into my con-
 “ duct, before he had expressed his disapproba-
 “ tion of it, from the partial representation of
 “ others: I therefore most humbly request that I
 “ may at last have a public opportunity given me
 “ of attempting to justify myself to his Majesty,
 “ and to my country, by a court-martial being
 “ appointed; that if I am guilty I may suffer
 “ such punishment as I may have deserved; and if
 “ innocent, that I may stand acquitted in the opi-
 “ nion of the world: but it is really too severe
 “ to have been censured unheard, to have been
 “ condemned before I was tried, and to be in-
 “ formed neither of my crime, nor of my ac-
 “ cusers. I am,

“ My Lord, &c. &c. &c.

“ GEO. SACKVILLE.”

I received an answer to this letter on Monday
 the 10th, in which I was assured, that a court-mar-
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tial, upon my application, would be granted, as soon as the officers capable of giving evidence could leave their posts; but previously to the receipt of that letter, *I was dismissed from all my military employments* ¹."

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The public also were greatly dissatisfied with his Lordship, and were very clamorous for justice. This produced a variety of arguments in defence of his Lordship. Many pamphlets were dispersed to fill up the time, to calm the fury of the people, and to blunt the edge of resentment; till a court-martial could be had. Sometimes they were apologetical; others were accusatory. Some extolled the abilities both of nature and fortune of Lord George Sackville, and depreciated every ability of Prince Ferdinand ². And the people were even

Means to calm the public clamour.

To cast blame upon Prince Ferdinand.

¹ The Marquis of Granby succeeded him in his command and in the lieutenant-generalship of the ordnance. General Waldgrave had his regiment.

² Lord George Sackville had, from his birth, rank and the places he occupied, reason to look upon himself, as one of the most rising young noblemen in these kingdoms; and as one who bid very fair to be, in time, at the head of the British army. These were motives, in a British bosom, to bear but with irksomeness the being under the command of a foreign officer, in whom, upon enquiry, he could find no superiority of talents to entitle him to such a pre-eminence.

Ferdinand, the son, grandson and brother of a petty sovereign in Germany, has the title of prince; for German princes there are without end: because if the father be a prince, all the sons are called princes, which accounts for the great number of them; and through that number for their conspicuous poverty.

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even harangued to beware of falling into the unjustifiable resentment, which the populace had vented

Prince Ferdinand being one of those professedly militant, and not over-wealthy princes, his first wish was, that he might find in the commander of the pay all, the minded people of England's forces, a docile, pliant fool, whom he might make to believe whatever he should please, and mould him to all his views.

But it unluckily fell out, that in Lord George Sackville, the son of an English Prince, he found an Englishman; that scorns to pay servile court to foreign hirelings; a man that could not be imposed upon in any article. From an early dislike to the plan of Ferdinand's operations, the latter conceived a disgust for him; which was heightened by Lord George's protesting against the rash and imprudent attack made by Ferdinand at Bergen, where Broglio repulsed him, having made a terrible slaughter among the allies. That affair has never been fairly communicated to the public; though we frequently see very trifling incidents so minutely, and so pompously blazoned out.

The superiority of genius, talents, education and knowledge with which Lord George is so uncommonly endowed, made the German leader shrink into a diffidence of himself, and to avoid as often as he could their being together.

Wherever Lord George could be omitted, upon any pretext, from assisting at the military councils, he was:—the designs, if any, Ferdinand might possibly have conceived against the French, were mostly kept a secret from him; or let out so sparingly, that nothing very rational or conclusive could be deduced from them.

Ferdinand finding too severe a scrutinist (in Lord George) of all his actions, judged it high time to think of ridding himself of so untoward a coadjutor. The most efficacious method pitched on, within the secret council of his bosom, was, that in the first action he should so manage in sending orders to Lord George, as to puzzle him in the execution of his duty, and make him give into the trap he should have laid

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for him. The first that happened was on the famous first day A. D.
of August, 1759. 1759.

That the army of the allies was surprized, is notorious. Kingsley's and Waldegrave's prudence, and the bravery of a few British troops, obtained a victory amazing in its circumstances. However, in the midst of the general confusion, the political German was not unmindful of his premeditated scheme to perplex Lord George: for which end, two expresses were sent almost at the same instant; the one for him to march down with the cavalry under his command, to which obedience was paid with all due dispatch: the second command (the intended puzzler) was to bring the British cavalry only.

An order so ungeneral-like, and so unaccountable, caused Lord George to stop, (he might have room to suspect the other's intention of playing him a foul trick) in order to get as explicit an explanation as possible from the gentlemen who brought the orders. Each being certain of that which he had delivered, induced his Lordship to go to the Prince, (who it is to be supposed was not slunk out of the way of danger) to have the matter set right; Ferdinand was quite hurt at sight of him; seeing the plan to ruin Sackville, with his country, had in part miscarried.

Had Lord George precipitately rushed on with the British cavalry only, and a slaughter of them ensued, which might have been very probably the case—what would have been Ferdinand's triumphant outcry then? Why this,—“How in the name of wonder, my Lord, could you break the line of cavalry, and come down with the British only?” How shall we answer to his Britannic Majesty, for the loss of so many brave men, and this partial havock made only among his British subjects.

Lord George's plain answer to such a charge would have been—“I have acted agreeable to the last order I received from you.”—“The last order from me! let then the two aids de camp be called”—would reply Ferdinand. It was so contrived, or so fell out, that the aids de camp could not settle among themselves who came first or last from the Prince.

Each

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vented to the prejudice of Admiral Byng¹. But this method of defence was so far from setting him

Each aid de camp abiding by the differing order which he had delivered—Ferdinand would not fail to exclaim, “ Good God, considering the surprize we were all thrown into, your own judgment should have directed you, and told you it was impossible I could give any such absurd order ;” —and indeed, to this hour, no shadow of reason can be given for it; nor why, when the whole cavalry was come down time enough to annoy and harrass the retreating enemy, instead of orders for pursuing, they were bid to dismount.

At the interview with the Prince, after the victory obtained, Ferdinand neither expressed nor marked any signs of dissatisfaction or resentment to Lord George, but rather seemingly the reverse. He took some time to brood over a scheme, then newly thought on, for Lord George’s ruin; and which should be derived from the effect, that had been caused by his own differing orders: which was soon after issued in an unprecedented military manner among real heroes.

See the Refutation of the Letter to an honourable Brigadier General. 1759.

¹ I descend to the producing of one of our own age and nation; and ask of the violent, now their fury has subsided, when future ages, in this land, shall read the sentence that was past on Admiral Byng by his judges, and their letter that accompanied it to the Lords of the Admiralty, if they think their wonder must not prove great at the execution that followed? Even as great as that which has already been expressed at it by the dispassionately judging people of every other country in Europe?

Nor can I here forbear to remark on a current consolatory observation, in extenuation of that severity, now when party heat has subsided, and particulars begin to feel some compunction for their ill-exerted fury; which is, *that it has been the producer of good effects in the navy*: and this is talked of with satisfaction, even by lawyers and clergymen. But can any

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him right with the public, that it rather confirmed
their suspicion of guilt: especially as it was con-
ceived, That his Lordship was one of the chief
sticklers against Mr. Byng, whose defence was the
very same, that he *had done his duty to the utmost
of his abilities.*

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1759.

Did not
answer the
purpose.
His trial.

We don't pretend to fix the blame. It is the
part of an historian to relate facts, as they are
stated. These are the accusations, these the ex-
cuses, these the invectives, these the resentments
of both parties. One thing only can be ascer-
tained, that it will be seen, the common cause
suffered greatly, by not doing all that was in the
power of the allied army to do, on the 1st day of
August. Whether that omission proceeded origi-
nally from Prince Ferdinand's neglect of Lord
George Sackville, or from his Lordship's con-
tempt of the Prince's orders, is before the public,

Remarks.

any of them say it is conformable to the doctrine of the gos-
pel or our statutes, that evil should be done in order for good
to come of it? Or will politicians pretend to tell us, that
where discipline becomes weakened, it is not from corrup-
tions in government? Which has always a power to prevent
it by mild justice, or by mild justice to restore it. Or would
any of those men, who are so ready to be the devotees of the
lives of others with infamy, be willing their own should be so
devoted for public welfare? A great author has observed, that
nothing is so easy to bear as other men's misfortunes; and we
see, in the matter now treated of, that there are those who
can comfort themselves in the sufferings too of others, even
to death by great rigour, provided they can themselves parti-
cipate in any benefits derived from them.

See the Sentiments of an Englishman, on Lord George
Sackville's Address to the Public, &c.

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His trial.

The
charge.

to judge from what has been published; and from the evidence on his trial, and the sentence of the court-martial^k; which met on the 29th of February 1760, for that purpose.

The charge exhibited against him was a disobedience of the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, at the battle of Minden, which he was obliged to obey, by his Majesty's commission, to be commander in chief of the British forces on the Lower Rhine, enjoining and requiring him to obey such orders and directions as should be given him by Prince Ferdinand; and by instructions under his sign-manual, bearing date the 31st of October 1758. to direct him *constantly to put in execution such orders*, as he might receive from the said Prince Ferdinand, or such other person, as might thereafter be commander in chief of his Majesty's army on the Lower Rhine, according to the rules of war, with regard to marching, counter-marching, attacking the enemy, and all operations whatever, to be undertaken by his Majesty's said troops.

^k The members appointed by his Majesty's first warrant; were as follows: Lieutenant General Sir Charles Howard, president; Lieutenant Generals John Huske; John Cambell; John, Lord Delawarr; James Cholmondeley; James Stuart; William, Earl of Panmure; William Kerr, Earl of Ancram; William, Earl of Harrington; James Abercromby; George, Earl of Albemarle; Francis Leighton; Lord Robert Manners, Major Generals, Edward Carr; Thomas, Earl of Effingham; Lord Robert Bertie; Julius Cæsar;—Charles Gould, deputy judge-advocate general; but General Huske could not attend.

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To support the charge, several witnesses were sworn, and deposed, first, ^{A. D. 1759.} "That on the 29th of July, after the army was arrived at Hille, the order was given, for the regiments to make immediate necessary appertures and communications, that they might be able to march in front without any impediment: and particularly for the generals to take good notice of the nine debouchés, by which the army might advance to form in the plains of Minden, so as to be well acquainted with them, should the army be ordered to advance in the front.—That in the evening of the 31st, about six o'clock, he received and sent up to the line another order from his Serene Highness, for the army to be ready to march at one o'clock on the morrow-morning; the cavalry to be saddled; the artillery-horses harnassed, and the infantry gaitered; but not to strike the tents, nor the troops put under arms, till further orders: and particularly that he not only shewed this order to Lord George Sackville, but also that he shewed his Lordship another part of this order, relative to him, as commander in chief of the British troops, purporting, "That his Serene Highness desired the generals leading columns, according to the disposition given that day, would make themselves acquainted with the avenues leading (or march of the columns) from the camp, as well as the ground in front: the camp at Hille being three or four miles from Hallen."

Witnesses
examined.

¹ Lieutenant Colonel Charles Horham, adjutant general to the British forces in Germany.

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Then the acting major of the brigade ^m deposed, "That Prince Ferdinand sent orders to his tent a little before four in the morning of the 1st of August, for the cavalry to strike their tents and immediately to form at the head of the lines, which was done accordingly by the first and second lines. "That going to Lord George Sackville between five and six, he found his Lordship in his quarters, between the stables and the house. "That his Lordship said he had but just heard from General Sporcken, that the lines were formed; and "That his Lordship mounted, followed him up to the line, put himself at the head of the cavalry, gave orders immediately; and "That they began their march; the infantry being just forming their march."

Captain Wintzingerode, Hessian aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, deposed "That at the time the infantry of the right wing was a second time advancing towards the enemy, after having made some halt, by order of his Serene Highness, to give time for the infantry adjoining, and the second line to come up and form, he was sent with his Serene Highness's order to Lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing to sustain the infantry, that was going to be engaged:" that the Duke of Richmond was posted after him, to tell him again from his Serene Highness, to hasten the arrival of the British cavalry, and to tell Lord George Sackville to form with

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the cavalry of the right wing under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the infantry: "that he found Lord George posted at the head of the first line of cavalry, some distance behind the artillery, near the wind-mill of the village of Halen, with some trees on the left, that intercepted his sight of the infantry, and where he had first formed: "That he communicated to his Lordship the orders above-mentioned, and as they had been given to him by the Prince: "That Lord George seemed not to understand him, and asked him, how that was to be done? and though this deponent endeavoured to explain the orders to him, so as to make him understand, that he was to pass with the cavalry between the trees, which he saw on his left, which would lead him to the heath, in which he was to form with the cavalry, and to advance in order to sustain the infantry, which he thought was already engaged with the enemy, Lord George still continued to ask him how that was to be done?"

As this deponent was so nearly connected in his military station with Prince Ferdinand; and naturally foreseeing that some use might be made of that connection to invalidate, or at least to render his evidence suspected of partiality for his patron, Captain Wintzingerode, in the course of his deposition, took an opportunity to authenticate and strengthen his evidence, by appealing to the conversation he had with Colonel Fitzroy, explaining some particulars in his evidence,

which

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• Lord George Sackville asked him again several questions, how that was to be done: the witness repeated to him, what he has been saying.—Lord George Sackville then turned towards the officers attending him, and the witness firmly persuaded, that he was going to give the orders for advancing, went to rejoin his Serene Highness.—On coming upon the heath behind our infantry, which was then fully engaged with the enemy, he saw Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy coming towards him full gallop, who asked him, why the cavalry of the right wing did not advance, and gave him to understand, as he passed him, that his Serene Highness was under the greatest impatience about it. The witness followed him to tell him, that he had been with the order for that purpose from his Serene Highness to Lord George, and that the cavalry was coming.—(The witness, upon his deposition being afterwards read over to him, desired it might be inserted, that he recollects his mentioning also to Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy as he passed, that Lord George Sackville seemed for some time not to understand him.)—But Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy, without waiting for the answer, went his way towards Lord George; and the witness, seeing that the cavalry of the right wing, from whence he was coming, made as yet no movement on that side of the trees, where they were to form, upon the heath, followed Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy to assist him in hastening the cavalry to advance, he going towards Lord George Sackville, and the witness towards Lord Granby, whom he found at the head of the second line of the cavalry, in the same position, as he found him, when he passed by his Lordship first. He had nothing farther to say concerning Lord George Sackville, or of the orders which he carried him from his Serene Highness. After this account many questions were put to him, to which he answered in substance: that he thought, he endeavoured to make Lord George understand in English, that he was to pass between the trees on his

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Lieutenant Colonel Edward Ligonier, aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, deposed,—That he brought Lord George Sackville's orders from Prince Ferdinand, on the 1st of August last, to advance with the cavalry in order to profit from the disorder, which appeared in the enemy's cavalry; he found his Lordship at the head of Bland's dragoons; he delivered him his orders, to which his Lordship made no answer, but, turn-

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his left, to form upon the heath on the other side:—that he had never served in the cavalry:—that the trees, through which the cavalry was to pass, was an open wood, without any bushes, as he remembered. That when he delivered his orders, Lord George was accompanied by several aid de camps and other officers, among whom, he thought, he saw Colonel Hotham, Captain Hugo; and he thought, Lieutenant Colonel Sloper was there.—That he did not observe any of the enemy's batteries upon the right, where the cavalry was to pass.—That when he came to Lord Granby the second time, he told him to march directly with the second line, as he knew, that the Duke waited with impatience the coming up of the cavalry; and Lord Granby followed him immediately with the second line, which he led through the trees to the heath, where it was to form, in order to advance. As to the first line, he cannot speak of his own knowledge, being employed in leading the second. Lord Granby preparing to follow him with the second line, desired him to acquaint Lord George Sackville; with which he commissioned an officer belonging to Lord George Sackville, who came up at that time, and who, if he is not mistaken, was Lieutenant Colonel Hotham.—That he could not justly recollect the distance of time between his first delivering the orders to Lord George, and his return to the Prince, but believed, it might be about three quarters of an hour:—and that the infantry were still engaged with the enemy when he returned.

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ing about to the troops, ordered swords to be drawn, and to march; which they did, moving a few paces from the right forward. He then told his Lordship, it was to the left he was to march.

At this time Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy arrived, and delivered his orders for the British cavalry only to advance. Lord George Sackville turning to the deponent said, their orders were contradictory; the deponent answered, they differed only in numbers, that the destination of his march was the same,---“to the left.”---His Lordship then asked him, if he would lead the column; he said, he could not undertake to conduct them properly, but that if his Lordship would trust it to him, he would do his best.

Several questions were then put to him, in regard to the importance of the orders: the time that elapsed: the distance of the cavalry from the infantry, and some other more minute particulars: to which this lieutenant colonel answered distinctly and candidly ^p.

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^p To the many questions put to him he answered in substance:—That he was sent from the Prince on account of many reports made to his Serene Highness, of the enemy's being in confusion, but could not speak as to the Duke of Richmond's particularly.—That he and Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy did not leave the Prince at the same time; for he believed he left Colonel Fitzroy with his Serene Highness.—That he did peremptorily insist upon his being in the right in his orders, even after Colonel Fitzroy arrived, but he did not then insist that they were the orders to be obeyed:—That when he left the Prince, the British infantry were formed into lines, and advancing briskly:—That Lord George did not
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The honourable Lieutenant Colonel Charles Fitzroy, aid de camp to Prince Ferdinand, deposed,--- That he brought an order for the British cavalry to advance towards the left: When he came up to his Lordship, he was on the right of Bland's regiment; he told him, it was the Prince's order for the British cavalry to advance towards the left: his Lordship desired him not to be in a hurry, and to give his orders more distinctly; or something to that effect.---The deponent again repeated, it was the Prince's order for the British cavalry to advance towards the left: he thinks Lord George observed, that Lieutenant Colonel Ligonier's order was different.---His Lordship said, he thought the Prince did not mean to break the line: he thinks his Lordship asked, which way the cavalry was to march? who was to be their guide?---The deponent told his Lordship, he did not know of any guide being appointed, but offered to lead the column himself through a little wood, which was on their left,

make the least hesitation about obeying his orders till Colonel Fitzroy arrived:---That between his carrying his orders to Lord George and the enemy's retiring, was about three quarters of an hour, but could speak with no certainty:---That the cavalry were, he believed, a full mile distant from the second line of infantry; the ground a very fine plain, after getting through an open grove upon the left of the cavalry.---And that he thought, if Lord George had immediately obeyed the orders brought either by him, or those brought by Lieutenant Colonel Fitzroy, that the cavalry could have come up time enough to have supported the infantry, or to have engaged the enemy.

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where, he imagined, they might pass, two squadrons in front. Lord George then did not seem to be satisfied with the order, saying it did not agree with that, which Lieutenant Colonel Ligonier had brought him: he desired the deponent to lead him to the Prince, to have an explanation of those orders; which he did. Lord George came to the Prince soon after he came up to him. And, farther, That some time after his carrying this order to Lord George, the Prince being at that time with Captain Philips's battery, and advancing that battery upon the right of the infantry, and, he believes, with a design of silencing a battery of the enemy's, which flanked the infantry, his Serene Highness said he thought it was even then not too late for the cavalry to advance. The deponent asked the Prince whether he would have him go and fetch the cavalry: his answer was, Yes; and deliver the order to Lord Granby. The deponent found Lord Granby on the enemy's side (the Minden side) of the little wood: he was alone, advanced forty yards, upon the left of the British cavalry:—he thinks, at that time, the left of the British cavalry was more forward than the right. He delivered the Prince's order to Lord Granby, who asked him why he did not give it to Lord George Sackville: he told him, the Prince had sent the deponent to him. Lord Granby kept trotting up; and made him observe, that the right was not come up so forward as the left.---And, upon the questions put to him, he answered, in substance,---That, just before he

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was dispatched to Lord George, the Duke of Richmond having reported, that there was a confusion among the enemy's cavalry in the center of their line, the Prince advanced to reconnoitre them himself. He said, "Voici le bon moment pour la cavalerie." Upon which the deponent asked his Serene Highness's leave to go and bring up the British cavalry: his answer was, "Courez y."---That just before the Duke of Richmond made this report, he saw Captain Ligonier with the Prince.---That in carrying the orders to Lord George he saw Captain Wintzingerode, who gave him directions where to find the cavalry, and told him that he had carried an order from the Prince to Lord George, who would not at first understand it.---That he had no dispute with Colonel Ligonier about their orders; for, when he delivered his orders to Lord George, they were between the two lines of cavalry, and Colonel Ligonier was then in the front of the first line: so that it was only from Lord George that he heard of their orders being different; and thereupon he insisted that his orders were exact, which the Prince acknowledged when he made the report, and expressed his surprize strongly, not by words, but by action, upon his mentioning that Lord George did not understand the different orders he had received, but was coming to have them explained: that upon the Prince's sending him a second time for the cavalry, he asked his Serene Highness to whom he would have him address himself; and his answer was, "To Lord Granby,

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as I know he will obey me."—That the British infantry was attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and afterwards by their infantry, without receiving any assistance from the British cavalry.—That from his first delivering the orders to Lord George, to the time of Captain Smith's being sent back, was, he believed, a quarter of an hour; and that he imagined the captain had 100 or 150 yards to go back to the nearest part of the cavalry.—That the wood, which the cavalry was to pass through, was, in the narrowest part, he believed, 50 or 60 yards wide; and that, if Lord George had immediately obeyed the order he carried, the British cavalry, he thought, might have come up time enough, either to pursue the enemy's cavalry as they were going off, or to attack the foot.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper, of Bland's regiment of dragoons; deposed, That on the 1st of August, about four in the morning, Capt. Pentz called upon him at his tent, and told him, that it was Duke Ferdinand's orders, that the regiment should strike their tents, and mount as soon as possible, adding, that it was for action. The deponent immediately went round the regiment himself, and ordered his Serene Highness's orders to be put in execution as soon as possible. The horses were then saddled, the men booted, and lying down in their tents: this had been done at one o'clock in the morning, agreeable to the orders received the evening before. When the regiment had been mounted much about half an hour, Lord George Sackville came to the head of it, and ordered it

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to march. They marched to the ground the cavalry formed upon. On that spot, he heard Captain Malhorty, aid de camp to the Duke, give Lord George Sackville orders to form the line. Just after the line was formed, Captain Wintzingerode, aid de camp to his Serene Highness, came up to Lord George Sackville, and told him in French, that it was the Duke's orders, he should advance to the left with the right wing of cavalry, and form it in a line behind the infantry.—He repeated those orders in the same language.—He then said in English, that his lordship was to form the cavalry in a line behind the infantry.—Lord George Sackville said, "Mais comment? mais comment?" Captain Wintzingerode said, moving his hand, "You must pass through those trees; you will then arrive upon the heath,—you will then see our infantry and the enemy."—The deponent heard his lordship say, "I do not comprehend how the movement is to be made."—Being so near to his lordship, the deponent answered, "It seemed very clear to him, it was to be made by the left of the right wing of cavalry." His lordship said he would make it. For a quarter of an hour after that, he did not see his lordship.—His lordship then returning to the squadron, which he was at the head of, said, "Sir,---colonel, put your regiment in motion." The deponent said, "My lord, to the left?" His lordship answered, "No, straight forward." The regiment moved a very few paces. Captain Ligonier arrived: he said to Lord George Sackville, that it was the

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duke's orders, that he immediately advanced with the cavalry under his command, and that the movement was to the left. The deponent then said to Captain Ligonier, "For God's sake, Sir, repeat your orders to that man (meaning Lord George Sackville) that he may not pretend not to understand them; for it is near half an hour ago, that he has received orders to advance, and yet we are still here;" adding, "but you see the condition he is in." Turning from Captain Ligonier towards Lord George Sackville, he saw Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy with him: his orders he did not hear. But Lord George said to Captain Ligonier, "Captain Ligonier, your orders are contradictory." He answered, "In numbers, my lord; but their destination is the same." Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy and Lord George Sackville, quitted the front of the squadron, the deponent was at the head of,---In about 20 minutes after that the cavalry moved to the left.

The deponent was then asked several questions both in regard to the orders, to the prisoner's conduct, and to the condition of the cavalry, &c. to which the Lieutenant-Colonel answered in a clear and distinct manner⁹.

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⁹ That in his opinion Lord George was alarmed to a very great degree.—When his lordship ordered him to advance, he seemed in the utmost confusion.—The original orders were to the left; Captain Ligonier's orders were to the left; the cavalry afterwards did move to the left,—and the orders his lordship had given him were to "move the regiment straight forward."

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Lieutenant-Colonel William Augustus Pitt, of Mordaunt's dragoons, deposed, That, after the cavalry of the right wing were formed in two lines, they remained three quarters of an hour,

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forward."—The deponent, being asked, further informed the court, that when they moved, the cavalry moved through the grove, the trees mentioned by Captain Wintzingerode:—That the left of the right wing of cavalry stood close to the grove; but from the right squadron of Bland's to the heath on the other side of the grove he judged it to be a mile, the ground to the grove being corn-fields, and the grove so open that a squadron or more might go through in front, at any pace a general would chuse:—That between Captain Ligonier's arrival and Lord George's going with Colonel Fitzroy he judged to be a quarter of an hour:—That Captain Wintzingerode's and Ligonier's orders were a quarter of an hour apart; that Ligonier was a quarter of an hour with Lord George, and that the cavalry did not move till 20 minutes after Lord George left the right wing with Colonel Fitzroy:—That from the great space of time there was between Captain Wintzingerode's orders and the movement of the cavalry, from the very slow movements of the cavalry after they were in motion, and from the ground he saw they had to go over to arrive in the rear of the infantry, he is certain they must have been in time to have supported the infantry, or to have engaged the enemy, had Lord George caused the first orders to be immediately put in execution, or the orders brought either by Ligonier or Fitzroy, if the cavalry had moved as quick as cavalry may do when the occasion for it presses (by which he meant a trot); and even, had the front gone fast enough to have obliged the regiment, which he commanded, to have galloped, he thinks it would have been fit for business, and have beat any three French squadrons it could have met with:—That the second line was moved through the wood, and formed before the first; and that, when they both formed into one line, they moved at a slower rate than the second line had before done.

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more or less, before they marched, without any impediment. he knew of, to their marching sooner, had they had orders: --- that, when they did march, their movement was to the left, by squadrons:---that about 200 yards upon their left they had a wood, or open grove to pass: he speaks of the whole second line of cavalry. The wood, he believed, might be a quarter of a mile wide, in the part they marched through. They marched through in squadrons: on the other side of the wood, they came into large open corn fields, which might last 200 yards, at most, he believed, and then came out upon the heath. About a quarter of a mile after they passed the wood, they had orders to halt and draw up, and remained in that position about ten minutes; and then they had an order from Lord Granby, for his brigade to follow him; upon which they wheeled to the left by squadrons, and trotted on about 300 yards. ---At this time the deponent received an order from an aid de camp of Lord George Sackville's, (he believed it was Captain Lloyd, but he was not sure) to halt, as the left went so fast, the right could not keep up with them.---He told the aid de camp, he had received the orders from Lord Granby, and, if they were to halt, he must go to the front to him. The aid de camp proceeded on the front; in consequence of which they were halted. They remained, he believed, about a quarter of an hour halted; during which time the line was formed.---The right he could not quite see, but believed, except the regiment to the right, which

which was formed in a very slow manner. The infantry had a quarter of a mile to wheel to the last position. Their right flank they wheeled to the position, of a mile to the slow the very much quarter of a service; ed very fast. George a giment, stood they order.

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which was hindered by a wood, the whole was formed in a line. After that the cavalry proceeded very slow over the field of battle, which the infantry had been engaged on; he believed above a quarter of a mile, near half a mile. They then wheeled to the right by squadrons, and took the last position, which the cavalry had that day, with their right to the morafs.---From the place where they wheeled, to the place where they took that position, he believed, may be about three quarters of a mile.---That their movements were extremely slow the whole day, and might certainly have been much quicker, and yet in a proper condition for service; but that Lord George at all times marched very slow:---And that he had never seen Lord George any where but at the head of Bland's regiment, which was the place where they understood they were to send to him, when there was any order.

The Marquis of Granby deposed,---That when Captain Wintzingerode came to him the second time, he said, "For God's sake, how came the cavalry not to have marched;" for that he had carried the orders to Lord George Sackville to march with all the cavalry of the right wing to the left, in order to form one line to support the foot; and added, "I find they have not yet moved;" or, "find them in the same place,"---words to that effect. His lordship answered, that in consequence of the information, he had received from him, when he told his lordship he was going to Lord George Sackville with those orders,

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orders, he had (as he had then told him, he would do) put the second line of the cavalry in motion; but that he had received no orders from Lord George Sackville:---That General Elliot had been sent for by Lord George, and came back and informed him, (Lord Granby) that Lord George Sackville would immediately, or soon, (he cannot be sure which) send him orders; and in the meantime, that he should remain there: and that General Elliot went in consequence, and halted the second line.---But that immediately, upon Wintzingerode's saying, that it was absolutely necessary, that the cavalry should march to form a line to support the foot, his lordship marched to the left through the wood, and desired Captain Wintzingerode to inform Lord George Sackville, that he had marched in consequence of his (Wintzingerode's) information. That Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy came up to him, just as the cavalry of the second line, of which he was at the head, had got to the place, where the action had first begun, with orders for the cavalry to advance up, as fast as possible, which he did not understand to be confined to the second line. His lordship told him, that Lord George Sackville was there, and that they were marching to the left by his order, and desired, that he would go up to him, and give him the order: he answered his lordship, that he had carried orders to Lord George Sackville, which his lordship did not obey, and that his orders now were, to bring these orders to him.---That as the second line were marching up near the
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fir-tree grove, whereabouts his lordship was informed the action had begun, there came an order to halt, till the first line joined them. Lord George Sackville soon after came up to the second brigade, where the deponent was. He immediately rode up to Lord George Sackville and acquainted him with his reasons for having marched, without having received any particular order from him; and that he was marching on, when he received his orders to halt with the first line. Lord George said, he only did it in order to bring up the first line, to form the line of the whole. Presently after, the first line came up to them, and they marched on again. When they came up to the fir-tree grove, there was an order to march to the left, in order to make room for two regiments, which were in the first line, which, it was said, had not room to come up and form with the rest of the line.---After Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy had delivered him (Lord Granby) his orders, his lordship went up to Lord George Sackville, and acquainted him, that the duke's orders were to march up directly; Lord George Sackville said, he was only forming the troops into a line. The deponent said, as the orders were to advance, he would give orders for the second line to march on: which he immediately did, by ordering General Elliot to follow him with his brigade, and himself galloped up about 50 or 60 yards in their front.---After they had gone about three or 400 yards, (he can't speak precisely) he found the cavalry halted; he sent immediately the Major of brigade
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(Callis) with orders for them to advance, as fast as possible, and to know, how they came to halt without his orders: who came up and informed him, that they were halted from the right by Lord George Sackville's orders: the deponent gave them immediately orders to advance and not halt, unless by his own orders, or by General Elliot, in consequence of orders from him.--- That from the time the cavalry were drawn up in two lines, to the time of his giving orders to the second line to march, there was, he supposed, about 20 or 25 minutes; that in marching from thence to the place, where the action appeared to have first begun, took up about 25 minutes, or half an hour; but it might have been done sooner; and that from their encampment in the morning, to the place, where they were drawn up in two lines, they might have marched faster, had it been thought necessary.--- That they would have had time to have formed a third line behind the second line of the infantry, and to have covered them, if when Captain Wintzingerode came first up, the infantry was then drawn up at the firgrove, which was distant only about a mile, or three quarters from their right:--- That he did not know the position of the infantry, when the cavalry was first formed; as neither he, nor any other general to his knowledge, had any disposition communicated to them, or any general instructions relating to that day:--- And that when Colonel Fitzroy came to him, he believed, he was vexed, and might have found fault with Lord

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Lord George Sackville in his defence discovered great abilities. He began with a short speech to the court, in which he stated the several articles of the charge against him; made some remarks on the evidence brought in support of that charge; gave a short account of the sort of evidence he intended for his defence, and concluded thus: "This defence is intended not for the world, but for the information of the court. All I at present desire, is, that mankind would suspend their judgments of my conduct, till the evidence is closed; then I trust in the goodness of my cause, which has supported me under a load of calumny, and emboldened me to ask for this trial, that, under your favourable judgment, the candid will, with pleasure, acquit me; the prejudiced be obliged to retract their past censures, and I shall once more be restored to the good opinion of my country, and of my sovereign."

Lord
George's
defence.

His lordship then called his witnesses. The first was Colonel Hotham, who deposed, that having received orders, about six in the evening of the 31st, for saddling the horses, which had been frequently sent for a fortnight before the action, he sent them immediately to the line, and reported to Lord George what he had done; That the British troops were ordered in the morning of the 31st of August, to hold themselves in readiness to march, [it was thought to the right] the cavalry to saddle immediately, and the infantry

His wit-
nesses
called.

to

A. D. 1759. to dress, but not to strike their tents till further orders: That about six he received orders from Major Stubs for the army to get under arms and march immediately: That he repaired immediately to the line, and there found Lord George at the head of the line of cavalry. He further said, That Lord George's first orders were to form into squadrons, and then he was ordered to form into a line: and that he did not observe any thing in Lord George's looks, manner, or behaviour, during the whole day, different from what it was at any other time.

Lieutenant Robert Bisset, assistant quarter-master-general was called, to shew the impracticability of Lord George's marching to the left: who deposed, That Captain Roy and himself riding to the left of the line of cavalry, and proceeding to the front by the windmill, were told by one of the gunners of the battery, attached to the piquets, that they could not proceed that way; because the enemy was so near. That they both returned to the left, passed a little wood that divided the corn fields from the heath, and continued till they had passed the fir-wood, which opened a view of the enemy. That they returned immediately: and in the way saw the infantry debouching into the plain of Minden: and found, at their return, the cavalry in the same situation this deponent had left them, about 12 or 1400 yards, or somewhat more than an English mile from the enemy.

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Captain James Sutherland, quarter-master to the English camp, deposed, That pursuant to the orders in the evening of the 31st of July, Lord George sent Colonel Watson and Captain Smith to reconnoitre the ground between the camp and Minden heath. That the German guide appointed to conduct Lord George on the 1st of August, as his lordship marched from the camp in squadrons, refused to guide him further than the windmill near Halen. And that the cavalry formed in a line, a very little way from that windmill.

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Captain Smith, aid de camp to Lord George, deposed, That Lord George himself reconnoitred the debouchers from the camp to the plain of Minden, a great way beyond the village of Halen: and that his lordship afterwards sent Colonel Watson and this deponent to take a further view of the country. He mentioned several particulars relating to the motions of the cavalry, while formed in squadrons, which seem foreign to the charge, and then informed the court, that Captain Malhorty brought the order to form the line, and on what ground to halt and to wait for further orders.

Captain David Williams, of the British artillery, deposed, That the artillery were at a loss for orders, and were marching from the ground without any orders: That he, by order of Captain Philips, repaired to Lord George, to know if he had any extraordinary orders for them: That Lord George seemed surprized at their not having received orders, and told him, this deponent, that

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E something

A. D. 1759. something would be found for them to do in the front: That the artillery passed as fast as possible through the intervals of both lines of the cavalry, and then through the wood with difficulty, though marching only with one carriage a-breast; and that the cavalry could not march above three or four a-breast, by the same way; concluding that the enemy retreated at about 20 minutes after eight in the morning^r.

Colonel Hotham was called again, to inform the court about the order delivered by Captain Wintzingerode; and he deposed further, That he understood it to be for the cavalry to form in one line, as a third line, to sustain the infantry, and to advance: That the cavalry could not be formed in one on the ground where they were, but that they had been formed in two lines about half an hour before Captain Wintzingerode brought the orders; and that he did not hear the said captain explain his order, or speak to Captain Hugo in German, or to Lord George in English; neither did he see Colonel Sloper there at that time, or hear any words pass between him and Lord George: though he acknowledged that the colonel might have been there, without his observing or hearing of him.

↳ Captain Hugo confirmed the evidence of Colonel Hotham in regard to Captain Wintzingerode and Colonel Sloper; and further deposed, That he himself was dispatched by Lord George, with

^r Many of the facts in this deposition were confirmed by the evidence of Captain Forbes Macbean.

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orders for the Saxe-Gotha regiment, about 200 yards distant, to clear the front, that the cavalry might advance; and that the second line of the cavalry was in motion at his return *.

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Captain

* Most of these facts were confirmed by Captains Bisset, Lloyd and Broome: and Captain Lloyd added, that upon Captain Wintzingerode's going away, Lord George ordered him to go and reconnoitre the situation of the infantry, and report to him: that accordingly he set out, but by the time he had got 300 yards, he met Captain Ligonier coming full speed, and concluding that he brought some fresh orders, he returned to Lord George, who was then somewhere to the right of the Inniskilling regiment. And Captain Broome added, that upon Captain Wintzingerode's delivering his order, Lord George ordered him to go to the front, and bring him an account of what was doing there:—That accordingly he advanced about 300 yards in the front of Bland's: when I came there, says he, I could discover nothing of the enemy in the front: I then went about 200 yards to the left; and from thence I discovered a great number of the enemy farther to the left, at near a mile distance; but the cannonading on both sides was so great, with a large quantity of smoke occasioned by it, that it prevented me seeing any infantry of the enemy, that might have been nearer; for those of the enemy, I saw, I took to be cavalry.

I then returned to the ground where I left our own cavalry, to make my report; and found that the whole right wing had marched to the left, so as to have its right flank on the other side of the wood. I went directly thither, and made my report of what I had seen.—From whence he concluded, that from Captain Wintzingerode's going, to his return from reconnoitring, was a very great while, 20 or 25 minutes.

Colonel Hotham reckoned the time from Captain Wintzingerode's going, to Captain Ligonier's coming, to be from five to ten minutes. Captain Hugo said, that Captain Ligonier arrived soon after his return, from carrying orders to re-

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Captain Smith was then called to confront the evidence of Colonel Sloper and the Lieutenant-Colonels Ligonier and Fitzroy, and deposed as follows: I was standing at the right squadron of Bland's, when I saw Mr. Ligonier come: I supposed he had delivered an order to Lord George; I could not hear it. My Lord George turned about, drew his sword, and gave the word to the line: I heard the word, *march*: the whole was in motion directly.—Colonel Sloper said to me, are we going to charge? or something of that kind—I replied, it looks so.—Colonel Sloper said, I have not thrown away my picket poles; do, for God's sake, tell Lord George, the line is not ready, and beg him to stop one minute; I went directly to Lord George, and asked him if we were going to charge? He said he believed so, very soon. I then said, pray, my lord, stop a minute, just till the line make themselves ready. Lord George said, what do you mean, Sir, who says the line is not ready? I answered, my lord, I come from Colonel Sloper, who begs you will stop half a minute, just till he throws away his picket poles. My lord answered, tell Colonel Sloper to throw them away as we move up: for I will *not* halt the line now it is in motion. As I went along the line I gave the word to prepare for the charge, and to throw away every thing that encumbered them. When I went back from

move the Saxe-Gotha regiment, consequently the aforefaid time must have been seven or eight minutes. Captain Bisset supposed the time to be six or seven minutes. Captain Lloyd rode 300 yards and back again, full speed, in the said time.

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my Lord George to Colonel Sloper, I gave the word as I went along: when I came to Colonel Sloper, I told him he must throw away his picket poles as he advanced, for Lord George said he would not halt the line. Upon which Colonel Sloper gave the word, *halt*, to his squadron. I endeavoured to explain myself again, and he replied to me, I shall do it quicker, never fear; I shall not stop a moment. As he was the right hand squadron, I did not think it of any great consequence, so turned about to go back to Lord George, who was then, I think, upon the right of the Inniskillings: He could not be with the right squadron of Bland's, as I carried the order between my lord and that squadron.

As I returned to Lord George, I perceived Colonel Fitzroy just come, and speaking to Lord George. I saw Lord George put back his hand, and heard him say, "Cease the drums, and give the word halt; halt the line." By this time I got near enough to hear Lord George say, "Why, Sir, Mr. Ligonier says the whole: don't be in a hurry, Fitzroy." Colonel Fitzroy replied, "My lord, we bring the same order." It is extremely difficult to say what followed: there were several speaking together; I could not hear them: I felt myself distressed; and therefore, if what I say should appear to be unconnected; it is not my fault.---I recollect seeing Captain Ligonier speak at that instant, but I cannot upon my oath say what the words were.---My Lord George appeared to me to be angry with Mr. Fitzroy: I heard him

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say to them, "I wish you would agree what your orders are; *I am ready to obey either.*" Captain Fitzroy appeared to me to be the most pressing in his manner; and I saw that he prevailed so much upon Lord George by his eagerness, that he asked Colonel Fitzroy, which way he would have him go: and Colonel Fitzroy pointed to the rear, towards our left. I cannot say what the words were; something about the way runs in my memory: he pointed to the wood close upon our left. Colonel Fitzroy said he was no guide: "but, says he, I will endeavour to shew you the way I came:" Then I recollect there were four or five more words passed about the way. The next thing that I heard was, Lord George, with a loud voice, say, "Where is the Prince? is he far off?" Captain Fitzroy answered, "My lord, I left him just on the other side of the wood, coming this way." My Lord George said, "How far?" Colonel Fitzroy said, "About one or two brigades."

We then went, all three, towards the Prince; and as we rode along, Colonel Fitzroy repeated his orders to me, and persisted in them very strongly, so strongly, that he convinced me so much I could not help telling Lord George what he said to me: Lord George's answer to me was, "Mr. Ligonier's was to the full as strong:" But the ground appearing to open on the other side of the trees, that seemed to me to weigh with his lordship; and he sent me back for the British cavalry just as we had passed through the trees.

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As I returned back, I saw the second line of cavalry just coming into the open part of the trees: I was surprized at seeing them come there, knowing that my order must be the latest. I went up to my Lord Granby, and asked him where he was coming, and what brought him there: he told me he was ordered by Mr. Wintzingerode to advance to form one line. I, knowing nothing of these orders, told him that I was sure they were changed then: for it was for the British only, and that I was then going to fetch General Mostyn, and the British of the first line; so begged he would go on with his British, and that I would fetch General Mostyn as fast as possible. I went on immediately to General Mostyn: he was standing about the center of the British troops; and, that no time might be lost, as I passed the blues, I told the officers to wheel to the left by quarter-ranks. General Mostyn saw me coming, and advanced to me. I told him I was come to fetch them; that the blues were already wheeled; and, if he would put them in motion, I would conduct him, as Lord George's orders were to move with all possible expedition; which we did: and, just as we came near the wood, there was a little bit of quickset hedge: we left it upon our left: then we came among some forest trees, and were obliged to incline a little to our left, on account of some hollies and black-thorns, and a couple of carriages, artillery waggons. The men divided to let them through these trees, without any other interruption: we soon got upon heathy ground.

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He further deposed, That it was about 50 or 60 yards between the right squadron of the Inniskilling regiment, and the right squadron of Bland's: that the time was not above two minutes between the delivery of the order by Ligonier and Fitzroy. That the wood was not above 100 yards wide: but that the cavalry might have been sooner formed in one line, by advancing to the windmill, than by going through the wood to the left. Which was also asserted by Captain Sutherland.

Colonel Hotham, Captain Lloyd, and several others, were brought to depose, That Captain Ligonier brought orders for the whole cavalry to advance, and that Colonel Fitzroy's orders were for the British cavalry only to advance.

To explain the reasons for the cavalry's halting in their march over the heath, after passing the wood, several witnesses were called, and shewed that a halting was necessary to dress the line, &c.

Contest
with the
judge-advocate.

After Lord George had finished his evidence, there ensued a contest between him and the judge-advocate, about the propriety of the latter's bringing fresh evidence upon the reply: whereupon all parties were ordered to withdraw; and the court being again opened; in about an hour and a half, the judge-advocate read their opinion, which was, "They are of opinion, not to admit any new witnesses to be called to prove, that Lord George Sackville appeared to them *to be alarmed*, in corroboration of Colonel Sloper's evidence, because that appears to be a circumstance, which may materially operate in support of the charge.---They

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are of opinion, to admit evidence to prove Colonel Sloper's having declared these facts the day after, or in short time after, the battle; the credibility of his evidence appearing to be in some degree impeached by Lord George Sackville." A. D. 1759.

The judge-advocate then proceeded by way of Evidence upon the reply, and, before the prisoner had summed up his defence, to examine some witnesses in confirmation of the evidence of Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper; and for this purpose, the Marquis of Granby being called, deposed,---That a day or two, or very soon after the battle, Colonel Sloper told him, that Wintzingerode, Colonels Fitzroy and Ligonier, had come with orders for Lord George Sackville, to march and form a third line to support the foot, and that his lordship did not obey; but was in a hurry, or confused, or something to that purpose, he could not remember the expression. But did not positively take upon him to say, whether it was on the 2d of August, or not.

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Harvey, of the Inniskilling dragoons, deposed as follows: On the 2d of August, about two or three o'clock, the deponent returned to camp with a detachment, and meeting Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper, expressed his concern strongly to him, that the cavalry had not had a share of glory the day before, and asked him how it came about; he immediately replied, "By the misbehaviour of Lord George Sackville." He don't pretend to remember the words, but the facts were so strong, it is impossible for him to forget them. On further enquiry,
Lieutenant-

A. D. 1759. Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper told the deponent, that an aid de camp of the Prince's had delivered orders to Lord George for a movement of the cavalry to be made to the left, in order to sustain the infantry. That, on an hesitation to the obedience of this order, he had himself said to Lord George Sackville, that the order received could mean nothing, but a movement to the left; that he observed personal confusion; and that, instead of the order being complied with, time was trifled away.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ligonier deposed,---That he delivered his orders at the head of Bland's regiment; and immediately after he delivered his orders, he not only saw but spoke to Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper. That Colonel Sloper desired him, "Repeat your orders to Lord George, that he may not pretend not to understand you: he has received the same order half an hour ago from Wintzingerode;" or words to that effect. Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper farther said to him, "You see the condition he is in."---And it being then asked, (by desire of Lord George) what he thought was meant by the condition he is in? He answered, ---That Lord George was perplexed---he can't say, why;---confused, but he could not tell from what motive he judged.

Lord George Sackville then summed up his defence, in a very long but clear and distinct speech to the court; and then the judge-advocate proceeded to the examination of witnesses, in order

to

to fix Ligonier's depositions.

Major left squadron he saw Colonel Sackville 50 yards, blues: but Lord George, his lordship's squadron

Lord George to this event observed of Colonel Sackville his position the Prince

† Major dragoons, a That he fought right; but could not see front of the but he did not that the cavalry Colonel Ligonier rode along did not remain with Lord

Cornet dragoons, Lord George saw Colonel

to fix Lord George's situation at the time of Ligonier's delivering his orders.

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Major George Marrior, who commanded the left squadron of the Inniskillings, deposed, That he saw Captain Ligonier at the distance of about 50 yards, coming towards the right squadron of the blues : but that he did not at that instant see Lord George, whom he should certainly have seen, had his lordship been then in the front of the right squadron of the Inniskillings^t.

Lord George examined no witnesses in answer to this evidence upon the reply : but made such observations, as tended to invalidate the evidence of Colonel Sloper, and Captain Ligonier concerning his post at the time Captain Ligonier delivered the Prince's orders to his lordship ; and especially

Lord
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^t Major Robert Hepburn, who commanded the Inniskilling dragoons, and was posted at the right squadron, deposed,—That he saw Lieutenant-Colonel Ligonier coming from the right ; but whether he had delivered any orders, or not, he could not say.—That Colonel Ligonier, in passing along the front of the Inniskillings from Bland's, mentioned something, but he did not hear distinctly, of the enemy's giving way ; and that the cavalry was sent for, or something to that purpose. Colonel Ligonier deposed,—That he came upon the left, and rode along the front both of the blues and Inniskillings ; and did not remember to have seen Captain Smith whilst he was with Lord George.

Cornet Alexander Earle, of the first squadron of Bland's dragoons, deposed,—That he saw Colonel Ligonier come to Lord George whilst he was at the head of that squadron, and saw Colonel Sloper near him.

to

A. D. 1759. to destroy the veracity of Colonel Sloper"; and then addressing himself to the court, says, "I would

" I shall now say a few words with regard to the evidence in reply, brought to confirm Colonel Sloper's testimony, that I was at the right of Bland's regiment when Captain Ligonier delivered his order to me.

It is difficult, as I have already observed, to fix with precision, at what particular part of a line a general officer may have stood while he received an order; though it is easy to ascertain, whether he was at the extremity of it, or not: the witnesses, in defence, have not attempted to be positive as to the particular spot where I was; but only, that I was not at the right of Bland's, the extremity of the whole line.

Colonel Hotham, Lieutenant Bisset, Captain Lloyd, and Lieutenant Sutherland, who were all present with me, and heard the order delivered, think, to the best of their recollection, I was somewhere about the right of the Inniskillings; or, as Colonel Hotham says, the left of Bland's; but not on the right of Bland's. Lieutenant Bisset recollects it from this circumstance, that he does not remember at that time the hedges that were on the right of the line. Lieutenant Sutherland is positive, that I was not on the right of Bland's, because he called for Captain Ligonier upon the halt that Colonel Fitzroy's order occasioned, and remembers that he saw him come from the cavalry on the right, which was Bland's. Captain Smith, who was then standing himself at the right squadron of Bland's, with Colonel Sloper, saw Captain Ligonier come up to me, as well as he can recollect, about the right of the Inniskillings; for he imagines, that, when I gave the word, march, I directed my voice to that regiment; and he relates the circumstance which fixed it in his memory, That Colonel Sloper said his men had not thrown away their picket-poles, and desired him to go and beg, that I would wait a minute, till they had done it.

Against this evidence there was only the testimony of Captain Ligonier, who said he delivered his orders to me at the head

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head of Bland's; but coming in a hurry, and leaving me soon, he might very easily have mistaken the place; and Colonel Sloper, who said his post was there, and he heard the orders delivered; but the orders which he relates, are proved by all the other witnesses, and by Captain Ligonier, to have been different from the orders delivered.—This is not the only objection to Colonel Sloper's evidence in this respect, though it is a strong one; but he swears so differently from every other witness in another circumstance, that if the prosecutor insists still upon supporting his credit, he must of necessity admit, that his memory is extremely confused with regard to Captain Ligonier's order.

All the witnesses agree, that after the cavalry had moved forwards a little way, from where Captain Malhorty halted them, to a more extensive ground, they made no other movement till Captain Ligonier arrived; and then, immediately upon the order, they drew their swords and advanced.

Colonel Sloper has not only introduced a movement between Captain Wintzingerode's departure and Captain Ligonier's arrival, of which no other witness but himself makes any mention, but he totally omits the movement made upon Captain Ligonier's arrival; and says positively, in another part of his deposition, that Captain Ligonier was a quarter of an hour with me; and that the cavalry did not move till 20 minutes after I left them, to go to the Prince.

Now, should it be supposed for a moment, that, in these particulars, Colonel Sloper had not wilfully mis-stated every circumstance, what is the consequence? That he was in so much confusion, with regard to Captain Ligonier's order, that every thing which is said of him, on that occasion, may be true, and that his account of it cannot be relied on.

Captain Ligonier has been examined again.—He was asked, if he remembers seeing Colonel Sloper when he delivered his order to me. He had before said, that immediately on his order,

A. D. 1759. in the least affected by it; but as I have shewn an anxiety to remove the seeming contradictions of the

der, without answering him, I gave the word, march, to the troops, which they did: he has now said, not that he saw Colonel Sloper when he delivered his order; but that, after Colonel Fitzroy delivered his order, he saw and spoke with Colonel Sloper: and in his first examination he says, that he did not hear what passed between Colonel Fitzroy and me, being at some distance with Colonel Sloper.

It appears now, therefore, that Captain Ligonier did not speak with Colonel Sloper immediately after delivering his order, as this last witness represented it; but after the troops had advanced, and were even halted, upon Colonel Fitzroy's coming up—which is not inconsistent with Captain Smith's evidence; for the circumstance of Colonel Sloper's desiring me to stop, till his men had thrown away their picket-poles, must have happened before this.—And it also appears, that when Captain Ligonier spoke with Colonel Sloper, he was at some distance from me. It is no contradiction to Captain Smith, that Captain Ligonier does not remember to have seen or heard him deliver his message to me: That is easily accounted for by the general hurry when a march is begun: and Captain Smith says, Captain Ligonier might possibly not hear him, as the drums were then beating.

Two officers of the Inniskillings have been examined, to shew that I was not at the right squadron of the Inniskillings when the order was delivered. None of them saw nor heard Captain Ligonier deliver his order; and, unless they had, they could in no degree contradict the evidence of those, who were present, when it was delivered.—Major Marriot says, Captain Ligonier told him, he brought orders for the British cavalry to advance. And Major Hepburn, who commanded the right squadron of the Inniskillings, says, “That, as he was frequently in the rear, he cannot but say, that, if Captain Ligonier had delivered his orders to me in the front, he thinks he should have seen him.”—Both these officers, too, have a very

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the witnesses against me, who have behaved with candour, I could not pay less attention to the witnesses in my behalf.

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very imperfect memory of the circumstances they speak to. They both seem to place the cavalry's advancing *after* Captain Ligonier's return from delivering his order; whereas it is agreed, that immediately upon the order the troops advanced; and after that, Captain Ligonier went to the right to Colonel Sloper, before he could return towards the Inniskillings.

An officer of the right squadron of Bland's was likewise called, and he proves very little:—He says, that, soon after we halted, I was at the head of Bland's, and that I was there also when Captain Ligonier came up; but then he says, that he cannot recollect where I was when the squadron advanced. Now it is certain, from Captain Ligonier's evidence, that I advanced immediately, and from the same place, where he delivered the order; and this, together with what he says, that he was at too great a distance to perceive Captain Ligonier and me talk together, shews the very imperfect recollection the witness has of this circumstance. In regard to Captain Smith, this witness confirms his evidence in one respect: he proves, that the squadron had not thrown away their picket-poles before it began to move: he says, indeed, they did it while they were moving; but Captain Smith does not say that he saw them halt, only that he heard the word given to halt, and after that he left them.

Colonel Johnston proves nothing, but that he saw Captain Ligonier pass along the front of the blues; but he did not see him deliver his order.

The former evidence, then, on this article, seems to me rather weakened by this unsuccessful attempt to strengthen it.

The three officers, who did not see Captain Ligonier deliver his orders, I may venture to lay aside entirely. Captain Ligonier's second examination, as I have already shewn, has weakened his evidence. If Colonel Sloper is to be believed—Captain Ligonier, and every other witness, is wrong; so that the

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If there are contradictions in the evidence, that imputation must fall somewhere:---Let it fall where it ought: let those who have sworn falsely feel it in their breasts: let them remember they have sworn wrong: let them feel the effects of it: this is punishment. A guilty and disturbed conscience will inflict *that punishment*, without any other resort. Let it light where it is due: Let them examine their hearts, whether they have given their evidence as they ought: let them, if they can, spend their lives without being punished.

As to my witnesses, I have only this to say, it appears, at least, they can have no temptation to say what is not true: they stand up in an unfashionable cause, and, I may as yet say, in defence of an injured man.

Till the court has said I am guilty, I stand here with a conscience innocent, asserting that innocence, which bears testimony for me.

My witnesses cannot say, what they have said, without being convinced that it is truth, and said in support of innocence. They can have no motives of interest. What motives of interest can there be on the side of one, who is a prisoner, who has been in great employments? perhaps unworthily? Employments which, had I continued in power, might have procured good-will, at

the whole proof, that I was at the head of Bland's, rests upon Cornet Earle, whose memory is plainly very indistinct; and it is proved that I was not, by Colonel Hotham, Lieutenant Lloyd, Lieutenant Bisset, Lieutenant Sutherland, and Captain Smith.

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least the appearance of it. At present they can have no temptation, but the force of truth; and, by their appearing in that cause, and on these motives, they deserve as great a degree of credibility, as any witness at any bar. In justice to them, I have troubled the court thus far: I shall trouble them no longer; but express my acknowledgments, not only for their patience in hearing me, but for the many instances of their indulgence. I can expect no better security for my cause, than their uninfluenced determination. I have mentioned already, that I have the security of their oath; I have a stronger still, their honour: Upon that I rely.---If I am guilty, let me be declared so: If I am not guilty, let the court shew, by their sentence, that they will with pleasure protect the innocent."

The court having duly weighed the evidence on both sides, found Lord George Sackville GUILTY of the charge laid against him, and passed the following sentence, published on the 26th of April 1760 in the London Gazette.

"This court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, That, Lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey, as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged,

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unfit

A. D. 1759. unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever."

Which sentence his Majesty was pleased to confirm, with this addition :

"It is his Majesty's pleasure, that the above sentence be given out in public orders, that officers being convinced that neither high birth, nor great employments, can shelter offences of such a nature ; and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death, to a man, who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders."

Progress of
the war in
North A-
merica.

How far this employment of the French in Germany, which, by exhausting their treasure, and draining their country of the flower of their growing generation of military men, disabled their ministry to provide for the defence of their possessions in North America, is not to be debated by an historian. The reader will be best able to judge in such a political controversy, from the facts already stated in our account of the German war ; and from those advantages, we were reaping over the arms of France, at the same time, both on the continent and in the islands of America.

The obsti-
nacy, &c.
of the
French.

The conquest of Cape Breton, and its appendages, had opened a way for the entire extirpation of the French from their possessions upon the bay and river of St. Lawrence : and their expulsion from the Ohio, by the loss of Fort du Quesne, deprived them of the friendship and assistance of those Indians, they were not able to protect, and without whom the French were in

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no condition to preserve their communication with Louisiana. Yet, such is the obstinacy and ambition of that nation, that, rather than submit to the just and equitable conditions of leaving Great Britain in quiet possession of those limits of her American dominions, to which she had a right by preoccuancy or discovery, confirmed by treaties, and now ready to fall by conquest; they resolved to continue the war, and to risk the loss of Canada also; rather than abandon their usurpations and encroachments upon the lakes. England would have been content with the acquisition of her own right, and convinced the world of the uprightness of his Majesty's intentions in the conferences, before the war, for ascertaining the limits of the possessions of the respective crowns in North America; and the whole tenor of the French operations, especially their obstinate continuation of the war, after they were routed from some encroachments; and unable to maintain their footing in the rest; and nothing but total ruin appeared in their future operations on that continent, exposed their perfidy during those conferences, and their resolution never to give up any encroachment, so long as they are able to keep an army in the field, or a garrison within a fortification. Quebec and Canada might have been saved, had they acquiesced in our just title and right to the antient limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia: and been content with the limits of that territory allowed them by former treaties, without encroaching upon the British provinces, in order

A. D. 1759. to unite the strength of Canada with Louisiana. But all their plans and endeavours failed. The conquerors of Louisbourg made no difficulty of carrying the British arms up the river St. Lawrence, and to extirpate the name of France from off the shore of that river, and from their encroachments upon the lakes.

Conquest of Quebec and Canada resolved.

No losses being able to dispose France to think of peace or terms of accommodation, the British ministry resolved to follow the blow given that crown, last year, in North America. An expedition was planned against Quebec, the capital of Canada. As this was the only place left on that continent to be attacked: and from which alone it was possible for the French to make any stand, and to renew their attempts against our colonies, it was resolved, by their ministry, to hazard every danger to strengthen that garrison, and its dependencies. So that they dispatched 2000 regulars, under the convoy of seven ships of the line and three frigates, from Brest, for this service, as early as the 21st of January.

Relieved by France.

The English plan.

The plan laid down by the British minister was, to send a number of troops, under the command of General Wolfe, on board a fleet, up the river St. Lawrence; with orders for General Amherst, then at New York, to proceed with another considerable body of troops over-land, to join General Wolfe, and jointly to attack Quebec; and with further orders for the Generals Prideaux and Johnson to advance with a third army, by the way of Niagara, to attack and reduce Montreal,

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the second place of strength in Canada; with instructions for General Amherst to begin the campaign with the reduction of Ticondoraga and Crown Point: and for the other generals to make themselves masters of Niagara.

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This was intended to be a decisive stroke against an enemy, that could not be otherwise brought to reason. For which purpose the armaments, both by sea and land, were the more powerful. By sea a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line ^w, besides frigates, transports, &c. commanded by three admirals, Saunders, Holmes and Durel; the land forces, under General Wolfe, were 7000 regulars and provincials: and their rendezvous was ordered to be at Louisbourg.

Forces by
sea and
land.

This fleet sailed from England about the middle of February, and got within sight of the harbour of Louisbourg on the 21st of April; but it was so blocked up with ice, that the fleet were obliged to bear away for Hallifax in Nova Scotia: and being informed before they left England, that a French squadron, victuallers and transports, were sailed before them, Admiral Durel was detached

Arrive at
Hallifax.

	Guns.		Guns.
^w The Neptune	90	The Alcide	64
Royal William	80	Devonshire	64
Princess Amelia	80	Captain	64
Dublin	74	Stirling Castle	64
Shrewsbury	74	Prince of Orange	60
Northumberland	70	Medway	60
Oxford	70	Pembroke	60
Somerfet	70	Bedford	60
Vanguard	70	Centurion	54
Terrible	64	Sutherland	50
Trident	64		

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1759.

French
viſtuallers
taken.

with a ſquadron to the iſle of Courdres, in the river of St. Lawrence, in hopes of intercepting them. But he arrived too late at his ſtation to do any more ſervice than taking two ſtore-ſhips; ſeventeen ſhips, laden with proviſions, ſtores and recruits, having already made good their voyage to Quebec, under convoy of three frigates.

While Admiral Saunders is detained at Halifax, let us take a view of the grand object of our operations in this campaign on the North American continent.

Description
and Im-
portance of
Quebec.

Quebec, for whoſe conqueſt the other operations againſt Crown Point and Niagara were preparatory, lies on the moſt navigable river in the known world, with a harbour of freſh water, capable of holding 100 men of war of the line, at the diſtance of 120 leagues from the ocean. This city is named from its ſituation on the narroweſt part of the river St. Lawrence, which for 112 leagues, or to the iſle of Orleans, from its mouth, is no leſs than four or five leagues broad: but above that iſle it narrows ſo much, that before Quebec, it meaſures not above a mile in breadth; which ſtraining or ſtrait, in the Algonquin tongue, is rendered Quibeis or Quebec. But the Aberaquis, whoſe language is a dialect of the Algonquin, called it Quelibeck, which imports a place ſhut up or concealed; becauſe, as you enter from the little river of Chaudiers (by which theſe ſavages came to Quebec from Acadia) the point of Levy, which juts out beyond the Iſle of Orleans, entirely hides the ſouth channel of the river St.

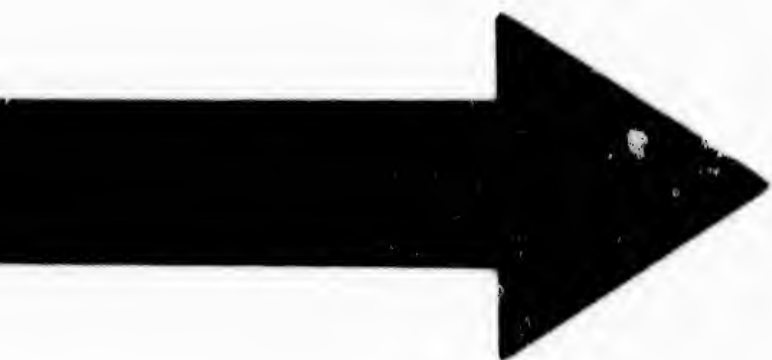
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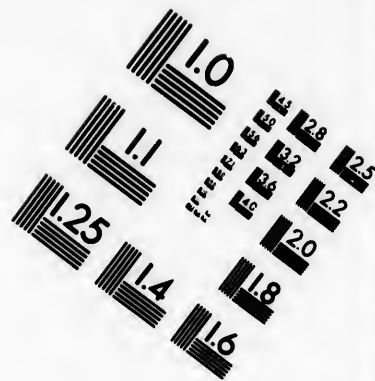
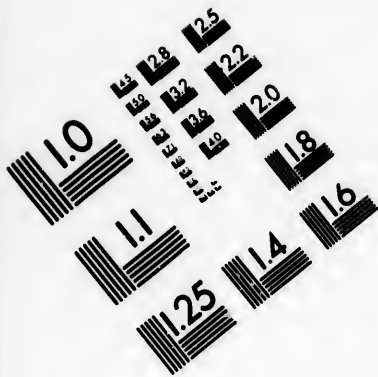
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Lawrence, as the isle of Orleans does that on the north: so that from thence the port of Quebec appears like a large basin or bay, land-locked on all sides. As to the city, it is large, containing about 7000 souls; one part very high, the other lies at the foot of a high rock, well built, and graced with a large cathedral, the bishop's palace, and other churches and public buildings. But its fortifications are not so regular, as might have been expected from the money and time expended in their building and improvement; though in a condition to bear a siege. For the town, as it was, when attacked by our forces, this year, was found to be not only naturally strong; but the port was flanked by two bastions, almost even with the water, at high tides; and a little above the bastion, to the right, was a half bastion cut out of the rock; and a little higher, nearer the fort, there was another battery of twenty-five cannon. The citadel, in the form of a square fort, is the residence of the governor, and stands above all, with extreme rugged communications between the fortifications. Besides, on the left of the port, along the road to the river St. Charles, the shore was well defended by good batteries of cannon and some mortars. From the right angle of the citadel, facing the town, there was a curtain drawn asslant, which joined a pretty steep redoubt, on which stood a fortified windmill: and descending from thence, within a musket-shot, stood a tower with a bastion, and another at an equal distance. There was another

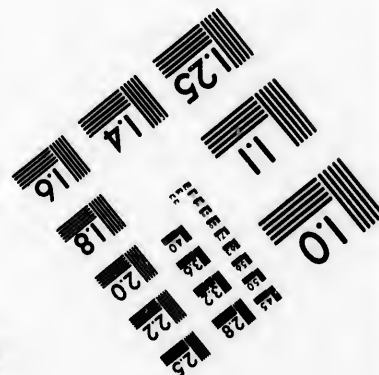
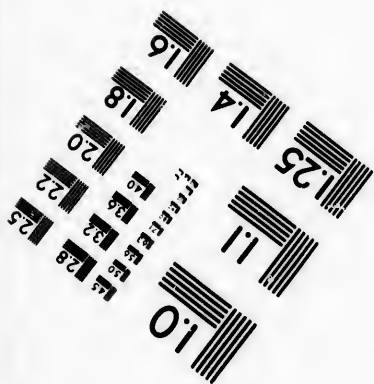
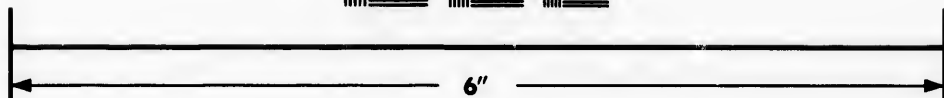
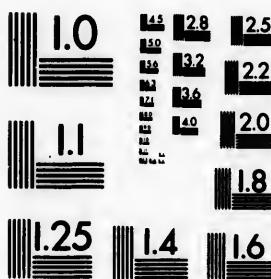
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redoubt near the palace, and another on Cape Diamond. The rock, which separates the upper from the lower town, extends itself, and continues with a bold and steep front west, along the river St. Laurence, for a considerable way. St. Charles's river washes the foot of this rock, and falls here into St. Laurence's: whereby the point, on which the town stands, becomes a sort of peninsula, by the junction of these two rivers. So that, to attack the city, it was necessary to make the approaches above the town, and overcome the eminence, or cross the river St. Charles, and attempt it on that side. Both these methods were extremely difficult. In the former a precipice is to be ascended; defended by all the enemy's force. In the latter, the country from the river St. Charles north, for above five miles, is extremely rough, broken, and full of rivulets, gullies and ravines, and continues so to the river Montmorenci, which flows at the foot of a steep and woody hill. And on the side of the river St. Lawrence is a bank of sand of great extent, which prevents any considerable vessel approaching the shore. This city was the seat of the power and strength of the French on this continent; and the den from whence all those mischiefs have issued and spread over the British territories. This was their mart of trade, where their traffic with the Indians of the different nations on the Mississippi, Ohio and the great lakes, towards the south, and with the Eschamaux on the north, almost to the coast of Hudson's Bay, centered, and supplied Europe with

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with beaver and furs. Here our friendly Indians were continually seduced to murder and scalp the English, and found protection, if inclined to revolt from their allegiance sworn under the sacred faith of treaties. From hence were executed all those schemes for encroachments upon our provinces, driving the English into the sea, and monopolizing the fishery. All the forts erected, as far as the French had extended their usurpations, were added to this government. And this was the grand repository of all merchandize, for trade with the Indians, and of all provisions and stores, ammunition and artillery; and the rendezvous of their military power, to maintain what they had got possession of, and to extend their dominion. In a word, there could be no safety, no trusting to the faith of any treaty, for ascertaining and securing the limits of territories belonging to the two crowns, if this town and its dependencies should remain in the hands of the French: and in its destruction it was certain that their long-concerted scheme of universal empire in North America would expire.

The French did, therefore, collect all the strength they were able to defend their capital: and devised every method to obstruct the approaches and operations of our fleet and armies. Succours of all kinds found their way into Quebec, before our armaments could arrive for action. The Marquis of Montcalm, who had triumphed hitherto over the English, was entrenched in a very advantage-

A. D.
1759.

The
French
prepare for
defence.

A. D. 1759. vantageous situation, with five battalions of regular troops, compleated from the best inhabitants of the country, some troops of the colony, every Canadian that was able to bear arms, and several nations of savages; in all upwards of 12000 men, besides Indians. Their camp extended along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorency, and entrenched in every accessible place, with the river and sand-banks in front, and impracticable woods in the rear. This post was not only impregnable, but it enabled the army to throw succours into the city every day. There was also out-parties stationed, to defend some principal posts. On point Levy they had artillery and a respectable party; from whence, and from the western point of the isle of Orleans, our shipping might be prevented to lie in, or to approach the basin of Quebec. But above all the M. de Montcalm placed his greatest dependance on the natural strength of the country, which created greater obstacles to our arms, than there was reason to expect, or could be foreseen. And to this uncommon strength of the country the enemy had provided and added a great number of floating batteries and boats, for the defence of the river. So that when our army arrived at the seat of action, the commander in chief expresses himself in these words, "That the most formidable part of the armament was deprived of the power of acting, by the nature of the river: " That he had almost the whole force
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MAJOR GENERAL WOLFE.



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of Canada to oppose: and that in his situation there was such a choice of difficulties, as made him at a loss how to determine*. Difficulties reserved to immortalize the conquerors!" But compared with the abilities and magnanimity of our commanders, they drop, one after another, like icicles by the heat of the sun.

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1759.

Wolfe, whose lustre shone so eminently in the military art before Louisbourg, did honour to the appointment of the chief command in this expedition, at the recommendation of the minister †, by whose advice it was undertaken. He was a soldier by descent; the son and heir of the martial genius of Major General Wolfe, a veteran of

Characters
of the com-
manders.

* See General Wolfe's Letter to the Right Honourable Mr. PITT; dated September 2d, 1759.

† Mr. PITT, in parliament, after the death of General Wolfe, expatiated on his transcendent merit, his conduct during all 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 moved for an address, to desire his Majesty to order a monument, to be erected in Westminster-Abbey, in memory of the deceased General. He was seconded by William Beckford, Esq; a gentleman, whom he had the happiness to number amongst his friends; who remarked, That in the appointment of General Wolfe to the command in that expedition, there had been no parliamentary interests, no family connections, nor aristocratical views: that the general and 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. &c.

acknow-

A. D. 1759. acknowledged courage and conduct *. And he had given pregnant examples, wherever concerned, of

* *Instructions drawn up by the late Major General Wolfe, for the 20th regiment of foot, then lying in Canterbury, in case of the French landing in 1755.*

Whoever shall throw away his arms in action, whether officer, non-commission officer, or soldier, unless it appears, that they are so damaged as to be useless, either under pretence of taking up others of a better sort, or for any cause whatsoever, must expect to be tried by a *general court martial* for the crime.

If a serjeant leaves the platoon he is appointed to, or does not take upon him the immediate command of it, in case the officer falls, such serjeant will be tried for his life, as soon as a court martial can be conveniently assembled. Neither officer, non-commission officer nor soldier, is to leave his platoon, or abandon the colours, for a slight wound.—While a man is able to do his duty, and can stand, and hold his arms, *it is infamous to retire.*

The battalion is not to halloo, or cry out, upon any account whatsoever, although the rest of the troops should do it, till they are ordered to charge with their bayonets; in that case, and when they are upon the point of rushing upon the enemy, the battalion may give a warlike shout and rush in. Before the battle begins, and while the battalion is marching towards the enemy, the officer commanding a platoon is to be at the head of his men, looking frequently back upon them, to see that they are in order, the serjeant in the mean while taking his place in the interval; and the officers are not to go to the flanks of the platoon, till they have their orders, or a signal so to do, from the commanding officer of the battalion; and this will only be given a little before the action begins.

If the battalion should be crouded at any time, or confined in their ground, the captain, or officer commanding a grand division,

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division, may order his center platoon to fall back, till the battalion can extend itself again, so as to take up its usual ground.

All the officers upon the left of the colours are to be upon the left of their platoons; the captain of the piquet is to be upon the left of his piquet, and the ensign in the center. Every grand division, consisting of two companies, as they now are, is to be told off into three platoons to be commanded by a captain, a lieutenant and an ensign, with a serjeant to each: the rest of the officers, and non-commission officers, are to be distributed in the rear, to complete the files, to keep the men to their duty, and to supply the places of the officers and serjeants that may be killed or dangerously wounded.

Every musketeer is to have a couple of spare balls, an excellent flint in his piece, another or two in his pouch, and as much ammunition as he can carry.

A soldier that takes his musquet off his shoulder, and pretends to begin the battle without order, will be put to death that instant.—The cowardice, or irregular proceeding of one or two men is enough to put a whole battalion in danger.

A soldier that quits his rank, or offers to fly, is to be instantly put to death, by the officer who commands the platoon, or by the officer or serjeant in the rear of that platoon:—A soldier does not deserve to live who won't fight for his king and country.

If a non-commission officer or private man is missing, after an action, and joins his company afterwards unhurt, he will be reputed a coward, and a fugitive, and will be tried for his life. The drummers are to stay with their respective companies, and to assist the wounded men.

Every officer, and every non-commission officer, is to keep strictly to his post and platoon, from the beginning to the end of an action, and to preserve all possible order and obedience. The confusion occasioned by the loss of men, and the noise of

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A. D.
1759.

He was also extremely happy in the appointment of Brigadiers Monckton, Townsend and Murray.

the artillery and musquetry, will require every officer's strictest attention to his duty.—When the files of a platoon are disordered by the loss of men, they are to be completed afresh with the utmost expedition; in which the officers and non-commission officers in the rear are to be aiding and assisting. Officers are not to go from one part of the battalion to another, without order, upon any pretence whatsoever.

The eight companies of the battalion are never to pursue the enemy, without particular order so to do; the piquet and grenadiers will be detached for that purpose, and the battalion is to march in good order to support them.

If the firing is ordered to begin by the platoons, either from the wings, or from the center, it is to proceed in a regular manner, till the enemy is defeated, or till the signal is given to attack them with the bayonets.

If we attack a body less in extent than the battalion, the platoons upon the wings must be careful to direct their fire obliquely, so as to strike upon the enemy. The officer is to inform the soldiers of his platoon, before the action begins, where they are to direct their fire; and they are to take good care to destroy their adversaries.

There is no necessity for firing very fast; a cool, well-levell'd fire, with the pieces carefully loaded, is much more destructive and formidable than the quickest fire in confusion.

The soldiers are to take their orders from the officer of the platoon; and he is to give them, with all possible coolness and resolution.

If a battalion in a front line should give way, and retire in disorder towards the second line, every other platoon, or every other company, is to march forward a little, leaving intervals open for the disordered troops to pass through; and after they are gone by, the battalion forms in one front, and moves forward to take post in the first line, from whence the broken battalion retired.

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Murray for his subordinates in command. Sons of noblemen: in the prime of life: old in experience,

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If a battalion upon either flank gives way, and is defeated, the piquet or grenadier company, which soever it happens to be, is to fall back immediately, without any confusion, and protect that flank of the regiment.

The misbehaviour of any other corps will not effect this battalion, because the officers are determined to give the strongest proofs of their fidelity, zeal and courage; in which the soldiers will second them with their usual spirit.

If the order of battle be such (and the country admit of it) that it is necessary to make breaches in the enemy's line, for the cavalry to fall in upon them, the grand divisions of the regiment are each to form a firing column, of three platoons in depth, which are to march forward and pierce the enemy's battalion in four places, that the cavalry behind us may get in amongst them, and destroy them: In such an attack only the first of the three platoons should fire, and immediately present their bayonets and charge. These four bodies are to be careful not to run into one another in their attack, but to preserve the intervals at a proper distance.

All attacks in the night are to be made with bayonets, unless when troops are posted with no other design than to alarm, harrafs or fatigue the enemy, by firing at their out-posts, or into their camp.

If intrenchments, or redoubts, are to be defended obstinately, the fire is to begin in a regular manner, when the enemy is within shot, at about two hundred yards, and to continue till they approach very near; and when the troops perceive that they endeavour to get over the parapet, they are to fix their bayonets and make a *bloody resistance*.

All little parties that are intended to fire upon the enemy's columns of march upon their advanced guard or their rear, are to post themselves so as to be able to annoy the enemy without danger, and to cover themselves with slight breast-works of sod behind the hedges, or with trees or walls, or ditches,

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perience, and resembling each other in their military qualifications, as well as station. Only this was

ditches, or any other protection, that, if the enemy return the fire, it may do no mischief. These little parties are to keep their posts till the enemy prepares to attack with a superiority; upon which they are to retire to some other place of the same kind, and fire in the same manner; constantly retiring when they are pushed. But when a considerable detachment of foot is posted to annoy the enemy upon their march, with orders to retire when attacked by a superior force, the country behind is to be carefully examined, and some parties sent off early to post themselves in the most advantageous manner, to cover the retreat of the rest: this is always to be done in all situations when a considerable body is ordered to retire.

If an intrenchment is to be attacked, the troops should move as quick as possible towards the place, not in line, but in little firing columns, of three or four platoons in depth, with small parties between each column; who are to fire at the top of the parapet, when the columns approach, to divert the enemy's fire, and facilitate their passing the ditch and scrambling over the parapet, which they must endeavour to do without loss of time. It is to very little purpose to fire at men who are covered with an entrenchment; but by attacking in the manner above-mentioned, one may hope to succeed.

If the feat of war should be in this strong inclosed country, it will be managed chiefly by fire, and every inch of ground that is proper for defence, disputed with the enemy, in which case the soldiers will soon perceive the advantage of levelling their pieces properly, and they will likewise discover the use of several evolutions, that they may now be at a loss to comprehend. The great facility they have at moving from place to place, and from one enclosure to another (either together or in separate bodies) without confusion and disorder, the easier they will fall upon the enemy with advantage, or retire

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was singular in the honourable George Townsend,
That his patriotic spirit prevailed over every private

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when it is proper so to do ; sometimes to draw the enemy into a dangerous position, at other times to take possession of new places of defence, that will be constantly prepared behind them.

If the battalion attacks another of nearly equal extent, whose flanks are not covered, the grenadiers and piquet may be ordered to detach themselves and surround the enemy, by attacking their flank and rear, while the eight companies charge them in front. The grenadiers and piquet should therefore be accustomed to these sort of movements, that they may execute their orders with a great deal of expedition.

If the battalion is to attack another battalion of equal force, and of like number of ranks, and the country be quite open, it is highly probable that, after firing a few rounds, they will be commanded to charge them with their bayonets, for which the officers and men should be prepared.

If the centre of the battalion is attacked by a column, the wings must be extremely careful to fire obliquely ; and that part of the battalion, against which the column marches, must reserve their fire, and if they have time to put two or three bullets in their pieces, it must be dohe. When the column is within about twenty yards, they must fire with a good aim, which will necessarily stop them a little. This body may then open from the centre, and retire by files towards the wings of the regiment, while the neighbouring platoons wheel to the right and left, and either fire, if they are loaded, or close up and charge with their bayonets.

If a body of foot is posted behind a hedge, ditch, or wall, and, being attacked by a superior force, is ordered to retire, the body should move off by files in one or more lines, as perpendicular as possible to the posts they leave, that when the enemy extend themselves to fire through the hedges, the object to fire at may be as small as possible, and the march of the retired body as quick as possible.

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vate and family connection; and got the better even of resentment, which had occasioned his quitting the army, in disdain for some ill treatment by his superiors, after he had been wounded and signalized himself with reputation at Dettin-gen, and other places, in the war that ended at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. During the time of the resignation of his military commission, this honourable gentleman gave the nation the most

The death of an officer commanding a company or platoon should be no excuse for the confusion or misbehaviour of that platoon, for, while there is an officer or non-commission officer left alive, no man is to abandon his colours and betray his country.

The loss of the field officers will be supplied (if it should so happen) by the captains, who will execute the plan of the regiment with *honour*.

If the battalion should have the misfortune to be invested in their quarters (or in a post which they are not commanded to defend) by a great superiority, they have but one remedy; which is, to pierce the enemy's line or lines in the night, and get off. In this case, the battalion attacks with the ranks and files closed, with their bayonets fixed, and without firing a shot.—They will be formed in an order of attack suited to the place they are in, the troops they are to charge, and to the nature of the country through which they are to pass.

If the battalion attacks the enemy's camp or quarters in the night, all possible means will be used, no doubt, to surprize them, but if they are found in arms, they are to be vigorously attacked with the bayonets.—It is needless to think of firing in the night, because the confusion it creates, and the uncertainty of hitting any object in the dark.

A column that receives the enemy's fire, and falls immediately in among them, must necessarily defeat them, and create a very great disorder in their army.

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evident proof of his military talents, by laying down the plan for improving English courage, and restoring the antient and most effectual method of internal defence for this kingdom, by a regular and well-disciplined militia: and if it be to this honourable gentlemen we owe the establishment of the present militia; he, in that service, will shine for ever with greater lustre, than it is possible to be gained by the most important conquest from an enemy. Having carried his point for a militia, and the service of his country requiring commanders equal to the spirit and vigour of our councils, neither the dangers of a long and hazardous navigation: nor the inclemency of the climates: nor the uncommon perils of a war with savages, in wildernesses never explored: nor his being heir apparent to a noble peer, descending with age and infirmities to the grave: nor yet his own affluent fortune, nor domestic felicity, were sufficient to deter him from proffering his service to his sovereign, on this trying occasion.

The ice cleared away; the troops embarked, and sailed with the main fleet for Quebec: and by the help of French charts taken from the enemy, and skilful pilots, they arrived in sight of their destination, without any of those obstructions and accidents, which had been always represented in a most dangerous light, by the French; and perhaps are to be met with at improper seasons of the year; and on the 27th of June the army English armament sail for Quebec. Land, landed on the isle of Orleans. Directly after

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landing the troops a very hard gale of wind came on, by which many anchors and small boats were lost, and much damage received among the transports driving on each other. On the 28th at midnight, the enemy sent down from Quebec seven fire-ships; but without effect: our ships being towed all clear: these came burning down the river, with the help of a strong current, directed on the body of our fleet. But as some such contrivance was expected by the admiral, good provision was made for his defence, by having all the boats of the squadron out, well manned and armed, with an officer in each boat, and fire-grapplings. The fire-ships were instantly boarded by our men, who so fixed their grapplings and chains, as to tow them clear of every ship, to shore on the isle of Orleans, where they burnt to ashes without doing the least damage.

Fire-ships.

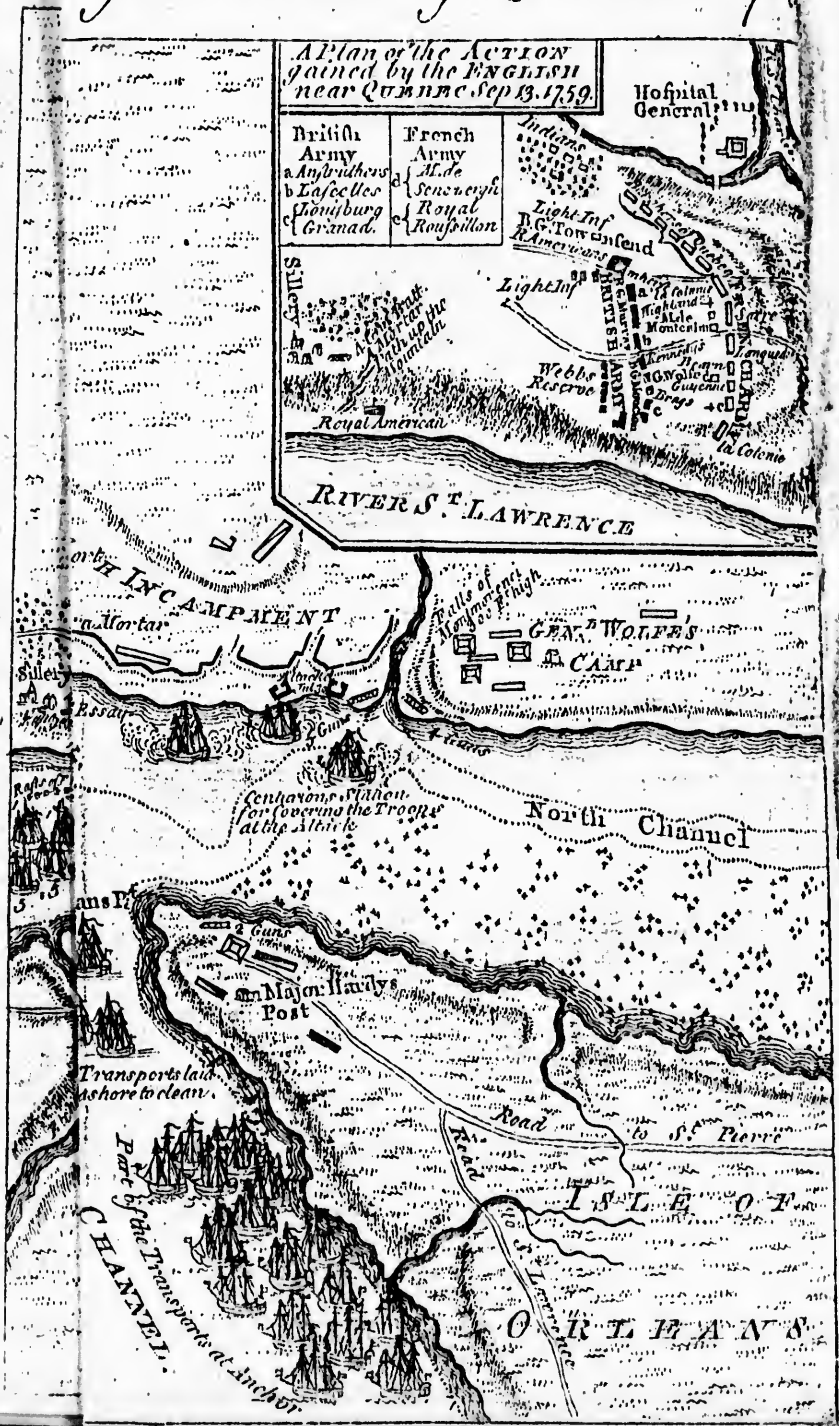
Skirmishes
on shore.

Brigadier General Monckton was detached with four battalions, to dislodge the enemy from a post they had, with artillery, on the point of Levi. This detachment passed the river in the night of the 29th, had several skirmishes next day with Canadians and Indians; but with so little loss, that they obliged the enemy's regulars to retire, and possessed themselves of that advantageous post before night. At the same time Colonel Carleton was detached to secure the westernmost point of the Isle of Orleans; where General Wolfe took his post.

As it was necessary to maintain these two points, both for defence and to annoy the enemy, great
dispatch



LAWRENCE, from the Falls
of the SIEGE of QUEBEC. 1760



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*A New and Accurate Plan of the RIVER
Montmorenci to Sillery; with the Operati*



References.

- 1 Small Vessels with Artillery Stores.
- 2 Sea Horse.
- 3 Ice-stoff.
- 4 Squirrel.
- 5 Transports with Troops ready for Landina after the First Battallion had gained the Heights.
- 6 Troops that deceived the Enemy and to which the Boats moor'd that protected the Fleet from the Rafts of Fire.

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dispatch was made to erect batteries of cannon and mortars, especially upon Point Levi; which were designed to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries.^a Such an object could not escape the attention of the enemy; who, perceiving these works in some forwardness, detached 1600 men across the river to attack and destroy them. But by some accident they falling into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again: by which our army lost the opportunity of defeating them. The works were finished, and General Wolfe sent a flag of truce to the commandant of Quebec, declaring his design to attack the town, on the part of his Britannic Majesty and at the same time signifying that it was his Majesty's express command, to have the war conducted without practising the inhuman method of scalping, and that it was expected the French troops under his command should copy the example, as they should answer the contrary. To which the Marquis de Vaudreuil replied with a sort of contempt of the few forces, that pretended to undertake the conquest of so extensive and populous a country as Canada.

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Wolfe's
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of Quebec
summoned.

His reply.

^a The general, while this was doing, published and distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, in which he asserted, that he was sent to humble the French Monarch's pride, and to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America. He offered them protection in their persons, property and religion, provided they would remain quiet. He shewed them the impracticability of relief from France: and charged them with the effects, if, by their hostile behaviour, he should be obliged to adopt violent measures.

A. D. 1759. da. Upon this hostilities commenced: and the artillery played so effectually, though across the river, that it entirely destroyed the lower town, and greatly damaged the upper town. And as soon as the works for the security of the hospitals and stores were finished, on the Isle of Orleans, which was the 9th of July, the army, that same night, encamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorenci between them. From whence Captain Dank's company of rangers were detached to cover some workmen in a wood: who were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and were severely handled, and he almost disabled for the rest of the campaign; though not without great loss to the enemy; who were, in their turn, driven off by the nearest troops.

The town attacked.

Several attempts to draw the French out of their strong camp.

General Wolfe was fully convinced of the security in which Montcalm was situated; however, he was resolved to try every way to come at him, or to draw him out of his strong entrenchments. For this purpose the country was reconnoitred. The ground to the eastward of the falls was found higher than that on the enemy's side, so as to command it in a manner, which might be made useful. A ford was found below the Falls, passable for some hours at the end of the ebb and beginning of the flood-tide. Another ford was discovered about three miles up the river Montmorenci. All which gave hopes of finding means to fight the Marquis de Montcalm, upon terms of less disadvantage, than directly attacking his trenches. But at this ford the opposite bank was

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^b The Di received so twenty-seven most damag and the Di England, t might be re

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not only steep and woody, but it was so well entrenched, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there; and we lost forty men killed and wounded, out of the escort employed to reconnoitre the river, in two rencounters with the Indians.

From hence the general turned his thoughts to the country above the town; and ordered two men of war, two sloops and two transports, with troops on board, on the 18th of July, to sail for the upper river: and they got past the city without any loss^b. But here also he found the same attention on the side of the enemy, and great difficulties for him to encounter, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles that were in the way to the communication with the fleet. Besides, it was running too great a hazard to land the troops between the town and Cape Rouge; because the corps first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithstanding these difficulties the general once thought to attempt a landing at St. Michael's,

^b The Diana ran ashore upon the rocks off Point Levi, and received so much damage, that she was sent to Boston with twenty-seven sail of American transports (those which received most damage in the gale of the 27th of June) to be discharged; and the Diana, having repaired her damage, to proceed to England, taking with her the mast-ships, and what trade might be ready to accompany her.

On the 28th at midnight, the enemy sent down a raft of fire stages, of near 100 radeaux, which succeeded no better than the fire-ships.

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about three miles above the town: but perceiving that the enemy were suspicious of his design, and were preparing against an attack, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar, (which by their proximity might be easily increased, as need required) to play upon the shipping: and as it must have been many hours before they could be attacked (even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt) it seemed so hazardous, that he prudently declined the attempt. However, in order to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, the general sent a detachment, under the command of Colonel Carleton, to land at the Point of Trempe, to attack whatever opposed him, and to bring off some prisoners. and all the papers he could get; he being informed, that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that it was probable to find a magazine of provisions there.

The colonel landed, and was received on shore; that very moment, by a smart fire from a body of Indians. But they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods. But he found no magazine: and returned with some prisoners and with little loss.

Attempts
of the
French.

In the mean time the French general endeavoured to erect a battery on the bank of the Montmorenci, to cannonade the English camp. But Brigadier Townsend, by a superior fire, prevented its taking effect, and obliged them to desist. Neither was their next attempt to burn the

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fleet more effectual. This was a contrivance of seventeen fire-rafts, well supplied with gun and pistol barrels loaded, granadoes, and combustibles of all sorts, each of them 103 feet long, and slackly chained together, so that at the least interruption they might surround whatever opposed their passage. They came burning down with the current, and one would have thought the whole river in a flame, as they spread almost from shore to shore; but these were also grappled in like manner, and being towed clear off all the ships, consumed, with the loss only of one boat. General Wolfe finding so great an opposition, and that his manifesto and declaration to the commandant had no effect on the Canadians; he ordered all the habitations, barns, stables and corn on the lands, as soon as ripe, to be totally destroyed. The sides of the river began immediately to shew a most dismal appearance of fire and smoke; and (as the troops employed on this service were the remains of those who escaped the massacre by the French at Fort William Henry, where they killed and scalped every wounded officer and common man) they spared little or nothing that came in their way.

General Wolfe returned from reconnoitring the country above the town, and seeing no other way to execute his orders against Quebec, resolved to take the first opportunity, which might present itself, of attacking the enemy; though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive him. To forward this resolution, he, with

General Wolfe's attempt at Montmorenci.

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the help of two transports, which drew but little water, and could, by the tide, be carried close in shore, proposed to make himself master of a detached redoubt, near to the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be without musket-shot of the entrenchment upon the hill, expecting, that, if the enemy should support this detached piece, it would necessarily bring on the much wished for engagement: and if not, that he should have it in his power to examine their situation; so as to be able to determine, where he could best attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement, on the 31st of July. In the forenoon the boats were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade, from Point Levi. Townshend and Murray were ordered to be in readiness with their brigades, to pass the Ford, when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral placed the Centurion in the channel; so that she might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the Ford: which was of great use, her fire being very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was also placed upon the eminence, which battered and enfiladed the left of their intrenchments.

But the general on board the ship, that ran a-ground the nearest in, observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss; and the more, as the two-armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both

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both with their artillery and musquetry, which he had at first conceived they might be able to do. However, as this motion had thrown the enemy into some confusion, and his people were prepared for action, he thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. In consequence, orders were dispatched for Brigadier Monckton's corps to be ready to land; and for Brigadier Townsend's and Murray's corps to pass the ford.

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The signal, to carry this into execution, was made at a proper time of tide. But a great deal of time being lost, by many of the boats grounding upon a ledge, that runs off a considerable distance, which threw them into some disorder, as they rowed towards the shore, the general sent a particular messenger to stop Brigadier Townsend's march, who had put his corps already in motion. The enemy fired briskly their shells and shot at the seamen, as they were getting the boats off: but did no considerable damage: and as soon as the disorder was set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, the general, accompanied by some of the naval officers, went in a flat-bottomed boat to make the experiment, and found a place, where he ordered the troops to disembark.

An accident.

The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the second royal American battalion got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by Brigadier Monckton's corps,

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A second
accident.

corps, as soon as those troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But by some fatal accident the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves, as had been directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments, in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps, ordered to sustain them, and join in the attack: for Brigadier Monckton was not landed; and Brigadier Townsend, though marching in very great order to join them, was still at a considerable distance. The grenadiers, checked by the enemy's first fire, sought for shelter in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their approach: and in this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who (careless of their persons) had been solely intent upon their duty. Therefore the general, called them off, to form themselves behind Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the heath in extreme good order.

The attack
fails.

This second delay made it near night, and was followed by a sudden storm; besides the tide began to make: so that the general thought it advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack, least, in case of a repulse, the retreat of Brigadier Townsend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain. It was however observed, That our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where Brigadiers Townsend and Murray were to have attacked. And when the word of command

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was given to retreat, the French did not attempt to interrupt the march of our army ^c.

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General Wolfe, in his own account of this descent and intended attack of the enemy's intrenchments, says, That the place, where the attack was intended, had these advantages above all others thereabout.—The artillery would be brought into use.—The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once : and---The retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure ; at least for a certain time of the tide.—But he adds, the enemy were posted upon a commanding eminence.---The beach, upon which his troops were drawn up was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies.---The hill to be ascended was very steep, and not every where practicable.---The enemy were numerous in their intrenchments, and kept a hot fire.---So that if the attack had succeeded, the loss of the English must certainly have been great, and of the French inconsiderable, from the shelter afforded them by the neighbouring woods. Besides, the river St. Charles still remained to be passed before the town could be invested. Yet, upon comparing these difficulties and obstacles with the advantages, the general's zeal and desire to act in conformity to the King's intentions, induced him to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

Reasons
for this at-
tempt.

^c To prevent the two transports, which had been run in shore, from falling into the hands of the enemy, they being then dry on shore, the admiral took the men out, and set them on fire.

The

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Loss.

Attempt
above the
town.

The loss on this occasion was so considerable, and the enemy continued to fortify every place with great care, that the general was inclined to wait the arrival of the forces under General Amherst, before he made any more attempts against an enemy that was so strongly and advantageously entrenched. In the mean time, it was thought advisable to penetrate as far as possible up the river, in order to open a communication with that General in his march from Crown Point. Brigadier Murray embarked with 1200 men on board of a squadron of men of war under Rear Admiral Holmes, with orders to destroy the French men of war above the town, if to be come at; and for the troops, where practicable, to land, to scour the shore, and to seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments. The ships sailed up the river, more than 12 leagues. Brigadier Murray made two attempts without success to land on the north shore. But making a third essay, he landed unexpectedly at the Chambaud, and burnt a magazine of provisions, ammunition, and all the spare stores, cloathing, arms and baggage of the French army, and made some prisoners, who informed him of the success of the British arms against Niagara and Crown Point. But as it was in vain to wait for General Amherst, who had so many obstacles^d in the way, and the season too far advanced for so

^d To cross Lake Champlain, and to fight M. de Bourlemaque's corps of 3000 regulars, French and Canadians.

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long and hazardous a march: and despairing of means either to burn the ships or to bring the enemy to battle; the general recalled this detachment.

At their return they found General Wolfe violently ill of a fever, brought on him by care, watching, fatigue, and we may add despondency. He had contrived, he had attempted, he had executed every thing to ensure success: he had faced every danger in person, and braved every fatigue and difficulty: but was afraid that he must be obliged to return without victory and conquest. This thought was more terrible to him than death, and converted disappointment into disease. It was in this feeble state we find him also, when he wrote that elegant and truly military letter of his endeavours, and not without tokens of despair, to complete the instructions he had received from his Majesty. Even under this oppression, his duty, and the glory of his country kept the chief possession of his heart. He begged of the general officers to consult together for the public utility; and confirmed their opinion that four or 5000 men conveyed above the town, might be able to draw the enemy from their present situation and to bring them to an engagement. But previous to this plan, he and the Admiral examined the town, with a view to a general assault. However, after viewing it with the utmost attention, and consulting with the chief engineer, who was well acquainted with the interior parts thereof, it was found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be

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General Wolfe's bad state of health and resolution.

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easily silenced by the men of war; yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that; since the few passages, that lead from the lower to the upper town were carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries could not be affected by the ships, which would lie exposed to them and their mortars. Therefore this design was dropt, as of too dangerous a nature and promising so little success^e.

The strong detachment for another expedition above the town, by water, so weakened the army,

^e —The affairs of Great-Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted, only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his Majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his Majesty's arms in any other parts of America. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

JAMES WOLFE.

—The enemy appear numerous, and seem to be strongly posted; but let the event be what it will, we shall remain here as long as the season of the year will permit, in order to prevent their detaching troops from hence against General Amherst; and I shall leave cruizers at the mouth of the river to cut off any supplies that may be sent them, with strict orders to keep that station as long as possible. The town of Quebec is not habitable, being almost intirely burnt and destroyed. Extract from Sir Charles Saunders's letter, Sept. 5, 1759.

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that made it necessary to draw off all the stores, baggage, artillery, &c. from our camp at Montmorenci, and to encamp the troops conveyed from thence at Point Levi. This motion up the river did not answer so effectually, as to induce Montcalm to quit his post; but they attracted his attention so much, as to engage him to detach 1500 men, under M. de Bougainville, along the western shore of the river, to watch the motions of the English on the eastern bank.

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In this disposition was the enemy, when the general once more resolved to try the fate of his arms above the town: and having secured his posts at Point Levi, and the Isle of Orleans, he marched with the remainder of the forces from Point Levi, the 5th and 6th, and embarked them in transports, which had passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, a movement of the ships was made upwards by Admiral Holmes, in order to amuse the enemy now posted along the north shore: but the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather very bad, the general thought proper to canton half his troops on the south shore, where they were refreshed, and re embarked upon the 12th at one in the morning. The light infantry, commanded by Colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, Kennedy, Lascelles, and Anstruther, with a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, the whole being under the command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were put into the flat-bottomed boats, and after some movement of the ships, made by Ad-

Provoke
Montcalm
to quit his
camp.

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miral Holmes, to draw the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with the tide, unobserved by the enemy, and landed on the north shore, within a league of Cape Diamond, an hour before day break. The rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the intended place of attack; but they were very fortunate in having the ships arrive at that critical moment, to cover them, in danger of losing their communication in a dark night, and on a rapid current. Besides, this not being the place intended, it obliged the light infantry to scramble up a woody precipice^f, in order to secure the landing of the troops by dislodging a captain's post, which defended a narrow entrenched path, where the troops were to ascend two a-breast. After a little firing, the light infantry gained the top of the precipice, and dispersed the

^f Admiral Saunders relates this fact with some addition, as follows: The night of their landing, Admiral Holmes, with the ships and troops, was about three leagues above the intended landing place: General Wolfe, with about half his troops, set off in boats, and dropped down with the tide, and were by that means, less liable to be discovered by the French sentinels posted along the coast. The ships followed them about three quarters of an hour afterwards, and got to the landing place just in the time, that had been concerted, to cover their landing; and considering the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and very properly and successfully conducted. When General Wolfe, and the troops with him, had landed, the difficulty of gaining the top of the hill is scarce credible: It was very steep in its ascent, and high, and had no path where two could go a-breast; but they were obliged to pull themselves up by the stumps and boughs of trees, that covered the declivity.

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captain's post. Thus the troops, with a very little loss from a few Canadians and Indians in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. The boats, as they emptied, were sent back for the second embarkation, which Brigadier Townsend immediately made. Brigadier Murray, who had been detached with Anstruther's battalion to attack a four gun battery on the left, was recalled by the general, who now saw the French army crossing the river St. Charles. General Wolfe thereupon began to form his line, having his right covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers; on the right of these again he afterwards brought Otway's; to the left of the grenadiers were Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lascelles's Highlanders, and Anstruther's; the right of this body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray; his rear and left were protected by Colonel Howe's light infantry, who were returned from the four gun battery before-mentioned, which was soon abandoned to him.

General Montcalm, having collected the whole of his force from the Beauport side, and advancing, shewed his intention to flank our left. Brigadier

Battle of
Quebec.

The French line.

Right. La Colonie 350, La Sarre 340, one 12 pounder iron, Languedoc 320. — Column, Bearn 200, La Guienne 200.—Left, Royal Ruffillon 230, one 12 pounder intended to be here, but not placed, La Colonie 300. — Militia in the bushes, and along the face of the bank 1500.

Principal Officers.

Marquis de Montcalm, Brigadier Senezzerques, M. Beau Chatel, Major de la Sarre.

H 2

Monsieur

A. D.
1759.

gadier Townsend was immediately ordered with General Amherst's battalion, (which he formed *en potence*. His numbers were soon after increased by the arrival of two battalions of Royal Americans; and Webb's was drawn up by the general,) as a reserve, in eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The enemy lined the bushes in their front with 1500 Indians and Canadians, amongst whom were most of their best marksmen, who kept up a very galling, though irregular fire upon our whole line: who bore it with the greatest patience and good order, reserving their fire for the main body now advancing. The fire of the enemy was, however, checked by our posts in front, which protected the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was composed of half of the troops of the colony, the battalions of La Sarre, Languedoc, and the remainder of the Canadians and Indians. Their center was a column, and formed by the battalions of Bearne and Guienne. Their left was composed of the remainder of the troops of the colony, and the battalion of Royal Roussillon. They brought up two pieces of small artillery: we had been able to bring up but one gun; but it was admirably well served, and galled their column exceedingly. Our troops, by the general's order, reserved their fire, till within forty yards; which was so well continued, that the enemy every where gave way.

Monsieur Bougainvilles's command.

Five companies of grenadiers, 150 Canadian volunteers, 230 cavalry, militia 870, the whole being 1500.

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When fortune began thus to declare herself in favour of British valour, General Wolfe met with his death wound^h; as the Louisbourg grenadiers advanced

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1759.

Death of
General
Wolfe.

^h General Wolfe seemed by nature formed for military greatness; his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his comprehension amazingly quick and clear: his constitutional courage was not only uniform, and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he possessed that higher species of it, (if I may be allowed the expression) that strength, steadiness, and activity of mind, which no difficulties could obstruct, nor dangers deter. With an unusual liveliness, almost to impetuosity of temper, he was not subject to passion: with the greatest independence of spirit, free from pride. Generous, almost to profusion: he contemned every little art for the acquisition of wealth, whilst he searched after objects for his charity and beneficence: the deserving soldier never went unrewarded, and even the needy inferior officer frequently tasted of his bounty. Constant and distinguishing in his attachments: manly and unreserved, yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners. He enjoyed a large share of the friendship, and almost the universal good-will of mankind; and, to crown all, sincerity and candour, a true sense of honour, justice, and public liberty seemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform rules of his conduct.

He betook himself, when very young, to the profession of arms; and, with such talents, joined to the most unwearied assiduity, no wonder he was soon singled out as a most rising military genius. Even so early as the battle of La-feldt, when scarce 20 years of age, he exerted himself in so masterly a manner, at a very critical juncture, that it drew the highest encomiums from the great officer then at the head of our army.

During the whole war he went on, without interruption, forming the military character; was present at every engagement, and never passed undistinguished. Even after the peace, whilst others lolled on pleasure's downy lap, he was cultivat-

A. D.
1759.

advanced with their bayonets, and drove the enemy before them with inexpressible vigour and resolution. But this was not the only check, had it been possible to damp the impetuosity of our

ing the arts of war. He introduced (without one act of inhumanity) such regularity and exactness of discipline into his corps, that, as long as the six British battalions on the plains of Minden are recorded in the annals of Europe, so long will Kingsley's stand amongst the foremost in the glory of that day.

Of that regiment he continued Lieutenant Colonel, till the great minister, who roused the sleeping genius of his country, called him forth into higher spheres of action. He was early in the most secret consultations for the attack of Rochfort; and what he *would* have done there, and what he afterwards *did do* at Louisbourg, are fresh in every one's memory.

He was scarce returned from thence, when he was appointed to command the important expedition against Quebec. There his abilities shone out in their brightest lustre. In spite of many unforeseen difficulties, from the nature of the situation, from great superiority of numbers, the strength of the place itself, and his own bad state of health, he persevered, with unwearied diligence, practising every stratagem of war to effect his purpose: At last, *singly and alone in opinion*, he formed, and executed, that great, that dangerous, yet necessary plan, which drew out the French to their defeat; and will for ever denominate him *The Conqueror of Canada*. But there—tears will flow—there, when within the grasp of victory, he first received a ball through his wrist, which immediately wrapping up, he went on, with the same alacrity, animating his troops by precept and example: But, in a few minutes after, a second ball, through his body, an inch below the naval; and a third shot just above his right breast, obliged him to be carried off to a small distance in the rear, where, roused from fainting in the last agonies by the sound of *they run*, he eagerly asked, "Who run?" and being told, the French, and that they were defeated, he said, "Then I thank God; I die contented;" and almost instantly expired.

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troops: for in a few minutes Brigadier-General Monckton dropt also by a musket ball, at the head of Lascelles's grenadiers, emulating the courage of his predecessor in command. The enemy, who exerted themselves at this instant with more than common ardour, suffered an equal loss in the death of their general, the Marquis of Montcalm, who fell in the front of the opposite battalions. His second likewise received a wound, of which he afterwards died, on board of the English fleet.

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1759.

General
Monckton
wounded.

Montcalm
killed.

It was at this moment that each corps formed in a manner to exert itself, with a view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, Bragg's, and Lascelles's, pressed on with their bayonets. Brigadier Murray, advancing with the troops under his command briskly, completed the rout on this side; when the Highlanders, supported by Anstruther's, took to their broad swords, and drove part into the town, part to the works at their bridge on the river St. Charles.

The
French
fly into the
town.

The action on our left and rear was not so severe. The houses, into which the light infantry were thrown, were well defended, being supported by Colonel Howe, who taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently sallying upon the flanks of the enemy during their attack, drove them often into heaps, against the front of which body Brigadier Townsend advanced platoons of Amherst's regiment, which totally prevented the right wing from executing their first intention. Before this, one of the

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1759.

Royal American battalions had been detached to preserve a communication with the boats, and the other was sent to occupy the ground, which Brigadier Murray's movement had left open. Brigadier Townsend remained with Amherst's to support this disposition, and to keep the enemy's right, and a body of their savages, which waited still more towards our rear, opposite the posts of our light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon them.

Brigadier
Townsend
takes the
command.

This was the situation of things, when Brigadier Townsend was told, in the action, that the command was devolved upon him. He immediately repaired to the center, and finding the pursuit had put part of the troops in disorder, he formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was this effected, when M. de Bougainville, with his corps from Cape Rouge, of 2000 men, appeared in our rear. The General advanced two pieces of artillery and two battalions towards him; upon which he retired. But could not be pursued without risking the fate of so decisive a day, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted perhaps in the very kind of ground he could wish for, viz. woods and swamps. A great number of French officers were taken upon the field of battle, and one piece of cannon.

French
army total-
ly routed.

Their loss. Their loss is computed to be about 1500 men, which fell chiefly upon their regulars.

General
Town-
send's good
conduct.

General Townsend immediately provided for the safety of his troops. The enemy was defeated in the field: but their numbers and situation were sufficient to put him upon every method in his

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his power to strengthen his camp beyond insult. Having done this; he prepared for a general assault of the town. He made a road for his cannon up the precipice, and got up some of his artillery: he began to erect batteries, and made such dispositions, as might cut off the enemy's communication with the country. But before any battery could be completed, the admiral having also brought his large ships into a position to attack the town, the governor, on the 17th, at noon, dispatched a flag of truce with proposals of capitulation. Which¹ the general sent back again, allowing

A. D.
1759.

Prepares
for a general
assault
of Quebec.

The go-
vernor ca-
pitulates.

¹ *Articles of capitulation demanded by M. de Ramsay, Commander for his Most Christian Majesty in the Higher and Lower Town of Quebec, Knight of the military order of St. Louis, from his Excellency the General commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces.*

Art. I. M. de Ramsay demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.—*The garrison of the town, composed of land forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon, and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in France.*

Art. II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.—*Granted, provided they lay down their arms.*

Art. III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia.—*Granted.*

Art.

A. D. 1759. allowing the enemy four hours to capitulate, or no further treaty. The terms were more advantageous

Art. IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers or inhabitants, shall not be touched.—*Granted.*

Art. V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty between their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties.—*Granted.*

Art. VI. That the exercise of the catholic and Roman religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely and with that decency, which his character and the sacred mysteries of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided by a treaty between their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties.—*The free exercise of the Roman religion. Safe-guards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely and with decency the functions of his office wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties.*

Art. VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof.—*Granted.*

Art. VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel settled between their Most Christian and Britannic Majesties, on the 6th of February, 1759.—*Granted.*

Art. IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and entrance of the town, to the English forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.—*Granted.*

Art.

ous to the enemy than they had reason to expect. A. D.
But the circumstances of the English obliged them 1759.
to more moderation than they deserved. The
enemy were collecting all their forces in our rear :
and

Art. X. That the commander of the city of Quebec shall be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general, of the reduction of the town, as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the French ministry, to inform them thereof. — *Granted.*

Art. XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being liable to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation. — *Granted.*

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before Quebec, the 18th of September, 1759.

CHARLES SAUNDERS,
GEORGE TOWNSEND,
DE RAMSEY.

* — By deserters we learn, that the enemy are re-assembling what troops they can, behind the Cape Rouge; that M. de Levy is come down from the Montreal side to command them; some say he has brought two battalions with him; if so, this blow has already assisted General Amherst. By other deserters we learn, that M. de Bougainville, with 800 men, and provisions, was on his march to sling himself into the town the 18th, the very morning it capitulated, on which day we had not compleated the investiture of the place, as they had broke their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very strong works on the other side the river St. Charles.

I should not do justice to the admirals, and the naval service, if I neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support received from them, and the perfect harmony and correspondence

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1759.

and the very wet and cold season, which advanced apace, threatened the troops with sickness, and the fleet with some accident. The roads were already so bad, that a gun could not be brought up without much difficulty and loss of time. Whereas all or most of these disadvantages would be removed, by the possession of a town with walls in a defensible state, and in a garrison strong enough to prevent a surprize.

Quebec
garrisoned
by English.

Quebec surrendered by capitulation, was immediately garrisoned by 5000 English troops, and committed to the care of Brigadier General Murray; with provisions and ammunition for the winter: the fleet being obliged to sail for England as soon as possible, lest they should be frozen up for the winter.

Loss on
both sides.

Dangerous as this service really was; and the difficulties, both of art and nature, which were to be surmounted in the conquest of Quebec, our loss did not exceed 648¹ in killed, wounded and missing,

respondence which has prevailed throughout all our operations, in the uncommon difficulties, which the nature of this country, in particular, presents to military operations of a great extent, and which no army can itself solely supply; the immense labour in artillery, stores, and provisions; the long watchings and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by the seamen, even in the heat of action; it is my duty, short as any command has been, to acknowledge, for that time, how great a share the navy has had in this successful campaign.

To Mr. PITT,

I have the honour to be, &c.

Sept. 20, 1759.

GEO. TOWNSEND.

¹ Total *killed*. 1 general, 1 captain, 6 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 45 rank and file. *Wounded*. 1 brigadier general,

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sing, in this battle before the town: whereas the French lost upwards of 1500 men on the field of battle, besides the guns, mortars, ammunition, arms, &c. found in Quebec on the 18th of September, and prisoners ^m.

A. D.
1759.

“ It

neral, 4 staff officers, 12 captains, 26 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 25 serjeants, 4 drummers, 506 rank and file. *Missing*, 3 rank and file.

Royal train of artillery. Lieutenant Benzell, engineer, wounded. 1 gunner, killed. 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, 5 matrosses wounded.

^m Brass ordnance, six pounders 1, four ditto 3, two ditto 2.—Iron ordnance, thirty-six pounders 10, twenty-four ditto 45, eighteen ditto 18, twelve ditto 13, eight ditto 43, six ditto 66, four ditto 30, three ditto 7, two ditto 3.—Brass mortars, thirteen inches 1.—Ditto howitzers eight inches 3.—Iron mortars, thirteen inches 9, ten ditto 1, eight ditto 3, seven ditto 2.—Brass petards 2.—Shells, thirteen inches 770, ten ditto 150, eight ditto 90, six ditto 90, with a considerable quantity of powder, ball, small arms, and intrenching tools, &c.

An account given on the 18th of September, 1759, of the artillery and stores found between the river St. Charles and Beauport.

Redoubt on the head of the bridge three guns, Royal battery four ditto, La Roufette battery three ditto, St. Charles's battery three ditto, balls and grape no number taken.—Le Prêtre battery, two guns, some tools and four cannon, Bomb battery, one mortar and two shells, Parens battery three guns, La Chaise battery three guns, balls, and grape. Floating batteries twelve guns and balls, Beauport battery four guns and grape.—Thirty-seven guns one mortar.

List of French officers prisoners.

M. de Jourdenau, Chevalier de St. Louis, captain of De Bearne regiment. M. De Matiflar, captain of de Languedoc regiment. M. de Vours, captain of La Sarre's regiment, M. de Tozon, lieutenant of Guienne regiment. M. de Castes, lieute-

A. D.
1759.

To whom
this con-
quest is to
be attri-
buted.

“ It is particularly worthy observation, says a
“ late writer, That the conquest of Canada was
“ owing to the singular ardour and intrepidity of
“ General Wolfe: it was he, and *he only*, which
“ formed the desperate resolution of landing
“ and climbing the heights of Abraham. This
“ brought on the battle: and thus was Quebec
“ conquered. Had a commander of ordinary ca-
“ pacity been employed in this enterprize (such
“ as Britain had frequently seen entrenching them-
“ selves 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 equip-
“ ping a fruitless, and, what the enemies of the
“ minister would have represented as an impracti-
“ cable expedition.”

French
precau-
tions to
defeat Ge-
neral Am-
herst, &c.

While these great things were acting before
Quebec, General Amherst was performing his
part in the operations of this campaign in North
America. The French also, who penetrated into
the designs of our grand preparations against

lieutenant of Languedoc regiment. M. Lambany, lieutenant
of La Sarre's regiment, prisoners 144, 204.

Marines.

M. de la Combiere, Chevalier de St. Louis, captain. M.
Montaville, lieutenant. M. de Carville, cadet. M. Darling,
Chevalier de St. Louis, captain of Guienne regiment. M.
Chambeau, captain of Guienne regiment. M. Dartigue, cap-
tain of Guienne regiment. M. de Grave, captain of Guienne
regiment. M. St. Blainbair, captain of Roussillon regiment;
one hundred and eighty-nine soldiers.

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them in North America, rightly inferred, from the small military force embarked on board the fleet destined against Quebec, that the success of the British arms was rested upon the junction of those forces with the more numerous troops under the command of General Amherst and General Prideaux. Therefore they had provided an army not only under Montcalm, to keep the field about Quebec, to dispute the landing of our men, under the command of General Wolfe, but another considerable body of troops was stationed to cover Montreal: a strong garrison was put into Niagara; M. de Levi was charged with a flying corps, to scour the country, and to harass our armies in their march through the woods; that officer being perfectly acquainted with all the passes and the almost impassable wildernesses. Crown Point was reinforced: their strength was augmented on Lake Champlain, of which the French were entire masters: and they stationed a respectable body of regulars, as well as Canadians in Fort Chambly, to maintain the pass from the fall on the river Richelieu to the river St. Lawrence.

According to the plan laid down in England, for the reduction of Quebec and Montreal, and therewith all Canada, the generals on the continent should have begun their operations very early; so as to time their proposed junction with the fleet in due season, to execute the grand project before the rigour of the winter came on. For this purpose we find him in motion, with some of his troops, as early as the first of May.

He

A. D.
1759.

General
Amherst
how re-
tarded.

A. D.
1759.

He himself arrived at Albany on the 12th, and set out for Fort Edward on the third of June; the regular regiments being posted on the road to bring up the provisions in the battoes. And all precautions were used to prevent a surprize. But, not to mention the difficulty of bringing up the battoes, &c. for transporting the army, such was the behaviour of some individuals in that part of the world, without whose concurrence or countenance there was no way to expedite the march of our armies in North America, that by their pride, obstinacy and insolence General Amherst's progress was greatly obstructed. The impediments he met with, from those, who delighted in opposing and delaying, what they could not prevent, for the service of their country, protracted the time till the summer was far advancedⁿ, before he could get his forces across Lake George^o. They landed on the 21st of July, and reached the field, where their countrymen had fallen with so great a slaughter, and were obliged to retreat, before Ticonderoga, in the preceding year: but which, hitherto impregnable post, the enemy judging from the precaution and wise dispositions, and

He arrives
at the seat
of action.

ⁿ They arrived at Fort Edward on the 12th of June, and it was the 21st before they sailed from thence, and the end of the month before they reached Lake George.

^o Otherwise Lake Sacrament, 40 miles in length, and narrow in proportion. It runs through a marsh into Lake Champlain, with which it communicates by a long and very narrow straight, defended on each side by a fort; one towards Lake George, called Ticonderoga; the other next Lake Champlain, called Fort Frederick, or Crown Point.

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S^R JEFFERY AMHERST.

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Vol. IV.

bold advances into their lines, with bayonets fixed, made by the approaching besiegers, that it would be impossible for them to maintain their post; and that their retreat from place to place, within the center of the operations to cover Quebec, would do effectual service, and be much more eligible, than to risk the hazard of being made prisoners of war, they did all, that time would permit, to dismantle their fortifications, and then retreated to Crown Point.

A. D.
1759.

Ticonde-
roga de-
scribed.

This acquisition without a blow (and no other loss than Colonel Townsend, an officer of a promising genius, who was killed by a cannon ball from the fort) put General Amherst into possession of a post, that effectually covered the frontiers of New York, and afforded him a safe retreat in case of necessity. For which reason his Excellency ordered the fortifications to be immediately restored, and allotted a strong garrison to protect

The im-
portance of
this post.

On the 26th of July, 1759.

*Extract of General Amherst's Letter to the Right Honourable
WILLIAM PITT, Esq;*

—On the 31st of July, I ordered the fort by the water-side to be put in good order, and to be completed, as the enemy had not finished it: ordered the fort of Ticonderoga to be repaired upon the same plan as the enemy had built it, which will save great time and expences, as it is but a small part of the whole that is ruined: the cost the enemy has been at in building the fort and houses is very great. The glacis and covered way quite good: the counterscarp of the glacis, masonry: the counterscarp of the ditch, masonry. Two ravelins of masonry, that cover the only front to which approaches can be carried on. The fort a square, with four bastions, built with logs on the rocks, which are covered with some masonry

Vol. IV.

I

masonry

A. D.
1759.

Fort re-
paired, &c.

protect it, after his departure. During his stay at Ticonderoga, he levelled the trenches and batteries, and filled up the road he had made from Lake Champlain to the Saw-mill river, for carrying on the siege, repaired the works of the fort, sent 500 men to Fort George for provisions, &c. and not only ordered brig-boats, built by his direction, to be finished with all expedition; but the French-boats, which they sunk before they retreated, to be fished up, that he might have a superior force of sloops to the enemy on the lake. He forwarded every thing as fast as possible, that he might get possession of Crown Point without loss of time.

While the general was thus necessarily employed, he continually detached scouting parties to reconnoitre, and to look from the mountains into Crown Point itself, and to watch the motions of a corps of the enemy, which encamped on the eastern part of the lake.—Whether diffident of their own strength, or directed to withdraw from their stronghold, by order from M. Montcalm,

Crown
Point de-
serted.

masonry to level the foundation. The wood part of it is the worst finished. One bastion, and a part of two courtins, demolished, but not in the front that can be easiest attacked. The casemates are good; the walls of the burnt barracks are not damaged. Eleven good ovens have helped us greatly. As the situation of the fort is very advantageous for the protection of his Majesty's dominions, and the approaches may be rendered as difficult to the enemy, as they have been to the King's troops, and that there is no fault in it, but its being small, I have thought proper to have it repaired, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

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which, in case of a siege, he was in no condition to relieve; and his present circumstances required all his collective strength in the field; the scouts, on the first of August, brought an account, that the enemy had abandoned Crown Point also. The weather was so bad that made it impracticable to move with his whole army till the fourth. But his Excellency dispatched 200 rangers through the woods, to seize the possession of so easy a conquest; and his scouting parties, which were directed to hover about the fugitive enemy, to watch their motions, and to pick up stragglers, brought in a deserter from the late Forbes's, one whom General Amherst had pardoned for desertion, when he was at Fort George, but now thought it necessary, for immediate example, to hang him directly. On the fourth, weather permitting, and the boats being brought over the carrying-place, the troops began to embark at two in the morning, and were all got over the lake, landed and posted before night; some be-

A. D. 1759.

A deserter, hanged.

* Before he evacuated the fort the governor ordered all the mortars, cannon, musquets, &c. to be charged up to the very muzzles with powder and shot, fixing port-fusees to their vents, and then set fire to the fort, which made it impossible to approach it, without imminent danger. However a serjeant of the regulars having obtained permission to cut down the colours, which were still flying, he ventured into the fort and brought them off safe, and was rewarded with ten guineas.

* Except the second battalion of the royal Highland regiment, which he, on the first of August, detached under Brigadier General Graham for Oswego, to support the siege of Niagara, if wanted.

A. D.
1759.

Import-
ance of the
conquest.

ing encamped, and others laid on their arms. Next day the general, considering the importance of this situation, which entirely secured all his Majesty's dominions behind it, from the inroads of the enemy, and from the scalping parties, that had infested the whole country, and that it would give great peace and quiet to all the settlers from thence to New York to have a respectable fort built on that spot; he immediately ordered the ground to be traced out, and the fort to be begun with all possible expedition.

General
Amherst
pursues the
enemy over
the lake.

Here General Amherst received intelligence, That the flying enemy had retired to the Isle Aux Noix, standing at the other end of Lake Champlain, at about five leagues from St. John's: that their numbers were augmented, by other parties called in, to three thousand five hundred effective men, regulars, marines and Canadians, encamped under the command of M. de Burlemaque,

Strength
of the ene-
my.

and
Return of ordnance and Stores taken at Ticanderoga and Crown Point.

Iron ordnance, 18 pounders 2, 16 ditto 1, 12 ditto 7, 9 ditto 4, 6 ditto 4, 4 ditto 2, swivels 7.—Iron mortars, 13 inches 2, 6½ ditto 1.—Iron howitzer, 8 inches 1.—Iron pateraroes, mounted on swivels without chambers, 8.—Round shot loose, 24 pounders 35, 18 ditto 327, 12 ditto 196, 9 ditto 140, 6 ditto 425, 4 ditto 463, 1½ ditto 12.—Grape shot loose, 18 pounders 4, 9 ditto 8, 6 ditto 2, 4 ditto 5.—Ladles with staves, 18 pounders 2, 12 ditto 2, 6 ditto 1, 4 ditto 2.—Spunges with rammer heads, 18 pounders 9, 12 ditto 2, 6 ditto 2, 4 ditto 2.—Rammers spare, 4 pounders 1.—Wad-hooks with rammers, 18 pounders 1, 12 ditto 1, 6 ditto 1, 4 ditto 1.—Shells, 13 inches 27, 10 ditto 3, 8 ditto 6, 4 2-5ths ditto 1.—Grenadoes 6.—Musquets 56.—Corned powder 50 bar-

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and provided with a numerous ^{and} well-regulated artillery; and that the enemy had got a squadron of four large vessels ^{on} the lake, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets from different regiments, under the command of experienced naval officers.—A strength, which, if to be encountered and defeated by General Amherst, was sufficient to retard his advancing to the assistance of the besiegers of Quebec, before the approach of the winter season would oblige him to fall back, to prevent his army's suffering by the inclemency of the weather. But such was his zeal for the service of his country, and sensible of the want General Wolfe would feel of his assistance, he seemed to forget that time flew away apace; and that it was not in his power to contend with the severe and tempestuous climate, both on shore and upon the lake. Regardless of any thing but to fulfil his instructions, his Excellency ordered a sloop to carry sixteen guns, and a ra-deau of 84 feet long and 20 broad, to carry six 24 pounders, to be built with the utmost expedition ^{and} with these, and with a brigandine ^{and}

A. D.
1759.

General
Amherst's
resolution.

Conduct.

50 barrels.—Fire-balls 30.—Carriages spare, 18 pounders 1.
—Intrenching tools, felling axes 110, pick-axes 8, hoes 232, sledges 2.

THOMAS ORD, Major R. R. Artillery.

¹ One hundred pieces of cannon.

² Mounting in all 34 guns, from 4 to 12 pounders, besides swivels in them all.

³ And they were accordingly got ready by the tenth of October.

⁴ That carried 6 six pounders, 12 four pounders, 20 swivels, 70 seamen and 60 marines, detached from the troops, and arrived from Crown Point at this critical juncture.

A. D.
1759

a sloop, which arrived on the 11th of October; the general embarked with his whole army to attack Burlemaque on the Island Aux Noix, where the French thought themselves out of danger. A noble adventure! but a storm next day arose upon the lake, and obliged them to seek for shelter on the western shore². However, while the men were detained by contrary winds, and refreshing on the shore at this place, Captain Loring, to whose command the small Squadron was committed, sailed in pursuit of the French, and drove three of their ships into a bay; where two of them were sunk, and a third was ran a-ground by their own crews, to favour their escape, and to prevent the vessel's falling into the hands of the English. This success animated the general to renew the attempt upon the Isle Aux Noix; he re embarked his troops and proceeded down the lake without fear of an enemy. But the storm returned with such fury, that his small craft were not able to keep the sea, and the severity of the weather, which now put in exceeding fast and strong, convinced him of the impracticability of his intention; compelled him to give up all further thoughts of forcing a way to the river St. Lawrence, in quest of the British fleet;

French vessels sunk, &c.

But...

² On the 12th Major Reid, returning with some battoes of the royal Highland regiment, and mistaking the light, which had been fixed for a signal on board the Radeau, for their steerage in the night, followed the brigantine light, and thereby, at day-break, found himself amongst the enemy's sloops, at les Isles aux Quatre-vents. But he escaped their shot with the loss of no more than one battoe, carrying a lieutenant, a serjeant, a corporal and 28 men.

and to seek shelter, once more, in the bay, from whence he had sailed just before: where he embarked, and marched with his army back to Crown Point, without being able to get any certain intelligence of the situation and operations of the fleet and army before Quebec.

A. D.
1759.

Obliged to
return.

He arrived at Crown Point on the 21st of October, where he completed his intended fortifications, and three small out forts: opened communications between Ticonderoga and the governments of New Hampshire and Massachusetts: and disposed his troops in winter-quarters, after such a manner, as to prevent any inroads by the enemy.

Arrives at
Crown
Point.

The expedition against Niagara* took effect about the middle of July. For, though the march

Expedition
against
Niagara.

to

* A little tract published in 1757, speaking of Niagara, says, "It is by this place alone that the French are, and ever will be, able to over-run and annoy our colonies in the manner they do, so long as they hold Niagara.—But if we were possessed of this one place, we might be free from them, and all their encroachments, incursions, devastations, &c.

Niagara commands, in a manner, all the interior parts of North-America, and is a key as it were to that whole continent—opens or obstructs a communication with all the natives of North-America, the six nations, Ohios, Shawanees, Miamis, Twightwies, Illinois, Pontewatimis, Nadouessians, Hurons, Utawas, Messisagues, and many others—awes and commands all those people—lies in the midst of the extensive territories of the six nations, and commands their beaver country entirely—secures their fur trade, and all the other inland trade of North-America.

It commands all the great lakes, and secures the navigation of them, that extends 12 or 1300 miles—prevents or secures the junction of the two French colonies in Canada and Louisi-

A. D.
1759.

to this fortress was tedious and greatly embarrassed, the forces did not meet with any opposition from the enemy. General Prideaux was joined at a proper time by the Provincials and eleven hundred Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnson, and they carried on their approaches with great vigour, till the 19th of that month, when they were got within 140 yards of the covered way. General Prideaux walking that even-

General
Prideaux
killed.

ana—cuts off or maintains their passage to the river Ohio, Mississippi, Lake Erie, le Detroit, Sandoski, Miamis, Fort St. Joseph, Illinois, Kaskaskis, &c.—stops the farther progress of the English or of the French (whichever are possessed of it) in North-America—lays our colonies open to the inroads and incursions both of the French and Indians—whilst it would secure them from both in our hands—and unite the frontiers of our northern and southern colonies together, for their mutual defence and security, which might all be secured by this one place, while they could not by many hundreds without it.

The great claim that Britain has in the inland parts of North America, is over the territories of the six nations, which this place lies in the midst of, and in a manner entirely commands. We talk much of the river Ohio, which is likewise a place of great consequence, it is true, but it seems to be of less consequence than Niagara, which in a manner commands it. If we were possessed of Niagara, the French in Canada would be cut off from any access to the river Ohio, and almost all their other encroachments on us. But if we let them remain in possession of this place, all our colonies will be open to them, and we need never expect to be free from encroachments, broils, and dissensions with them. Unless we recover Niagara, which so justly belongs to us, we engaged in this war to no manner of purpose; but must have frequent and daily occasions for many more such wars, with little prospect of any better success from them, than we have hitherto (in 1757) met with in this."

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ing in the trenches, was unfortunately killed by a
 cohorn-shot, carelessly by his own gunner. Ge-
 neral Johnson gave immediate advice of this mis-
 fortune to General Amherst, who, on the 28th
 of July dispatched Brigadier-General Gage, with
 orders to take upon him the command of that
 army; and on the 1st of August detached a bat-
 talion, as above-mentioned, to support the be-
 siegers. But in the mean time, before their ar-
 rival, Sir William Johnson reduced the fort, be-
 yond all expectation. For, though he had erected
 his third battery within 100 yards of the flag
 bastion, the enemy, having resolved to maintain
 this important post, to the last extremity, ordered
 all their out-parties at Detroit, Venange and
 Presque Isle, near 2000 men, with a large body
 of Indians, under M. d'Aubry, to reinforce the
 garrison at Niagara. This was to defeat the ul-
 terior part of General Prideaux's instructions, to
 proceed and assist in the reduction of Canada.
 As this expedient discovered the inability of the
 garrison, in its present state, to defend itself: so
 it pointed out the direct way for the English ge-
 neral to reduce it. And the chief command de-
 volving upon Sir William Johnson, by the death
 of General Prideaux, Sir William made the same
 application of the intelligence, he received of this
 reinforcement's approach; and prepared to inter-
 cept them in their march. The French were ex-
 pected on the 24th in the morning. In the even-
 ing before, the general ordered the light infantry
 and piquets to take post on the road upon his
 left,

A. D.
 1759

Attempts
 of the
 French.

General
 Johnson
 meets their
 escort.

A. D.
1759.

left, leading from Niagara falls to the fort; in the morning he reinforced those with two companies of grenadiers and part of the 46th regiment, and he posted another regiment at the tail of the works, to support the guard of the trenches.

The escort
defeated.

The English, thus stationed, perceived the enemy advance about eight in the morning. The Indians in the English service offered a parley with their countrymen in the French army. But it was rejected: and the French Indians introducing the action with the horrid scream of war-hoop, the French regulars began the attack about half an hour past nine, with great resolution. But they were so well received by our troops in front, and the Indians in flank, that in an hour's time the whole reinforcement was completely ruined, and their general and all their officers, in number seventeen, were made prisoners: and their killed were very numerous: for the slaughter continued for many miles, where they sought refuge and were pursued through the woods.

The fort
surrenders.

This battle, fought in sight of the fortress, and the list of the officers taken, which General Johnson sent by Major Harvey and a trumpet, immediately to the commanding officer, with his last summons, exhorting him to surrender, and to put a stop to the effusion of more blood in a defenceless cause, and while it was in his power to restrain the Indians, wrought so effectually upon the garrison, that the commander, having desired leave to send an officer to visit the prisoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours a capitulation was drawn

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drawn up and signed ^b. Agreeable to which the garrison, of 607 effective men, were made prisoners

A. D.
1759.

^b *Articles of capitulation granted to the garrison of Niagara, inclosed in Sir William Johnson's letter to Major-General Amherst of the 25th of July, 1759.*

Art. I. The garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drum beating, and match lighted at both ends, and a small piece of cannon, to embark upon such vessels as the commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall furnish, to convey them to New York, by the shortest road, and in the shortest manner. Granted.

Art. II. The garrison shall lay down their arms when they embark, but shall keep their baggage. Granted.

Art. III. The officers shall keep both their arms and their baggage. Granted.

Art. IV. The French ladies, with their children, and other women; as well as the chaplain, shall be sent to Montreal, and the commander of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall furnish them with vessels and subsistence necessary for their voyage to the first French post, and this is to be executed as soon as possible; those women who chuse to follow their husbands are at liberty to do it. Granted, except with regard to those women who are his Britannic Majesty's subjects.

Art. V. The sick and wounded, who are obliged to remain in the fort, shall have liberty to depart, with every thing that belongs to them, and shall be conducted in safety, as soon as they are able to support the fatigues of a voyage, to the place destined for the rest of the garrison; in the mean time they are to be allowed a guard for their security. Granted.

Art. VI. The commanding officer, all the other officers, and private men, who are in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, shall quit the fort without being subject to any act of reprisals whatsoever. Granted.

Art. VII. An inventory shall be made of all the military stores in the magazine, which, with the artillery, shall be delivered up, bona fide, as well as all other effects, which are the property of his most Christian Majesty, and which are found in the magazine, at the time of the capitulation. The vessels and boats are included in this article.

Art. VIII.

A. D. 1759. Their loss. soners of war, but were permitted to march out for embarkation; with the honours of war, and to

Art. VIII. The soldiers shall not be plundered, nor separated from their officers. Granted.

Art. IX. The garrison shall be conducted under a proper escorte to the place destined for their reception: the general shall expressly recommend to this escorte to hinder the savages from approaching and insulting any persons belonging to the garrison, and shall prevent their being pillaged by them, when they quit their arms for embarkation; and the same care is to be taken on every part of the route, where savages may be met with. Granted.

Art. X. An exact list shall be made of the names and surnames of the different troops, as well regulars as militia, and all others who are employed in his most Christian Majesty's service; and all those who are so employed shall be treated in the same manner as the rest of the garrison. Granted in the first article.

Art. XI. All the savages, of whatsoever nation they be, who are found in the garrison, shall be protected from insult, and be allowed to go where they please. Granted; but it will be adviseable for them to depart as privately as possible.

The articles being accepted, the general of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall be put in possession of a gate of the fort, but this cannot be done until to-morrow. To-morrow at seven o'clock in the morning.

Signed by

Pouchot, captain in the regiment of Bearn, commanding officer.

Vitar, captain in the regiment of Le Sarre.

Servier, captain in the regiment of Royal Roussillon.

Oliver de la Roche Verney, captain of the marine.

Bounnaffous, officer in the royal artillery.

Coufnoyer, lieutenant of the marine.

Soluignac, officer in the regiment of Bearn.

Le Chevalier de L'Arminac, lieutenant of the marine.

Joncaire, captain of the marine.

Morambert, lieutenant.

Chabert Joucain, in the regiment of Guienne.

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embark, with all their baggage, for New York; but laid down their arms upon the shore, under an escort to protect them from the barbarous Indians. The sick and wounded were permitted to remain, and were treated with great humanity: and all the women were, at their own request, conducted to Montreal.

A. D.
1759.

Thus North America may boast of her heaven-born or self-taught general, in those victories gained over the French, by Sir William Johnson, as well as Asia does of her General Clive. And here ended the second campaign in North America, under Mr. PITT's administration; by which Quebec, the capital of all the French settlements, and

Generals
Johnson
and Clive
compared.

Remarks
on this
campaign
in North
America.

List of ordnance and stores at Niagara, at the time of its surrendering to the English, viz.

Iron ordnance, fourteen pounders 2, twelve pounders 19, eleven pounders 1, eight pounders 7, six pounders 7, four pounders 2, two pounders 5.—Travelling carriages, fourteen pounders 2, twelve pounders 12, eight pounders 8, six pounders 5.—Garrison carriages, twelve pounders 2, eight pounders 4, six pounders 3, four pounders 2.—Ladles with staves, fourteen pounders 3, twelve pounders 12, eight pounders 9, six pounders 7, four pounders 2.—Sponges with rammer heads, twelve pounders 16, eight pounders 9, six pounders 10, four pounders 4.—Wadhooks with staves 10.—Grudox defieu, twelve pounders 12, eight pounders 6, six pounders 7, four pounders 3.—Round shot loose, twelve pounders 150, eight pounders 200, six pounders 2,600, four pounders 100.—Cohorn mortars on beds 2.—Hand grenades 500.—Entrenching tools, axes large 100, hand-bills 300, hand hatchets 500, shovels iron 300, mattocks 250, pick-axes 400, spades 50, whip-saws 12.—Cornd powder 15,000lb.—Small lead shot and balls 40,000lb.—Match, Cwt. 2.

(Signed) George Wray, clerk of the stores.

Provisions of all kinds enough.

the

A.D. 1759. the source of all our danger, on that continent, was reduced to the obedience of the British crown: and, by the possession of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Niagara, the road was opened to Montreal, the second place of strength and importance in Canada, and with whose conquest all that country, which had threatened to drive the English out of their provinces into the sea, would submit to the British dominion. But what might not be done, when the nation had such a minister to plan and direct; and such officers not only able, in their respective stations, but zealous to execute their instructions and orders?

Expedition to the West Indies.

These operations and conquests in North America were accompanied by others, no less interesting for humbling the power of France, by completing the ruin of her colonies. They were both planned at one time, and designed to support each other. The French sugar islands, from whence they drew their riches, the sinews of war, and which daily administered matter for disputes between us and the Dutch, that persisted in their right by treaty, to cover the enemy's property in Dutch bottoms, were objects equally great in the views of the minister. Therefore, so early as in October 1758, Commodore Hughes was appointed to take under his command sixty transports; with six regiments^d, and a detachment from the artillery at Woolwich, and a squadron of eight ships of the line, one frigate and four bombs, with eight hundred marines on board the men of war, and

Commodore Hughes fails with troops.

^d Old Buffs, Duroure's, Elliot's, Barrington's, Watson's, Armiger's.



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† Conquered by G
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A
 New & Accurate MAP of
the Seat of the late
WAR
in the
WEST INDIES
with a Plan of the
 City and Harbour of
HAVANNAH.
 1763.



References to the MAP.
 * Islands ceded by France to G. Britain.
 + Conquered by G. Britain and restored to France.
 † Conquered by G. Britain & restored to Spain.

Cambridge	80	607	Burford
St. George	90	750	Gayton.
Panther	60	420	Schuldharn.
Lyon	60	—	Trelawney.
Burford	64	520	Gambier.

Their

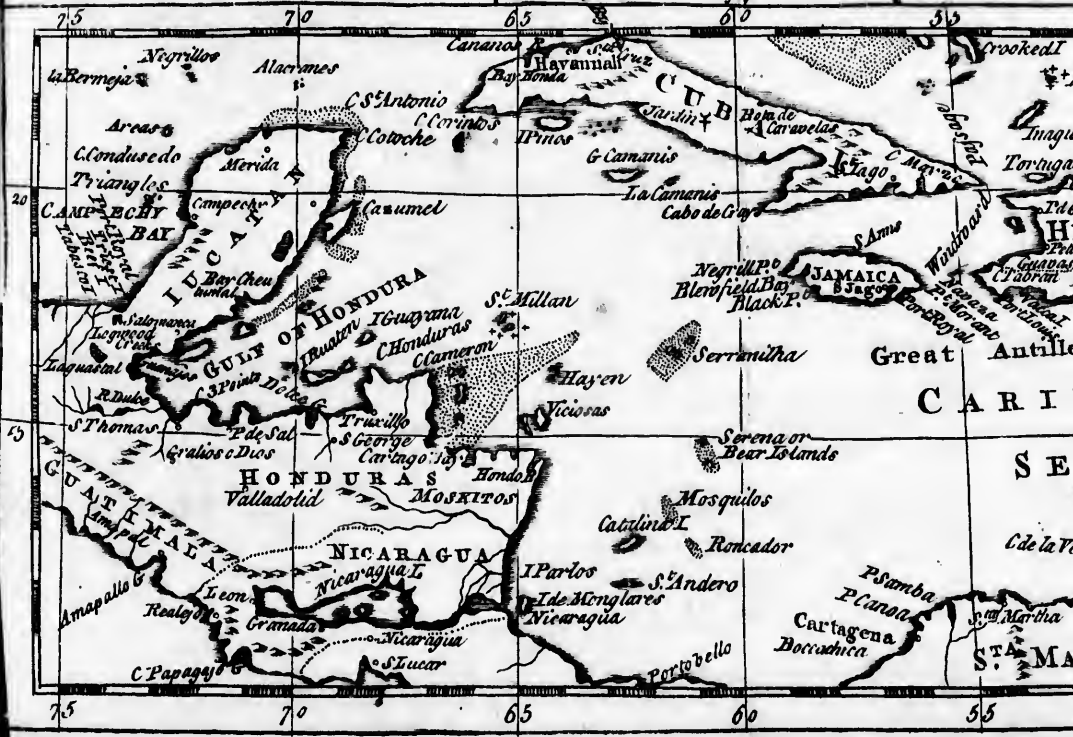
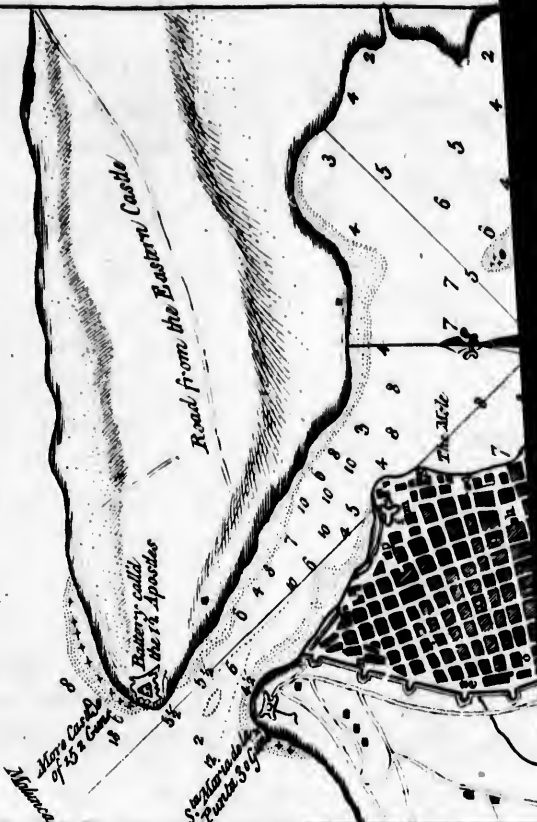
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 New & Accurate MAP of
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 City and Harbour of
HAVANNAH.

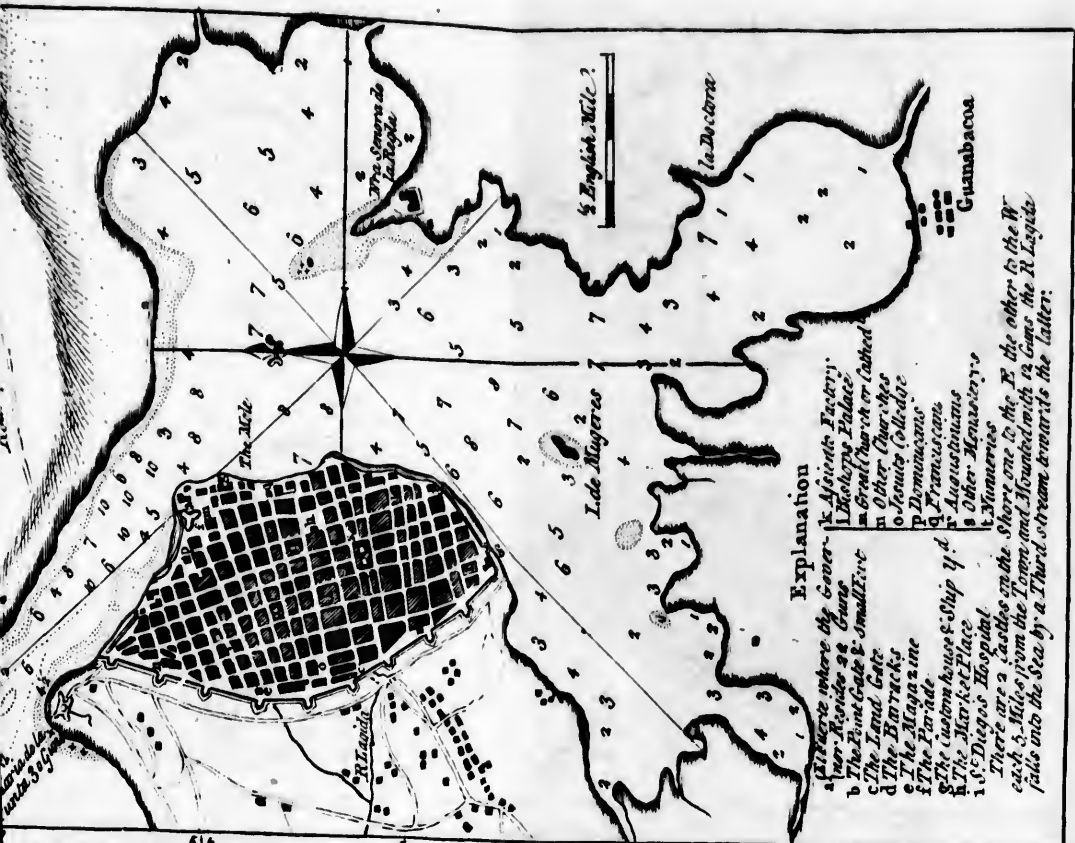
1763.



References to the MAP.

- * Islands ceded by France to G. Britain.
- + Conquered by G. Britain and restored to France.
- † Conquered by G. Britain & restored to Spain.
- ‡ Neutral Island ceded to France.





Explanation

- a Where where the Governour's Palace is
- b The Fort Gate & small Fort
- c The Land Gate
- d The Barracks
- e The Magazine
- f The Parade
- g The custom house & Shop y^d
- h The Market Place
- i S^t Diego's Hospital
- k Mines
- l Mines where the Governour's Palace is
- m Other Churches or Cabbed
- n Dominicans
- o Franciscans
- p Augustinians
- q Other Monasteries
- r Windmills

There are a *Cañon* in the Short one to the E the other to the W each 5 Miles from the Town and bounded with 2 Guns the R. Lago falls into the Sea by a Third stream towards the latter.



of the line, one frigate and four bombs, with eight hundred marines on board the men of war, and

^d Old Buffs, Duroure's, Elliot's, Barrington's, Watson's, Armiger's.

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to proceed to join Commodore Moore and his squadron, at the rendezvous in Carlisle-bay, in the Island of Barbadoes, in order to make a descent upon and to reduce Martinico, or Guadeloupe, or both those islands and their dependencies, to the dominion of the British crown, under Major-General Hopson, commander in chief, and Major Barrington, Colonels Armiger and Haldane, Lieutenant Colonels Tripaud and Claveling. With this armament Commodore Hughes sailed from Spithead, about the end of October 1758, this southern expedition having the advantage of that against the frozen zone, in point of time, on account of the temperament of the climate during the winter season. He arrived at the port of their rendezvous on the third of January 1759, where he found Commodore Moore, with his small squadron, which together made ten ships of the line, four frigates, four bombs and the sixty transports. Commodore Moore took upon him the chief command, in consequence of the King's instructions.

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1759.

Their destination.

Strength of the English.

• LINE of BATTLE.

	Guns.	Men.	Captains.
The Berwick	64	488	Harman.
Winchester	50	350	Le Crafs.
Rippon	60	430	Jeckyll.
Bristol	50	350	Leslie.
Norfolk	74	600	Hughes.
Cambridge	80	667	Burnet.
St. George	90	750	Gayton.
Panther	60	420	Schuldham.
Lyon	60	—	Trelawney.
Burford	64	520	Gambier.

Their

A. D. 1759. Their destination was first against Martinico, the principal seat of their government, and center of trade and commerce in the French sugar islands: and as such has been always kept in a more defensible state than their less valuable colonies. But their strength by art is much increased by the natural strength of the island. Its coast is lined with many and dangerous shallows, that makes it inaccessible for great ships, or any others without skilful pilots. The nature of the country, after surmounting the difficulties and hazards of the shore, is a greater discouragement to attempt an invasion. It abounds with deep brooks or streams of water, between precipices almost perpendicular; at any one of which passes one hundred resolute regulars might defy a whole army. Besides, as the French might suspect such a visit, in return for their threats against Jamaica, they had thrown in a number of regular forces, transported in Dutch bottoms; and the militia of the island were both numerous, well armed and disciplined.

Its ports.

Descent made near PortRoyal.

The principal ports on this island are Port Royal, considerable for its size, trade and strength; and St. Pierre, which is very little inferior in any of those advantages. But it was resolved to make the first attack upon Port Royal; before which harbour they arrived on the 15th of January. Next morning the men of war destroyed the batteries, and drove the enemy from their entrenchments at Point des Negroes, on the west part of that harbour: so that the troops landed without opposi-

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opposition. They laid under arms all the night following: and the general having reconnoitred the country, found the roads broken up for five miles about Port Royal, and that it would be difficult for him to preserve communications in his march thither; therefore, on the seventeenth, General Hopson proposed to Commodore Moore, who had the chief command of the Squadron, to land the heavy cannon, stores, provisions, &c. at the Savannah, which is before Port Royal, and that he would march and take possession of that spot, to encamp and to establish a communication with the fleet: or, if that could not be done, he desired that the boats might attend the same evening, it being moon-light, to bring off the troops. The commodore was of opinion, that the general's proposal was impracticable, until the west part of the fort should be silenced by the batteries raised by the troops on shore: but he made an offer to land the heavy artillery at Negro Point, where the troops then were; and also of transporting the same, where-ever the general pleased, by the seamen belonging to the men of war, without any assistance from the land forces. So that whether this place appeared much stronger than had been represented; or too powerful to be reduced by the forces sent against it: or whether there was the want of that harmony between the naval and military officers, which is so requisite to procure success in all expeditions, where their united endeavours are required, General Hopson insisted upon his proposal, and re-embarked on the

Troops re-
embark.

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1759.

Proceed to
St. Pierre.

17th at night; but did not give over all thoughts of making any further trial of a descent upon that island. For the general having called a council of war, they were of opinion, That it would be most for his Majesty's service to proceed to Fort St. Pierre, in order to attack that place, without loss of time; with which opinion the general next day acquainted the commodore. Who immediately weighed anchor with his whole fleet, and entered the bay of St. Pierre on the 19th in the morning. Forty merchantmen were surpris'd in the bay: two bombs were ordered to sail near enough to do their duty: the Rippon was charg'd with a battery about a mile and half north of the town, to silence it; and a signal was thrown out for the transports to come under the commodore's stern. But the commodore, after these dispositions for an attack, remonstrated so strongly against a descent in this place, that it was given up also.

The attack
dropt.

The commodore having examined the coast of St. Pierre's bay, represented to the general, that he made no doubt of destroying the town of St. Pierre, and putting his troops into possession thereof: but as the ships might, in the attack, be so much disabled, as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material service; and as the troops, if it should be practicable to keep possession of St. Pierre, would also be much reduced in their numbers, for any future attacks; and being of opinion that the destroying the town and fort of Basseterre, in the island of Guadalupe,

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lupe, and keeping possession of it, and by all possible means endeavouring to reduce the said island, would be of great benefit to the sugar colonies, as that island was the chief nest of French privateers continually infesting the British islands, and destroying the trade from North America, with supplies of provisions, &c. the general adopted this proposal very readily, and it was accordingly put in execution immediately ^f.

The fleet appeared off the town of Basseterre, in the island of Guadalupe, on the 22d of January: and every place they surveyed exhibited fresh difficulties. Not only the town, but all the avenues to it upon the coast, were well fortified, and the citadel, which stands upon a great eminence, was pronounced by the chief engineer to be impregnable to the ships. However the commodore, who looked upon this expedition to be his own child, and that he in some measure was accountable for its success, resolved to face all danger, and to encounter all difficulties. On the 23d he

Guada-
lupe at-
tacked.

^f This sudden resolution seems to have been so precipitate, that the Rippon was left at her station, and to the power of the enemy. She in a few minutes silenced the battery as ordered. But before she could disengage herself, four more batteries were opened, and played upon her so furiously, that they damaged her masts, sails and rigging very much. In which condition the Rippon was left, when the captain, not knowing any thing of the attack being given over, saw the commodore and the fleet two leagues a stern; and not seeing any ship but his own in the harbour, he very prudently manned his boats and towed her off.

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1759.

Town in
flames.

drew up his ships in such order^s, and made the attack with such vigour and resolution, that, after a most severe cannonading, which continued with unremitting fury from between nine and ten in the morning till night, he shewed what is in the power of ships to do against fortifications on shore; for he silenced all the batteries and the fort: next day he landed the military forces, and put them in possession of the town and fort, without any farther opposition, or being annoyed by even one of the enemy. But the town, with all the merchandize, goods and treasure therein, to a very great value, were destroyed by the flames oc-

^s The St. George, Norfolk, and Cambridge, stationed along side the citadel or fort, that mounted 47 guns. The Lyon to a battery of nine guns. The Panther and Burford to a battery of 12 guns. The Berwick to a battery of seven guns. The Rippon to another of six guns. Which had like to have fallen into the hands of the enemy, on this occasion. The case was this: having drawn close up to the northernmost battery of six guns, by an unlucky shift of wind, after she silenced her battery, she got fast a-ground: which the enemy observing, availed themselves of; for some hundreds of them came to the intrenchments, directly over the ship; and kept such an incessant fire of small shot and cannon, which they dragged purposely to the place, that there seemed little likelihood of getting the Rippon off. But, by the bravery of her officers and people (who, while some were employed in carrying anchors aft to heave her off, plied so well their grape shot, as to do great execution) after being 13 hours in this critical situation, she was again happily got afloat, and with less loss than could be expected, only two being killed, and 13 wounded, some indeed dangerously, for the enemy made use of bits of old iron pots, glafs, &c. Mr. Chardy, lieutenant of marines, lost his leg.

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occasioned by the powder magazine, and the quantity of rum and sugar set on fire by the four bombs, which began to play from their station near the shore, as soon as the batteries and forts were silenced.

Great reflections have been cast upon M. de Estreil, the governor of Basseterre. It was certainly an oversight, had a bombardment been expected, to suffer the town to be filled with warehouses of such combustible matter, as sugar and rum. But no body can blame his retreat to a strong situation, with a resolution to defend that post, when he was burnt out of Basseterre, without the least possibility of quenching the fire; that also deprived him of the means of defence in the town. Which was literally, too hot to hold.

The governor, with his troops, retired to a rising ground, very strong by nature, and intrenched himself with great art, about six miles from Basseterre. He broke up the roads, as he retreated; and added to the difficulty of marching after him by a number of gullies. This, with the steep ascent to his camp, made an attack upon him in this situation very hazardous. Therefore, when General Hopson and Commodore Moore offered him conditions to surrender, he rejected them with disdain: and the condition of our forces was not able to compel him. Besides, the death of General Hopson, who departed this life on the 27th, in the camp at Basseterre, occasioned some little obstruction to the present operations.

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1759.

M. Du-
treil's con-
duct.

Retires to
a strong
post.

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1759.

General
Barrington
suc-
ceeds to
the chief
command.

His con-
duct and
operation.

Fort Louis
reduced.

The army
and fleet
arrive.

The chief command of the army devolved, by this death, upon Major-General Barrington, who by Commodore Moore's advice, resolv'd upon leaving a garrison, which was compos'd of Watson's regiment, and a detachment from the artillery, under Colonel Desbrisay, to be governor, in the citadel; and to proceed to Grand Terre, the most fertile part of the island, and which the commodore represented might become an easy conquest, could Fort Louis be taken. For this purpose, the commodore had detach'd the Berwick with three frigates, three tenders and two bombs, with marines and Highlanders on board. These sail'd on the 6th of February, and on the 13th, after a severe cannonade, of six hours, which silenced the forts and batteries near it, a large detachment of marines and Highlanders landed, drov'e the enemy from the intrenchments and hoisted English colours on the fort. The obstacle being thus removed, General Barrington, on the 1st of March, having scoured the country and appointed the garrison above mentioned, embark'd the rest of the troops and sail'd with the whole fleet for Grand Terre, but by the difficulty of turning to windward, it was the 11th before they arriv'd at Fort Louis; and then only 25 of the transports came to an anchor: the others being either driven much to leeward, or prevented by the winds and strong currents from weathering the points of the Saintes.

The general went a-shore that same evening at Fort Louis, to survey the fort, and the works carrying on by the brave fellows that conquer'd it: and

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and on the 12th, he went in an open boat to reconnoitre the two coasts of the bay, as well the Grand Terre side, as that of Guadalupe, to pick out the most proper place for a descent: when, to his great surprize, in the evening, Commodore Moore acquainted him, that he, having received certain intelligence of a French Squadron of ships of war, consisting of nine sail of the line and two frigates, being seen to the northward of Barbadoes; it was therefore necessary for him to quit this place, with all the ships of war under his command, and to go into Prince Rupert's Bay, in the island of Dominique, as a situation more advantageous for the protection of Basseterre, and this place, as well as the English islands. The general thought it adviseable the next day to call together the general officers to consider what, in their present situation, was best to be done, and it was determined, notwithstanding the divided state of the troops, by the separation of the fleet; the weak state of Fort Louis, and the impossibility of supplying it with water but from the ships; and the many other difficulties, which then appeared; that it would be most for his Majesty's service, and the honour of his arms, to do the utmost to keep possession of the fort, and to wait some further intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

Commodore Moore sailed the next morning for Prince Rupert's Bay^h, with all the ships of war,

^h While our fleet laid in this bay, above 11 weeks, the French privateers sailed out and took upwards of 90 sail of English merchantmen, and carried them into Martinico.

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The fleet
leave the
army.

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1759.

Brave re-
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except the Roebuck of 40 guns, which he left as some protection to the transports.

From this time to the 17th General Barrington continued to direct works to be made for the security of the camp, and for the finishing, as well as strengthening the lines, when the chief engineer, who was on board one of the transports that could not before get up, being arrived, and having made a report of the weakness of the fort, he thought it necessary to call a council of war to consider the state thereof; and it being debated whether the fort might not be made tenable, and kept as a garrison for his Majesty's service, on a more circumscribed plan, though it appeared impossible to keep it in the present extent of out-posts; it was determined, after much consideration, That from its weakness and bad construction, its being commanded by several heights very contiguous to it, as well as the great difficulty (it may indeed be said the impossibility) of procuring for the present, and establishing a constant supply of water, and other more necessary things for the support and defence of a garrison in this part of the world; not to be tenable. However, the general was determined to hold it, until some future event might convince him what was best to be done for his Majesty's service. And though he reflected on the state of the army under his command, and of the little probability there was of succeeding in any attempt of reducing the country by the troops he had, without the assistance of the ships of war to cover them in landing, he determined to make
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a descent on the coast of Grand Terre; and for that purpose ordered Colonel Crump, with a detachment consisting of 600 men, to go in some of the transports, that carried most guns, and endeavour to land between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and destroy the batteries and cannon: which was happily executed with very little loss.

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1759
Descent on
Grand
Terre.

As he imagined by sending Colonel Crump to attack the towns of St. Anne and St. François, the enemy would be obliged to detach some of their troops from the post of Gosier, the general ordered, two days after he sailed, the only 300 men he had left, to be put on board transports, and lie off that town; and in the morning of the 29th he went to reconnoitre the battery and intrenchments, and perceiving that the enemy appeared less numerous, than for some time before; he made a disposition for forcing them by two different attacks. This was executed the next morning at sun-rising, with great spirit and resolution, by the troops; and notwithstanding the fire of the enemy from their intrenchments and battery, both were soon carried with little loss, and the enemy drove into the woods. The troops immediately destroyed the cannon and battery, with the town. Reduced.

This being happily effected, the general ordered the detachment to force its way to Fort Louis; and, at the same time, sent orders for the garrison to make two sallies, one to the right, in order to put the enemy between two fires, and the other

to

A. D. 1759. to attack their lines, as he knew that which he had just made would oblige them to send troops to oppose his passage on that side. The first was made, but the latter, by some mistake, was not executed; which, had it been done, they must inevitably have been in possession of their lines. The detachment from Gosier forced their passage with some loss, notwithstanding a very strong pass, that the enemy were possessed of, and took possession of a battery of three twenty-four pounders, which would, the next day, have played on our camp.

Governor
Desbrisay
killed.

While the general was thus employed, he received advice of the death of Governor Desbrisay¹, who

¹ "Lieutenant-Colonel Desbrisay was captain of foot at the battle of Laffeldt, or Val, near Maestricht, in 1747, where being wounded, and lying upon the ground amongst the slain, he was run through by a French officer, whose unmanly example was immediately followed by the platoon he commanded, all, or most of them, planting their bayonets in different parts of his body. Of about thirteen wounds which he received, eight were judged mortal. Being afterwards at table with the Marechal Count de Saxe, of whose politeness as an enemy, many honourable instances were given, in the course of the late war, he was strongly sollicitated by the marechal, "who the officer was that had used him so very unlike a soldier, threatening to disgrace him at the head of the regiment:" but Desbrisay, though well acquainted with his name, the commission he bore, and the corps he served in, most generously declined it; contenting himself with letting his excellency know, that he was no stranger to his person, and begging his excuse from being obliged to point him out.

As he was at all times alert, so was he very indefatigable: had a thorough knowledge of his profession, and was master of

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GARDINER

* The li
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who was killed by the blowing up of some cartridges, that took fire from the wadding of a 24 pounder, discharged from the upper bastion of Fort Royal, at a body of the enemy, on the 23d of March. Major Trollope, a lieutenant of the 63d regiment, and two private men, were likewise killed by this accident; and a captain, another lieutenant, and three men, wounded: and the parapet of the bastion was levelled with the ground by the explosion.

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At the same time he was told, that the enemy had erected a bomb-battery, and thrown several shells into the fort; and that they had, for some time past, been working, as the garrison suspected, upon another battery; he therefore ordered Major Melvill, whom he had appointed governor, to cause a sortie to be made from the garrison in order to destroy it. Accordingly a detachment of 300 men sallied out, under the command of Captain

of great application in it. He was quick, and had a happy presence of mind, which foresaw a difficulty and the method to conquer it at one and the same instant; cool in action, and brave without ostentation: presuming never upon a superiority of parts, but always diffident of himself; thought and read much, and was ever forming some new design to molest and annoy the enemy. The service of the public was the spring that wound him up, and put his whole frame in motion. He had the true fire of a soldier in him, and with it was as complete a gentleman as any in the service, dying sincerely regretted by every officer of his acquaintance*." See *Captain GARDINER's account of this expedition.*

* The like character might have been given, with great justice, to a brother of his, a captain in Oglethorpe's regiment, who died in Georgia, in 1742.

Blomer,

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1759.

Blomer, on the 1st of April, and without much difficulty forced the enemy's entrenchments, and got into the work; which proved to be a battery of one 18 pounder, and one 12, nearly compleated. Our people spiked the guns, and returned to the garrison with the loss of only six men killed, and six wounded.

He also sent thither immediately, the chief engineer, as well as the commanding officer of the artillery, that no time might be lost in putting the citadel again into a proper state of defence.

The remaining part of the transports, with the troops, being now arrived; nine having come on the 23d of March, and the others by one or two in a day: as the general had long intended, so soon as it was in his power, to make an attack on the Guadalupe side, where the enemy had some posts of infinite consequence, he, upon the information of some negroes, who promised to conduct the troops in flat-bottomed boats by night, formed a design of surprizing Petit-Bourg, Guoyave, and St. Mary's, at the same time. The first was to be effected by Brigadier Crump, who, the moment he had made himself master of it, was to march to Bay Mahaut, and destroy the batteries there, as well as a large magazine of provisions, that the enemy had collected from the Dutch, and to hinder any more arriving: The latter, under Brigadier Clavering, after he had surprized St. Mary's and Guoyave, was to march into the Capesterre, and reduce that fine country. The success of this appeared not only to the general,

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but to the gentlemen who were to execute it, almost infallible: but the night proved so bad, and the negroe conductors were so frightened, that they ran several of the boats on the shoals, of which that coast is full; so that though Brigadier Clavering did land, with about 80 men, yet the place was so full of mangroves, and so deep in mud, that he was obliged to return, and not without the enemy's discovering the design.

This obliged the general to attempt by force, what could not be effected upon the safer plan: but as he was then laid up in a most severe fit of the gout, in his feet, head, and stomach, he sent Brigadiers Clavering and Crump to reconnoitre the coast near Arnouville; and upon their report he ordered 1300 regulars, and 150 of the Antigua volunteers, to land under the protection of the Woolwich man of war. On Thursday the 12th of April, at day-break, Brigadier Clavering landed with the troops under his orders, consisting of 1300 men, exclusive of the Antigua volunteers, at a bay not far distant from Arnouville. The enemy made no opposition to their landing, but retired as our troops advanced, to very strong intrenchments behind the river Le Corn. This post was to them of the greatest importance, as it covered the whole country to the Bay Mahaut, where their provisions and supplies of all sorts were landed from St. Eustatia; and therefore they had very early taken possession of it, and had spared no pains to strengthen it, though the situation was such as required very little assistance from art.

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1759.

The river was only accessible at two narrow passages, on account of a morass covered with mangroves, and those places they had occupied with a redoubt and well palisaded intrenchments, defended with cannon, and all the militia of that part of the country. The English could only approach them in a very contracted front, which was at last reduced to the breadth of the roads, intersected with deep and wide ditches. Our artillery, which consisted of four field pieces, and two howitzers, were ordered to keep a constant fire on the top of the intrenchments, to cover the attack made by Duroure's regiment and the Highlanders, who, on this occasion, behaved with the greatest coolness and resolution, keeping up, as they advanced, a regular platoon firing. This behaviour so intimidated the enemy, that they abandoned the first intrenchment on the left, into which the Highlanders threw themselves, sword in hand, and pursued the enemy, with part of Duroure's regiment, into the redoubt.

The enemy still kept their ground at their intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed our people very much, both with musquetry and cannon: and though they, who had carried the first intrenchments, had got into their rear, yet, till a bridge could be made to pass the river, they could not get round to attack this post. This took up near half an hour; but however they got up time enough to take near 70 of the enemy prisoners, as they were endeavouring to
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make their escape: amongst whom were some of the most considerable inhabitants of the island.

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1759.

There was found in both the intrenchments, six pieces of cannon. Our loss was one officer and 13 men killed, and two officers and 52 men wounded.

So soon as the ditches could be filled up for the passage of the artillery, they proceeded on their march towards Petit-Bourg. A considerable number of the enemy had lined an intrenchment, about half a mile on the left of the road; but when they perceived that the English were endeavouring to surround them, they abandoned it, keeping always about 200 yards in our front, setting fire to the sugar canes, which obliged our troops more than once to leave the road, to avoid any accident to their powder.

The troops arrived late on the banks of the river Lizard; behind which, at the only ford, the enemy had thrown up very strong intrenchments, protected with four pieces of cannon on the hill behind them.

Having reconnoitred the side of the river, and finding it might cost very dear to force the passage at the ford, the general therefore kept up their attention all night, by firing into their lines, during which time he got two canoes conveyed about a mile and a half down the river, where being launched, they ferried over before break of day in the morning, a sufficient number of men to attack them in flank, whilst the same was done in front: the enemy soon perceived their danger,
and

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1759.

Petit-
Bourg re-
duced.

and left their intrenchments with the greatest precipitation.

Thus our troops passed without the loss of a man, still pursuing them to Petit-Bourg, which place they had fortified with lines, and a redoubt filled with cannon. But as Captain Uvedale was there, in the Granada bomb, throwing shells into the fort, the enemy did not remain in it long, when they saw the general's intention of occupying the heights round them; but left him master of that, and the port, with all the cannon round the place.

On the 15th, at day-break, after halting one day, Brigadier Crump was detached, with 700 men, to the Bay Mahaut, and at the same time Captain Stiel, with 100, to Guoyave, about seven miles in our front, to destroy a battery there. The panic of the enemy was such, that they only discharged their cannon at him, and abandoned a post that might have been defended against an army. He nailed up seven pieces of cannon, and returned the same evening to Petit-Bourg. Brigadier Crump returned likewise the next day, with his detachment from the Bay Mahaut, where he found the town and batteries abandoned. These he burnt, with an immense quantity of provisions, that had been landed there by the Dutch, and reduced the whole country, as far as Petit-Bourg.

The heavy rains, on the succeeding days, had so swelled the rivers, that it was impossible for the troops to advance: however, this delay gave them an opportunity of strengthening the post at Petit-Bourg. On the 18th, in the evening, the

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Antigua volunteers took possession again of Guoyave: they were supported early the next morning, by a detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Barlow, who had orders to repair the road for the passage of the cannon. And on the 20th, after leaving 250 men to guard Petit-Bourg, the remaining part of the detachment, with the cannon, moved on to Guoyave, in order to proceed afterwards to St. Mary's, where the enemy were collecting their whole force, and had likewise thrown up intrenchments, and made barricadoes on the road, to make a stand. But the general found that it was not impossible to get into their rear, by roads, the enemy thought impracticable, and consequently had guarded with very little care.

A detachment was immediately formed under Colonel Barlow, for this service, and orders were sent to hasten the march of the artillery, which, from the badness of the roads, had not been able to get up. The first shot from our cannon placed very near their intrenchment, with the alarm that was given by our detachment in the rear, made the enemy very soon sensible of the dangerous situation they were in, and indeed their precipitate flight only saved them from being all taken prisoners. Our men pursued them as far as the heights of St. Mary's, where the English formed again for a fresh attack on the lines and batteries at that place.

Whilst the barricadoes were levelling for the artillery, a second attempt was made to pass the

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woods and precipices, that covered the flank of the enemy's lines; but before our cannon could be got up they perceived this movement, and began to quit their lines to oppose it: which made the general resolve, without any further delay, to attack them immediately in front; and it was accordingly executed with the greatest vivacity, notwithstanding the constant firing both of their cannon and musquetry. They abandoned here all their artillery, and went off in so much confusion, that they never afterwards appeared.

The victors took up their quarters at St. Mary's that night, and the next day entered the Capesterre, which is the richest and most beautiful part of this or any other country in the West Indies. Eight hundred and seventy negroes, belonging to one man only, surrendered this day.

The island
capitu-
lates.

Here Messrs. de Clainvilliers and Duquerry, deputed by the governor and principal inhabitants of the island, applied to Brigadier Clavering to know the terms that would be granted, and to demand a cessation of arms. Which brought on a capitulation, signed on the 1st of May, whereby they were protected in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, and in their property and commerce as British subjects*. A capitulation,

Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies the Hon. Major-General Barrington, and John Moore, Esq; commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's land and sea forces in these seas, and M. Nadau Dutreel, governor for his most Christian Majesty, of Guadalupe, Grande Terre, Desceada, and the Saintes.

Art. I. We the governor, staff and other officers, of the regular troops, shall march out of our posts, with one mortar,

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tion, which was rightly judged. The situation of so small an army, and so much fatigued with continual

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Critical situation of our troops.

two field pieces of brass-cannon, with ten rounds for each piece, arms, baggage, and the honours of war. Granted, except the mortar; and as to the cannon we will allow only four rounds for each piece; and on condition that the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall take possession of the different posts at the three rivers, and the hospital to-morrow morning, the 2d of May, at eight o'clock; and that all magazines of provisions, ammunition, and implements of war, as well as all papers relating to the revenue, be delivered into the possession of a commissary to be named by us for that purpose.

Art. II. That we shall be sent to Martinico, in a good vessel, well provided, and by the shortest passage. Granted.

Art. III. That the commissary-general, officers of justice, admiralty, and all such as have the King's commission, shall likewise be sent to Martinico, in a good vessel, well provided, and by the shortest passage. Granted only for the commissary-general, and to the officers of the admiralty, and refused to the others.

Art. IV. That the staff and other officers shall have leave to take with them their wives and children to Martinico; and shall have a good vessel well provided to carry them by the shortest passage. Granted.

Art. V. That the staff and other officers shall have the same number of servants granted them, as were allowed by the most Christian King, viz. To the governor 24; to the commissary-general 24; to the lieutenant-governor 18; to the fort-major 15; to the captains 12 each; to the lieutenants eight each; and to the ensigns six each. Granted.

Art. VI. That it shall be allowed to all the officers who have estates in this colony (except to me the governor, unless the King permits me also) to appoint attorneys to act for them until the peace; and if the island is not then ceded, the above-mentioned officers shall have leave to sell their estates, and carry off the produce. Granted.

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Art. VII.

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continual service, and without a fleet to protect them on the coast, and to take them on board in case

Art. VII. That a good vessel shall be allowed to the lady of M. Duclieu, lieutenant-governor-general of the islands, and captain of one of the King's ships, to carry her to Martinico, with her equipage, furniture, plate, and servants, suitable to her rank: and also to the governor's lady, and the wives and widows of the staff officers of this island. Granted: One vessel for all the ladies.

Art. VIII. That M. de Folleville, lieutenant-governor of Martinico, shall have a good vessel to carry him and his volunteers thither, by the shortest passage, with only such arms, baggage, and servants, as they brought with them. Granted.

Art. IX. That the Sieur Avril of Dominique and his detachment, shall be sent thither with their arms and baggage. Granted.

Art. X. That the prisoners, soldiers, and sailors, shall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

Art. XI. That all the negroes who were enlisted and continued to the last day of the attack, in the companies of Bologne, Petit, Dumoliere, and Ruby, agreeable to the list that will be given in of them, shall have their freedom at the expence of the colony, as by agreement. Granted, upon condition that they are immediately sent out of the island.

Art. XII. That the men belonging to the privateers, who desire to go to Martinico, shall have a vessel to carry them thither. Granted.

Art. XIII. That there shall be a reasonable time allowed for removing the furniture, effects, and cloaths, that are in the reduit, or other places, belonging to the persons who are to be sent to Martinico; and that his excellency General Barrington, shall grant his protection for the safe conveyance of the above-mentioned effects to the place of embarkation. Granted.

Art. XIV. That there shall be an hospital ship provided for the wounded and sick that are in a condition to be removed; and

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case of necessity, made it absolutely necessary, that what was to be done, should not be procrastinated :
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and the rest shall be taken care of and sent with a flag of truce to Martinico, as soon as they are recovered. Granted. Those that remain here shall be taken care of, at the expence of his most Christian Majesty.

Art. XV. That the subjects formerly belonging to the King of Great Britain, who for crimes were forced to fly their country, and have carried arms in this island, shall be pardoned, and allowed to remain in the island as inhabitants. They must go out of the island.

Art. XVI. That the same honours and conditions shall be granted to the King's troops in the Grande Terre, as are given to those in Guadalupe. They shall have neither mortar nor cannon.

Art. XVII. That the troops at the head of the reduit, as well as those at the three rivers, shall march to the post of the camp de la Garde, and remain there until the day of embarkation.

The transport ships shall be at the great bay to-morrow morning to receive the troops of the garrison, the privateers men, and those who are to pass to Martinico.

JOHN MOORE.

J. BARRINGTON.

NADAU DUTREIL.

Articles of capitulation between their excellencies the Hon. Major-General Barrington, and John Moore, Esq; commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's land and sea forces in those seas, and the inhabitants of the island of Guadalupe, represented by Messrs. Debourg, de Clainvilliers, and Duqueruy, by virtue of full powers to them given for that purpose, and authorised by Monsieur Dutreil, Knight of the noble military order of St. Louis, governor of the island.

Art. I. The inhabitants shall march out of their posts with all the honours of war, viz, with two field pieces, their arms, colours flying, drums beating, and lighted match. Granted,

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for had the general allowed them time to recover from their fears, or a truce, that had prolonged the

in consideration of the brave defence which the inhabitants have made, during an attack of three months, upon condition that they lay down their arms so soon as they have marched by our troops, and that all the forts, posts, batteries, cannon, mortars, firelocks, and bayonets, with all kind of ammunition, and implements of war, be delivered to a commissary to be named by us; and that we shall have a power of fixing garrisons in all such places as we shall think proper.

Art. II. The inhabitants of the islands of Martinico, Margalante, and Dominico, who came to the assistance of this island, shall have leave to retire, with their arms and baggage, and a ship shall be provided to carry them, and the servants they brought with them, to their respective islands, with provisions for their passage. Granted, excepting those from Margalante, who shall be sent to Martinico.

Art. III. The inhabitants shall be allowed the free and public exercise of their religion; the priests and religious shall be preserved in their parishes, convents, and all other possessions; and the superiors of the several orders shall be permitted to send for such as they think necessary from France, and the neighbouring islands: but all letters wrote upon this occasion shall be transmitted by the governor appointed by his Britannic Majesty. Granted.

Art. IV. They shall observe a strict neutrality, and not be forced to take up arms against his Most Christian Majesty, or against any other power. Granted, on condition that they take an oath within a month, or sooner, if possible, to maintain all the clauses of the capitulation, as well as to remain exactly faithful and neuter,

Art. V. They shall be allowed their civil government, their laws, customs, and ordinances; justice shall be administered by the same persons who are now in office; and what relates to the interior police of the island shall be settled between his Britannic Majesty's governor and the inhabitants. And in case this island shall be ceded to the King of Great Britain at the peace, the

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the inhabitants shall have their choice, either to keep their own political government, or to accept that which is established at Antigua and St. Christopher's. Granted; but when any vacancies happen in the seats of justice, the superior council of the island is to name proper persons to fill up those vacancies, who must receive their commissions from his Britannic Majesty; and all acts of justice whatsoever are to be in his name. But in regard to any change in the political government, we grant it, if agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure.

Art. VI. The inhabitants, as well as the religious orders, shall be maintained in the property and enjoyment of their possessions, goods moveable and immoveable, noble and ignoble, of what nature soever they may be; and shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions: and the free negroes and Mulattoes in their liberty. Granted.

Art. VII. They shall pay no other duties to his Britannic Majesty but such as they have hitherto paid to his Most Christian Majesty, without any charge or imposts; the expences attending the administration of justice, the pensions to curates, and other customary charges, shall be paid out of the revenue of his Britannic Majesty, in the same manner as under the government of his Most Christian Majesty. Granted; but if this island is ceded to his Britannic Majesty at the peace, it shall be subject to the same duties and imposts as the other English leeward islands, the most favoured.

Art. VIII. All prisoners taken during the attack of this island shall be mutually exchanged. Granted.

Art. IX. The free Mulattoes and negroes, who have been taken, shall be considered as prisoners of war, and not treated as slaves. Granted.

Art. X. The subjects of Great Britain, who have taken refuge in this island, whether criminals or debtors, shall have leave to retire. Granted.

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army must have perished. And therefore we find General Barrington in his letter to Mr. PITT congratulating

Art. XI. No other but the inhabitants actually residing in this island shall possess any lands or houses, by purchase, grant, or otherwise, before a peace; but if at the peace this island should be ceded to the King of Great Britain, then such of the inhabitants as do not chuse to live under the English government shall be permitted to sell their possessions, moveable and immoveable, to whom they will, and retire wherever they please; for which purpose there shall be a reasonable time allowed. Granted; but such of the inhabitants as chuse to retire, shall have leave to sell to none but subjects of Great Britain.

Art. XII. In case there should be any exchange at the peace, their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties are desired to give the preference to this island. This will depend on his Majesty's pleasure.

Art. XIII. The inhabitants shall have free liberty to send their children to be educated in France, and to send for them back: and to make remittances to them whilst there. Granted.

Art. XIV. The absent inhabitants, and such as are in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the enjoyment and property of their estates, which shall be managed for them by attornies. Granted.

Art. XV. The wives of officers and others, who are out of the island, shall have leave to retire with their effects, and a number of servants suitable to their rank. Granted.

Art. XVI. The English government shall procure for the inhabitants an exportation for such commodities as the island produces, and are not permitted to be exported into England. Granted, as the island produces nothing but what may be imported into England.

Art. XVII. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to furnish quarters for the troops, nor slaves to work on the fortifications. Granted: but barracks will be provided as soon as possible for
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the lodgment of the troops; and such negroes, who shall be employed, with the consent of their masters, in public works, shall be paid for their labour.

Art. XVIII. The widows, and other inhabitants, who through illness, absence, or any other impediment, cannot immediately sign the capitulation, shall have a limited time allowed them to accede to it. Granted: but all the inhabitants, who chuse to partake of the advantage of the capitulation, shall be obliged to sign it within a month from the date hereof, or to quit the island.

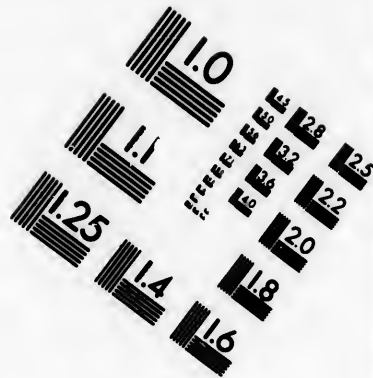
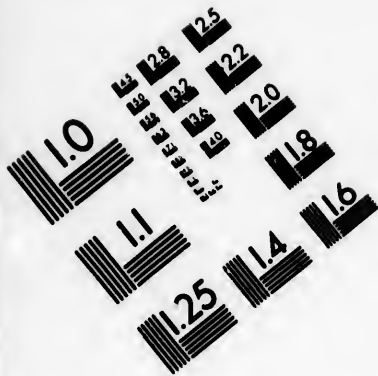
Art. XIX. the men belonging to the privateers, and others who have no property in the island, and are desirous to leave it, shall have vessels to carry them to Martinico or to Dominico, (at their option) and shall be furnished with provisions for the passage. Nevertheless those persons who have any debts with the inhabitants of the island, shall be obliged to settle their accounts with them before they depart. Granted.

Art. XX. The inhabitants shall have leave to give freedom to such negroes as they have promised it to, for the defence of this island. Granted, on condition they are immediately sent off of the island.

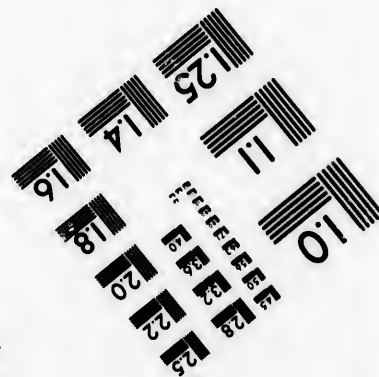
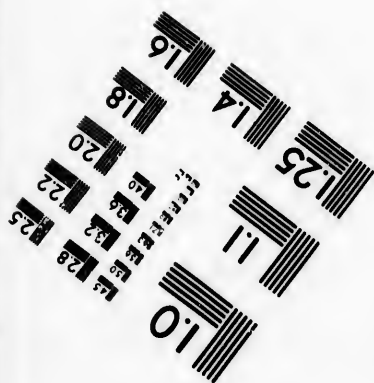
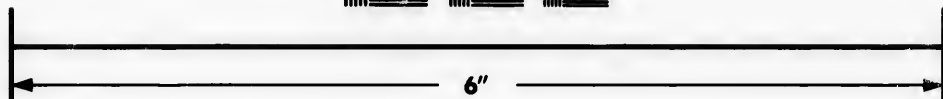
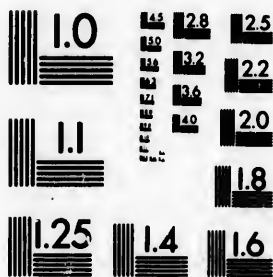
Art. XXI. The inhabitants and merchants of this island, included in the present capitulation, shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, and upon the same conditions as are granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects throughout the extent of his dominions. Granted, but without affecting the privileges of particular companies established in England, or the laws of the kingdom, which prohibit the carrying on the trade in any other than English bottoms.

Art. XXII. The deputies of the Grand Terre, not having a sufficient power to sign the capitulation, though the colony adheres to the conditions of it, under the authority of N. Naudau,





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A. D. 1759. Terre, when a messenger arrived in the enemy's camp, to acquaint them that M. Beaubarnois, the general of these islands, had landed at St. Ann's, on the windward part of that island, with a reinforcement from Martinico, of 600 regulars, 2000 buccaniers, and 2000 stands of spare arms for the inhabitants, with artillery and mortars, under the convoy of M. Bompert's squadron. Which message, had it arrived an hour sooner, might have rendered the conquest of Guadalupe very difficult, if not impossible. But as soon as he heard that the capitulation was signed, he re-imbarked his forces and arms; and the small islands of Marigallant, Descada, Santos and Petitz Terre submitted to the British crown, before the end of the month, upon the same conditions, as granted to Guadalupe. But the inhabitants of Marigal-

dau, may sign it when they have their full powers, and they will be comprehended in all the clauses. Granted.

Given at the head-quarters in the Capesterre, Guadalupe, the first day of May, 1759.

J. BARRINGTON.	JOHN MOORE.
NADAU DUTREIL.	DEBOURG DE CLAINVILLIERS.
	DUQUERVY.

We the deputies of the Grand Terre, arrived this day with full powers, do consent to the capitulation, signed the first of this month, between their Excellencies the Honourable General Barrington and John Moore, Esq; and the inhabitants of Guadalupe, agreeable to the 22d article of the said capitulation.

Done at the head-quarters in the Capesterre, Guadalupe, the second day of May, 1759.

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lante put on an appearance of a resolution to defend themselves; till they saw a detachment of troops, under the convey of three men of war and two bomb-vessels upon their coast, and ready to land. Which prevailed with them to receive an English garrison.

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The great good conduct and zeal of Brigadiers Clavering and Crump, and the bravery of the troops, executing with vigour and courage, the orders of Major General Barrington, laid up with the gout, got the better of every obstacle; forced the enemy in all their quarters, entrenchments and strong passes, and advanced as far as Cape-sterre; and as that was not the only object of the conqueror's arms, and the islanders had most private property to lose in that district, without any hopes of defence, Brigadier Crump having taken fifty pieces of cannon in his rout, these circumstances brought the enemy to terms, to deliver up an island of infinite consequence and value. On which, it has been roundly and positively asserted, there is more sugar grown, than in all the Leeward Islands put together. It is certain, from experience since its conquest, that this account of its produce in sugar is much exaggerated; but nevertheless it must be allowed to be the best of all the French sugar islands¹, both for sugar, cotton,

Importance of this conquest.

¹ Guadalupe, one of the Caribbee Islands, was so named by Columbus, from the resemblance of its mountains to those of that name in Spain; but it was by the Caribbees themselves called Karakera, or Carriceura. It is reckoned fifteen miles

A. D. ton, and coffee, and to exceed the produce of any
 1759. of the British, except Jamaica. The Capesterre
 abounds

miles N. W. of Marigalante, and thirty leagues N. W. from Martinico, W. long. 62. N. lat. 16. 6. It is the largest and one of the finest belonging to the French in those parts, being near 100 leagues in circumference. Father Tertre's map represents it divided in two parts by a channel about a league and a half over, called the Salt River, navigable only by canoes, that runs N. and S. and communicates with the seas on both sides, by a great bay at each end, of which that on the north is called Grande Cul de Sac, and the south, Petit Cul de Sac. The east part of the island is called Grand Terre, and is about nineteen French leagues from Antego Point on N. W. to the Point of Guadalupe on S. E. and about nine leagues and an half in the middle where broadest. M. Robbe, the French geographer, makes this place about fifty leagues in compass. The W. part, which is properly Guadalupe, according to Laet, is subdivided by a ridge of mountains into Capesterre W. and Basseterre E. This is $13 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues from N. to S. and $7 \frac{1}{2}$ where broadest, and 45 leagues in compass. Both parts would be joined by an isthmus a league and half broad, were it not cut through by the said canal. Grand Terre part is destitute of fresh water, which is so plentiful in the other (properly called Guadalupe) that it has enough to supply the neighbouring islands. Labat makes this 35 leagues in compass, and both parts or islands together about 90. The Salt River, he says, is about 300 feet over at its mouth, towards Great Cul de Sac, from whence it grows more narrow; so that in some places it is not above 90 feet over. Its depth is also unequal; for in some places it will carry a ship of 500 tons, in others, hardly a vessel of 50. It is a smooth clear stream, above two leagues from one Cul to the other, finely shaded, mostly with mangroves. The air is clear and wholesome, and is not so hot as in Martinico. The French began to send colonies to it about 1632; but it has vastly more increased since the beginning of the present century.

In

abounds with good rivers, that water one of the most delightful tracts of land in the universe :

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and

In the Grand Terre, on the E. side of the Petit Cul de Sac, stands Fort Louis, with a redoubt before it of six guns, to play into the road. This fort lies in that quarter called the parish of Gofier. In the Grand Terre are great indentures made in the land by the sea, affording shelter to vessels from hurricanes or enemies, in such deep water, that, instead of anchorage, they are moored to palmetto trees on each side, the branches of which, in a manner, cover them. The Grande Cul contains a basin five or six leagues long, from the point of Gros Morne in the Basseterre, to that of Antigua in Grand Terre, three leagues where broadest, and one where narrowest: a safe road for all rates. The Petit-Cul de Sac is a populous, well-cultivated, trading parish, to the north of Goyaves; and both are in Caves Terre, on the east side of Guadalupe Proper. Ginger comes up exceedingly well in the east of Proper Guadalupe, between Great Cul de Sac and the river of Caves Terre, or Great River, which is 180 feet wide, clear water, but almost impassable by reason of numberless rocks. People here eat vast quantities of it even green, because of the extraordinary moisture of the country. The next river to the S. is the Grand Carbet, and half a league further Grand Bananiers. That named Trois Rivieres, four miles broad, is on the south-east side of Guadalupe, where stands the Old Fort, for the security of the coast, which is very even, has good anchorage, and a smooth water, and therefore most liable to descents from enemies, who, if they had this part of the island, might cut off the communication between Caves and Caffe Terre, and thereby make themselves masters of the whole. There are therefore two iron guns to give alarm; and in the sulphur mountains is a redoubt called Dos d'Asne, to which the French, when such a descent has happened, sent their best effects, wives, children and old men. But the country here is so full of woods and precipices, that an handful of men might keep off an army. The river Gal-

leons,

A. D.
1759

and it has a port, in which the whole navy of England might ride secure from hurricanes; Guadalupe

leons, on the south-west side, where they have another fort, is so called, because the Spanish galleons used to put in there for refreshments, before the French had the island.

The chief fort of all is at the town of Basseterre, two leagues north from the Point of Old Fort. The town is also the chiefest, with several churches, monasteries, and magazines; and a castle with four bulwarks, besides a fort on a neighbouring mountain. It was burnt by the English in 1691, after thirty-five days siege, together with some other forts; and when it was almost entirely rebuilt, it was carried away by a furious inundation of the river Bailiff. After it was begun to be rebuilt, it was a second time burnt by the English in 1703, with Magdalen and other forts. Magdalen fort stands on higher ground than the town. Its walls are washed on the south-east by the river Galleons. West it faces the sea, from whence it is 100 paces; and on the north-west side it looks towards the town and mountains. The most considerable part of the town is betwixt the fort and that called the river of Herbs; and this is properly called the town of Basseterre; and that which extends from the river to the brook of Billan, is called the town of St. Francis. Between the Bailiff, west, and the great river of Goyaves, east, are ruins of another fortification, destroyed by the English in 1691. About half a league from hence is Ance à la Bark creek, where the English made then their descent; the most likely place, says Labat, they could have chosen for every man of them to be cut to pieces, if the French general officers had behaved as they ought; because of the many defiles, difficult passes, mountains and rivers, between the landing-place and fort of Basseterre.

In the government of Guadalupe are comprehended not only the Grand Terre, but Xaintes, or All Saints Islands, and Deseada. The former are three little islands, on the south-east side of Guadalupe, of which the westernmost is called Terre

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A. D.
1759.

lupe is computed to contain 10,000 Europeans, and 30,000 Negroes^a, and is fortified with several regular forts. Its air is more healthy and temperate than in most of the islands between the tropics. It has not only a very considerable trade for its own produce^a, but is so situated, as to carry on a trade with the Caraccas, and other parts of the Spanish main, for European goods, which are returned almost entirely in bullion or money; and in the hands of the French, it may be called the Dunkirk of the West Indies; for it being situated in the middle of the Leeward Islands, has always been a harbour for their privateers. Yet this conquest was made with the inconsiderable loss of twenty-two officers dead, eleven killed and twenty-one wounded^c.

We

Terre de Bas, or Low Island, about three leagues in computation, and the easternmost of the islands the High Island, the biggest; the third, in the middle of the other two, is only a large rock, but helps to form a very good harbour.

^a Valued, by the lowest computation, at 1,250,000 l. sterling.

^a In sugar only the produce is computed at 300,000 l. sterling to the planter.

^c *The following is an authentic list of the officers killed, wounded and dead, belonging to the forces under the command of the Honourable General Barrington, from their leaving England, to the 30th of April 1759.*

Third regiment, Howard's. Captain Imber, Lieutenant Campbell, Ensign Greenwood, dead; Ensign Griear, killed; Lieutenant Bailie, wounded.—4th regiment, Duroure's. Lieutenant Dorell, Lieutenant Abbit, Lieutenant Gray, dead; Captain Dalmahoy. Lieutenant Winchester, killed; Captain

Colonel

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We shall close the account of this grand enterprize and conquest with a passage in the journal of Captain Richard Gardiner, whose gallant behaviour at the head of the marines, on board the Rippon, entitles him to the regard of his fellow subjects. Thus, says the captain, ended an expedition of great importance to the public; and in which the English arms acquired reputation, even from the enemy. The intrepidity of the officers who commanded, and the resolution of the men who obeyed, were very uncommon and remarkable, and such only, as a true sense of honour, and a true zeal for their Sovereign and their

Colonel Campbell, Ensign Meredith, wounded.—61st regiment, Elliott's. Ensign Horner, dead; Captain Gunning, killed; Lieutenant Rowland, wounded.—63d regiment, Watson's. Lieutenant Ralph, Ensign Williams, dead; Lieutenant Colonel Desbrisay, Major Tropol, Lieutenant Read, killed; Captain Gilman, Lieutenant Hart, wounded.—64th regiment, Barrington's. Captain Sneid, Lieutenant Walker, Ensign Irwing, Surgeon Webb, Ditto Mate Robinson, Ditto Mate Hudson, dead; Lieutenant Maxwell, Lieutenant Bell, Ensign Southouse, wounded.—65th regiment, Armiger's. Lieutenant Colonel Salt, Lieutenant Cromelin, Lieutenant Donaldson, dead; Ensign Leech, killed; Captain Stevens, Lieutenant Ferrell, Lieutenant Campbell, wounded.—38th regiment, Ross's. Lieutenant Stewart, dead; Lieutenant Plafow, killed; Major Melvill, Ensign Deubar, Surgeon Nicholson, wounded.—42d regiment, Highlanders. Major Anstruther, Captain Arbuthnot, dead; Ensign M'Lean, killed; Major M'Lean, Lieutenant M'Lean, Lieutenant Leslie, Lieutenant St. Clair, Lieutenant Robinson, wounded.—Artillery. Lieutenant Tyndall, killed; Captain Innis, wounded. Mr. Jack, engineer, dead.—Total of officers dead 22; killed 11; wounded 21.

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country, could inspire: exposed to dangers they had never known, to disorders they had never felt, to a climate more fatal than the enemy, and to a method of fighting they had never seen: harrassed with perpetual alarms, and fatigued with constant duty, they still advanced, alert in all hours of caution, invincible in all hours of attack. Frequently they suffered from concealed fires out of the woods, from lurking parties of armed negroes, that could not be discovered, and where the officer who commanded was in the situation of Virgil's Rutulian captain:

*Sævit atrox Volscens, nec teli conspicit usquam
Aulorem, nec quo se ardens immittere possit.*

Æn. 9.

On such occasions they preserved their ranks inflexibly, or rushed with bayonets fixed among the trees and bushes, till they had scoured them thoroughly. Fortune at last declared in their favour, and conquest became the recompence of virtue; when, under the directions of an active and enterprising commander in chief, whose orders were executed with the same alacrity they were given, the British troops succeeded in reducing to his Majesty's obedience, an island, perhaps, of as great consequence to the crown of England,

P A body of armed negroes, concealing themselves one day in the canes, and firing out of them, the English set fire to the several corners of the field, and burnt them and the canes together.—Madame Ducharme armed her negroe, and led them to the attack in person.

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as any other in subjection to it in South America of infinite prejudice to the trade and commerce of the French, our natural and inveterate foe; and of as much security to our colonies and plantations near it.

Nor were the officers and seamen of the royal squadron at all inferior, in their several departments, to the gentlemen of the army; and while we admire the distinguished rapidity of Crumpe, the gallant impetuosity of Desbrisay and Melville, we are called upon, with equal justice, to applaud the spirited perseverance of the intrepid Shuldham (of the Panther), and the youthful ardour of the brave old Leslie (of the Bristol), not to omit the memorable and irresistible fire of the St. George, Captain Gayton, and Cambridge, Captain Barton, of which a Frenchman, speaking in reply to a question I had asked him, "How they came to quit the citadel?" answered, with some warmth, *Eh! comment, Monsieur? Tout autre que le Diable eût quitté là Citadelle; c'étoit le feu d'enfer même.* "What, Sir! Nobody but the Devil would have staid there; for it was the fire of Hell itself."

General
Barrington's
conduct after
the conquest.

General Barrington having done with his military operations in the field, made the tour of the island, to view the fortifications, and to confirm the peace and tranquillity of the inhabitants by every civility and act of grace in his power. He ordered such of the forts to be repaired, as seemed necessary to be maintained, and engraciated himself so much in the esteem of the natives, that
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it was a doubt whether he was more respected and loved by his army, or by his conquests.

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There being nothing more for him to do with his troops, the general signified to Commodore Moore (who had attempted to follow Bompars's squadron to the coast of Guadalupe, but was kept back by contrary winds) his intention to send part of his forces to England about July, and demanded a convoy for that purpose. The commodore made what haste he could to Basseterre, where he was reinforced by two ships of the line from England, and informed that the French squadron was skulking at the Island of Granada, about eight leagues from Guadalupe. The addition of these two ships made the English squadron much superior to the enemy's; and it was resolved to sail in quest of them. But before the English could weigh anchor, a frigate, dispatched for intelligence, brought advice that M. de Bompars's squadron had departed from Granada, and steered towards Hispaniola. And as, by some intercepted letters, it was probable, a descent upon Jamaica might be attempted by that armament, the commodore dispatched the Ludlow Castle to Admiral Cotes, who commanded on that station, with advice thereof.

Resolves to
return to
England.

In the separation of the army, the general sent the Highlanders, with a body of draughts, to North America, under convoy. Three complete regiments were allotted to guard the conquered islands: and the other three were embarked for England. Colonel Delgarno was honoured with

Separates
the army.

Provides
for the se-
curity of
the island.

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Embarks
for Eng-
land.

Affairs in
the East
Indies.

M. Lally
marches
against
Madras.

the command of Grand Terre. Colonel Melville continued governor of the citadel of Basseterre, and Colonel Crump was left with the chief command over all. A small squadron, under the command of Commodore Hughes, was appointed to convoy the troops to England; on board of whom General Barrington himself embarked, about the latter end of June, and arrived safe in England.

The British arms in the East Indies were also fully employed. The French, under M. Lally, made their last struggle in Coromandel: and our good and faithful allies, the Dutch, who had evaded their obligation to assist us, when attacked by the French, and treacherously supplied our enemies with impliments of war, both for sea and land; and persisted in carrying their property in Europe and America, conspired with them in a scheme more ruinous than the massacre of Amboyna, to extirpate the British commerce and name from the Ganges and Bengal; that M. Lally and M. d'Ache might be at liberty to destroy the rest of our commerce and settlements in Asia.

We left M. Lally marching against Madras⁹. This general encamped on St. Thomas's Mount^r, about nine miles from the town, on the 10th of

⁹ See p. 300. Vol. III.

^r So called from a tradition, that St. Thomas the Apostle had preached the gospel on that spot. Here is still a chapel, dedicated to that saint, supplied by a Portuguese priest. About which are many villas and gardens, inclosed with brick walls breast high, on account of its pleasant situation and goodness of the air.

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December, with 3500 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys and 2000 horse, on the very spot the English had left the day before, who retreated to Choultry-plain. M. Lally advanced, and on the 12th, about break of day, his army appeared on the plain also. The utmost caution being necessary at this important crisis, the governor had desired Colonel Lawrence not to venture an action, unless upon terms of the highest advantage; the colonel, after a cannonading of about two hours, retreated from this camp also, and retired into the garrison. The enemy entered immediately, and occupied the camp thus abandoned, about a mile and a half to the southward. Their advanced guards took possession of the garden-house and the neighbouring villages, in order to invest the town.

Three posts were reinforced in the Black-town, with orders to do all in their power to obstruct the motions of the enemy; but to retreat into the fort, before their communication should be in danger of being cut off. Which was performed on the 14th, when M. Lally attacked the Black-town, in two columns. This quarter was too large to be defended. But the hasty retreat of the pickets to the fort so discouraged the inhabitants, that it threw them into great confusion, and both women and children thronged to the fort for protection. As this required some immediate address to keep up the spirits of the garrison, Colonel Draper, who formed his judgment upon principles of nature; taking it for granted, that the

Enters the Black-town without opposition.

Colonel Draper's advice and bravery.

A. D.
1759:

enemy had conceived such a contempt of the garriſon, for ſuffering them to take poſſeſſion of the Black-town, without oppoſition, as might throw them off their guard, and give a ſwing to the dictates of their paſſions and appetites, to plunder and to revel in military licentiousneſs, over a vanquiſhed enemy, he propoſed a ſally, and offered himſelf to command a party for that ſervice. Their known want of diſcipline in the French army encouraged this undertaking alſo. This propoſal had the approbation of the governor and of Colonel Lawrence; who furniſhed Colonel Draper with 500 men and two field-pieces; and ordered Major Brereton, with 150 men, to cover their right flank from Lally's brigade, and to prevent their coming upon them from the north part, by which was the quarter Colonel Draper propoſed to enter the Black-town.

Begins
with tokens
of ſucceſs.

How defeated.

Never was there any ſervice better concerted, nor executed with more reſolution than this ſally, at the beginning; and fortune ſeemed to ſmile on their bravery. Draper's men marched out full of ſpirits, and the French miſtaking them for Lally's brigade, ſuffered them, unmoleſted, to form upon their left flank; nor were they apprized of the miſtake, till convinced by the fire of the field pieces, loaded with grape-shot. This firſt charge threw the left flank of the enemy into great confuſion; ſo that they abandoned their cannon, and fought only to ſave their perſons. Now was the critical moment to puſh the broken remains of the French. Colonel Draper would have ſeized the

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opportunity: commanded his men to cease firing, and to charge with bayonets fixed: he even set the example and advanced; but there wanted regularity and obedience: his orders were ineffectual, and his example was followed only by four brave fellows, grenadiers; two of whom were killed; the other two were dangerously wounded.

Colonel Draper sallied out by the west, entered by the south side of the Black-town, and penetrated quite through, almost to the end of the street, before he perceived any corps of the enemy: where he received a scattering fire. Here he left two platoons to check them, and marched on with the rest to the square, at the extremity of that street, where the streets crossed each other, and exhibited a fair view of the Lorraine regiment and Indian battalions in the flank, waiting for him at the head of another street, more to the west, where they had pointed four guns in that direction. Here our cannon began to play briskly with grape-shot, which, together with the musketry, made such havock amongst the enemy, that they soon fell into confusion, abandoned their cannon, and hid themselves under some huts; having fired no more than three shot. Colonel Draper advanced, and in person exchanged a pistol with the officer of the artillery, who immediately surrendered, having no support at hand. But the colonel had the mortification not to find men to carry off the guns. His own men, as well as the French, had thrown themselves under the cover of some houses and old walls: which

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1759.

Attacks
the French.

Not sup-
ported by
his men.

A. D.
1759.
Retreats.

gave the enemy time to rally. This created such a disorder amongst our people, that the colonel thought it most prudent to retreat. This he attempted down the street to the eastward from the square: but by some neglect of the drummers, or misunderstanding of the soldiers, he had the misfortune to lose eighty of his men; who continuing at their post in the square, after the colonel had marched off with the rest, were shut up there by the enemy, and obliged to surrender prisoners of war. However, Colonel Draper being joined by Colonel Brereton's corps, in the nick of time, he made his retreat good to the fort, with very little loss; though Lally's regiment planted themselves at the little bridge, and fired briskly with two field pieces and grape, as the troops marched to the entrance of the town, at the north ravelin.

Remarks.

How jilting was fortune on this occasion! every thing seemed, at the beginning of this action, to promise the deliverance of Madras from the horrors of a siege; and the total overthrow of the Lorrain regiment and Indian battalions. Count d'Estaing, a brigadier-general, was made prisoner at the beginning. The enemy lost near three hundred men; and had upwards of thirty officers killed or wounded; and their artillery fell into the hands of the English. But a sudden irregularity threw all into confusion. The victors sought for shelter, instead of pursuing the runaways. The enemy was permitted to rally, to recover their cannon, and to cut off the communication with eighty of our men. Which, with

Loss of the
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the loss of Major Polier, Captain Hume and Ensign Chase mortally wounded; Captain Pascall and Lieutenant Elliot shot through the body; Captain Lieutenant Bilhock killed; Lieutenants Smith and Blair wounded and taken; one hundred and three men taken; fifty killed and fifty wounded, made our loss in this sally to be eight officers and two hundred men and upwards.

During the sally the enemy fired several field pieces into the fort, but did no damage. Neither did the artillery in the fort attempt any further than to disturb the besiegers, where it was thought they might be at work; the engineer being employed in several necessary works to secure their water, to remove obstructions on the ramparts, and to set up a pallisadoe in an opening under the south flank of the royal bastion. The enemy continued quiet all next day (the 15th) and lost several men by desertion, who, disgusted with their officers and service, and expecting no success against the fort, came into it with their arms.

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Operations
in the
siege.

The reports of the disagreement amongst the officers, and the disgust shewn by the men in the French camp, encouraged the besieged to try the issue of another sally. Forty volunteers, and as many Sepoys, were ordered for this service. They marched out secretly about eleven at night for the Black-town, to give the enemy an alert, and to nail up some pieces of cannon, said to be planted in the streets. But this party being discovered by the enemy's centinels, almost as soon as they had passed the glacis, the whole army was alarmed; and

A. D.
1759.

and the sortie was forced to retreat within their walls. The French, in the following night, returned the compliment by a pretended attack, which ended with a few men only, who advanced with a bravado near the glacis, and gave their fire. Still there was no appearance of works carried on for a siege, and deserters continued to come in every evening, who informed the governor that the enemy were waiting for mortars and stores, and that some were already arrived at St. Thomas's. A supply, which the governor of Madras had tried to intercept or prevent its landing, by employing a Dutch sloop to attack and take the French ship, loaded with the enemy's stores. This sloop was manned by the gentlemen of the squadron and marines, commanded by Captain Jasper; and had they succeeded, as it was highly probable they might have done, nothing could have so effectually served the garrison, or so much have hurt the enemy. But, after being detained by bad weather in the road, from the 12th, Captain Jasper could not prevail with his people on board to proceed in the execution of their orders, under a persuasion, that their intention was discovered. They accordingly returned on the 18th, and landed. The governor then gave out publickly, that he would distribute 50,000 rupees among the garrison, for their encouragement, five days after the siege should be raised, or the French beat off.

A flying
camp.

But their spirits were kept up chiefly by the flying camp, that was formed by Captain Preston, who

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who commanded at Changalaput; which hovered about the French army, and harrassed them with great success. This was owing to the foresight and good management of the governor of Fort St. George and Madras, some time before the approach of the French; who had, in the beginning of December, commissioned Major Caillaud to solicit the King of Tanjore, Tondeman and the other Polegars in those parts, for assistance in case of necessity. In which commission the major was ordered to join Captain Preston and Isowf Cawn. Major Caillaud undertook this commission with great alacrity and resolution, though he had the difficulties of the monsoon, which was then at the very height, and no other conveyance or carriage than an open boat, along a coast within the reach of many garrisons possessed by the French. The uncertain state of affairs made this application necessary, at least to prevent the court of Tanjore falling under the absolute influence of the enemy; and prevailed with the major to defy all dangers, which he had the good fortune to escape, and he landed at Tranquebar, a Danish settlement, and reached Tanjore about the middle of December. But as Monagee, the prime-minister, in the interest of the English, and his friends, had been obliged to resign and give place to a ministry, who, according to the true spirit of eastern politics, advised the king to side with neither of the European powers, but to wait the event of their arms, in order to make his own advantage: and this council being favoured by the intelligence received

Major Caillaud's negotiation at Tanjore.

A. D.
1759.

ceived, of the surrender of the Black-town to the French, without a blow; Major Caillaud, notwithstanding his known interest and influence with the country powers, was put off from day to day, and at last could obtain no more than three hundred horse, to be paid by the company. With these, and about the same number of chosen, well-disciplined and active Sepoys, whom he collected, he set out immediately upon a march of 250 miles, to Changalaput; and performed it in eleven days.

Here the major left his men to follow him, after they had been refreshed, and proceeded to the Mount of St. Thomas, whither Captain Preston had marched the party, he had a commission to command. At the mount he met with fifteen hundred Sepoys and two thousand horse, under Isouwf Cawn; and five hundred Sepoys, sixty Europeans and six three pounders, part of the garrison of Changalaput, under the command of Captain Preston; who had pitched upon this situation to be the fittest to cut off the convoys for the enemy's camp, and to harrass and keep it in constant alarms, and so effectually to obstruct their operations, that it was certainly by the danger apprehended from this flying army, that the siege was carried on with so little spirit. For at one encounter Captain Preston had taken a convoy, with a number of spare arms, a large mortar, two cannon, some ammunition, a quantity of bul-

Captain
Preston's
success
with the
flying
camp.

* On the 18th of December.

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locks, and tents for 3000 men : he had repulsed several detachments from the enemy's main army ; and in one action had treated the black forces so severely, that they were obliged to move off towards Arcot to recruit.

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1759.

These losses and alarms made it necessary for M. Lally to deliver himself from so dextrous and active an enemy in his rear. He was thoroughly sensible of the check this flying camp could, at all times, give to his operations ; and was convinced that nothing less would do, than a force sufficient to crush them effectually. He compared them to flies hovering about a pot of sugar, no sooner beat off from one part, but they settle on another. So that as soon as his black forces were recruited and returned from Arcot, to the camp before Fort St. George, he detached 600 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, 300 European dragoons, 100 hussars and a thousand Marattas, with ten pieces of cannon, to attack the English camp on the mount, now under the chief command of Major Caillaud. Who, informed in the night, that the enemy was advancing in a powerful body, made the best disposition of his infantry he was able, behind the garden walls, and drew up his cavalry on his right. Day-light discovered the enemy, and a severe cannonade began. The French cavalry inclined very fast to the right, about 300 paces from the front of our left. They were the Europeans that pushed on that side. The Sepoys endeavoured to occupy all the banks and places on our left, where they could be under cover.

Attacked
by a strong
detach-
ment from
the French
camp.

As

A. D.
1759.

As soon as their cavalry halted; ours were ordered to charge them immediately: and to see them advance for one hundred yards, they carried the appearance of the best troops upon earth: but as soon as the enemy moved to receive them, their spirits failed, and they fled with the greatest precipitation; and the slaughter in the pursuit might have totally ruined them, had not the French cavalry, too eagerly pressing through an interval between the village and the foot of the mount, been stopped by a party of foot, which obliged them, with a brisk fire, to retreat. The left wing behaved much better. The village was well defended. It was twice taken and retaken; and at last, after a dispute of three hours, it was lost by the rashness of the officer only, who commanded that post: who seeing the enemy retreat in some confusion, indiscreetly pursued, not observing a party, ready to support them. That party stopped him, and drove him out of the village.

Repulsed.

Retreats.

It was now about ten in the morning, when the enemy, tired of attacking, contented themselves with cannonading the English severely. But not being able to dislodge them by that means, they renewed their attack about four. But it was too late to take effect. Major Caillaud had so stationed his musketry behind the garden walls, that they could not advance through their fire; and having no stomach to continue the action upon such disadvantageous terms, they thought seriously of a retreat; which they effected without further loss; moving off their artillery at the close
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of the evening, and their whole body soon after [†]. A. D. 1759.
 A happy circumstance for our troops, who had exhausted all their ammunition for the artillery, and had very little left for the musketry. Therefore the major embraced the opportunity: and in two hours after the enemy had left him the field of battle, Major Caillaud ^{retires also.} marched away for Changelaput, the only place, where he could be supplied.

M. Lally had depended much upon the success ^{Siege goes on.} of this detachment, hoping that by cutting off the principal hopes of relief or aid from the besieged, that the fort might be brought to terms of capitulation. So that his approaches and operations went on but very slowly. However, the garrison took every precaution for defence, and tried every art to annoy the enemy. On the 29th a subaltern, with twenty-one men and some Sepoys, was ordered to sally on the retrenchment and works, supposed to be carrying on by the enemy: but they sallying before it was dark, were discovered, and obliged by a superior force to retire, with some loss. The same fate disconcerted the proposal of Jamaul Saib, commandant of the Sepoys; who undertook an attack upon St. Thomas. He was detached on this service with ten companies of Sepoys: but taking the rout of Longbridge, he was fired upon by some French Sepoys, stationed in M. Powney's house. Which struck his men with such a panic, that most of

[†] Their loss on this occasion was 170 Europeans killed and wounded, and about 300 Sepoys.

them

A. D. 1759. them threw down their arms; and he was obliged to return. Several other sallies were made on various occasions and at different times, but with little or no effect. But our firing increased as the works of the enemy advanced.

M. Lally threatens to burn the Black Town.

On the 30th M. Lally sent a flag of truce into the fort, with a letter complaining of their firing at his head quarters, and threatening to burn the Black Town in return. To which it was answered, That he had no right to complain, because he was the first general, perhaps, that fixed his head quarters within point blank shot of the fort, and lodged a regiment and ammunition, at the same place.

Seized upon Sadras.

Having lost all hopes of success against the flying camp, M. Lally became more diligent in his works before the town, but met with a brave defence; and he seized upon Sadras, a Dutch settlement on the coast, equally distant from Pondicherry and Madras, for a place of arms and for his magazines. The polite French general, under a pretence of defending that settlement against any attempt to be made by the English, turned out the Dutch soldiers, and garrisoned it with French. The state of Sadras being thus changed, Major Caillaud, after his forces were recruited and provided with ammunition, laid a plan to surprize it. The Major had 20 miles to march from Changelaput to Sadras; and set out with his troops about four o'clock in the morning. His guides missed their way in the dark night: which made their arrival in the neighbourhood of Sadras to

Major Caillaud disappointed in his surprize of Sadras.

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late in the day, that they were discovered, and the Major not having sufficient strength to attempt it by open force, was obliged to drop his design, and return without any other advantage than intercepting a letter sent by M. Lally, by a particular messenger, to the governor of Pondicherry; in which he complains, amongst other things, of his situation; That a breach had been made fifteen days, and his men all the time within fifteen toises of the wall of the place, and never holding up their heads to look at it. That of the 1500 Sepoys in his camp, near 800, and all the Coulis, did nothing more than carry sugar, pepper, and other goods to Pondicherry. He acquaints him with his resolution to set fire to the Black town, and to blow up the powder mills. He adds what is greatly in the praise of the besieged, That 50 French deserters, and 100 Swiss, of which he diminutively insinuates the whole garrison consisted, did actually stop the progress of 2000 men of the King's and company's troops. He assures him that his greatest loss had been in two combats and four battles, and in his batteries unskilfully made. And concludes, that he was so dissatisfied with his station, "That he had rather command the
 "cassres of Madagascar, than remain in this So-
 "dom, which it is impossible, but that the fire of
 "the English must destroy, sooner or later, even
 "tho' that from heaven should not—I undertake
 "only to bring the army back, either to Arcot or
 "Sadras—I will quit it upon my arrival there."

A. D.
1759.

M. Lally's
letter of
complaints
to the go-
vernour of
Pondicher-
ry.

A. D.
1759.
The Black
Town
saved and
the siege
raised.

This letter plainly intimated his resolution to raise the siege, as soon as he had burnt the Black town, &c. A mischief not to be prevented without more resistance, than could be made from the Fort. Therefore Major Caillaud marched back to such a situation, as might enable him to be ready for any service requisite to favour the efforts of the garrison. And the long expected reinforcement, of about 600 soldiers from England, arriving in the very interim (on the 16th of February) M. Lally, having nailed up all the guns in the Blacktown, and destroyed the carriages of those, that could not be got off without difficulty, made great fires in the trenches to cover his intentions; evacuated the approaches after a pretty smart fire from the musketry; and in the morning he was seen marching out of the Black-town, without an opportunity to execute the wicked design of setting it on fire, being afraid of the strength of the flying army again assembled in Mount St. Thomas, and the united force of the garrison and of the troops from England, should they take his retreating army between two fires.

Remarks.

Thus was raised the siege of Fort St. George, after the garrison had been shut up 67 days, and the enemy's batteries had been open 66. In which we have some particulars worthy of observation. The garrison in general distinguished themselves for their sobriety, and emulated each other in their military duty. The artillery was so well served, that two 12 pounders from the north ravelin dismounted four 24 pounders opposed to them: out

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of 32 pieces of cannon found on the enemy's batteries, 31 were disabled by our shot. The works were kept in extraordinary good repair, and three guns with a stout parapet were maintained in the north east bastion all the time by a very few men. An addition was also made of a battery by the sea side, and two pieces more were fired on the 16th of February, than on the 14th of December. And it must be mentioned to the honour of our nation; that a few raw men taken from the pioneer company, greatly out-did all the boasted miners of the French; who threatned to blow whole bastions into the air: for after the breaching battery was erected, those raw men, never having seen any thing of the kind before, and without any previous preparation of stantions or tools, were set to open the counterscarp, and by continued hard labour and perseverance, carried a shaft 95 feet in length under the enemy's battery, where two chambers were made and loaded with 250 lb. of powder each. Not only a laborious, but a most hazardous undertaking; the shaft being carried on under the explosion of the enemy's guns, which every day made the earth fall in.

M. Lally left behind him all his heavy cannon, Loss of the about 40 pieces, and a large quantity of stores; French. which lessened the French extremely in the opinion of the Indian Princes, with whom their interest ever after was upon the decline. But so brave a Characters defence and deliverance did great honour to all of the governor and officers. concerned: particularly to Colonel Lawrence, who in the chief command, had the satisfaction to see

A. D. 1759. all his services in the country crowned by a most honourable defence of the capital settlement: and to Colonel Draper and Major Brereton, who nobly seconded the judgment and experience of their commander, by their bravery and conduct, within the fort; and to Major Caillaud, and Captain Preston without. Mr. Pigot the governor contributed also greatly to their success, by his prudent management of the stores, and the regularity which he preserved by frequently visiting all the posts and rewarding merit upon the spot, where he found it due. Besides he faithfully discharged his promise of 50,000 rupees, as an encouragement and reward to the garrison for their good behaviour, in case they should by their resistance oblige the enemy to raise the siege: immediately after the enemy disappeared the money was issued and distributed; two thirds to the Europeans, and one third to the Sepoys and Lascars.

Colonel Lawrence's country house, &c. burnt by the French.

M. Lally retreats to Conjeveram.

Though the Black-town escaped the destruction intended by M. Lally, he vented his resentment of so great a disgrace before Fort St. George, by the devastation he made on the mount, to which he marched directly; and ordered, amongst other things unworthy of a soldier, Colonel Lawrence's country house to be blown up with three barrels of gun-powder. From the mount he proceeded without further delay, and arrived at Conjeveram next morning; where he began to fortify himself against a sudden attack, in case of a pursuit. But, though our army might be in a condition, as to numbers, to give him battle, they found it impracticable

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practicable to follow and take the field for want of bullocks, cooleys and other necessaries. However, being provided at length, Colonel Lawrence, in the beginning of March, took the command in person of about 1400 Europeans, and the black army of Isouf Cawn and the Nabob's brother. With these he fought the enemy, and moved round Conjeveram, where the French continued, and exposed his flank to provoke them to give him battle. But to no purpose. So that Colonel Lawrence despairing of an opportunity to give a final stroke to the French military power in India, his health not permitting him to continue longer in that climate, resigned the command of the army to Major Brereton, having previously given leave to Colonel Draper, on account of his bad state of health, also to sail for England.

A. D.
1759.

Is followed
by the
English.

Colonel
Lawrence
and Colo-
nel Draper
return to
England.

Major
Brereton
takes the
command
in chief.

Major Brereton, by sitting down and opening ground before Wandewash, brought the French at last out of their fortifications, to the relief of Wandewash. They marched within nine miles of the English army. Major Brereton advanced between three and four miles towards them, where they remained two days under arms; and then by a masterly stroke of generalship made a forced march in the night of the 12th of April towards Conjeveram, and entered that town next day; but did not reduce it without considerable loss. For it was garrisoned with 500 black troops, commanded by Mustapha Beg, an enterprising partizan, who had withdrawn himself from Captain Preston, and left the English service during the

Provokes
the French
out of their
strong
hold.

Surprizes
Conjeve-
ram.

How de-
fended.

A. D.
1759.

Loss of the
English.

siege of Madras. This partizan retired to the pagoda with his corps; where he and most of them chose to die, rather than surrender. By which obstinacy the English lost some men, but not in proportion to the officers, four of whom were killed. Besides Major Caillaud was wounded in the cheek: Major Monson received a wound that entered near his ear, passed through his cheek, and came out near his nose, without finding any great inconvenience from it: and Major Brereton received a contusion in his knee, which laid him up for some time.

Importance of
this conquest.

This conquest, which stripped the French of their principal supplies of stores, baggage, and necessaries, increased their disgust and discontent into almost a real mutiny, for want of cloathing and pay. The desertion of the infantry was very great: and 50 hussars went over to the English camp: which laid the foundation of raising a corps of those useful soldiers. However M. Lally, for the present, having contrived to cloath his men during his stay, about a month, at Cauvery-Pauk; and informed that the English at Conjeveram were left by Isouf Cawn and the Nabob's brother, thought his men would be inclined for action, and decamped once more to attack Major Brereton. At the same time the English marched towards Cauvery-Pauk: and they met unexpectedly in the way. Major Brereton had marched with a design to attack the enemy: but it unfortunately happened, that in a march of eight miles, six recruits fell down dead, and 90 were taken ill and

Sickness
in the
English
army.

A. D.
1759.

tendered unfit for service by the inclement heat; which at this season was most intense. Such an unforeseen accident obliged the Major to retreat back to Conjeveram. This encouraged M. Lally to advance within three miles of this town. So that notwithstanding the disorder occasioned by the climate spread itself much, and the major himself was affected by it, the English could not reconcile to their sense of honour, to be shut up within walls, when an enemy was daring them to come out. Therefore Major Monson led them out; and though the French had 1800 Europeans, he sustained two attacks, repulsed the enemy in both, with so much advantage, that M. Lally, being convinced, that there was no real disposition in his army to fight, decamped in the night, and marched 20 miles to Trivatour: where he separated his army, sending them into cantonments, and went himself to Pondicherry.

Attacked
by the
French
without
success.

During the siege of Madras, M. Lally met with the mortification of the rejoicings in the garrison for the victory gained by Colonel Forde over the French army under the Marquis de Conflans, and the reduction of Rajamundry in Golconda. Colonel Forde was resolved to make the most of his success; and not to leave the French one inch of ground to stand upon in this province. But he wanted money to pay his troops and to provide for their march, which was by agreement to be supplied by the Raja, who had solicited the aid of

Colonel
Forde's
progress in
Golconda.

^u See page 304, &c. Vol. III.

A. D.
1759.

Narsipore
surprized
and taken.

the English. The Colonel with much trouble and delay did, at last, prevail with the Indian chief to perform his agreement, and to take the field about the middle of January 1759; and having appointed Captain Bristol governor for him at Rajamundry, he marched with the English army for Massulipatam. Colonel Forde took the direct road and halted at Elore, on the 6th of February, for the Raja, who marched out of the line to raise contributions. While the English halted at Elore, Colonel Forde detached Captain Knox, with 100 Europeans and a body of Sepoys, to reduce the French factory at Narsipore, about 20 miles from thence; which detachment was accompanied with a menacing letter from the Colonel, threatening the Raja of that place to destroy his whole country in case he offered to resist the English, or give the French any assistance: and offering proper encouragement for him to enter into our alliance. Which had its desired effect. The Raja of Narsipore repaired to the English camp, and promised not only to favour, but to join his forces with ours in a few days. So that though M. Panneau, the French chief at that settlement, seemed at first determined to defend his post, he now judged it most adviseable to send away the company's property in boats to Massulipatam, and the garrison to join the remains of M. de Conflans's army, which consisting of 250 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and four pieces of cannon, kept always in front to distress and retard our march, by har-

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raffing the country, and was now encamped about 40 miles off. A. D. 1759.

When Colonel Forde took possession of Narfipore he found only two 24 pounders, three 12 pounders, some small guns, and several vessels, boats, and sea-stores: for M. Panneau had sunk all the ammunition in the river.

The Raja's army having levied contributions, joined the English on the 18th at Narfipore; and they, augmented with the forces of the Raja of

Fort Cancal taken.

Narfipore, marched next day in quest of the enemy; and on the 26th forced the small fort of Cancalle, defended by a serjeant, 13 Europeans, and two companies of Sepoys; who, having orders to maintain the post at all events, refused quarter and were put to the sword. The French general had detached 40 Europeans and some Sepoys to reinforce this small fort: but they came too late: and when the Marquis saw the English army approaching the ground, on which he was intrrenched,

The French retire into Massulipatam.

about two miles from Massulipatam, he was so much surprized, that neglecting the advantages of his situation, he retreated rather than hazard another action. He retired into the fort: and the English army entered the camp he had abandoned. In which march the English had suffered considerably for want of supplies, which had been cut off by an army of observation, that laid between them and Rajamundry; and, at last, had obliged Captain Bristol to surrender that important fort; where the enemy seized the baggage and effects of the officers, that were left there, and made 20 Eu-

The French reduce Rajamundry.

ropeans

A. D.
1759.

ropeans, and 40 Sepoys prisoners; and, though they got no money, which the governor had conveyed by water to Cockanara, this disappointed the army of their pay.

Maffulipatam invested.

Colonel Forde lost no time. He invested Maffulipatam on the 7th of March, with the animating advice, which he that day received, of M. Lally's departure from before Madras. The approaches were carried on till the 6th of April. The town was bombarded, and a great many houses were destroyed. Several breaches were made in the bastions: but soon filled up by the numerous garrison; till the commander of the artillery informed the Colonel that no more than two days ammunition remained, having expended above 400 barrels of powder, with shot and shells in proportion. He then remonstrated that the batteries would not be able to do any more than to open the breaches again, as before, in the course of that day's firing. This reduced the Colonel to the dilemma either to attempt to take the place by a coup de main, or by storm, that same evening, or to raise the siege and march off. He chose to storm the town in breach. The dispositions were fixed: the whole army was under arms at 10 at night: and the Europeans were ordered for the effectual service. But in order to divert the attention of the besieged, two feint attacks were to be made; one by Captain Knox, who was ordered to march in the dusk of the evening, with 700 of the first battalion of Sepoys, round the town to the westward; to draw as near the

Taken by storm.

Three attacks.

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A. D.
1759.

walls as possible, and to begin their fire exactly at 12 o'clock: the other by the Raja of Visanapore, with 4000 of his own forces, whose directions were to attack by the gate way, and on the front of the detached ravelin; to follow Captain Knox's fire, and to alarm and perplex the garrison as much as possible, by firing of cannon, small arms, rockets, &c. The real attack upon the bastions, where the breaches had been made, was committed to the bravery and conduct of the European battalion*, supported by a part of the artillery taken from the batteries, 30 gunners, as many seamen from the Hardwicke, and 700, or the second battalion of Sepoys, with two field pieces.

Captain Knox and the Raja began to fire according to their instructions: and while the garrison were distracted by those attacks, the grand party crossed the morafs, which surrounds the whole town, and gained the ditch before they were discovered. The grenadiers and two battalions of Sepoys pushed for one of the bastions, where the breach had been made: the battalion of Europeans, seamen and gunners, made to the others. Both parties past through a shower of small arms and grape shot from the flanks of the bastions: and returned the fire by the musketry, that drove the enemy from the breaches: though they kept up a smart fire from the other works. It was not practicable to get the field pieces over

* Three hundred and twelve men.

the

A. D.
1759.

the ditch. But the officer and men belonging to the artillery, disdain- ing a state of inaction, when every hand was required, and their fellow soldiers were driving the enemy before them, left the cannon, entered the town with the rest of the troops, and did great service by turning the enemy's own guns against them. Thus they fought, gaining bastion after bastion, till they approached the gate way, and cut off their communication from the detached ravelin.

French ask
quarter.

Upon what
terms
granted.

A terrible carnage ensued: no quarter being given in such cases. The marquis had no way left to stop the fury of the assailants, but immediate submission, and sent an officer to ask quarter for the garrison. To which Colonel Forde replied, by a captain whom he sent with the French messenger to the marquis, "That he could not give quarter, " while there was resistance made in any part; and " that unless the besieged would immediately " cease firing, and surrender themselves, he should " be obliged, for his own safety, to put the whole " garrison to the sword." This had its effect: the fire ceased in about half an hour: the French quitted their arms and repaired to the arsenal: and the main body of the English repaired to the esplanade: and a guard of 100 Europeans, and two companies of Sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, was placed over the prisoners, that night. But next day the Colonel gave the gentlemen liberty to walk about the town, upon their paroles, and granted them all their effects, except private trade, which was secured by the captors.

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* On
Caffrees,

The loss of the enemy on this occasion has been always accounted very great; but it could never be ascertained: though it appears by the muster rolls, that there were upwards of 100 Europeans slain during the siege and storm. There were taken above 150 pieces of cannon, one 32, and five 24 pounders, and a great quantity of ammunition.

A. D.
1759.

Loss of the
enemy.

How great a blow this gave to the French interest, and the importance in which this place was held by the French, can't better appear than by the efforts they made to preserve Maffulipatam. For, though their forces already were almost double the number of Colonel Forde's, the governor of Pondicherry embarked 400 Europeans to reinforce M. Conflans. But they did not arrive in the road of that city till the 15th of April, a few days after it had surrendered to the English.

The im-
portance of
this ser-
vice.

Succours
arrive too
late.

Those troops were on board the Bristol and the Harlem taken from the Dutch. But as soon as the Hardwicke Indiaman descryed these ships making into the road with French colours, she got under way, made ready and engaged them about an hour, under the command of Mr. Samson, the first mate, (his brother the captain being ashore) till he could get to the windward; where he cast anchor, and took the captain on board, while the enemy were beating up after him. The captain bravely determined not to lie exposed to an enemy, but to fight his way through them, and to make

Bravery of
the Hard-
wicke In-
dian man.

* On the 6th of March contained 522 Europeans, 2089 Caffrees, Topasses, and Sepoys.

the

A. D.
1759.

the best of his way to Bengal; with such prisoners as he had already on board, having contracted for a large number: but had no more than forty embarked. The enemy's largest ship got under sail at the same time as the *Hardwicke*, and both of them exchanged broadsides with Captain Sampson; but gave over the chase, when they found it was in vain to pursue: besides, it was leading them from their commission, which was, to land the troops to reinforce the Marquis de Conflans, they not having, as yet, heard of the fate of the place. So that, when they were come to anchor, M. Moracin, who commanded the troops, sent a boat ashore in the night to the Marquis, for instructions, when to disembark the men. Which returned with an account of the surrender of the place and garrison to the English. M. Moracin sailed immediately for Ganjam, to wait the monsoon, till the beginning of November, for his return to Pondicherry.

Behaviour
of the
Eastern
princes.

The good effects of this conquest were presently felt by the English. The policy of the Eastern princes being to wait the issue of their neighbours quarrels, and to take part with the strongest side; Salabatzing, who had been always afraid of the French power, had looked on, and advanced with his army to about forty miles from *Massulipatam*, some days before it was taken, with a sort of neutral indifference, no sooner heard of the disgrace of the French at *Madras* and this place, but he earnestly sought for the friendship of the English; and, on the 14th of May, signed a treaty,

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a treaty, whereby he gave, as a free gift to the English company, the circar of Massulipatam, with eight districts, the circar of Nizampatum, and the districts of Codaver and Wacalmanner, and granted them saneds, in the same manner as he had done to the French: that he would oblige the French troops then in his country (the Deckan) to cross the Ganges, or send them to Pondicherry, or to some other place out of the Deckan country, on the other side of the river Kristna. That he would never more suffer them to settle in his country, on any account whatever, nor keep them in his service, nor assist them, nor call them to his own assistance. He discharged the Raja of Visanapore from any demands, on account of the contributions he had raised in the circars belonging to the French, and from the revenues of his own country, in the present year, allowing him to remain peaceably in it, upon the computation of the revenue paid by his grandfather, and father. He concluded with a promise not to assist the enemies of the English, nor to give them protection, on condition the English should not assist his enemies, nor give them protection.

This was not the only instance of the falling off of the Indian princes. Narrainda, a Raja near Ganjam, apprized of the arrival of a French body of troops at that port, and of the true reason of their seeking refuge in his district, shewed his dislike to the French by every scheme he could devise, to cut them off by the sword, by famine, or by poison. By which distresses their numbers greatly decreased,

A. D.

1759.

Salabat-
zing's trea-
ty with the
English
company.

The dis-
tress of the
French at
Ganjam.

A. D. 1759. decreased, others deserted: and when they had neither provisions nor money left, the country people left them to the distance of a league all round, and shunned them as they would the plague. Death, in these circumstances, was rather to be chosen than endless misery. It was resolved, by the residue, to commit themselves to the mercy of the waves. Mr. Moracin, with his nephew and secretary, entrusted themselves in a boat, and arrived, about the middle of December, at Pouliacat, in his way to Pondicherry. The men, about two hundred in all, embarked in the same manner for Cockanara; where some of them landed, and prevailed with a Raja and some of the people of the country to join them. But Captain Fisher attacked them, took ten officers, a Raja, and sixteen Europeans, and killed several more. They that remained on board made the best of their way for Pondicherry: but many of them were swallowed up in the sea.

Defeated
at Cockanara.

French
fleet reinforced.

Notwithstanding the miscarriages and misfortunes of the French before Madras, at Conjeveram and in Golconda, this year, it appears that they had a great superiority of land forces, especially Europeans, on whose strength their success chiefly depended. The same attention had been paid by their principals at home, for providing a superiority by sea, not only in men, but in ships and metal. M. d'Ache, who had ran away from Admiral Pocock in August last^v, was strongly reinforced. His fleet, this year, was augmented

^v See page 291. Vol. III.

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to eleven sail of large ships²; two frigates and two store-ships. So extraordinary a naval force had never been yet seen in the Indian seas.

A. D.
1759.

This fleet rendezvoused at the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon; of which the English admiral having advice, he, after refitting his squadron, sailed on the 17th of April 1759, for the coast of Coromandel, and with a diligence and dexterity, that appears in every undertaking, where this admiral has had the chief direction, the squadron got round the Island of Ceylon before the French had taken their departure from the islands; and stationed his ships in such a manner, as to intercept the enemy and to protect the trade. As it was not possible for the French to escape his vigilance, the admiral resolved to keep this station, though his patience was sufficiently tried by their procrastination. The want of provisions and water obliged him at last to quit his station, and to proceed to Trincomalay, on the first of September, not being able to water at Negapatam. But with this previous caution to dispatch the Revenge frigate, to look out for the enemy off Ceylon.

Admiral Pocock lies to intercept them.

At ten in the morning of the second of September, the French fleet was descried from the mast-head, and the Revenge chased by one of

They appear.

² Le Zodiaque, 74 guns, 660 men; Minataur, ditto; Le Comte de Provence, ditto; Le Centaur, 70 guns, 660 men; L'Actif, 64 guns, 600 men; L'Ilustre, ditto; La Fortune; ditto; La Vengeur, 64 guns, 500 men; Le Duc d'Orleans, 60 guns, 500 men; Le St. Louis, ditto; Le Duc de Bourgogne, ditto.

A. D.
1759.
Signal to
chace
them.

their frigates. The admiral immediately threw out the signal for a general chace, and stood towards the enemy with all the sail he could make; though much inferior in ships, men and metal. His whole strength was no more than nine ships of the line, two of which were sixty gun ships, and the largest carried no more than sixty-eight, viz.

	Guns.	Men.	Commanders.	
English fleet.	The Yarmouth	66	540	{ Vice-Adm. Pocock. Captain Harrison.
	Grafton	68	538	{ Rear-Adm. Stevens. Captain Kempenfelt.
	Elizabeth	64	480	Capt. Tiddeman.
	Tyger	60	420	— Brereton.
	Sunderland	60	420	— Colville.
	Weymouth	60	420	{ — Sir William Baird, Bart.
	Cumberland	58	520	— Somerset.
	Newcastle	50	350	— Michie.
	Salisbury	50	350	— Dent.
Three frigates and a fire-ship.				

The
French
endeavour
to avoid an
engage-
ment.

The frigate, in chace of the Revenge, discovering the English fleet, rejoined her own squadron: which, instead of embracing so fair an opportunity to try the fortune of their superior force, edged off, and endeavoured to steal away undiscovered under favour of the night; the wind falling off, preventing the English coming up with

* The French had a superiority of 192 guns, and 2365 men, besides the great advantage in the size of their ships.

† Reduced from 66 to 58 guns, having been disabled.

them

them before dark. However, the Revenge was ordered to sail to the south-east, and not to lose sight of them, if possible. This had the desired effect. About eleven o'clock at night the Revenge made a signal for discovering the enemy; and then the whole fleet bore down towards them. But this good intention was disappointed again by a squall, which came very heavy from one till three next morning, and obliged the English fleet to bring to, and clew up their top-sails. The enemy, at day-light, was again discovered, bearing north-east by north, about five or six leagues distant. Admiral Pocock made the signal for a general chase to the north-east, Point Pedro, on the Island of Ceylon, bearing west six or seven leagues; and continued to gain upon the enemy; who, about nine, finding it was in vain to trust entirely to the swiftness of their sailing, bore north-east by east, and formed in line of battle a-head, on the star-board tack, with the wind about west north-west. Therefore Admiral Pocock made the signal for the line of battle a-breast, and stood for the centre of the enemy's fleet, which kept under way, and appeared to go from the wind. By this means their bearings were greatly altered; for by noon they bore south-east by east, distant six or seven miles: and the wind decreasing as the day advanced, and the Newcastle and Tyger being very bad sailors, it was very late in the day, and near sun-set before the line could be formed.

In this position it was hoped the enemy might have been fixt and brought to an engagement.

A. D.

1759.

Are pur-
sued.

A. D.
1759.

But M. d'Aché had no such intention. His scheme was to avoid the danger of a close chace, by forming the line to sooth us with an expectation of a battle; and when we had dropt the chace, and formed the line, to avoid coming to blows, till a favourable breeze, or night, might deliver them out of our reach. Thus, about a quarter after five, the English squadron being nearly a-breast of the enemy, they wore, and came to the wind on the other tack; upon which our ships tackt, the rear first, and steered with the enemy's squadron, about four miles distance. There was little wind, scarce steerage-way, till near ten o'clock: when a fresh gale sprang up from the north-west. The admiral ordered to haul close to the wind under top-sails, and to form the line a-head. This shift of wind brought the enemy a-stern; and a little upon the weather quarter of our line. But they soon disappeared; the weather proving hazy: and though the Revenge looked out a-stern with her usual diligence; she could gain no intelligence of their situation. But by running a head, the next morning, about eight o'clock, made a signal for seeing four sail to the north-east. The admiral made the signal for a general chace: but after six hours, seeing no more than two ships, and that he could not come up with those, he called in the Revenge, and stood to the northward with all his squadron; and supposing that the French fleet was bound for Pondicherry, he made all the sail he could to that port

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THE L A T E W A R.

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port also; and arrived in the offing about eight hours before M. d'Aché.

A. D.
 1759.

This was on the eighth of September. The French fleet appeared about one o'clock at noon, in the south-east, standing to the south with a sea breeze. A good look out was kept that night, to prevent the French passing by. They appeared next morning about nine, in the south-west. But there was no wind till about two in the afternoon; when Admiral Pocock feeling the wind spring up, made the signal for a general chace. The enemy, at four, formed in line of battle a-breast, and steered right down upon him: but night coming on; the enemy took the opportunity to sheer away. The Revenge was ordered to watch their motions: and on the tenth, at six in the morning, the French squadron bore south-east by south, distant eight or nine miles, formed in a line of battle a-head on the star-board tack; in all sixteen sail. The English bore down on them, in a line of battle a-breast, with the wind north-west by west. ^{An en-} At ten the enemy wore and formed ^{gagement.} the line a-head upon the larboard-tack. The English did the same at eleven, and kept edging down upon them: and at two in the afternoon, the Yarmouth being nearly a-breast the French admiral's second in rear, and within musquet-shot, M. d'Aché made the signal for battle. Admiral Pocock did the same, and the action began with a furious canonade on each side, which continued very hot till four; when the enemy's rear, and ^{Defeated.} soon after their center, began to give way. Their

A. D. 1759. van made fail, stood on, and with their whole squadron bore away and steered to the S. S. E. with all the sail they could croud; and our ships not being in a condition to pursue, the enemy not having suffered so much damage in their rigging, gained their chief point, which was to get into Pondicherry.

Damage of
the Eng-
lish.

The inability of our squadron to pursue is accounted for, by the damages sustained on board the Tyger, whose mizen mast and main-top mast were shot away, and the ship otherwise much disabled: on board the Newcastle, whose masts, yards, and rigging were greatly injured. The Yarmouth's fore-top-fail yard was shot away in the flings: and though the Grafton and Elizabeth lost no masts, nor yards, they were greatly disabled in them and their rigging. Besides the Cumberland and Salisbury in the rear were not in a condition to make fail. So that the Weymouth and Sunderland were the only ships, that had not suffered; because they could not get properly into action; M. d'Aché having begun to engage before they could close; and by that means were thrown out of action; the whole heat of the battle falling upon seven of our ships; which sustained the whole fire of the enemy's fleet till near the conclusion, when the Sutherland having got up engaged the sternmost ship.

Bravery
and con-
duct of
Admiral
Pocock.

However, Admiral Pocock, while he laid with his squadron on the larboard tack, in order for his larboard ships to repair their damages, detached the Revenge to keep between him and the enemy,
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and to observe their motions, who retreated to the southward till dark. They appeared at day-light next morning to the S. S. E. laying too on their larboard tacks also, about four leagues distant. But on seeing the English squadron, they immediately wore and brought to, on the other tack. They in the evening being got almost out of sight, and the wind springing up to the eastward, Admiral Pocock made the signal, wore, and stood under an easy sail to the N. W. the Sunderland taking the Newcastle, the Weymouth the Tyger, and the Elizabeth the Cumberland in tow.

A. D.
1759.

The
French run
away.

The enemy not being found, Admiral Pocock, after cruising off of Negapatam till the 15th, stood into the road and anchored: where the squadron continued till the 26th, except the Revenge, which was dispatched with letters to the governor and council of Madras; when being refitted as well as time would permit, the squadron weighed at five in the morning, and received by the return of the Revenge a recruit of 63 seamen, which came very opportunely to replace the men lost on board the Newcastle and Tyger.

Admiral
Pocock
prepares
and pur-
sues them.

In this condition our brave Admiral proceeded once more in quest of the enemy: and found them on the 27th, at day-light in the morning, under the guns of Pondicherry, and at anchor in a line of battle. The English were not in a condition to attack both the ships and the fort. But to convince the Frenchmen of their real intention, they drew into a line of battle a-head on the starboard tack; and the wind being off shore and about

A. D.
1759.

French fly
again.

Admiral
Pocock
sails for
Madrafs.

W. S. W. they laid with their main-top-fails to the mast, just keeping a proper steerage way for the line to continue well formed. The French admiral at six o'clock made the signal to heave a-peake; and an hour after to weigh. By that time all their squadron, which consisted of 11 sail of the line and two frigates, got under sail, it was near 10 o'clock: when the English squadron was to leeward of them, expecting they would bear down directly and engage. But M. d'Aché made the signal to keep close to the wind; to make sail, and to stretch away to the southward, in a line of battle a-head. By which method of acting, the French had got four leagues to windward at sun set. Whereas, had they cut or slipt their cables on first discovering the English, or had they, after got under sail, bore directly down, they might have been close along-side at 11. This disinclination to come to a second action, prevailed with Admiral Pocock to call, and to take the opinion of a council of war, for his future operations. Who unanimously agreed, That as the present condition of the fleet (which had no more bread than for two days, and very little water on board) would not permit them to follow M. d'Aché to the southward, it was most adviseable to proceed to Madrafs. Which was accordingly effected; and the whole fleet anchored there on the 28th: where he was so well supplied with necessaries for his voyage to Bombay, his intended port, before the change of the monsoon, then near at hand (at which season it is very hazardous

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for ships on that coast); and his sick and wounded were so well recovered, that he sailed from Madras on the 17th of October. A. D. 1759:

In this engagement both sides suffered considerably. The damage done to the English men of war has been already described. But that was the least loss. There were 118 men slain in the action, and 66 died of their wounds: 122 more were dangerously wounded: and 263 slightly wounded. In the whole 569 men killed and wounded. Captain Machie of the Newcastle, Captain Gore of the marines, Lieutenant Redshaw in the same ship, Lieutenant Elliot and the gunner of the Tyger, the master of the Yarmouth, and the Boatswain of the Elizabeth, were all amongst the slain. Captain Somerset of the Cumberland, received a wound in one of his ancles, and Captain Burton a contusion in his head. And when this account of the action has been read, there will need no words to persuade posterity that all the officers and seamen could never have resisted, dared, and defeated an enemy of so great a superiority in strength, without the greatest vigour, constancy, bravery and spirit.

These prosperous actions and their good effects had well nigh been totally defeated, and the East India company ruined, by a treacherous attempt made from Batavia upon our settlements in Bengal. Either the Dutch were engaged underhand with the French to divide our forces in those regions beyond the line, and thereby to facilitate their operations; to force our army from Golconda.

Remarks
on the
behaviour
of the
Dutch.

A. D.
1759.

Treachery
of the
Dutch.

da, and to weaken our fortresses on the coast of Coromandel, by lighting up a new war upon the coast of the Ganges: imagining this to be the most probable time to wrest from us the whole trade of Salt Petre, when our fleet was employed to watch the French Squadron, and to cover the English trade in the Indian ocean; and the strength of Calcutta and its dependencies had been brought very low by the detachments under Major Forde, and upon other services; a trade, which they had long envied and fought after by many practices with the Nabob: or intending, in case of success, to hold the English settlements and effects, thus treacherously invaded, under the name of reprisals for the confiscation of the Dutch ships taken and condemned by our court of admiralty, for carrying on an illicit trade with and for our enemies in Europe: or, whether induced by all these motives, the government of Batavia formed a scheme to send up the Ganges such a body of troops, under a pretence of reinforcing their strong fort and settlement of Chincery or Chincura in the river of Bengal, as would be able to secure to themselves not only all the trade in salt-petre, but to extirpate the English, and to engross the whole commerce of the province of Bengal.

For this purpose they embarked near 700 Europeans and 600 Malays on board of several ships. But this had not been conducted with that secrecy, as so wicked a design required to hide it from the factory of Bengal. So that Major Forde was recalled from Golconda, and a requisition was made

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A. D.
1759.

to the government of Fort St. George for further aid and assistance; who sent a reinforcement of 300 men, under the command of Major Caillaud, commander there of the company's forces: and upon the first appearance of two ships of 36 guns each, full of men, that arrived in the Ganges under the name of transports, Colonel Clive called upon by the Nabob for assistance to prevent the debarkation of the Dutch troops, sent a letter to the Dutch commodore, informing him, That he could not allow him to land any forces, or to march them up to Chincery; and that he had from good authority been acquainted with their intentions. At the same time the Nabob assembled his forces, and promised to support the English against any violent attempt made by the Dutch or any other nation. But his future conduct was very inconsistent with this promise, and gave a shrewd suspicion of his being privy to, and abetting the Dutch scheme.

The Dutch commodore, not being as yet in a condition to act with power, had the address to answer mildly, That he had never intended to march any forces to Chincery; and only desired permission to land his men, down the river for refreshment. Colonel Clive readily consented to this request, provided that they were not to offer to march further than the quarters assigned on the shore. But the other five Dutch ships appointed for that service, arriving in the interim, the commodore, forgetful of his engagements, when he thought himself in a condition to act as

Invade
Bengal.

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A. D.
1759.

Seize Eng-
lish ships.

Colonel
Forde
takes the
field
against the
Dutch.

A battle
by land.

The Cal-
cutta In-
dianman
slopt.

he pleased, put on an air of resentment for the pretended injury he had received, in not being permitted to go up the river with his armed force, and threatned to do himself justice by force of arms. For this purpose he ordered his troops now ashore, near Tannah Fort, to make the best of their way to Chincery, and his ships to use the best of their endeavours to seize every English ship, that should appear upon the river.

This act of hostility inforced the same day, by the seizure of several small vessels belonging to the company, convinced the English, that nothing but force and vigour would be able to protect them from the destruction, the Dutch were resolved to bring upon them. Therefore Colonel Forde was immediately ordered, with all the military in Calcutta, to proceed to the French Gardens, and to prevent the Dutch party's getting into Chincery. Colonel Forde advanced towards the northward of Chandanagore, and as his advanced guard entered that town, it was fired upon by a detachment of Dutch, who had marched out of Chincery in order to join and strengthen the party expected from their ships. This brought on a general action, which ended with the loss of 40 Dutchmen killed and taken, and of five pieces of cannon, which was their whole train.

The day after the Dutch had taken the small vessels, they threatned to sink the Calcutta Indianman, Captain Wilson, who fell down the river in order to proceed for England; in case he persisted in his resolution to pass their ships. Captain

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Wilson was then abreast of the Dutch commodore, who hailed him on that occasion, and told him that he was acting agreeable to his orders. Captain Wilson seeing the Dutch ships getting ready for action, or rather for his destruction, and convinced that they were in earnest, he very prudently sailed back to Calcutta, and informed Colonel Clive of his being stop'd. There were at this time the Duke of Dorset, Captain Forrester, and the Hardwicke, Captain Samson, at Calcutta. Colonel Clive immediately ordered these two Indiamen to join Captain Wilson's ship, and all three to arm with the utmost expedition, and to use their utmost endeavours to take, burn or sink every Dutch ship or ships they should meet with.

These three Indiamen being equipped for war, their quarters lined with bags of saltpetre, to screen the men from shot, and having, each of them, taken on board two additional 12 pounders, they fell down the river. As they came in sight of the enemy, the Dutch drew up in a line of battle to receive them. The three English ships, as they approached followed their example, and formed in a line also: Captain Wilson, who on this extraordinary occasion was commodore, seeing the Duke of Dorset nearest the enemy, fired a gun as a signal for her to begin the engagement, which she immediately did; and came to an anchor close to the enemy. But the wind happening in that very instant almost to die away, without which

Three ships of 36 guns, three ships of 26 guns, one ship of 16 guns.—In all, 202 guns.

A. D.
1759.

Three Indiamen ordered to arm and fight the Dutch squadron.

Strength of the Dutch ships.

Engagement begun.

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A. D. 1759. he could not be properly seconded by his two companions, Captain Forrester was obliged for a considerable time to engage alone close to the enemy, and to bear the heat of their fire in a dead calm.

Dutch defeated. But when the other two Indiamen got up to their consort, they poured their shot in such showers, and with so great dexterity upon the enemy, that, though the Dutch returned their fire with great briskness, two of their ships were obliged to slip their cables, and run: another having his cable cut by a cross shot, drove ashore. A few more broadsides obliged the commodore to strike to Captain Wilson: and the other three followed his example, after a hot engagement for two hours and five minutes. There certainly never was an action by sea performed with greater resolution, nor with more expence of powder and ball, nor could any ship be worse treated than the Duke of Dorset and swim: she had about 90 shot in her hull, and almost tore to pieces: yet there was such a providential disparity in the loss of both sides, that nothing can account for this victory and the preservation of the English, than the over-ruling power, which is able to defend the injured, though ever so weak; and to punish the wicked and perfidious, though ever so strong.--- Tell posterity; record it amongst the marvelous, That the English ships did not lose one man. But when Capt. Wilson went on board the Dutch ships soon after they had struck; he found them a most shocking sight; their decks were covered with dead bodies, and every thing bespattered with blood

Remarks.

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blood and brains : he saw 30 dead bodies thrown overboard out of one ship : and had reason to think their loss in men, killed and wounded, amounted to some hundreds. The rest were made prisoners and carried up to Colonel Clive, and all their ships were seized.

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1759.

While this was disputed by the shipping, the Dutch forces, according to their orders, marched for Chincery, with expectation of being joined in their rout by the party detached from that fort, but had been entirely cut off by Colonel Forde, who reeking with the blood of the enemy at Chandanagore, on the 24th of November, had intelligence, that same evening, of the arrival of the Dutch forces from the ships, near to Chincery. He marched, next morning, to intercept them : and was so fortunate as to meet them on a plain, at some distance from Chincery. The Dutch army, consisting at this time of near 700 Europeans and 600 Buggesses, or Malays, formed in a line of battle, and advanced with great resolution : but they received so smart a fire from Colonel Forde's artillery and battalion, that they, in a short time, gave way, and were totally put to rout. The success of this action also greatly exceeded the expectations of the victorious : for, though the number of Europeans in the English army was very small, very few of the enemy escaped being killed^d or taken prisoners. A victory the more happy for the English, because

Defeated
by land.

Strength
of the
Dutch
army.

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^d Four hundred were killed on the spot.

had

A. D.
1759.Doubtful
conduct of
the Nabob.

had it gone otherwise, in all probability, the interest of the English in Bengal would have greatly suffered: for the new Nabob, who owed his very existence to the English, and had upon the first arrival of the Dutch forces in the river, sent an express command to the director and council of Hughley, to prevent their proceeding up the river, was now become so pliable, that he remained with a considerable army inactive, and an idle spectator of the unequal combat, in which the superiority of forces was greatly against his friends and allies the English; with a treacherous resolution, common to the eastern Princes, to join the victorious party, whatever side should get the better. So that as soon as he saw the Dutch army defeated and totally ruined, he offered his service to reduce Chincery also: as he would have offered the Dutch, had they conquered, to reduce Calcutta.

Dutch factory disclaim any part in this hostility.

Dutch agree to pay damages.

Colonel Clive was too well acquainted with his disposition; rejected his proposal, and entered into a treaty of accommodation with the directors and council of Chincery; who disclaimed having any hand or being privy to what had passed on board of ship, and endeavoured, by every colouring, excuse and insinuation, to take off all hostile intentions on the part of their own people, and to throw the blame of the late rupture upon the rashness of the English. However they agreed:

English demands, with the Dutch answers thereto.

Art. I. The director and council of Chincery shall give full satisfaction to the president and council of Fort William,
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to pay damages of 100,000 l. on condition the ships were restored in their ruinous condition, and their

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1759.

for the insult offered to the British flag by the commanders of the Dutch ships, and for the detention of many of our vessels, which were seized and stopped in the river, contrary to the treaties which subsist between the two nations, and for the other acts of hostility committed by the said ships.

Answer. The director and council of Chincura declare, that, as they have always been possessed with sentiments of peace, the troubles, which have happened to disturb the good understanding between the two nations, having only served to give them a sensible pain; and every thing, which has passed below, with respect to the English flag, and the insults committed, is without their order, and what they regret, and perhaps done by the people of the ships from a misunderstanding of their orders, with which they hope the governor and council will be fully satisfied.

Art. II. The director and council of Chincura shall make good, both to the company and individuals, all damages done by the commanders of their ships, whether by their order or not; and shall immediately restore all the vessels, stores, and effects, which may still be in their possession.

Ans. As the Dutch vessels have also been much damaged, the real loss will be willingly made good; but it is to be hoped the governor and council will reflect equitably on this article: and, if they insist upon it, we shall endeavour to satisfy them.

Done at Garhelly, December 1, 1759.

RICHARD BECHER,
JOHN COOKE.
JOHN BACHERACT,
J. C. HIST.

Dutch demands, with the answers of the English thereto.

Art. I. That the English shall effect the Nabob's return, or, at least, prevail on him to remain quiet in his camp, without doing us any injury; and that the articles of our agree-

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A. D.
1759.

their men set at liberty. They also renewed their treaty with the Nabob. In which they agreed to dismiss and

ment be accepted, approved and confirmed by the Nabob's principal, as far as they concern him, as well for the present as for the future.

Anf. We have already made use of all our interest with the Nabob, and shall continue to engage him to withdraw his arms, the moment the Dutch government has fulfilled his orders. The articles agreed on between the English and Dutch cannot be included in the treaty which the government of Hughley may conclude with the Nabob's principal.

Art. II. That what has passed, during the troubles which have now ceased, shall be mutually forgot; and an assurance given of a perfect friendship, fidelity, and correspondence, being kept up between the two nations, by their respective chiefs, without permitting any hostility on one side or the other, on any pretence whatsoever; that each shall do his utmost to preserve this good intelligence, and to contribute, as far as possible, to the good of both, without assisting, directly or indirectly, those who would prejudice either.

Anf. Approved, as far as is consistent with the alliance, between the Nabob and us, and while friendship subsists between our sovereigns in Europe.

Art. III. As we have neither acted by the declaration of war, nor by commission, our troops and mariners cannot be considered as prisoners of war, subject to a capitulation, but merely as temporary captives, and therefore ought to be set at liberty, with all military honours.

Anf. We don't look upon the Dutch officers and troops as our prisoners, but as those of the Nabob; and are therefore ready to release them as soon as they have concluded their treaty with him, except such as are willing to enter into our service, or who demand the protection of the English flag.

Art. IV. That they shall leave us in the free possession of our settlements, commerce, rights, and privileges.

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Art. I.
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and send away from Bengal, the forces lately brought or entertained by the Dutch in that province : never to build forts, or make any military preparations, to make war, nor to bring any armed force into Bengal, nor entertain any more than 125 European forces in all their factories, established within the three provinces^f. But this was such

A. D.
1759.

Ans. We have never interrupted the Dutch in their just rights and privileges, nor ever purpose doing it.

Art. V. That all the people, possessions, settlements, lands, houses, ships, and vessels, belonging both to the company and individuals, and every thing belonging thereto, shall be declared free, and restored, in presence of the deputies appointed by both parties, in their proper condition.

Ans. All the ships and vessels in our possession shall be restored as soon as our demands are complied with, or on an assurance thereof given by the director and council of Hughley.

Art. VI. These treaties to be exchanged, with the approbation of the directors of both companies, as soon as possible.

Ans. Granted.

Art. VII. Finally, the two parties shall be reciprocal guarantees for the execution of the preceding articles.

Ans. We do not see any necessity for this article.

Done at Garhelly, December 1, 1759.

JOHN BACHERAGHT,
S. C. HIST.

Done at Garhelly, December 3, 1759.

RICHARD BECHER,
JOHN COOKE.

^f Copy of the Dutch proposals made to the Chuta Nabob, with his answers, ratified the 5th of December 1759.

Art. I. That the purchases and sales of the Dutch company be again made, in the same manner as in former times.

Ans.

Ans.

A. D.
1759.

How re-
sented by
the British
court.

such a monstrous proceeding of a nation or people, who enjoyed all the sweets of peace, and all the

Ans. The purchases and sales of the Dutch company shall be carried on according to custom, excepting the salt-petre of Azimabad, which shall be purchased by the means of Raja Ramnaram Bahadar; nor shall any one molest them.

Art. II. That nobody cause any obstruction in the provision of cloth, &c. at the Aurungs, on account of the Dutch company.

Ans. Nobody shall obstruct the provision of cloth, &c. according to the custom of the Aurungs, nor use any violence.

Art. III. That the goods and treasure of the Dutch company be allowed to pass and repass with the Dutch Duffuck; that nobody obstruct them, nor any longer demand illicit customs.

Ans. The merchandize of the Dutch company shall pass and repass, by land or water, free from unprecedented impositions; nor shall any one demand illicit customs.

Art. IV. That payment be made, by the officers of the mint, of Murshedabad, of the balance due to the Dutch company.

Ans. The officers of the mint at Murshedabad shall be made to pay whatever balance is justly and truly due.

Articles agreed upon by the Dutch company with the Nabob, and ratified under the hands and seals of the Dutch directors and council, and the seal of the company.

Art. I. We will immediately send away the Europeans, Buccaffes, and Tilangas, that have been brought hither in our ships; and we will dismiss the Europeans, Sepoys, and Burgundasses, lately entertained.

Art. II. We will bring no more armed forces into the country of Bengal, nor ever make war in the country, nor erect any fortifications, nor make any military preparations.

Art. III. We will entertain no more than 125 European soldiers in all our factories established within the three provinces.

Art. IV.

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the advantages of an unmolested trade; and at a time, when the English carefully avoided giving them the least umbrage of a quarrel, and made themselves secure in their friendship, founded upon the ties of the most solemn treaties; that the British court could not receive the news thereof without the most serious reflections; which were immediately summed up in a memorial, presented to the States General: and though accompanied with a minute account of the whole transaction, drawn up with the strictest regard to truth, demanding exemplary punishment on the parties concerned in the offence, and signal satisfaction, and a strict performance of the stipulations agreed upon between the directors of the respective companies; their High and Mightinesses only pleaded

A. D.
1759.

A memo-
rial to the
States Ge-
neral de-
manding
satisfacti-
on.

Art. IV. We will carry on our trade with peace and quietness; and, in case (which God forbid!) our business should meet with any obstructions, disputes, or oppressions, we will apply for redress to the Nazem of the provinces.

2 The substance of the memorial presented by General York to the States-General, concerning the disputes in the East-Indies.

That their High Mightinesses were already informed by the public news papers of an event as surprising as irregular, in consequence of the conduct which the Dutch have held for some time in the East Indies, and lately in the river of Bengal, notwithstanding the regard which the British subjects had on every occasion shewn for them: that their High Mightinesses must be greatly astonished to hear, by this memorial, of that extraordinary and unexpected event; but that they would be much more so on reading the piece annexed to it, containing a minute account, drawn up with the strictest regard to truth,

A. D.
1759:
Their eva-
sive answer.

pleaded ignorance: and gave such an evasive answer, as confirmed the suspicion of all the world, that the government of Batavia had not proceeded, in such a violent and hostile manner, without direction or countenance from Europe ^h.

of the irregularity of the behaviour of the Dutch, at a time when they enjoyed all the sweets of peace, and all the advantages of an unmolested trade; at a time, in short, when his Majesty, from his great regard for their High Mightinesses, carefully avoided giving them the least umbrage.

That his Britannic Majesty was greatly struck to hear of the monstrous proceedings of the Dutch in the East Indies, and their mischievous designs to destroy the settlements of his subjects there, which they would certainly have effected, had not his Majesty's victorious arms brought them to reason, tho' only three of his ships engaged seven Dutch ships, and obliged them to conclude an accommodation: that his Majesty would willingly believe, that their High Mightinesses gave no order for coming to such extremities, and that the directors of the India company had no hand therein: That, nevertheless, he (Mr. Yorke) was ordered to demand, in the name of the King his master, signal satisfaction; and that all who shall be found to have had any share in this offence, which manifestly tended to the destruction of the British settlements in that country, should be exemplarily punished; and that their High Mightinesses should moreover give orders, that the stipulations agreed on, the day after the action, between the directors of the respective companies, in consideration of which the Dutch had their ships restored, after they had acknowledged their fault, and that they were the aggressors, should be strictly complied with.

^h The substance of the States Generals answer was as follows: That nothing had as yet come to the knowledge of their High Mightinesses, of what their subjects were charged with; that they requested his Britannic Majesty to suspend his judgment till he should be exactly informed of the grounds of those disputes; and that his Majesty should have reason to be

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The East India company were no less fortunate in their success at Surat, a great commercial city, in the centre of the Asiatic trade, and one of the most frequented cities in the East, especially by the vast concourse of Mahometan pilgrims, from India, to the tomb of their prophet, which has gained it the name of the Gate of Mecca. The Mogul appoints the governor of the castle to keep the city in subjection, and a Siddee to be admiral, with a certain stipend or revenue, called the Tanka, to guard the trade and the pilgrims in those seas from pirates, between Surat and the Persian and Arabian gulphs, without any power independent of the marine. But the Siddee Muffoot, under a pretence of arrears in his appointed revenue, seized on the castle, encroached on the town, and seized one third of its revenues: another third was paid to the Marattas, whose farmer resided in Surat, to prevent their depredations upon the trade in the open country: but not satisfied with this stipulation, they are forever ready to join with a discontented party, and to find opportunity to plunder the city itself. An opportunity seemed to present itself through the discontent occasioned by the intolerable additional burdens upon trade, and the lawless behaviour of the Siddee, whose son became a terror to the inhabitants, by his riots and murders. The principal inhabitants despairing of redress by any other means, applied to the presidency of Bombay to

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1759.

The revolution of
Surat.

Cause of
the revolution.

Applica-
tion to the
English.

satisfied with the exemplary punishment of all, who should be found to be concerned in that affair. *Which was never performed.*

A. D.
1759.

come with an armed force, and to seize upon both the castle and the Tanka, and to place the chief magistracy of the city in the hands of Pharras Cawn, of whose ability and conduct the citizens had an high opinion, founded upon experience, during his administration as Naib or Deputy.

Reasons
why the
presidency
of Bombay
engaged.

The presidency of Bombay, well acquainted with the state of the case, and with the interruptions the English met with in their trade at Surat, by frauds, extortions and other vexatious and wilful impediments; and also by frequent insults, violences and murders committed on their servants, with a total disregard to the protection of the English company; they readily approved and accepted the proposal, which was made not only by the whole merchantile interest, but by Siddee Jaffier and Velley Ullah. But as these two principal men, (the former prompted only by self-preservation; and the other by a passionate desire to overthrow that power, which he had too just reason to fear, on account of betraying his new master to the Siddee) were not to be relied on; the presidency narrowly enquired into the strength that might be brought to oppose them; and finding that they could provide sufficient force to carry the point; the expedition was undertaken.

Assisted by
two men
of war.

Admiral Pocock, at the request of the presidency of Bombay, ordered the Sunderland and Newcastle to convoy their fleet: and Captain Maitland, of the royal regiment of artillery, was ordered to embark, with the command of 850

Troops
employed.

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men, artillery and infantry, and 1500 Sepoys, on board the company's armed vessels. This armament sailed on the 9th of February, under the command of Admiral Watson; and on the 15th he landed the troops at a place called Dentilowry, about nine miles from Surat. The army encamped here for four days, and being refreshed, and receiving fresh assurances of the affections of the people and of the firmness of those, who had called them to their assistance, Captain Maitland marched to the city: but met with such a warm reception from the Siddee's people, who had posted themselves in the French garden, that he lost twenty men killed, and as many wounded in a hot dispute, that lasted four hours, before he could dislodge the enemy.

A. D.
1759.

Met with a
warm re-
ception.

Here Captain Maitland ordered a battery to be erected. Which was finished in two days, and was mounted with two 24 pounders, and one 13 inch mortar. This battery played as brisk as possible for three days against the walls, &c. but this way of assault not promising the desired effect, it was resolved, by a council of war, composed of military and marine officers, to make a general attack; a plan of which was laid before them by Captain Maitland, and readily agreed to.

Battery
erected.

General
attack re-
solved.

The plan was, that the company's grab and bomb-ketches should warp up the river in the night, and anchor in a line of battle opposite the Sidees Bundar, one of the strongest fortified places they had got: this they did, and a general attack began from the vessels and battery at the appoint-

The plan.

A. D. 1759. appointed time; to drive the enemy from their batteries, and to facilitate the landing of the infantry at the Bundar, they embarked on board of boats for their transportation. A continual fire was made until half past eight, when a signal was made for the boats to put off, and to go under the cover of the vessels. This proved very successful, by the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain Watson, for the men were landed with the loss of one man only; getting possession of the Sidees Bundar, and putting the men to flight, with the loss of Captain Robert Inghish mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Pepperel wounded in the shoulder: our loss of men not very considerable.

Having gained this point, and getting possession of the outer town, with its fortifications, the next thing to be done was to attack the inner town and castle.

The thirteen and two inch mortars were planted on the Sidees Bundar, and began firing into the castle and town as soon as possible; distance from the castle about 700 yards, inner town 500.

About six in the evening the mortars began to play very briskly, and continued to do so until half past two the next morning. This continual firing of mortars put the castle and town into such a consternation, that they never returned one gun.

Terms of
the surren-
der settled.

This was the critical time for settling affairs with the inhabitants and malecontents. The friends of Pharras Cawn now seemed most inclined

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A. D.
1759.

clined to continue Meah Archund governor of the town, on condition Pharrafs Cawn should be Naib or Deputy, and establishing the English in possession of the castle and Tanka. And Mr. Spencer, who acted in behalf of the company, having communicated this resolution to Atchund, he readily agreed to and executed the following treaty.

“ Agreeable to your desire I send a person to
 “ you, by whom you advised me verbally of
 “ your demands, and with sincerity of heart, I
 “ now write the particulars, I can agree to, which
 “ are as follow :

ATCHUND'S
Seal.

COOTBODDEN'S
Seal.

Art. I. That Pharrafs Cawn shall be appointed to the office of Naib, in its greatest extent, as in the time of Suffdair Cawn, and nobody, but himself, shall interfere in the said post.

Art. II. That whatever articles Pharrafs Cawn has given in writing, or promised to the honourable company, (the particulars of which can't be drawn out at present, and must be

Art. I. Agreeable to this article I fully consent to Pharrafs Cawn's appointment.

Art. II. Whatever Pharrafs Cawn has wrote or promised to do for the honourable company, I will stand to, without the least alteration.

deferred

A. D. 1759. deferred 'till we can meet) shall be fully complied with, without the least diminution.

Art. III. That the Mecca Gate shall be opened, and our troops admitted, and we shall join our forces to drive our enemy out of the town.

Art. IV. The above articles a person on your behalf demanded: all which I agree to, and will comply with, and the government shall be continued to me in full authority: and to the above I have set my own seal, and Meer Cootbodeen will sign and seal the same. After which you must send a counter-part of this writing, with the honourable company's seal affixed.

Art. III. The Mecca Gate shall be opened; your troops admitted, and joined by mine, to drive out the enemy.

Art. IV. Agreed to, and that we shall act jointly in turning the enemy out of the town. Whatever the honourable company have demanded, I agree to.

The counter-part of this treaty was duly executed, under the company's seal, and delivered to Atchund, on the fourth of March. And Atchund

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chund opened the inner town-gate, with a message to Captain Maitland to march in : which was immediately done with drums beating and colours flying. The Siddee still kept possession of the castle. But informed that Atchund had joined his forces with the English to drive him out, and knowing his own inability to resist, he, after repeated messages, with a variety of proposals, was content with liberty for his people to march out with their arms and accoutrements, their valuable effects, and even the furniture of their houses. Captain Maitland saw this punctually executed, with the greatest regularity, and he took possession of the castle and Tanka, in the name and for the use of the company, without any further molestation ; and with no other loss than 150 men killed and 60 wounded. A revolution which restored peace and good government to the city, and placed the English in a most valuable and necessary settlement, with the satisfaction of all parties, except the tyrant they had driven out.

There still remains an action within the course of this year, beyond the line, which, though it succeeded does very little honour to the French, and much less to the commander in chief, who undertook the expedition. The attack was upon Gombroon¹, a small unfortified settlement, belonging

A. D.
1759.

English
take possession of
the town
gate.

Agreement with
the Siddee.

The
French expedition
against
Gombroon.

¹ The English were first here by Shaw Abbas Sophia of Persia, after the destruction of Ormus; to whom he granted great privileges in commerce, and a proportion of the customs of that port, which amount to near 4000l. sterling per annum.

A. D. 1759. longing to the English East India company, in the gulph of Persia, about fifteen degrees west of Surat. It was against this distant, defenceless factory, as a place totally neglected, M. Lally vowed vengeance, after his disappointment before Fort St. George. He equipped four ships, under Dutch colours, one of which carried sixty-four guns, and another twenty-two, with a land force of 150 Europeans, and about 200 Caffees, two mortars and four pieces of battering cannon, to lay siege to a factory that consisted of no more than one strong house, not fortified. Which service was committed to the command and direction of the Count d'Estaing, who was made prisoner of war by Colonel Draper, in his sally on the 14th of March into the Black-town, and at this time on his parole. Such is the example of Gallic faith and bravery!

Its garrison.

The enemy arrived before this place on the 15th of October 1759, and began to batter the agent's house with their whole train, in which there were no more than sixteen men, including the crew of the Speedwell, then at anchor, and

num. But the English have lost these advantages, by the confusion and anarchy that has almost ruined Persia: the climate is so hot and unwholesome, that the very natives fly from it in the bad season; coming down with their caravans only at such times as the ships are expected, to trade for cloth, &c. which they carry away in carravans. So that, as there is no need of ware-houses, the company have no fortifications; but only secure the house for their agent or chief, and his clerks, with a very small party of soldiers to defend them against robbers.

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deserted at the approach of the French, who burnt the vessel. The English put themselves into the best posture of defence they were able, determined to sell their factory and lives, as dear as possible. At last the frigate, of twenty-two guns, hauled in, at high water, to about a quarter of a mile from the factory, and began to fire: and the military forces being landed, with their cannon and mortars, played upon it with a hot fire from the westward, for two hours. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the doughty French general sent his summons; and the besieged, not being in a condition to defend themselves, capitulated. By which the French commander promised to prevent disorders and thefts: but that the chief, the garrison, factors, writers, and all the Europeans in the service of the company, and all subjects of his Britannic Majesty, found in the factory, should be prisoners of war: and that all effects, of what kind soever, should be delivered up, and become the property of the besiegers; with certain proviso's and exceptions, calculated to cover the Count d'Estaing from the guilt of breaking his parole, as you'll find in the fourth and following articles of capitulation in the next below ^k. For, it is certain, that the count could not

A. D.
1759.

Attacked
by sea and
land.

Capitu-
lates.

^k Art. IV. Whereas Monsieur d'Estaing, brigadier of foot, and formerly a prisoner of his Britannic Majesty, is now on board the ship Condè, in his way to Europe, by the way of Bufforah, and being desirous of rendering more secure the intelligence received of an exchange having been made in his behalf,

A. D.
1759.

not have the intelligence he pretends to have received; there not having been so much as an attempt,

behalf, between Mr. Pigot, governor of Madras, and Monsieur Lally, lieutenant general; it is now agreed between the besiegers and besieged, that Alexander Douglass, Esquire, chief of the English East-India company's factory at Gombroon, with William Nash, ensign Johnston, Dymoke Lyker, Lieutenant George Bembow, Lieutenant Richard Evans, and Richard Mainwaring, are lawfully exchanged for Monsieur d'Estaing; and they are at full liberty to go where and to what places they please, in consequence of which, Monsieur d'Estaing is under no other clause than what is specified in the sixth article.

Art. V. Though the present exchange of prisoners is an unnecessary precaution in behalf of Monsieur d'Estaing, yet all persons mentioned in the preceding article are absolutely free: but should Monsieur d'Estaing have been already exchanged, as he undoubtedly is, in that case, for the seven persons already mentioned, who now enjoy their liberty, a like number, and of equal station, of his most Christian Majesty's subjects, are to be released whenever a cartel is made.

Art. VI. Monsieur d'Estaing, in order to fulfil with the greatest exactitude the promise he made Governor Pigot, that he would not take up arms against the English on the Coromandel coast only, for the space of eighteen months, reckoning from the first of May, one thousand seven hundred and fifty nine; desires it may be inserted in the present capitulation, that notwithstanding he is now exchanged, yet he will keep the promise he made Governor Pigot, of not taking up arms against the English on the Coromandel coast only, for the space of eighteen months, but he is at free liberty in all other places to take arms.

Art. VII. If it is possible to agree about the re-purchasing of Gombroon factory, it will be looked on as part of the present capitulation, the besiegers reserving to themselves the liberty nevertheless to do therewith as they may think fit, should no agreement be concluded with the besieged.

Art. VIII.

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tempt made towards his exchange: and the parole he gave was in the usual form; not to serve directly or indirectly against the English in the present war, or till he should be regularly exchanged. Neither did this doughty hero, the conqueror of Gombroon, observe this capitulation any better than his parole of honour. He set fire to the factory, on the 30th of October, and then reimbarcked his troops; having also dug mines in several parts; fixed combustibles to the beams and apartments, and given the factory up to a general pillage by the Arabs.

A. D.
1759.

Breaks the
capitulation.

While our arms were thus employed abroad, the French had given up all hopes of success in every other quarter, so long as England enjoyed profound peace at home: and they were convinced that the harmony and unanimity of the nation, to support the activity and wise measures of the ministry, could not be disturbed and broken by any other means, than by a resolute and powerful effort, which might be made

An invasion
threatened.

Art. VIII. In consideration of the exchange of Monsieur d'Estaing, and at his particular request to Monsieur Des Essars, Alexander Douglass, Esquire, chief of the English East India company's settlements of Gombroon, and all others mentioned in the fourth article, have liberty, and may carry away all their own effects, of what kind or sort soever, excepting ammunition, provisions, marine, military, or warlike stores.

Dated at Gombroon, the fourteenth day of October, at six o'clock in the morning, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

DES ESSARS,
CHARNYAU.
VOL. IV.

ALEXANDER DOUGLASS.
WILLIAM NASH.
RICHARD JOHNSTON.

Q

by

A. D. 1759. by three armies, covered with the whole collective force of their navy from Toulon, Brest and Dunkirk, to invade the British isles, in three different parts at once. This invasion was designed, and the preparations for it begun last winter ¹. These intentions were not hidden from the minister's vigilance and penetration ^m. He reserved a sufficient strength to defeat a descent upon any part of the British islands; at the same time he provided for the exigencies of every expedition against the enemy, even in the most distant parts of the globe. For, he not only dispatched the several fleets or squadrons for executing his grand projects in North and South America; but his care extended to the Asiatic regions, where the British interest was, in the beginning of the year, and for some months before, greatly threatened by the Gallic power under M. Lally, preparing to lay siege to Madras and Fort St. George; and by the reinforcements sent to M. D'Aché. In April ⁿ Admiral Cornish failed for Bombay with a reinforcement of four men of war, which also took the East India ships under convoy.

How obviated and defeated.

The first step taken for preventing the French invasion, was to guard the Straights of Gibraltar; and to intercept the armament, preparing at Tou-

¹ See page 403. Vol. III.

^m In the warrants for pressing, issued on March, it was set forth, That it was absolutely necessary, in the present critical situation of affairs, when attempts may be made to *invade* these kingdoms, no time should be lost in the immediate equipment of his Majesty's fleet.

ⁿ On the 14th.

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lon, should that fleet endeavour to pass into the ocean. Admiral Boscawen was selected for that service, and sailed for his station on the 14th of April from St. Helen's, with the Namure, Mag-nanime, Dorsetshire, Edgar, Conqueror, Dun-kirk, two bombs and two fire-ships. He arrived at Gibraltar with a quick and safe voyage in four-teen days.

A. D.
1759.

Admiral
Boscawen
sails.

Advice being received that the French prepara-tions for an invasion were continued with more vi-gour; especially in Upper Normandy and Picar-dy; his Majesty, by a message to the House, pre-sented by Mr. Secretary PITT, informed them of his apprehensions, and signified the necessity there was for them to provide such supply, as might enable his Majesty to prevent or defeat their per-nicious designs. Admiral Hawke was ordered to proceed for the Bay with the grand fleet, which sailed on the 18th of May; at the same time

King's
message to
parlia-
ment.

Admiral
Hawke
sails.

“ GEORGE R.

His Majesty relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this house will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year 1759, and to take all measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require.”

In consequence of the above message, a vote of credit for 1,000,000 was granted for the purposes therein mentioned.

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22,000

lon,

A. D.
1759.Troops
and militia
stationed.French
prepara-
tions.Another
message to
parliament.

22,000 tons of shipping were contracted for to embark in another expedition against the coast of France: and the national troops, not otherwise usefully employed, and the militia, were so stationed as to defend the coasts of these kingdoms against any accident, that might prevent our fleets blocking up, intercepting and defeating the French embarkations.

The French ministry were making the utmost effort with their naval strength. The Toulon squadron was directed to join that of Brest. The chief command of their grand fleet at Brest was conferred on M. Conflans. The troops destined for this embarkation were to be shipped at Vannes, under the command of the Duke D'Aquillon. Another embarkation of troops was preparing at Havre; who were to be assisted with a number of flat-bottomed boats: and again a small squadron was equipping at Dunkirk, to be commanded by M. Thurot.

His Majesty, three days before the close of the session, acquainted his parliament by another message, that he had received more certain advices of these preparations ^p to invade England; and pro-

^p Which were reported to consist of 63,000 men, consisting of sixty-three battalions of infantry; and the following cavalry, viz. 200 musquetaires, 400 life-guards, 150 horse-grenadiers, 200 gens d'armes and light-horse, 2560 horse, making eight regiments, 2400 dragoons, 2609 legion-royale, artillerie, &c. under the chief command of the Prince of Condi, Prince de Soubise, Count de Thomond, field marshals. Eight lieutenant generals, twelve major generals, eighteen

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proposed, on that occasion, to draw out, embody and march the militia, as should be found requisite. In which both houses of parliament returned a most dutiful and loyal address⁹. And the city

A. D.
1759.

of
eighteen brigadier generals, twenty-six ships of the line, twelve frigates, eight fire-ships, six xebecs, eight armed galleys, five hundred transports, twenty physicians, one hundred surgeons, fifty apothecaries, and two chaplains in each ship.

9 GEORGE R.

The King has received advices that the French court is making preparations with a design to invade this kingdom; and though his Majesty is persuaded, that, by the united zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who shall be engaged therein; yet his Majesty apprehends that he should not act consistently with that paternal care and concern, which he has always shewn for the safety and preservation of his people, if he omitted any means in his power, which may be necessary for their defence. Therefore, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, his Majesty acquaints the house of Lords with his having received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations, making in the French ports, to invade this kingdom, and of the imminent danger of such invasion being attempted; to the end that his Majesty may (if he shall think proper) cause the militia, or such part thereof as shall be necessary to be drawn out, and embodied, and to march as occasion shall require.

Which being read, it was ordered,

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return him the thanks of this house for his most gracious message, and for his acquainting us with the intelligence he has received of the preparations making by France to invade this kingdom. To declare our utmost indignation and abhorrence of such a design; and that we will, with united duty, zeal, and affection, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes,

A. D.
1759.

of London soon after addressing his Majesty on the Prince of Wales's coming of age, took that opportu-

stand by and defend his Majesty against any such presumptuous and desperate attempt. To express the just sense we have of his Majesty's goodness to his people, in omitting no means in his power which may tend to their defence; and in his intention to call out and employ the militia, if it shall be found necessary, for that purpose; and to give his Majesty the strongest assurances, that we will with vigour and steadiness, support his Majesty in taking the most effectual measures to defeat the designs of his enemies; to preserve and secure his sacred person and government, the protestant succession in his royal family, and the religion, laws, and liberties, of these kingdoms."

The same message being carried by Mr. Secretary PITT to the House of Commons, and being read by Mr. Speaker,

Resolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty our dutiful thanks for graciously communicating to this house, that he has received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and of the imminent danger of such invasion being attempted; and for his Majesty's paternal and timely care of the safety and preservation of his people; to assure his Majesty that this house will, with their lives and fortunes, support and stand by his Majesty, against all attempts whatever; and that his faithful commons, with hearts warm with affection and zeal for his Majesty's sacred person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy, whose fleet has hitherto shunned, in port, the terror of his navy, will cheerfully exert the utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable his Majesty, not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, to turn them to their own confusion.

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opportunity to assure his Majesty, " That no ho-
 " stile threats can intimidate a people animated
 " by the love of liberty, and inspired with a sense
 " of duty and affection to their sovereign; and
 " that, confiding in the divine providence, and
 " the experienced wisdom and vigour of his Ma-
 " jesty's councils, they were resolved to employ
 " their utmost efforts towards enabling of him
 " to repel the insults, and defeat the attempts of
 " the antient enemies of his Majesty's crown and
 " kingdoms."

A. D.
 1759.

Commodore Boyce was stationed with a suffi-
 cient Squadron before Dunkirk, to combat any
 force of shipping that could be fitted out from
 thence.

Commo-
 dore Boyce
 stationed
 off Dun-
 kirk.

This was immediately and vigorously followed
 by an expedition against Havre de Grace, to burn
 the magazines erected there for the stores of the
 flat-bottomed boats; and to destroy the boats and
 shipping in that harbour^r. This service was en-
 trusted

Expedition
 against
 Havre de
 Grace.

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Ma-
 jesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to
 his lieutenants of the severall counties, ridings, and places,
 within that part of Great Britain called England, to use
 their utmost diligence and attention to carry into execution the
 severall acts of parliament, made for the better ordering the
 militia forces of that part of Great Britain called England.

^r Havre de Grace is situated on the point of a large val-
 ley, at the mouth of the river Seine, between Roan and
 Dieppe, from each of which places it is distant about eighteen
 leagues. The ground on which it stands is full of morasses,
 and crossed by a great number of creeks and ditches full of

A. D. 1759. trusted to the command of Rear-Admiral Rodney; who, with four ships of the line, two frigates,

water, having been gradually formed by large quantities of gravel, sand, and mud, which the tide threw up by insensible degrees, and at length left dry.

It is fortified by four bastions and five half moons. It is commanded towards the east by the citadel, and, on the west, is bounded by quays built along the harbour. The citadel, built by Cardinal Richelieu's order, in the year 1628, is fortified by four bastions and three half-moons, with a ditch and advanced ditch quite round it. The ditches of the citadel, as well as the town, are filled with water from the sea by sluices. The number of inhabitants is supposed to be about 30,000.

The harbour of Havre has a particular advantage not only over the other sea-ports of Normandy, but of the whole kingdom; for the water does not begin to ebb till three hours after the full tide, so that fleets of 120 sail have often sailed out of it in one tide, even with the wind against them. The cause of this phenomenon is supposed to be the current of the Seine, which crossing the mouth of the harbour, with great force, as soon as the sea begins to retire, confines the water in the harbour till it has spent its strength.

The channel of the harbour naturally points to the south-west, and it is turned more towards the west by a bank of stones and rubbish thrown up by the sea, which has made the entrance into it narrow and dangerous, as vessels are in danger of driving upon the back of the west jetty every strong westerly wind.

The great road is two good leagues from the harbour, and lies W. S. W. of Cape la Heve. It extends a whole league from north to south, and is twelve fathom deep at high water, and being eight and nine at low water; the bottom is hard ground, and free from rocks. The little road is but half a league from the harbour, and lies S. S. E. of Cape la Heve. It is of a square form, and extends about a quarter of a league

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gates, two sloops and six bomb-vessels, sailed from St. Hellen's, on the second of July, and arrived next day in the great road of Havre. Admiral Rodney immediately began to make a disposition to put his orders into execution. The narrow channel of the river leading to Harfleur being found the only place to do this execution from, the Admiral ordered the bombs to be placed there. Two of them got to their station about seven that evening: the others were got into their places early next morning. From these began a bombardment, that lasted fifty-two hours without intermission, and with such success, that the town was several times in flames, and their magazine-stores for their flat-bottomed boats, burnt with uncommon fury for six hours and upwards, though several hundred men were continually employed, and did all in their power to extinguish the fire.

A. D.
1759.

Havre
bombard-
ed.

league every way; the bottom is good ground, covered with flints and oysters: the water is eight fathoms and a half at full sea, and four at low water. The bason, or dock, is reserved for the King's men of war, of which it can receive thirty with ease, and has depth of water for sixty gun ships. The docks for building the King's ships, and other vessels for the service of the state, are at the bottom of the arsenal or marine store-house.

As Havre is one of the six general arsenals for the whole marine of France, there is every thing in it that might be expected at such a place. The powder magazine for the marine is without the town, in the way to the citadel, and on the side of the Seine: just by it is a guard-house, and a centinel is placed at the door of the magazine; it is bomb proof, and can contain 200,000 weight of powder.

Be-

A. D. Besides, many of the boats were over-turned and
1759. damaged by the explosion of the shells. This se-

Its effects. sternation, that they forsook the town; it also
brought down the enemy's troops to the shore;
who appeared to be very numerous, and were
very assiduous in erecting batteries, and in throw-
ing up intrenchments. There being nothing more
to be done by our shipping, and the damage done
to their magazines and boats having disabled the
enemy from carrying this part of the plan of in-
vasion into force, Admiral Rodney weighed anchor
and returned for England, with very inconsiderable
loss; though a great number of their shot and shells
fell and burst among the bombs and boats.

Admiral
Rodney
returns.

Encour-
agement
for land
forces.

It was also thought necessary to be well provided
with land forces. For which purpose there appeared
an order of council, on the 11th of July, declaring,
that all his Majesty's faithful subjects, who should
enlist themselves in the land service, from that day,
should not be sent out of Great Britain, and should be
entitled to their discharge at the end of three years,
or at the end of the war, as they should chuse: and
that all deserters, who should rejoin their respective
regiments, or any other corps, if their own were out
of the kingdom, before the 10th of August, should be
pardoned.

Admiral Boscawen's instructions obliged him to
proceed from Gibraltar with all expedition, and

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to lie before the harbour of Toulon, with the following squadron.

The Namure	90	The Intrepid	64
Prince	90	Edgar	64
Newark	80	America	64
Culloden	74	St. Alban's	60
Warspite	74	Jersey	60
Conqueror	74	Portland	60
Swiftsure	70	Guernsey	50

Besides fireships and frigates.

A. D.
1759.

A Admiral
Dufcawen
fails to
block up
Toulon.

Lying before Toulon, with this squadron, the English admiral tried every art to provoke the enemy to come out, and to give him battle. Particularly on the 7th of June, he ordered the Culloden, Captain Callis, the Conqueror, Captain Harland, and the Jersey, Captain Barker, to stand in close to the harbour's mouth, and to burn two ships, there at anchor. But the French admiral would not move: and the wind dropping to a stark calm, the three English men of war were exposed to a continual fire from numberless batteries; were deprived of the means to destroy two forts, which must be done before they could attempt the ships, and obliged to retire, which they did, with some difficulty, and with the help of small craft, that towed them off. By this accident the Culloden was extremely shattered; and a great many men were killed and wounded. But this rather sharpened the resentment, than damp't the spirits of the sailors, who looked upon the inactivity of the French fleet with contempt, and

A gallant
action.

Miscarries.

*Encourages the
people.*

were

A. D. were impatient for an opportunity to revenge the
1759. loss in this action.

Another
gallant
action at
Brest.

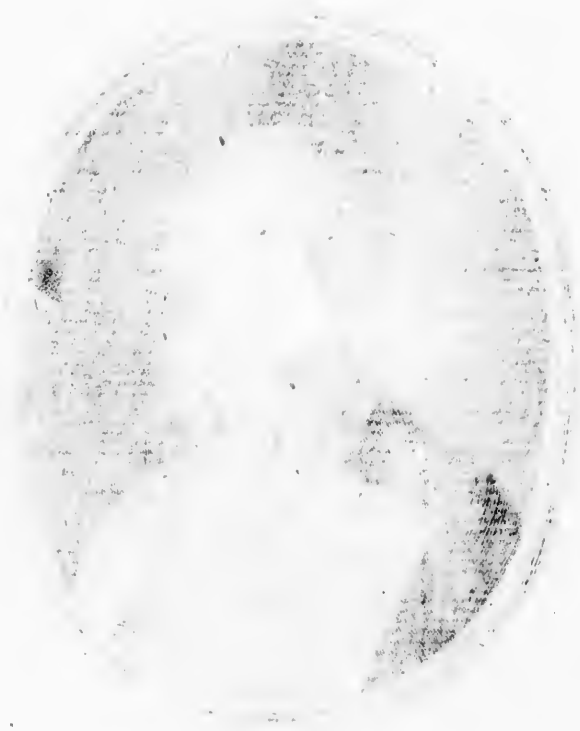
An action equally brave and extraordinary, but more successful, was performed on the 14th of July, by a detachment from the grand fleet under Admiral Hawke, in the Bay of Biscay. This admiral had ordered Captain Harvey of the *Monmouth*, with the *Pallas* frigate, Captain Clements, to lie as close as possible to Brest harbour, to watch the French fleet. Captain Harvey complied so punctually with his orders, that a boat could not escape him, either going in, or coming out. In this situation he discovered four ships attempting to slip into Brest, between the shore and the rocks, about the passage *Du Tour*; Captain Harvey immediately got under sail, and with the *Pallas* frigate plied up to the ships, that were now come to an anchor close to the forts, and to a battery that fired upon the *Monmouth* and *Pallas*, and bombarded them the whole time they were going in. This brisk fire, however, did not discourage the English. The boats set every thing at defiance, cut away and brought off, the four ships, which had hoisted Swedish colours, and were laden with cannon, &c. for the French fleet at Brest; under the favour of the guns of the *Monmouth* and *Pallas*, which kept such hot and continual fire upon the forts, that they drove the people and soldiers from their posts; so that the prizes were carried quite off by the *Pallas* with very little damage to our vessels, and no loss of men, the *Monmouth* remaining opposite to the

Prizes
taken and
carried off.

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The Hon^{ble} AUGUSTUS HERVEY.

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forts till they were out of danger: though there were four flags flying in the harbour, and twenty ships of the line fit for the sea. But Conflans, that commanded the Brest fleet, had no better stomach to launch into the ocean, where he was sure to meet with Admiral Hawke, than M. de Clue, who commanded at Toulon. Or, perhaps, neither of them had instructions to sail, except the coast was found clear of the English fleet. A conjecture strongly grounded upon the future conduct of both those admirals. For neither of them ventured out of their respective ports, till they had certain advice of the English fleets being driven off their coasts.

A. D.
1759.

Admiral Boscawen being obliged by the foulness of the weather and the bad condition of his ships to return to Gibraltar to refit; he, strongly possessed with an opinion, that M. de la Clue would take the advantage of his absence to steal through the streights, got the Lyme and Gibraltar frigates ready with all possible dispatch, and sent the Lyme to cruise off Malaga, and the Gibraltar to cruise from Estepona to Ceuta Point, to look out and to give him timely notice of the enemy's approach. La Clue acted the very part, as had been conjectured. He finding the coast clear of the English squadron, weighed anchor, and by steering close under the Barbary shore, he was in hopes to escape the vigilance of the fleet in Gibraltar Bay; and was got almost the length of Ceuta, when the Gibraltar made a signal, about eight in the evening of the 17th of July, that she

Admiral
Boscawen
returns to
Gibraltar
to refit.

La Clue
with the
Toulon
fleet sails.

Discover-
ed.

saw

A. D. 1759. saw 14 ships to the eastward of that place. Admiral Boscawen lost not a moment: the whole fleet* was got under sail and out of the bay before ten. At day break the admiral saw the Gibraltar, and soon after he saw seven sail of large ships lying-to. They threw out a signal, which not being answered by the English ships, they made sail from them; but not with that advantage, as on some former occasions had been represented concerning the swift sailing of the French men of war; for by the help of a fresh gale, the English fleet gained upon them very fast, till about noon; when it fell little wind. However the chase continued in the best manner possible; and about half an hour past two some of the headmost ships began to engage. But the Admiral's ship, Namure, could not get up to the Ocean, on board of which was M. de la Clue, till near four o'clock. Their fire was terrible: in about half an hour the Namure had her mizen-mast and both topsail-yards shot away. The Ocean, under a supposition, that the Admiral's ship was so disabled as not in a condition to pursue, made all the sail she could to get out of harms way. But Admiral Boscawen shifted his flag to the Newark. Soon after the Centaur of 74 guns struck. The pursuit continued all night; of which two of the enemy's best sailors took the advantage and got off. So that in the morning there remained no more than four ships in sight; and they were

Pursued by
Admiral
Boscawen.

Attacked.

The
French
fly.

* Fourteen sail of the line, the Shannon and Ætna fire-ships.
standing

standing in for the land, at the distance of about three miles from the English squadron, and 15 miles from the shore, with very little wind. The Ocean, rather than renew the battle, ran amongst the breakers, and the other three in her company came to an anchor. The Intrepid and America were ordered to destroy the Ocean. Captain Pratten having anchored could not get in: But Captain Kirke performed that service alone. On his first firing, the Ocean struck, M. de la Clue, who had one leg broken and the other wounded in the engagement the day before, being landed about half an hour. Captain Kirke's officers were sent to take her in possession; M. le Comte de Carne the captain, and several officers and men on board. But there appearing no possibility to bring the ship off, they set her on fire. Captain Bentley of the Warsprite, had better fortune. He was ordered against the Temeraire of 74 guns, and brought her off with little damage, and all her officers and men. In the mean time Rear Admiral Broderick, with his division, burnt the Redoubtable, deserted by her officers and men, and also bulged; and brought off the Modeste of 64 guns, very little damaged.

To review this victory; we can't pitch upon one more advantageous to Great Britain; and purchased at so cheap a rate. By this a chief branch of that force intended to execute their grand

** List of the French squadron, under the command of M. de la Clue.*

L'Ocean, 80 guns, M. de la Clue. — Le Redoubtable, 74 guns, M. de St. Agne. — Le Centaure, 74 guns, Sa-

A. D.
1759.

Pursued.

Ships
taken, &c.

Remarks.

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A. D.
1759.

grand project of an invasion was lopt off; the spirits of their seamen were depressed; and England was no longer obliged to maintain so expensive a fleet, as heretofore in the Mediterranean. All this obtained with the loss of only 56 men killed, and 196 wounded^u, though there was little difference in the strength of the two squadrons. For, if the English had a superiority of two ships of the line; the French ships were of a much larger bulk, and had a superiority in number of men. So that the two fleets were pretty near of equal force. But it appears evidently that M. de la Clue was deficient in courage, and wanted the conduct of Mr. Boscawen. It is difficult to say, whether the cowardice of the French, or the bravery of the English were greatest. Nothing can exculpate la Clue, except he had instructions to avoid an engagement, and to try any means, but a battle, to reach Brest. For any officer of judgment and spirit will always, though inferior in strength, think it his duty to form the line and

bran Grammont, taken. — Le Souverain, 74 guns, Panat. — Le Guerrier, 74 guns, Rochemore, escaped. — Le Temeraire, 74 guns, Castillon l'Aine, taken. — Le Fantafque, 64 guns, Castillon Cadet, lost company. — Le Modeste, 64 guns, Du lac Monvert, taken. — Le Lion, 64 guns, Colbert Turgis; Le Triton, 64 guns, Venel; Le Fier, 50 guns, Marquisan; L'Oriflamme, 50 guns, Dabon, lost company coming thro' the Streights. — La Chimere, 26 guns, Sauchet; La Minerve, 24 guns, Le Chev. d'Opede; La Gracieuse, 24 guns, Le Chev. de Febry, lost company coming through the Streights.

^u Thirteen of the killed and 44 wounded, were on board Admiral Boscawen's ship.

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THE L A T E W A R.

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fight, instead of separating his ships and running away. Yet the French commander justifies this action in a letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon^w

A. D.
1759.

But

^w *Translation of a letter from M. de la Cluc to the Count de Merie, ambassador of France at the court of Lisbon, dated Lagos, August 28.*

I was not in a condition to write to your excellency when I dispatched a domestic to inform you of the disaster that had befallen the King's squadron under my command. I passed the Streights in the night between the 16th and 17th of August, with twelve ships of the line and three frigates. I was not afraid of meeting Admiral Boscawen, though his squadron was stronger than mine; but by an unaccountable fatality, five of my ships and three frigates parted from me, so that next morning at day-break I found I had only seven with me; fortunately they were the largest, viz. the Ocean, the Redoubtable, the Centaur, the Guerrier, the Souverain, the Temeraire, and the Modeste. At sun-rising we discovered eight sail to windward; I believed them to be my ships, and waited for them, keeping as near the wind as possible, with very little sail. In a little time their number increased so much, that we counted 18. I made no doubt of their being the enemy's fleet. I immediately determined to make all the sail I could to gain the weather gage, and made the proper signal to my ships; but I was obliged to wait for the Souverain, which is a heavy sailer, and by that means the enemy got up with me sooner than they would otherwise have done. Whilst the wind blew a brisk gale, they had no advantage over us; but at noon the wind dying away, I found that they sailed much better than we. At half an hour after two, the Centaur, Captain de Sabran, which was in the rear, was attacked by two ships, one on the larboard, the other on the starboard side, and defended herself with uncommon bravery. The Guerrier was attacked soon after; then the Ocean and the Souverain. The heat of the action was with these four ships, each of which

VOL. IV.

R

fought

A. D. But the French did not give up their prospect
1759. of invading us. The embarkation of troops,

French re-
solution to
invade us
continues.

and

fought both sides of the ship without intermission. Admiral Boscawen, who came down upon me with all the sail he could make, came athwart me within gun-shot, about four o'clock; and poured a furious broadside into me, which I returned, and my shot were so well aimed that his mizen-mast was carried away, his main top-sail yard came in two upon the deck, the sprite-sail yard and the jack-staff were cut away, all his sails were torn, and he sheered off to be out of the reach of my fire. I was struck at this time with a piece of iron, which made a large wound in my right leg, and broke my left leg; so that I was forced to leave the Count de Carne to fight the ship. Never was such a fire seen as my squadron kept up. I have all the reason in the world to believe, that if I had had all my ships I should have beat them. The English admiral, on leaving me, fell upon the Centaur, and made the fifth ship which she had to engage; so that she was forced to strike after performing prodigies of valour. At night the engagement ceased; the enemy kept the wind under an easy sail.

I cannot express to your excellency the valour and courage shewn by our ships companies, which did not slacken one moment. The enemy's superiority did not frighten them. This was, no doubt, owing to the example of the officers, who discovered a courage truly heroic. My ship fired 2500 cannon shot. I judge that we had about 100 killed on the spot, and 70 wounded; one garde pavillon was killed, and several officers were wounded. We employed the night in preparing for a second engagement; but the Count de Panat, who commanded the Souverain, and M. de Rochemore, Captain of the Guerrier, left me in the night, which greatly diminished the force of my squadron, and daunted the courage of my people.

On the 18th, at day break, the enemy crowded sail to come up with me. I then judged my ruin unavoidable. Finding myself on the coast of Portugal, I determined to burn the King's ships there, rather than surrender them to the enemy.

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A. D.
1759.

and the equipment of the squadrons under the command of Conflans and Thurot were not discontinued. The defeat at Lagos was a severe check. But the French ministry having lost all hopes of recovering the possession of Hanover, after the battle of Minden, and therewith the means of making an advantageous peace; they had no resource left but to avail themselves of a favourable opportunity to throw a powerful army into England and Scotland, or Ireland: as could be most conveniently done.

I ran the Ocean on shore two leagues from Lagos, under the fort called Almadana, and sent notice to the commander of that fort, who fired three cannon-shot at the English, but they paid no regard to them. The Marquis de St. Aignan also ran his ship on shore, and both of us endeavoured to land our men, but the sea being rough, this took up a great deal of time. M. de Castillon, captain of the *Temeraire*, and M. de Mouvre, captain of the *Modeste*, did not follow my example, but anchored as near as they could to the forts Exavier and Lagres, hoping that the English would respect those forts; but they paid no regard to them, and came and anchored close by the two French ships, which they fought until they struck.

One of the enemy's ships came and anchored behind the Ocean, and fired into her and into the boats that were carrying the men on shore. The Count de Carne, finding he could not get out of the ship, was forced to strike his colours, and to surrender prisoner, with M. Darbaud, and the Chevalier de Glandeves, M. de Suffrim, the chevalier de Damas, and five inferior officers; the rest were soldiers with some gunners, making in all about 60, whom the English took on board, and set fire to the vessel, which was burnt in the night.

I was carried on shore, and passed the night with the officers and the wounded men, without either bread or water.——

A. D.
1759:
Our fears
lessened.

On the part of Great Britain, our fears were lessened, and our naval power more at liberty to counteract, and repel this scheme, by the ruin brought upon their preparations for an embarkation at Havre; and by the victory over the squadron commanded by M. de la Clue. The whole strength of the enemy was now blocked up by the two squadrons commanded by Sir Edward Hawke before Brest, and Commodore Boys before Dunkirk.

Sir Edward
Hawke
blocks up
Brest.

Sir Edward Hawke had sailed from Portsmouth, as observed, to his station on the 17th of May. He was joined next day, at Torbay, by Sir Charles Hardy, with a fleet from Plymouth. This grand fleet deprived the French of the use of those extraordinary preparations carried on for embarking troops at Vannes and Nantz, as well as for the men of war at Brest and Rochefort. It not only kept that coast in continual alarm: but a boat could not escape their vigilance. Of which we have given a clear proof in the capture made by Captain Hervey. There was no prospect of carrying their scheme into execution from this coast, but under favour of a boistrous season, which perhaps, towards winter might oblige this formidable guard upon their harbours to return into their own ports. Accordingly on the 12th of October, a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irresistible storm, furnished the French admiral with a completion of his wishes. Sir Edward was driven from before Brest, and forced, with

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the greatest part of his fleet, into Plymouth sound; where he arrived next day.

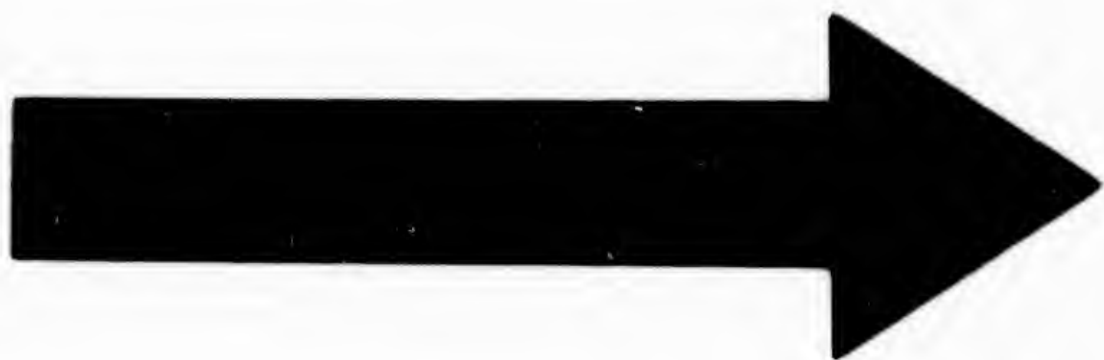
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1759.

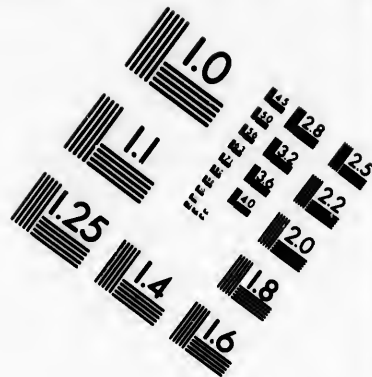
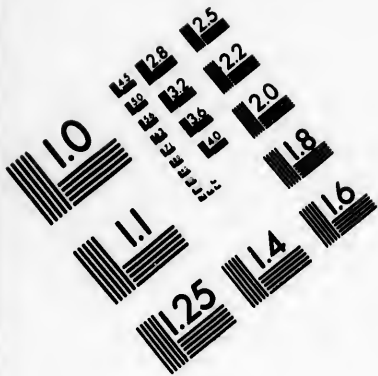
This good fortune of our enemy, brought about by the wind, was attended by the favourable release of Thurot's * squadron from Dunkirk, which found an opportunity to slip out to the northward, without being discovered by Commodore Boys; who, upon the first information, failed immediately in pursuit of him. But he escaped both him, and other squadrons, by entering the port of Gottenburg, in Sweden; where he was laid up till after Christmas by the severity of the weather, and the want of necessaries to enable his ships and men to keep the seas. Such was the wretched condition of the French at this time, that they were not able to fit out this little squadron, as the service required!

Thurot
sails out of
Dunkirk.

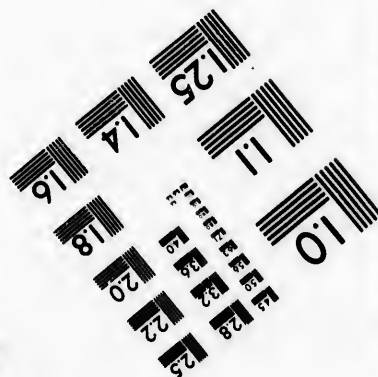
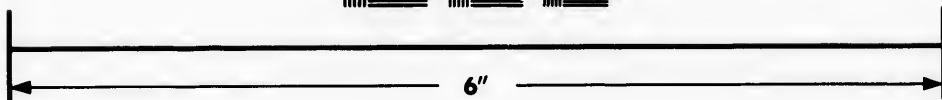
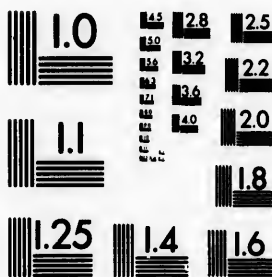
M. Conflans was not so capable of improving the first moments of his opportunity. Though the greatest part of the English fleet had been driven off the coast by a storm, he could not think it prudent to risk his grand fleet in the midst of that boisterous sea: neither could he for some time, nor, perhaps, till the French spies in England should ascertain the truth of the report, know that the English fleet was returned home; the coast being continually alarmed by the detachments from Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, to give

* Thurot had been commander of the *Marshal de Belleisle* privateer, and was rewarded with this command of a royal squadron of six ships, to invade or alarm the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, with 1800 men.





**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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A. D.
1759.

him intelligence of every motion of the enemy. Therefore we find that the English fleet under Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Admiral Geary, to the number of 20 sail of men of war, had sailed again, on the 18th, from Plymouth for his station off Brest, and was driven a second time, and obliged to come to an anchor in Torbay on the 9th of November; before Conflans moved.

Conflans
sails from
Brest.

This was the critical moment. Conflans must fail; or Thurot's enterprize must prove abortive. Hawke must defeat Conflans; or the fate of Britain must be desperate. But the situation of the several parts of the French armament, was of great disadvantage to their expedition, in its setting out. The men of war were at one port; the transports at others, and liable to be intercepted by the English cruisers. Which obliged their fleet to waste a considerable time in making the necessary dispositions for their safety, as well as in waiting for their embarkation. Neither could such an extraordinary fleet be preparing for their departure without being seen by the English cruisers, that were daily looking into the ports, where this armament had the least connection. So that M. Conflans was soon discovered, when put to sea. This was about 24 leagues to the N. W. of Belleisle, steering to the eastward. This advice met Sir Edward Hawke at sea; after he had sailed from Torbay on the 13th, and again on the 14th; being forced back a third time by contrary winds. Sir Edward, convinced by this intelligence, that the Brest fleet was certainly out, set both the season and the element at defiance.

Admiral
Hawke
advised
thereof.

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The severity of the weather; the tempestuousness of the seas; and even the adversity of the wind, served only to heighten his zeal; to double his diligence, and to rack his understanding, to exert every ability of an old experienced navigator. His soul was impressed with the fatal consequences of missing the enemy: and, devoting his body to the service of his country, he, like the God of the seas, made use of the stormy winds and tempest to conduct him and his squadron, over billows, mountains high, sailing, as it were, upon the wings of the wind, till he descried the enemy, fluttering at his appearance, as a bird at the sight of a Hawke.

A. D.
1759.

How
bravely and
effectually
he execut-
ed his or-
ders.

How naturally did our admiral trace the course of the enemy. His own judgment directed his course. If Conflans was failed, he judged from their other preparations, that the enemy's fleet must first rendezvous at Quiberon Bay. Thither the brave Hawke directed his course with a pressed sail: and, as it were by instinct, he preserved this scent so well, that on the 20th, at half past eight in the morning, Sir Edward found the enemy, who had failed from Brest on the 14th, in the very situation he expected*. Never did there appear more joy;

* At his first parting from Torbay, the wind blew hard at S. by E. and S. which drove him considerably to the westward. But on the 18th and 19th, though variable, it came about more favourable. In the mean time being joined by the Maidstone and Coventry frigates, Sir Edward ordered them to keep ahead of the fleet, one on the starboard, the other on the larboard bow. And on the 20th, at half past eight in the morning, the Maidstone made the signal for seeing a fleet, Belleisle bearing E. by N. quarter N.

A. D.
1759.
Defies all
dangers.

never more impatience, nor contempt of danger. Neither the sea, that ran mountain-high; nor a violent storm of wind; nor the whole navy of France, in a manner collected together; nor the greatest danger of an unexplored hostile coast, sown thick with sands and rocks, were sufficient to divert him one moment from the object of his instructions and orders. The signal was given at first for a line a-breast, in order to draw the fleet together; and at three quarters past nine observing the enemy to make off, the admiral threw out a signal for the seven ships nearest them to chase, and draw into a line of battle ahead of him. Each ship emulated another in the execution of their admiral's command; descending from the summits of watery mountains, they pounced the enemy, and never parted with them, till this mighty fleet was totally destroyed: and in its ruins was buried the maritime power of France.

Motives.

Admiral Hawke, who had long been the darling of the people of England, for his abilities and courage at sea, stood at this juncture of time a tip-toe in their future esteem. Their fears had been heightened to a great degree by the sailing of Thurot from Dunkirk, and they were increased to such a pitch, by the opportunity given to M. Conflans, on the retreat of Admiral Hawke from the bay; that every disaster, or bad consequence following this retreat, would have so stunned the English, that they would have allowed no excuse, nor considered the irresistible power of the wind and the seas, that drove him home: but made him

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him responsible for the misfortunes, which it was not possible for any one, in his circumstances, to prevent, by any other means than Admiral Hawke had done, and was eager to do. Amidst all the horrors of two enraged elements he began a furious engagement.

A. D.
1759.

His first endeavours, when he discovered the shyness of the enemy, was to stop them till he could collect his squadron in that tempestuous sea. This was the reason for drawing into a line of battle ahead of him. The same signal for forming in a line ahead was made to the rest of the ships, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. About eleven Sir Edward was joined by the Rochester, Chatham, Portland, Falkland, Minerva, Vengeance and Venus; and in the evening by the Sapphire from Quiberon Bay*. M. Conflans kept going off with all the sail his squadron could carry, and at the same time keep together. And the English fleet crowded after him with every sail our ships could bear. By this diligence the firing began ahead at half an hour past two P. M. when also Sir Edward threw out his signal for engaging. The English were then to the southward of Belleisle, and the French admiral headmost, soon after led round the Cardinals, while his rear was in action. About four o'clock the Formidable struck; a little after, the Thesée and Superbe were sunk: and about five the Heros

Enemy discovered.

Chased.

Engaged.

Defeated.

* All the day they had very fresh gales at N. W. and W. N. W. with heavy squalls.

A. D. 1759. struck and came to an anchor: but it blowed so hard that no boat could be sent on board of her.

The sea and the night obliging Sir Edward to give over the chase, he made a signal to anchor ^v. Many guns of distress were fired in the night, but it blowed so hard, that it was not possible to give them any relief; whether they were friends or foes. By day-break of the 21st, the Resolution, one of our ships, was seen dismasted ashore on the Tour. The French Heros and the Soliel Royal, which had anchored amongst the English fleet under cover of the night, cut and run ashore to the westward of Crozie: and what was more unfortunate, the Essex, who by a signal from the admiral, slipt and pursued the Soliel Royal, ran upon the Tour also, and both she and the Resolution were irrecoverably lost ^z, notwithstanding all the assistance was given, that the weather would permit. As soon as it was broad day-light there

Run away.

^v Night, says Sir Edward Hawke, in his account of this day's action, was now come, and being on a part of the coast, among islands and shoals, of which his people were totally ignorant; without a pilot, as was the greatest part of the squadron; and it blowing hard on a lee shore, he made the signal to anchor, and came to in 15 fathom water; the island of Dumet bearing E. by N. between two and three miles, the Cardinals W. half S. and the steeple of St. Crozie S. E.

^z About 84 of the Resolution's company, in spite of the strongest remonstrances of the captain, made rafts, and with several French prisoners, belonging to the Formidable, put off and were lost. All the Essex's were saved, with as many of the stores as possible, except one lieutenant and a boat's crew, who were drove on the French shore. The remains of both ships were set on fire.

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appeared seven or eight of the enemy's line of battle ships at anchor between Point Pennis and the river Villaine. Sir Edward made a signal to weigh, in order to work up and attack them again: but the wind increased, and blew so hard from the N. W. that instead of daring to cast the squadron loose, he was obliged to strike top-gallant masts: and though most of those ships, belonging to the enemy, appeared to be aground at low water; they all, except two, got, that night, into the river Villaine, being lightened, and by the help of the flood, and of the wind under the land.

On the 22d, the weather being moderate, the Attempts to burn the ships in the Villaine. Portland Chatham and Vengeance, were sent to destroy the Soliel Royal and the Heros: and other ships were detached to destroy the two ships at the mouth of the Villaine. But the French, on the approach of the English ships, set fire to the Soliel Royal. The Heros met with the same fate from our people; and the two ships without the Villaine escaped up the river with the tide of flood. However Sir Edward Hawke did not give over all thoughts of ferretting the enemy in this river; where, by reconnoitring, he found seven or eight line of battle ships about half a mile within, quite light, and defended by two frigates moored across the river's mouth; which is very narrow, and has but 12 feet water on the bar, at low water. Therefore 12 long boats were fitted out, as fireships, ready to attempt the burning of them, under the cover of the Sapphire and Coventry: but the weather and the wind would not permit him to put this design in execution.

Thus

A. D.
1759.
Remarks
on this
battle.

Thus ended this ever memorable action, in which the French had four capital ships destroyed, one taken, and the remnant so disabled, that their naval power was never in a condition to attempt any thing more during Mr. PITT's administration: which put an end to the national dread of an invasion: and on which there can be no better remarks, than were made by Sir Edward himself, in his letter to Mr. Cleveland, secretary to the admiralty.—“ In attacking a flying enemy it was “ impossible, in the space of a short winter's day, “ that all our ships should be able to get into “ action; or all those of the enemy brought to “ it. The commanders and companies of such, “ as did come up with the rear of the French, “ on the 20th, behaved with the greatest intre- “ pidity, and gave the strongest proofs of a true “ British spirit. In the same manner I am sa- “ tisfied, would those have acquitted themselves, “ whose bad-going ships, or the distance they “ were at in the morning, prevented them from “ getting up.” The loss of our fleet was not con- siderable. It was occasioned more by the weather, than by the enemy: for in the ships, which were mustered on the 24th, there was found only one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines killed, and about 202 wounded^a. “ When I

“ con-

^a *List of ships with Sir Edward Hawke, Nov. 20, 1759.*

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	
Royal George	100	880	} Sir Edward Hawke. } Captain Campbell.
Union	90	770	

Duke

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“ year, th

Ships:

Duke

Namure

Mars

Warspight

Hercules

Torbay

Magnanim

Resolution

Hero

Swiftsure

Dorsetshir

Burford

Chichester

Temple

Revenge

Essex

Kingston

Intrepid

Montague

Dunkirk

Defiance

The follow

Rocheester

Portland

Faulkland

Chatham

Minerva

Venus

Vengean

Coventry

Maidston

Saphire

“ consider, says Sir Edward, the season of the
 “ year, the hard gales on the day of action, a
 “ flying

A. D.
 1759.

Ships:	Guns.	Men.	
Duke	90	750	Capt. Graves.
Namure	90	780	— Buckle.
Mars	74	600	} James Young, Esq; commodore.
Warspight	74	600	
Hercules	74	630	Capt. Fortescue.
Terbay	74	700	Hon. Capt. Keppel.
Magnanime	74	700	Hon. Lord Howe.
Resolution	74	600	Capt. Speke.
Hero	74	600	Hon. Capt. Edgecumbe.
Swiftsure	70	520	Sir Tho. Stanhope.
Dorsetshire	70	520	Capt. Dennis.
Burford	70	520	— Gambier.
Chichester	70	520	— Willet.
Temple	70	520	— Wash. Shirley.
Revenge	64	480	— Storr.
Essex	64	480	— O'Brien.
Kingston	60	400	— Shirley.
Intrepid	60	420	— Maplefen.
Montague	60	420	— Rowley.
Dunkirk	60	420	— Digby.
Defiance	60	420	— Baird.

The following frigates joined Sir Edward Hawke, between
 Ushant and Belleisle.

Rochester	50	350	Capt. Duff.
Portland	30	350	— Arbuthnot.
Faulkland	50	350	— Fr. Sam. Drake.
Chatham	50	350	— John Lockart.
Minerva	32	220	— Hood.
Venus	36	240	— Harrison.
Vengeance	28	200	— Nightingale.
Coventry	28	200	— Burflem.
Maidstone	28	200	— Diggs.
Sapphire	32	220	— Strachan.

Lif

A. D. " flying enemy, the shortness of the day, and the
 '759. " coast we were on, I can boldly affirm, that all
 " that could possibly be done, has been done.

List of the French Squadron which came out of Brest, Nov. 14. 1759.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.	
Le Soliel Royal	80	1200	M. Conflans, admiral.
Le Tonnant	80	1000	} M. Beaufremont, vice-admiral.
Le Formidable	80	1000	
L'Orient	80	1000	} M. de St. André du Verger, rear-admiral.
L'Intrepide	74	815	
Le Glorieux	74	815	} M. Gubrian, Chef d'Escadre.
Le Thésée	74	815	
L'Heros	74	815	
Le Robuste	74	815	
Le Magnifique	74	815	
Le Juste	70	800	
Le Superbe	70	800	
Le Dauphin	70	800	
Le Dragon	64	750	
Le Northumberl.	64	750	
Le Sphinx	64	750	
Le Solitaire	64	750	
Le Brillant	64	750	
L'Eillé	64	750	
Le Lavare	64	750	
L'Inflexible	64		
L'Hebé	40		
La Vestale	34		
L'Aigrette	36		
Le Calypso	16		
Le Prince Noir, a small vessel to look out.			

The above ships were all in company when the action began, except the Hebé frigate.

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v. 14. 1759.

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SIR EDW.^D HAWKE
Admiral of the White.

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“ As to the loss we have sustained ; let it be
 “ placed to the account of the necessity I was un-
 “ der of running all risks to break this strong
 “ force of the enemy. Had we had but two hours
 “ more day-light, the whole had been totally de-
 “ stroyed, or taken ; for we were almost up with
 “ their van, when night overtook us.”

A. D.
1759.

Sir Edward Hawke did not confine his atten-
 tion to the Villaine. He detached Captain Young A flying
squadron. to Quiberon-bay with five ships ; and he made
 up a flying squadron, to scour the coast on the
 Isle of Aix, and to seek out and attempt the ene-
 my, where-ever to be found, if practicable.

The modesty with which Sir Edward Hawke Further
particulars
of Sir
Edward
Hawke's
bravery. penned the foregoing account does, in justice to
 his bravery, require some few additional observa-
 tions. Sir Edward, in the beginning of the ac-
 tion, ordered his ship, the Royal George, to re-
 serve her fire, to pass by all the others, and to be
 laid alongside the Soliel Royal ; the most power-
 ful ship in the French navy. The master re-
 monstrated on the great danger of the coast, in the
 navigation of such a capital ship. Sir Edward an-
 swered, “ You have done your duty in this re-
 monstrance ; now obey my orders, and lay me
 alongside the French admiral.” His intention was
 penetrated by the enemy ; and the Superbe, a 70
 gun ship, endeavouring to cover M. Conflans's ship,
 throwing herself in between, obliged Sir Edward to
 bestow on her the fire, he had reserved for a more
 noble object ; and was sent to the bottom by one
 broad-

A. D.
1759.

broadside. A dreadful spectacle to behold! Though victory animated the crew of the Royal George, to exult with joy at their success, yet their natural generosity and humanity, as Englishmen, were so sensibly touched, at the miserable fate of 800^b poor creatures, that it struck a damp upon their triumphing cheer. The Royal George was not satisfied with this victim to British courage: she continued her course towards the Soliel Royal, with all the sail she could make. As she advanced, the Royal George received the fire of six more ships, and M. Conflans welcomed Sir Edward Hawke with a broadside. The English admiral returned it with becoming spirit, and followed his charge so briskly and effectually, that M. Conflans, after three broadsides, sheered off. Sir Edward turned his metal upon the vice-admiral; who very soon followed the example of his superior. The Royal George dealt death and destruction where-ever she came: and she was everywhere. None were able to stand against her steady and dreadful fire: but it can't be said that any one of the enemy's ships fought fairly, and made a proper resistance, except the Formidable; on board of which failed the rear-admiral. She was engaged singly with the Resolution; and Captain Speke could not force her to strike till the dusk of the evening. How far the Thesée would have

Enemy's
ships sunk.

^b Only twenty were saved out of this number; and they were taken by our men off some pieces of the wreck.

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^c Most of
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imitated the bravery of the Formidable, is a matter that was left undetermined by its being sunk at the second broadside, in a single encounter with the Torbay. Nevertheless M. Conflans and the French court endeavoured to put a good countenance upon this unfortunate affair, full of bombast, bravado, inconsistency and falshood. In which it is asserted, that Admiral Hawke had left the French coast on advice of Conflans's intention to come out and to give him battle: that the English fleet consisted of forty ^{two} of line of battle, besides frigates; that he therefore had endeavoured to avoid a general engagement, and to train the enemy amongst the shoals and rocks: that twelve ships were employed at once against the Formidable; and that they could not make it strike till the rear-admiral, and all his officers, were killed ^c: that he himself had given Admiral Hawke such a warm reception, as obliged him to sheer off: that the Formidable struck to the Royal George: that the Soliel Royal was so shattered as not to answer the helm, and obliged to run a-shore in the night: that the Heros was in the same condition: that the Superb and Thesée were overset by a squall of wind: that the Orient had drove two of the English capital ships upon the Four; and that he only waited for the junction of M. Bompars's Squadron ^d, to give a good ac-

A. D.
1759.

M. Conflans's fictitious account of this battle.

^c Most of them were drowned in endeavouring to recover the French coast on rafts, as above-mentioned. Of which circumstance M. Conflans avails himself in this story.

^d Expected from the West Indies.

A. D. 1759. count of the enemy^e. Such were the wretched shifts of the Grand Monarch, to keep up the spirits

• *Extract of a letter published in the Paris Gazette, from Marshal Conflans to Comte St. Florentine, secretary of marine, dated at Vannes in Bretagne, Nov. 22, 1759.*

Pursuant to his most Christian Majesty's orders, having received a reinforcement of men out of M. Bompard's squadron, I sailed from Brest the 14th instant, with a design to give battle to the British fleet, who had been making their bravadoes all the last summer off our harbour; but was deceived in my expectation; for the enemy (as I imagine) being informed of our design, had abandoned the coast. I cruised two days in hopes of their return, but to no purpose. At last I formed a resolution to cut off Commodore Duff's squadron, consisting of twenty sail of the line, moored in Quiberon-bay. Upon the 20th in the morning, being a little south-west of Belleisle, the weather hazy, and a fresh gale at north-west, I saw to windward a fleet of ships, which I took to be a convoy of victuallers for M. Duff's squadron, not judging it possible for the enemy's fleet to be so near: nevertheless, whatever might happen, I made the signal for a line of battle. We were not half formed, when the weather clearing up, we could plainly see it was the enemy's fleet, consisting of forty sail of the line of battle, besides frigates, advancing in three divisions; so that we were in a manner surrounded. I judged it most conducive to the good of his Majesty's service, to avoid hazarding a general engagement at that time; and rather to strain on the enemy through the shoals and rocks in the entrance of the river Villaine. At half an hour past two in the afternoon, the enemy's van came up with our rear, and were warmly received by Mons. Verger, who commanded that division: but he, and all his officers, being killed, there being no less than twelve of the enemy's ships engaged with him, his ship, the Formidable, struck at last to Admiral Hawke. The Thesée and Superbe were overfet by a squall of wind. At half an hour past four, a ship of three decks,

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spirits of his subjects, and to conceal from them his weakness and disgrace.

A. D.
1759.

France, in this blow, may be said to have received a *coup de grace* on her maritime power; in whose equipment, this year, her ministry had strained every sinew of their strength. Even her land campaign had suffered, to enable her navy to carry the horrors of war into the heart of Great Britain. The miscarriage of this last resort, by the bravery of Boscawen and Hawke, deprived the French of their hopes, and effectually brought on their own destruction by sea. The battle of Minden had ruined their designs on the continent. They had troops to recruit, to clothe and to pay. There was no proceeding without these necessaries. But this could not be effected without proper resources. It would not be done without trade. Trade could not be supported without a navy. The last action at sea put an end to their

Fatal effects of this victory to France.

carrying a flag, which I took to be *Monf. Hawke's*, came along-side the *Soliel Royal*, where I commanded; but he met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to sheer off in a little time; though our rigging and sails were so shattered, that the ship not answering the helm, was obliged to run ashore in the night; as did the *Heros* in the same condition: nor could we hinder the enemy from burning both ships next morning. Mean time the *Orient*, alone, drove two of their capital ships ashore upon a sand called *Le Four*. Next day we had the misfortune to lose the *Juste* upon a rock in the mouth of the river *Loire*. The remainder of our fleet got safe into *Rochfort* and the river *Villaine*: and as they have not sustained more damage than may be soon repaired, I expect, by the junction of *Monf. Bompart's* Squadron, to be soon able to give a good account of the enemy, notwithstanding they have the boldness to moor upon our coast.

A. D.
1759.

Deplorable
state of
France.

maritime strength, and in consequence, to their foreign trade; and our success in America had torn from the French their principal colonies. This obliged the state to have recourse to very irregular and unjust means to raise money. They did not scruple to raise supplies, for the ensuing year, by a breach of public faith, rather than attend to the voice of peace, and the means to prevent the effusion of more blood in a cause, which they were sensible was both unjust, and not in their power to support, with any degree of advantage. But the French ministry, on this perilous occasion, imitated the example of people in despair: they resolved to risk the public credit, as they had failed in the exertion of their national strength. They suffered the French king to become a bankrupt. They stopt payment upon public bills and funds^f. And when this was done, there still remained such a deficiency in the necessary supplies for another campaign, that the nobility, gentry and clergy, were called upon, by the example of the King

^f The French court stopt 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 bearer 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 payment of bills dischargeable in nine years, known under the name of annuities. 10. Those of the new actions on the benefit of the farms. 11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government, amounting to 1,333,000 l. sterling. And 12. All the capitals borrowed for the marine by annuities at Marseilles.

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and the royal family, to carry their plate into the mint, to be coined for the necessities of the state.

' Thus we see France, the bully of Europe, fallen from its alarming power and greatness, into the lowest distress and impotence: unfortunate, in its military operations, in every quarter of the globe: beaten all Europe over, by sea and land: its fleets sailing only to be destroyed: its armies marching only to run away: without trade: without credit: stopping payments secured upon public faith; protesting bills: and to all intents and purposes become a bankrupt nation. Their King, the Princes of the blood, the nobility and clergy carrying in all their plate to be coined for the present extreme exigency of their affairs: disappointed and baffled in all their schemes on the continent, and severely convinced by the destruction of the only fleet, they had left, of the vanity of invading the British isles, by a power, that can't maintain the dominion of the seas.

How glorious was the state of Great Britain! Glorious state of Great Britain. success crowned every scheme of the ministry: and supplies were raised with ease and pleasure: public credit was established, and trade and commerce were continually upon the increase. Every voice of the people exulted with applause on the minister at the helm of state; and every purse was open, at his request, to enable his Majesty to carry on a just, necessary and prosperous war.

No sooner had his Majesty informed the parliament, That he had received advice of the preparations making by France, with a design to in- Witness of the parliament.

A. D.
1759.General
conduct
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vade this kingdom, than both houses assured him; that they were ready, with united duty, zeal and affection, to stand by, and defend his Majesty against any such presumptuous and desperate attempt, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Without doors every countenance expressed their detestation and resolution to oppose a French invasion. The loyal city of London, by way of example to other corporations, opened a subscription ^g in the city-chamber, for an immediate voluntary contribution, to be paid in bounties for able-bodied landmen, to serve his Majesty as soldiers, with the privilege of setting up and exercising any trade in London, after the expiration of the service: and further they subscribed 1000*l.* by their chamberlain in behalf of the city. This laudable example was copied by all the opulent corporations in England and Scotland, and by several parishes, companies and even by individuals: and this invitation to a voluntary support of the nation, was so well received, that large sums were collected and appropriated for recruiting the army; to the great satisfaction of his Majesty ^h, and the terror

^g On the 14th of August, to be distributed by a committee of aldermen and commoners.

^h The Lord Mayor of London received the following letter from Secretary PITT.

My LORD,

Whitehall, August 1, 1759.

Having, in consequence of the desire of the court of common council, had the honour to lay before the King their resolutions of yesterday, for offering certain bounties and encouragement-

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terror of our enemies. So that, notwithstanding the numerous troops transported for the service in distant parts of the world, the army was very soon in a most respectable condition; besides the additional strength, which England began to feel from a constitutional militia; of whose peculiar spirit and service we have an ample record in a most dutiful address from the officers of the Norfolk militia¹.

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But

couragements to such able-bodied men as shall enlist themselves at the Guild-Hall of London. to serve in his Majesty's land forces, upon the terms contained in his Majesty's orders in council: I am commanded by the King to acquaint your Lordship (of which you will be pleased to make the proper communication) that his Majesty thanks the city of London for this fresh testimony of their zeal and affection for his royal person and government.—I am farther commanded by the King to express his Majesty's most entire satisfaction in this signal proof of the unshaken resolution of the city of London, to support a just and necessary war, undertaken in defence of the rights and honour of his crown, and for the security of the colonies, the trade and navigation of Great Britain.

I am, with great truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

¹ *The humble address of the officers of the two battalions of the Norfolk regiment of militia.*

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the officers of the two battalions of the Norfolk regiment of militia, humbly beg leave to lay at your Majesty's feet the earliest assurances of our zeal and affection for your sacred person and government. The happiness, which this nation hath enjoyed, during your Majesty's glorious reign, entitles you to

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But our greatest security was still in the harmony and unanimity amongst all ranks of people; and in the confidence and universal satisfaction, that subsisted between the court and the country. A national happiness, which cannot be mentioned without a sensible feeling of those distresses, under which England had groaned, and his Majesty's most faithful subjects loudly complained of, in their former addresses to the throne*. How were times mended

every possible instance of duty from all your subjects. But we rejoice in the hopes of having it in our power to realize those professions of allegiance, with which we humbly approach your throne. The arms, with which we are entrusted by your Majesty, shall never be employed in any other cause than the defence of your royal person and government, which is the defence of the religion and liberties of this country. We are impatient to manifest our zeal in so glorious a cause, and shall be ready to obey your Majesty's commands, in any part of the kingdom, with the alacrity and vigour of subjects, who have no interest separate from that of their Prince, and of soldiers, who are determined to hazard their lives in opposing all attempts, that shall be made against your Majesty, your royal house, and the happy constitution, upon which your throne is established.

* *To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, sheriffs, and common-council of your ancient and loyal city of Chester, in common-council assembled, do, in Behalf of ourselves, and fellow-citizens, beg leave to approach your throne, and with a fidelity ever distinguishing this city, endeavour to express our heart-felt concern, at present ill, and impending dangers.

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mended at this happy epocha. Before the defeat of M. Conflans, the whole nation had applauded the wisdom of his Majesty's councils and measures, and the bravery and conduct of his officers by sea and land; and acknowledged the importance of our victories and acquisitions, within the com-

A. D.
1759.

We see the nation burdened with foreign mercenaries, denied the aid and defence of its natives, grievously taxed, and nearly overwhelmed with an immense debt; and, by cowardice or treachery, deprived of that once-glorious acquisition, the Island of Minorca, a loss! accompanied with utter ignominy, and almost indelible disgrace; these, together with the dilatory and perplexed ordering of our fleets and armies, both in Europe, and America, and the very little availment of most extraordinary supplies, too fatally evince a strange mismanagement among those, to whom the care of the levied treasures, and public-weal have been, alas! unhappily, intrusted.

Permit us therefore, humbly to intreat your Majesty, out of regard to your royal self, for the sake of your illustrious house, for the security of the protestant succession, and for the welfare of your kingdoms, soon to direct a full enquiry into the conduct of those, who have, (as it is presumed), abused your authority, and brought distress and infamy upon these nations.

We further, most dutifully, and earnestly desire, that your people may have their natural and constitutional guard, a well-regulated militia, which, we are persuaded, will prove the most effectual and permanent defence of your Majesty's sacred person, and this much endangered country.

We beg leave likewise to add our sincere professions of a hearty zeal for your Majesty's service, and that we will always readily contribute, to the utmost of our power, to retrieve our losses, to guard these realms, and to render Great Britain, as heretofore, honoured in peace, and terrible in war.

Given under our common seal, this 17th day of September, 1759.

See also page 415, &c.

pass

A. D. 1759. pass this distinguished and ever-memorable year¹. All then might his Majesty open his parlia-

¹ Saturday, October 20, 1759.

This day the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the city of London, waited on his Majesty, and being introduced by the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary PITT, made their compliments in the following address:

May it please your Majesty,

To accept the most humble but warmest congratulations of your Majesty's dutiful but loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, upon the rapid and uninterrupted series of victories and successes, which, under the divine blessing, have attended your Majesty's arms by sea and land, within the compass of this distinguished and ever memorable year.

The reduction of Fort Du Quesne on the Ohio; of the Island of Goree in Africa; and of Guadalupe, with its dependencies in the West-Indies;—the repulse and defeat of the whole French army, by a handful of infantry, in the plains of Minden;—the taking of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point;—the naval victory off Cape Lagos;—the advantages gained over the French nation in the East Indies;—and, above all, the conquest of Quebec, (the capital of the French empire in North America) in a manner so glorious to your Majesty's arms, against every advantage of situation and superior numbers, are such events, as will for ever render your Majesty's auspicious reign the favourite æra in the history of Great Britain.

But whilst we reflect with surprize and gratitude upon this last and most important conquest, permit us, most gracious Sovereign, to express our great regret for the immense (though almost only) loss which has attended it, in the death of that gallant general, whose abilities formed, whose courage attempted, and whose conduct happily effected the glorious enterprise in which he fell, leaving to future times an heroic example of military skill, discipline and fortitude.

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parliament, on the 14th of November, with a declaration, That he esteemed himself particularly happy

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Measures of such national concern, so invariably pursued, and acquisitions of so much consequence to the power and trade of Great Britain, are the noblest proofs of your Majesty's paternal affection and regard for the true interest of your kingdoms, and reflect honour upon those, whom your Majesty has been pleased to admit into your councils, or to intrust with the conduct of your fleets and armies.

These will ever command the lives and fortunes of a free and grateful people, in defence of your Majesty's sacred person, and royal family, against the attempts of all your enemies. And we humbly trust, that Almighty God will bless your Majesty's salutary intentions with a continuance of success, and thereby in time lead us to a safe and honourable peace.

An extract from the address of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

From OXFORD.

The uninterrupted and unparalleled series of successes, which have attended your Majesty's plans of operation, during the course of a war so uncommonly complicated and extensive, will ever stand distinguished with a peculiar lustre in the annals of Great Britain: Successes equally remarkable for their number, variety and importance: every quarter of the globe having afforded scenes for your Majesty's signal triumphs both by sea and land, and been a witness of the repeated disappointments and defeat of your restless and ambitious enemies.

Among the numerous and happy effects of your Majesty's prudent and vigorous measures; whether concerted for the support of the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe; or more immediately directed towards the preservation and advancement of the commercial interest of your British dominions; the truly difficult and glorious conquest of Quebec (attempted in vain more than once by your royal predecessors)

doth,

A. D. happy in being able to call them together, in a
1759. situation of affairs so glorious and advantageous
to

doth, on many accounts, demand more particularly our warm-
est congratulations. So valuable and important an acquisition
seems to have been reserved by Providence to compleat and
crown all the preceding glories of your Majesty's most auspicious
reign.

From CAMBRIDGE.

The many and signal proofs which your Majesty has given
of your constant attention to the safety, honour, and interests
of these kingdoms, must for ever endear your Majesty's name
to all your British subjects.

Your Majesty's vigorous and effectual support of the pro-
testant religion, so essential to its preservation against the most
powerful combination of its enemies, will remain a lasting mo-
nument of your distinguished zeal and steadiness in its defence.

The rapid and victorious progress of your Majesty's arms
in America, and the reduction of Quebec, under all the dis-
advantages of numbers, and difficulties of situation, must have
made your enemies sensible how dangerous it will ever be, by
repeated encroachments, to awaken the resentment of a brave
and injured people. Our joy for an event of such importance
to these kingdoms would have been compleat, had it not been
allayed by a loss which can never be sufficiently lamented.

Permit us also to congratulate your Majesty on the successes
of that memorable day, when the bravery of your troops on
the plains of Minden, was animated by the justness of their
cause, and inspired by the love of liberty: a day as glorious
to their illustrious commander, as fatal to the vain hopes of
the enemy, who forgetting the common ties of humanity,
meant to insure their success by unexampled ravage and deso-
lation, and, as the instruments of arbitrary power, aimed at
conquest only to enslave.

The threatened invasion of these kingdoms carries with it
the appearance of a last effort of an haughty and ambitious
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power. But we trust that the united affections and zeal of your Majesty's subjects, and the vigilance and well known integrity of your naval commanders, will, under the divine protection, render any such attempts here Impracticable, to those who have fled from us in every other quarter of the world.

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The following address of the city of Gloucester was presented to his Majesty, and most graciously received.

May it please your Majesty,

“ Amidst the loud acclamations of universal joy, be pleased to accept, most gracious Sovereign, of the humblest and sincerest congratulations of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common-council, of the ancient city of Gloucester, in council assembled, upon the new and repeated successes of your Majesty's arms in every quarter of the world.

It is our peculiar happiness to live at a period, that will be ever distinguished in the British annals, by the glory of your Majesty's conquests, the wisdom and unanimity of your councils, and by the loyalty and affection of all your Majesty's subjects. Under your auspices the British arms receive fresh lustre! nor will any of those victories, renowned in history, obtained by our ancestors over the same avowed and ever aspiring enemy, reflect greater honour to the British name, than the reduction of Guadalupe, the battle of Minden, and the defeat under the walls of Quebec, with the consequent acquisition of the metropolis of our enemies in that part of the world, and a whole series of other important successes, and favourable events, with which it has pleased God to bless your Majesty's arms by sea and land, in so small a compass of time.

In the review of many of these great achievements, we behold with joyful surprize every obstacle of art, of nature, of situation, of climates, and of superior numbers, overcome by the intrepidity of your Majesty's troops and naval forces, and the abilities and perseverance of those, who commanded them: nor doth the victories and acquisitions of your Majesty's fleets and armies redound more to the honour, than to the real interest and benefit of our country, the welfare and protection
of

A. D. 1739. to his crown and kingdom^m. Yet in the height of these exultations, neither universal success; nor a supe-

of our trade, the extension of the protestant religion, and the deliverance of so many of your Majesty's subjects from the incroachments of their enemies, and all the horror of savage cruelty.

Other monarchs often unsheath the sword from the views of ambition; or for their own glory: but it is yours to protect your subjects, their rights and privileges: 'Tis hence, that amidst the calamities of war, destructive to other nations, so many real blessings are derived to us, and which call forth our highest gratitude to that Divine Providence, which has hitherto protected your Majesty's person, and preserved your life to the happiness and glory of these nations; and may the same good Providence crown your Majesty's unparalleled success with an honourable and lasting peace: for while we rejoice, as Britons, we weep like men for the devastations of war: we mourn a great man fallen ere his noon of life; who had so early run the race of glory; who, like the great Gustavus, died at the head of his troops, and victory lay bleeding by his side. But whilst, with the universal voice, we lament his loss, we have fresh cause for exultation in the steadiness and intrepidity of your Majesty's troops and surviving generals, that suffered not the fall of so beloved a leader to restrain their native ardour, nor the laurels to be snatched from their victorious hands. Such examples, under your Majesty's gracious influence, your known experience in war, and readiness to distinguish and reward military virtues, cannot fail to animate your faithful Britons, and give a succession of heroes to posterity."

^m *The following speech of the Lords Commissioners, appointed by his Majesty for holding this parliament, was delivered by the Lord Keeper to both houses.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In pursuance of the authority given to us, by his Majesty's commission, under the great seal, amongst other things,

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a superiority of strength ; nor the abilities and readiness of his subjects to support him in a vigorous prosecution

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to declare the cause of his holding this parliament, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct us to assure you, that he esteems himself particularly happy, in being able to call you together, in a situation of affairs, so glorious and advantageous to his crown and kingdoms.

His Majesty sees, and devoutly adores, the hand of Providence, in the many signal successes, both by sea and land, with which his arms have been blessed, in the course of the last summer ; and at the same time, his Majesty reflects, with much satisfaction, on the confidence, which you placed in him, by making such ample provisions, and intrusting him with such extensive powers, for carrying on a war, which the defence of our valuable rights and possessions, and the preservation of the navigation and commerce of his Majesty's people, had made both just and necessary.

We have it also in command from his Majesty to acquaint you, that the happy progress of our successes, from the taking of Goree, on the coast of Africa, to the conquest of so many important places in America, with the defeat of the French army in Canada, and the reduction of their capital city of Quebec, effected with so much honour to the courage and conduct of his Majesty's officers both at sea and land, and with so great lustre to his intrepid forces ; together with the important success obtained by his Majesty's fleet off Cape Lagos ; and the effectual blocking up, for so many months, the principal part of the navy of France, in their own ports ; are events, which must have filled the hearts of all his Majesty's faithful subjects, as well as his own, with the sincerest joy ; and, his Majesty trusts, will convince you, that there has been no want of vigilance, or vigour, on his part, in exerting those means, which you, with so much prudence, and public spirited zeal, put into his Majesty's hands.

That our advantages have extended farther ; and the divine blessing has favoured us in the East Indies, where the danger-

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prosecution of the war against an enemy, that was distressed for men, money and shipping, and for

ous designs of his Majesty's enemies have miscarried ; and that valuable branch of our trade has received great benefit and protection.

That the memorable victory gained over the French, near Minden, has long made a deep impression on the minds of his Majesty's people. And that, if the crisis in which that battle was fought, the superior numbers of the enemy, and the great and able conduct of his Majesty's general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, are considered ; that action must be the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness. That, if any thing could fill the breasts of his Majesty's good subjects with still farther degrees of exultation, it is the distinguished and unbroken valour of his Majesty's troops ; owned and applauded by those, whom they overcame. The glory, they have gained, is not merely their own ; but, in a national view, is one of the most important circumstances of our success, as it must be a striking admonition to our enemies, with whom they have to contend.

That his Majesty's good brother and ally the King of Prussia, attacked and surrounded by so many considerable powers, has, by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a surprizing manner, to prevent the mischiefs concerted with such united force against him.

His Majesty has farther commanded us to observe to you, that as his Majesty entered into this war, not from views of ambition, so he does not wish to continue it, from motives of resentment. The desire of his Majesty's heart is, to see a stop put to the effusion of christian blood. Whenever such terms of peace can be established, as shall be just and honourable for his Majesty, and his allies ; and, by procuring such advantages, as, from the successes of his Majesty's arms, may, in reason and equity be expected, shall bring along with them full security for the future ; his Majesty will rejoice to see the repose of Europe restored, on such solid and durable

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for every requisite to defend themselves by arms, could smother his Majesty's inclination for peace, and

foundations; and his faithful subjects, to whose liberal support and unshaken firmness his Majesty owes so much, happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace and tranquillity. But in order to this great and desirable end, his Majesty is confident you will agree with him, that it is necessary to make ample provision for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmost vigour.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

We are commanded by his Majesty to assure you, that the great supplies, which were given the last session, have been faithfully employed for the purposes for which they were granted; but the uncommon extent of this war, and the various services necessary to be provided for, in order to secure success to his Majesty's measures, have unavoidably occasioned extraordinary expences; an account of which will be laid before you.

His Majesty has also ordered the proper estimates for the service of the ensuing year to be prepared and laid before you; and his Majesty desires you to grant him such supplies, as shall be necessary to sustain and press, with effect, all our extensive operations against the enemy; and, at the same time, by the blessing of God, to repel and frustrate their daring designs against his Majesty's kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majesty has, in the last place, been graciously pleased to command us to repeat to you, the assurances of the high satisfaction his Majesty takes in that union, and good harmony, which is so conspicuous amongst his faithful subjects; happy in seeing it continued and confirmed; and to observe to you, that experience has shewn how much we all owe to it; and that nothing else can effectually secure the true happiness of his people.

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Remarks
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of affairs
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and those sparks of humanity, which, on this occasion, appeared to all the world, was the favourite principle of all his actions, and tempered his truly martial spirit with justice and mercy.

It has been seen that the grand confederacy, at the end of this campaign, had not been able in any measure to disable the King of Prussia, nor were in a condition to prosecute their war with more vigour and success. The French had failed in their scheme to surprize Hanover, and were otherwise disconcerted in their future operations, by the battle at Minden. The fleets and armies of Great Britain triumphed where-ever they appeared. There was now no maritime power by sea, nor any military force to obstruct our future attempts upon the remains of the French colonies

The house of peers waited on his Majesty, with their address. Wherein they assured his Majesty of their utmost readiness to concur in the effectual support of such further measures, as his Majesty, in his great wisdom, should judge necessary or expedient, for carrying on the war with vigour in all parts, and for disappointing and repelling any desperate attempts, which might be made upon these kingdoms.

The honourable the House of Commons (by their address) at the same time they admire that true greatness of mind, which disposes his majesty's heart, in the midst of prosperities, to wish a stop put to the effusion of christian blood, and tranquility restored,—entirely rely on his majesty's known wisdom and firmness, that that desirable object, whenever it shall be attained, will be on such terms as shall be just and honourable for his Majesty and his allies; and in order to effect that great end, assure his Majesty, that they will chearfully grant him such supplies as shall be found necessary to sustain and press with effect all our extensive operations against the enemy.

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and settlements. Yet their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, who took up arms for no other purpose than to procure a safe and honourable peace, having first, in a most solemn manner, offered up to heaven their sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, throughout all their dominions, for the mercies and blessings they had received, they, in a god-like manner, more ready to pardon than to punish, made the following declaration^a:

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“ Their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, moved with compassion at the mischiefs which the war, that has been kindled for some years, has already occasioned, and must necessarily produce; should think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly to their tender concern for the preservation and well-being of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected the proper means to put a stop to the progress of so severe a calamity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of public tranquillity. In this view, and in order to manifest the purity of their intentions, in this respect, their said Majesties have determined to make the following declaration, viz.

“ That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries to the place, which shall be thought most proper, in order there to treat, conjointly, of a

His Britannic Majesty's declaration for peace.

^a Translation of the declaration, which his Serene Highness Duke Lewis of Brunswick delivered to the ministers of the belligerent powers, residing at the Hague, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and the King of Prussia.

A. D. 1759. “ solid and general peace, with those whom the
 “ Belligerent parties shall think fit to authorize, on
 “ their part, for the attaining so salutary an end.”

Remarks
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The potentates, who had provoked and abetted this war, by their perfidy, encroachments, ambition and hatred; were enraged by disappointments and losses, and were so far from welcoming this invitation to put a stop to the progress of the severe calamity of war, and to re-establish public tranquility, that vengeance was more acceptable to them, than a deliverance from utter ruin; though they did not seem totally abandoned to destructive measures; they avoided giving an immediate answer. By this behaviour they would have persuaded the powers of Europe, of their pacific intentions, and were in hopes, that their silence would be interpreted by Great Britain and Prussia, an inclination to treat conjointly, of a solid and lasting peace. Could the confederates have succeeded in these expectations, and unbraided the nerves of the British and Prussian strength during the winter, or slackened their preparations for a vigorous continuation of the war, they hoped to find an opportunity to insist upon terms more to their advantage: and France, we shall see hereafter, resolved to continue the war in Germany with her miserable resources. But the pacific monarchs were better advised, than to be thus deceived and put off their guard. France had her eye upon Hanover. The Empress-Queen, the Czarina and the Swedes had fixed their hearts
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Views of
 France,
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upon the partition of the Prussian territories. The success of any ally in this confederacy, promised an advantage to the whole, at a future congress. This was not over-looked by the wisdom of the British minister. Nor could it have any influence upon the resolution of a British parliament. Mr. PITT planned with the same vigour, and the representatives of the people objected to no expence. Provision was made for the worst: and the plans and supplies were sufficient to compel our enemies to be submissive, if they could not teach them to be just.

A. D.
1759.

Conduct
of Great
Britain.

Yet, there's great reason to believe, that France reaped too much good from this pacific overture. Though the Grand Monarch did not deign to accept of so kind an invitation; his ministry endeavoured to avail themselves of this generous and humane proposal. They could not doubt but that there might be found a strong party for putting an end to the war, at any rate, in the council of a king, who so publicly declared his desire of peace. They could judge, from precedents under former kings, and in cases of a like nature, that neither wisdom, nor virtue, nor firmness, nor successes were sufficient to set a minister above envy, caprice and opposition: and they were very certain, that they should find advocates amongst the covetous and avaricious, whose estates were burdened with a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; besides an accumulation of other parliamentary ways and means required, and still increasing, to support the war. So that, notwith-

The use
made by
France of
the pacific
sentiments
of Great
Britain.

A D.
1759.

standing the war continued, they did not lose sight of this object. Their measures were taken from this time, with a particular regard to their future negotiations. They tried every expedient to increase our national expence, and thereby to make the people weary of the war. They threw all their strength into the German scale; and stirred up a clamorous party to argue the people into a disgust against our allies, and into a disregard of the antient faith of England, never to depart from the spirit of treaties, that engage us to protect our allies. And by such means they, in a little time, hoped to find a way into the cabinet, and a party, which, under the pretence of reducing the taxes, and the vast expence of the German war, might render every plan abortive, and leave the King of Prussia and our other allies at the mercy of our common enemies.

The foundation of the opposition to Mr. PITT.

Therefore from this period we are to date the grand opposition to Mr. PITT, though he preserved the entire confidence of his Sovereign. Here we are to look for the principles, and the abetment, by which that opposition acted, and was encouraged to thwart, delay and destroy the effect of the vigorous schemes designed for the ensuing year. Here we shall find on what the French placed all their hopes of securing an advantageous peace; when they could no longer keep the field.

In what manner begun.

The press was employed to dispose the people to look upon the minister, to whose wisdom they imputed the glory and importance of those acquisitions,

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° See a of putting

A. D.
1759.

fitions, obtained for Great Britain, in the course
 of this war, as a mere Quixot or Knight-arrant,
 and upon our successes, as so many golden pills
 to purge the nation of her wealth and blood.
 The necessity of putting an end to the war, was
 become the favourite subject of courtiers and se-
 nators. And it was roundly asserted, " That not-
 " withstanding all the reason we have had, of
 " late, to be satisfied with the measures of a wise
 " and prudent administration: notwithstanding
 " all the just encomiums, so freely made on the
 " conduct of our commanders, and on the in-
 " trepidity of our troops; if partiality to our-
 " selves were entirely laid aside, we should find
 " our late success no less owing to a providential
 " concurrence of fortunate circumstances, than
 " either to ministerial wisdom or military valour.
 " In like manner, were our real situation duly
 " attended to, notwithstanding the advantages
 " we have gained of the enemy, we should, per-
 " haps, find little reason for our immoderate tri-
 " umph: perhaps also those advantages would
 " be found less decisive, and the enemy's losses
 " less irreparable; or at least much less ruinous
 " and intollerable, than we now are apt to flatter
 " ourselves they are." Thus the French tongue
 began to find its way once more to British ears;
 poisoned the hearts of some; and deceived others;
 as will be seen in the sequel of this history.

° See a Letter to the People of England, on the Necessity
 of putting an immediate End to the War, p. 4.

A. D.
1759.
Remarks.

But how will posterity, when they shall read the mighty deeds of this ever-memorable year in the British annals, think it possible, that an English pen, and an English press could be thus prostituted to the service of the natural enemy of their country? How much more shall they stand amazed, and boil with indignation, when they shall find all the frenchified arguments for a peace, *at any rate*, with France, influencing our councils and parliament, and adopted for the basis of a treaty for a general pacification; at the expence of our most important commercial conquests?

Great and glorious as we have represented the public actions under the immediate direction of the ministry, this year, the national interest was also greatly promoted, and the ministerial measures received an additional lustre and value, from a variety of incidents, both in the number of prizes, and in the extraordinary courage of individuals.

Colonel
Clive de-
feats the
French
Nabob.

The French, in order to embroil the East India affairs, at the time they marched to besiege Madras, had formed a plot to dethrone the Nabob of Bengal, set up^p by Colonel Clive, after the battle of Plassey. Which, if not successful in every particular, would most certainly employ the English forces upon the coast of the Ganges, so as to prevent their giving succour to the besieged on the coast of Coromandel. For this purpose they set up a new Nabob, and assisted him with

^p See page 387. Vol. III.

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men and money to assert his right to the throne, and to lay siege to Patua. But this siege was altogether as unsuccessful as that of Madras. Colonel Clive, who was become the terror of our enemies in those regions, marched with his little army to his Nabob's relief. And, as it is said of Cæsar, we may properly on this occasion, as well as some others of his exploits, say *Veni, vidi, vici*. His very approach threw the enemy into confusion. The pretender ran away with great precipitation. And the colonel found himself in a condition to detach Major Brereton, with some troops, to harass the rear of M. Lally's army, after his return from Madras.

A. D.
1759.

But our chief attention is engaged by the transactions at sea; where we shall find that our cruisers, privateers and armed merchantmen took 165 ships from the enemy, including such neutral ships, Dutch, Danes and Swedes, which traded for the French in defiance of treaties and the faith of neutrality; and forty-one considerable privateers and armed merchantmen; which carried 460 guns, and upwards of 2580 seamen. So that, notwithstanding the French privateers picked up 210 British vessels, their value and strength fell far short of the French prizes. Most of our losses happening amongst coasters and small traders, that would not be confined to the orders of a convoy.

Captures.

The damage done to the French by the captures made upon them, may be estimated in some measure from the following particulars.

The

A. D.
1759
Remark-
able prizes
and ac-
tions.

The Favorite man of war, of 20 guns, Captain Edwards commander, took and carried into Gibraltar a large French ship, of 24 guns, from St. Domingo, worth 40,000 l. ¹ Two merchant ships, upwards of 300 tons burden, each freighted and laden with provisions, clothing and 500 stands of arms for the soldiery in Martinico, were taken by Captain Lendrick, of the Brilliant. Another, worth 120,000 dollars, from Smyrna, was taken by the Hawke private ship of war, Captain Wilson.

Captain Samuel Hood, of his Majesty's ship the Vestal, of 32 guns and 220 men, being stationed about five miles a-head of Admiral Holmes to look out for the enemy, discovered, about seven o'clock in the morning of the 21st of February, the Bellona frigate, bearing S. S. E. directly to the windward, which he chased and engaged at ten minutes past two. She carried 32 guns, and was very full of men, commanded by the Count de Beauhonoire. The action began at within half musket-shot, and continued close till near six, when she struck, having only her fore-mast standing, without yard or top-mast, and that went away soon after, being much wounded. When the Vestal's lieutenant boarded her, he found upwards of thirty dead men upon the decks: the prisoners acknowledged they had thrown ten or twelve overboard: and the residue that survived were 180. So that there must have been upwards of 220 on board the enemy at the beginning

¹ The engagement lasted four hours and a half.

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of the action. The Vestal had only five men killed and 22 wounded; but she was otherwise greatly damaged. For as soon as the captain brought to, after the enemy struck, all the Vestal's top-masts fell over the side, being much shot, and their rigging not in a condition to support them; and it was owing to the favour of very fine weather, that her lower-masts did not go likewise overboard. Which obliged the captain, with the help of a jury-yard to his main-mast, to make the best of his way to Spithead.

His Majesty's ships Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, on the 28th of March, came up with the French frigate of war the Danae, of 40 guns and 330 men, which, after a brisk engagement, was taken, having between 30 and 40 men killed, and a great number wounded. The Southampton had one man killed and eight wounded; among the latter was Captain Gilchrist, who being shot through the right shoulder with a pound ball, was put ashore at Yarmouth. The Melampe had eight men killed and twenty wounded.

His Majesty's ship Æolus, Captain Elliot, on the 15th of March, came up with and took the La Mignone, a French frigate of 20 guns and 143 men, commanded by the Chevalier de Transanville. Her captain and 70 men were killed, the second captain's thigh shot off, and about 25 wounded. On board the Æolus were two men wounded.

His

A. D.
1759.

A. D.
1759.

The other three ships that run off, were, *Le Maffac*, pierced for 70 guns, had 26 twelve pounders mounted, and 300 men; the *East-India Company*, pierced for 54 guns, had 24 twelve pounders mounted, and 274 men; and the *St. Luke*, pierced for 24 guns, had 18 twelve pounders mounted, and 200 men: they all belonged to the French *East-India company*, sailed from *Port l'Orient* the 22d of *March*, and were bound to *Pondicherry*.

On the 2d of *May* the *Hardy*, of 80 guns and 150 men, and the *Hermione* of 26 guns and 170 men; French frigates, but laden with the finest sugars and indigo, were taken by part of *Admiral Coats's Squadron*.

These, with the losses sustained, this year, in the several actions with our fleets, totally ruined the French navy: for, we had taken 27 ships of the line and 31 frigates: which, with two ships of the line and four frigates lost, made the whole number 58 taken or destroyed; besides six that were lost.—Whereas we, in all, had now left no more than seven men of war and five frigates.

Total of
men of war
taken from
the French.

See page 396; 401, 404, &c. 422, and page 436, 437, 438, Vol. III.

The END of the FOURTH BOOK.

T H E



THE
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
L A T E W A R.

B O O K V.

Containing the state of the war in Germany, between the King of Prussia, and his enemies the Imperialists, Austrians, Russians, Swedes, &c. The battles of Landsbut, Merselwitz and Torgau. The action at Sirebla. The siege of Dresden and Colberg: and the plunder of Berlin by the Russians.—The campaign between the British allies and the French. The battles of Warbourg and Campen: the actions at Corbach and Erxdorf: and the surrender of Marpourg to the French.—The coasts of Scotland and Ireland alarmed by Thurot's Squadron. His defeat. Great preparations for an expedition, and the cause of its not being carried into execution.—In North America, The attempts of the French to recover Quebec.—The capitulation of Montreal,

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Montreal, which completed the conquest of Canada.

—The success of our arms in the East Indies.

SEVERAL circumstances concurred about A. D. 1760. this time in favour of France, which, under all its distress and losses, afforded some glimmerings of relief: and without which fortuitous events, it is scarce to be doubted, but that the French ministry would have listened more cordially to the pacific voice of the British and Prussian monarchs. The death of the King of Spain gave them great hopes of engaging the successor in vigorous measures for their support. It is certain, that the French monarch had placed great dependence upon the friendship of his brother the King of Spain, from the very commencement of this war: and though the Spanish nation had agreed to a strict neutrality, their partial conduct in favour of the French on every occasion, betrayed their aversion and concealed enmity towards Great Britain. Their monarch's officious proffer to mediate between Britain and France was rejected, as insidious: and the violence offered by the governor of Algeziers upon our men of war boats in the bay of Gibraltar, and of the governor of Cadiz upon the Antigallican^b, was an open defiance and provocation to war. Could the frenchified counsellors of Spain have found means to draw a declaration of war against their King and country from

Incidents
in favour
of France.

Accession
of Don
Carlos to
the crown
of Spain.

^a See page 5, &c. Vol. I. page 14, &c. Vol. II.

^b See page 16, &c. Vol. II.

his

A. D.
1760.

his Britannic Majesty, they were confident their master would resent it, and join heartily with France against Great Britain. But the King of Spain was naturally of so timorous and melancholy a complexion, that he was not to be persuaded to take any part in the war between Great Britain and France, than what he might do in a clandestine and perfidious manner. This melancholy disposition gained upon his Majesty so much, that on the death of his Queen^c, he renounced all company, neglected all business, and gave way to the most extravagant grief. He was then so far from hearkening to any proposals for breaking with England, that he was even deaf to the most earnest and respectful remonstrances, for the preservation of his health and relief of his mind.

In this condition the Spanish monarch lived a disconsolate and inactive life, till the 10th of August 1759, on which day he expired; and by a will, advised by his frenchified counsellors, he left the crown of Spain, to his brother, Don Carlos, King of Naples. And Don Carlos, in defiance of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which guaranteed the kingdom of Naples to Don Philip his brother, upon this event, in consideration that the duchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla, should revert to the house of Austria; if Don Carlos should succeed his brother on the throne of Spain; retained both kingdoms; and settled the succession of the kingdom of the two Sicilies upon his third

^c In the year 1758.

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son Don Ferdinand. An act so prejudicial to the interest of the Empress Queen, that could never have been attempted without his having made sure of the protection of France, and purchased her interest with solemn engagements to join her arms against Great Britain, when all other methods should prove abortive: of which nothing can be a stronger proof than the *Family Compact*, which made its appearance in the year following. Wherein all the branches of the house of Bourbon made the quarrel of each the common cause of them all.

The political Neapolitan Legislator kept all quiet at home, till the government of both Naples and Spain was settled. In Spain he began his reign with such acts as he intended should deceive Great Britain into a high esteem of his moderation and pacific intentions. But notwithstanding every art to cover his real design, our minister penetrated into his most secret intrigues.

Men of wisdom and penetration could perceive that Don Carlos would avail himself of the troubles in Europe, which seemed to deprive Portugal of all aid from her allies, to assert his right, as lineal heir, to that kingdom, by his mother's side; and that he would heartily enter into the measures of France against England, to purchase French assistance in that favourite and sanguine scheme; as well as to disable England from protecting Portugal against his intended invasion and usurpation. The deplorable case of France at this juncture of time disposed her court to buy the alliance of Spain at any rate. And the intimacy between the French

A. D.
1760.

His conduct.

Penetrated
by Mr.
PITT.

King of
Spain's de-
sign upon
Portugal.

A. D.
1760.

ambassador at Naples, and the Italian favourite, or Marquis de Squillaci, both of whom the King brought in his retinue to Madrid, promised him success. The French ambassador was particularly countenanced by the Marquis de Squillaci: the marquis entertained a high opinion of the Frenchman's abilities and penetration; and he improved the marquis's sentiments of him with the artifice, for which the French court is remarkably distinguished. The marquis could not conceal from him the propensity of his master to assert his title to Portugal. The ambassador, without discouraging the attempt, insinuated the necessity for Spain, to join the arms of France against England; from whence alone, it was possible, Portugal could find protection; and represented Great Britain in such an ambitious attitude, as to fill him with fears for the Spanish West Indies, and the riches of her flotas, in case there could not be found means to rival Britain's naval power, and prevent the progress of her arms in America. These representations, backed by a powerful sum, wrought effectually upon the marquis, who became totally frenchified; on condition, that France should enter also into the views of Spain.

The favourite being secured by the ambassador, and Don Carlos by the hopes of conquering Portugal, and of adding that ancient kingdom to the crown of Spain; a pretence was to be sought for, to palliate the breach of the faith of treaties, which, on such a rupture, must give way to intrigue and policy. This was managed by a secret treaty,

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devised and set on foot under the name of a *Family Compact*. By which the interests and independence of all nations were made to give way to the interest and ambition of the House of Bourbon. And in consequence, it was found, That in consideration of France furnishing Spain with troops, to assist her in conquering Portugal; Spain agreed to join France against England.

A. D.
1760.

Family
Compact.

In order to conceal his real intentions, till matters were ripe to enable their compact-force to act by surprize, upon England and Portugal, his Catholic Majesty conducted the ceremonial with his Most Faithful Majesty in a most friendly manner: and he disguised his preparations against England, under the amiable temper of moderation, and a desire to become instrumental, in bringing about an accommodation between England and France.

Perfidious
behaviour.

But though every thing (except that jealousy, which the Spanish court could not smother in their conferences with the Earl of Bristol, about the British conquests) carried the face of amity and friendship at Madrid, emissaries were employed, till the Family Compact was compleated and signed, to defeat the real good intentions of the pacific invitation made to the belligerent powers by their Britannic and Prussian Majesties; to efface the good impression it might have made upon the neutral powers and states, and to try how far it was practicable to spirit up a party in England, to oppose, or to obstruct the vigorous measures of a minister, whose vigilance, activity and firmness,

Emissaries
employed
against
England.

A. D.
1760.

A Jesuit
recom-
mends
peace.

were most to be feared. The most noticed of these was an Irish jesuit, secretary to the Spanish embassy at the Hague; employed to publish the terms, on which France was disposed to sign a peace, greatly to the disadvantage and dishonour of the conquerors.

This piece, penned with all the subtilty of his order, and coloured with the most fallacious reasonings, made its appearance, not in the common dress of a private essay; but with such marks of authority, and in so many different tongues, for the perusal of all the most potent states in Europe; amongst whom it was dispersed at a great expence; under the melodious title of *The Voice of Peace*, that it was easily discovered to be the prelude to his Catholic Majesty's future conduct in favour of France. This author's drift was to induce a belief^d, That Great Britain had entered into the war with France, for an object of no great importance: That a little extension of the limits of their territories in North America, was the only cause of the quarrel. That notwithstanding all the light thrown by the commissaries^e on this affair, it seemed very difficult, and almost impossible to decide, who was right, or who was wrong^f. That England was the aggressor in this war^f: and that our commencing hostilities in the European seas, and entering into a league with Prussia, were the cause of the German war.

From the
origin of
the war.

^d See *The Voice of Peace*, page 11.

^e See Vol. I. page

^f See *Voice of Peace*, page 13.

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He then argued for the necessity of a peace from the present state of the belligerent powers, especially of their finances and resources, to maintain or to amend their affairs². Under this head, he extolled the kingdom of France for its populousness, extent and fertility: for its maritime advantages on the ocean and Mediterranean: for its many excellent and well fortified ports, and innumerable frontier fortresses; and the people, for their courage, industry, and commerce. He affirmed that the King of France can raise 250,000 effective regular troops, and many more, if found necessary. And then observed, That France had not been attacked, and that the theatre of war was at a great distance; for the enterprizes against her coasts had ended in nothing. He did not endeavour to hide the success of the arms of Great Britain; nor to throw any shade upon the strength and prowess of the English: but he remarked, That Great Britain is vastly inferior to France, both in regard to extent and to the number of its inhabitants; that she is obliged to accumulate taxes in proportion to the immense sums she borrows for carrying on the war: That she cannot raise the men she would, and that it would be impossible for her to send an army into Germany, next campaign, equal to that of France. He magnified the resources of the Empress Queen for men; and affirmed that her grand army was in good condition, and that her forces, joined to those of her allies,

A. D.
1760.

From the
state of the
belligerent
powers.

² See Voice of Peace, page 36, &c.

A. D.
1760.

were double to those of her enemies. He added the advantages gained by the Russians; the conquest of Cleves, Mark, and part of Guelders, by the French: and represented the Swedes and Imperialists to be in a condition to execute their parts of the grand confederacy against the King of Prussia. On the contrary, he presumed that the Prussian troops were not now, what they had been: that his Prussian Majesty could not recruit his troops with that facility, as the Austrians, &c. and that he would be obliged to employ fresh recruits without much regard to their abilities; and concluded with observing, That, when he had done his best, it would not be possible for him to send one half of what his enemies were able to send against him. It is but justice to grant that this harbinger of peace did not conceal the advantages, which Great Britain and Prussia enjoyed at this crisis: nor did he attempt to cover the reverse condition of their enemies. But in this comparison, it is apparent that he threw more fear into the balance of Great Britain and Prussia, and more hope into that of France and Austria, and their allies. For, though he was forced, in order to save appearances, to confess, That the balance leaned a *little* on the side of England and Prussia; he put us in mind, That skill in the military art is not always sure to command success; and that experience has often proved, that an unexpected event, a chance, a *nothing*, has rendered the best concerted schemes abortive ^b.

^b See Voice of Peace, page 42.

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Having thus modelled the balance of power, the balance-master introduced his opinion concerning the *motives* for making a peace, with this observation: — “ When after above three years “ struggle against each other, attended with different successes, nothing has been obtained but the “ maintenance of the equilibrium between them ; “ and that they all, England excepted, are now “ but where they began ; I cannot perceive that “ they can reasonably expect to bring the next “ campaign to a more happy issue.” — Then, after enumerating the losses of France by sea and land ; the improbability of recruiting her marine ; and the ruin of her trade, he has the modesty to confess, “ That it is the real interest of France “ to lend an immediate hand to the forwarding of “ peace ; though her operations in Westphalia “ may promise to obtain honourable terms ; as it “ is apprehended that a delay may oblige her to “ accept worse conditions, than those she may at “ present obtain.” He also declares, “ That a “ speedy peace is more conformable to the interests “ of the House of Austria, than a continuation “ of the war.” He expatiates very justly on the misfortunes and miseries of the Austrian allies, arising from a continuation of the war. But all this seeming impartiality is intended to enable him more effectually to enforce his argument against England, “ I think, says he ¹, England, notwithstanding the surprizing success of her arms,

A. D.
176c.

Motives.

¹ See Voice of Peace, page 52.

A. D.
1760.

“ ought to be sincerely desirous of the return of
 “ peace; her debts are already immense; and of
 “ all the sums continually going out of the king-
 “ dom there returns but a part; one branch of
 “ her commerce, however flourishing the rest may
 “ be, is entirely at a stand, and the French pri-
 “ vateers are daily making considerable captures;
 “ and, after all, it will be difficult for her to make
 “ a further progress in America.”

And in regard to the King of Prussia: he put
 him in mind of his losses, and dangers: and that
 he is subject to the caprices of fortune. Where
 he was deficient in point of argument in a political
 theory, he then endeavoured to operate upon the
 passions with motives of humanity. “ If, says
 “ he^k, all the Princes, who are engaged in war,
 “ were obliged to be present at the operations of
 “ it, the horrors they must there behold would
 “ make them less fond of entering into one, and
 “ more desirous of putting an end to it: towns
 “ reduced to ashes, villages destroyed, bloody
 “ fields overspread with heaps of dead, and dying
 “ men; this is the horrid picture war offers to
 “ our view, which is a frightful one indeed to a
 “ man whose heart is not inaccessible to compassi-
 “ on, and steeled against the feelings of huma-
 “ nity!

“ We are struck with amazement when we
 “ sometimes see sovereigns running after a shadow,
 “ instead of applying themselves to the means of

^k See Voice of Peace, page 53.

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^l See
^m See
ⁿ Ide

“ rendring their kingdoms more flourishing, and
 “ their people happier, launching in pursuit of
 “ the uncertain future, and neglecting the pre-
 “ sent; hoping, by the blood or ruin of an infi-
 “ nite number of their subjects to acquire a few
 “ thousand others? Is not this adding folly to
 “ cruelty?”

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The mind being thus prepared, and made susceptible of pacific ideas, and disposed, by motives of policy and humanity, to attend to the means of obtaining a pacification, the Spanish advocate for the preservation of France from total ruin, infers from the premises, That notwithstanding the advantages gained by England, and the ruinous state of France, &c. “ it is not likely
 “ that the invitation given by the courts of Lon-
 “ don and Berlin, should produce the desired ef-
 “ fect, unless backed by something more¹ ;” viz. a suspension of arms, or by settling the principal points of the accommodation *without* a congress; which, says he, in other words, may be called the preliminaries^m. Here the Jesuit lays down the most advantageous manner of treaty for the French: and tells us plainly, That unless the belligerent powers do embrace these (or one of these) two expedients, the prospect of peace is still at a vast distanceⁿ. Giving us to understand, that if the conquerors will not agree to a suspension of arms, by which their enemies shall be put in a con-

Proposes
the means
of recon-
ciliation.

¹ See Voice of Peace, page 56.

^m See idem, p. 60.

ⁿ Idem, p. 61.

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dition to breathe, recruit, and provide for a better defence, in case of a non-agreement: or, if they will not submit to treat with a vanquished foe in a corner, where the people of England shall not be able to come at the contents, and where negociation and intrigue might divest them of the interest, glory, security and conquests, which had been gained by our fleets and armies; the French, &c. were determined to continue the war with the assistance of Spain.

But the most curious part of this performance is, the liberality, with which he disposes of the conquests made by Great Britain. "I am of opinion, says the secretary to the Spanish embassy, That, every thing well considered, in regard to England and France, the latter power should give up the Island of Minorca, and make a considerable cession in America, upon condition of having the Island of Goree restored by the English; besides what they may have taken from their enemies in the East Indies." This is the very spirit of the negociations, which were some time after entered upon between England and France: and from which they never receded, when they met with the opportunity to transfer the scene of negociation from London to Paris, and to sign a treaty of pacification in the manner and form, they themselves had dictated so long before.

Remarks.

But whatever could be effected by the united force of France and Spain, and by their intrigues, gave us no concern: their united efforts could only

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only serve to contribute more to the honour, glory and wealth of Great Britain, and to bring entire destruction upon themselves. France was quite disabled, and the work of her redemption was too great and hazardous an undertaking for the Spaniards, who had neither fleet, nor army, capable of protecting their trade, their colonies, nor their own selves, from a powerful invader. Our injury was to be procured within ourselves. Our unanimity was to be broken; and if no other way could be found to deprive the ministry of the confidence of the people, the men in power were to be soured and disgusted with the measures, which his Majesty approved of.

This attempt was favoured by that remnant of the Tory party, which could never join heartily in the coalition brought about by Mr. PITT. They inherited the aversion of those, who indiscriminately opposed all continental connections, and had opposed every measure, since the revolution, for pulling down the power of France, and in favour of the House of Hanover. They erected their crests once more; cried out loudly against the German war; treated the subsidy paid to Prussia, and the conditions of our alliance with his Prussian Majesty, with great indignity and contempt; though his friendship had been always represented, on former occasions, as most advantageous, and preferable to any other ally upon the continent, by the Tory opposition to former administrations; and they now proceeded so far, as to declare all attempts to weaken and distress France,

by

Opposition
to the
measures
begun by
the Tories.

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by extending our conquests beyond the limits of those acquisitions, which had been the primary object of the war, to be unnecessary and unjust: and further, That such acquisitious could only serve to ruin the nation; and that the minister, who had done so great things for us, ought to be removed.

Mr.
PITT'S
firmness,
wisdom
and vi-
gour.

In this situation Mr. PITT relaxed nothing of his zeal, vigour and activity. A consciousness of having done what was right, placed him above the intrigues of party: and the approbation of his Sovereign and his country enabled him to proceed. Though the branch of peace was offered, for the enemy to lay hold on, and to save themselves from further damages, his provision for another campaign, where-ever the interest of the nation required a force by sea or land, for defence or for annoyance, did not slacken. At the same time peace was offered to the enemy the convention with Prussia was renewed^o: and the parliament unani-

Conven-
tion with
Prussia
signed.

o A convention between his Majesty and the King of Prussia concluded and signed at London, the 9th of November, 1759.

Be it known to all whom it concerns, or may concern, that the burdesome war, wherein his Prussian Majesty is engaged, putting him under the necessity of making new efforts for his defence against the great number of enemies, by which his dominions are attacked, and being therefore obliged to enter into a new contract with his Britannic Majesty, in order to provide reciprocally and jointly with him for their common defence and safety; and his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, having made known, at the same time, the desire he had to strengthen the bonds of friendship, which subsist between the two courts, and to come to a new agreement on this occasion,

and

unanimously raised the necessary supplies with cheerfulness and a confidence in the minister.

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They

and for this end, by an express convention relating to the success, by which he may give to his Prussian Majesty most expeditious, and most efficacious assistance, their said majesties have therefore, for this purpose, named and authorized their respective ministers, to wit, in the name, and on the part of his Britannic Majesty, his privy counsellors Sir Robert Henley, Knt. his keeper of the great seal of Great Britain; John, Earl Granville, president of his council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, first lord commissioner of his treasury; Robert, Earl of Holderness, one of his principal secretaries of state; Philip, Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, another of his principal secretaries of state: and in the name, and on the part of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieurs Dodo Henry, Baron of Knyphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy, and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Britannic Majesty, and Lewis Michell, his charge d'affairs, at the said court, who, after the exchange of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

1. It is agreed, that all the preceding treaties, which subsist between the two courts, of whatever date or nature they may be, and particularly that of Westminster of the 16th of January, in the year 1756, as well as the convention of the 11th of April of the last year, and that of the 7th of December of the same year, shall be deemed to be renewed and confirmed by the present convention in all their points, articles and clauses, and shall be of the same force, as if they were inserted herein word for word.

2. His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, engages to cause to be paid in the city of London, into the hands of the person or persons, who shall be authorized for that purpose, by his Majesty the King of Prussia, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to 670,000 l. sterling, which entire sum shall be paid at once, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications upon the requisition of his Prussian Majesty.

3. His

A. D. 1760. They voted 73,000 seamen, 18,355 mariners, 57,000 soldiers, and 15,503,564l. 15s. 9½d. for their support, and all other necessaries for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Supplies
for the
year 1760.

While preparations were making, and our navy so stationed in squadrons, as to block up the whole coast of France, the return of Thurot's small

3. His Majesty, the King of Prussia, engages, on his part, to employ the said sum in keeping up and augmenting his forces, which shall act in the most advantageous manner for the common cause, and for the end proposed by their afore-said Majesties, of reciprocal defence and mutual security.

4. 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 mutual consent, and expressly comprehending each other therein.

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

In witness whereof we the under-written 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 the present convention, and have set the seals of our arms thereto.

Done at London, the 9th of November, in the year of our Lord 1759.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C. S.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) W. PITT.

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squadron ^p, (rendered more contemptible and weak, by the hardships they had met with in their winter voyage, and their want of money and credit to provide necessaries at Gottenburg ^q, and afterwards at Bergen in Norway, to which port Thurot had removed; and by the loss of the Begon, which had been separated from this squadron by a violent storm, between Gottenburg and Bergen,) occasioned some alarm on the northern coast of Ireland, the eastern coast of Scotland, and on the coast of Lancashire.

From Bergen ^r we trace M. Thurot's squadron to the Orkney islands; where they beat about six weeks, collecting provisions, of which they were in great want, from each island, as much as they could; and thence (on the 24th of January, 1760) to the northern coast of the kingdom of Ireland. By his dispositions at this time, it appeared that his intention was to make a descent on that island, near Derry. But the wind and the seas protected that trading, loyal and opulent city from the violence and destruction, which such a visit would have brought with it. Thurot not being willing

^p Consisting only of five ships, which sailed from Dunkirk on the 15th of October 1759, one of the squadron being left behind. These five ships were, the Marshal Bellisle of 54 guns, carried only 48 guns, 200 sailors, and 400 soldiers.—Le Beyon, of 36 guns, 200 sailors and 400 soldiers.—Le Blond, of 36 guns, 200 sailors and 200 soldiers.—Le Terpsichore, of 24 guns, 60 sailors and 170 soldiers.—Le Marante, of 24 guns, 40 sailors and 100 soldiers.

^q Where Thurot staid fifteen days.

^r Where Thurot staid nineteen days.

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1760.

to land in the evening of the day he reached this shore; next morning, as the Squadron doubled the point of the harbour of Derry, and every thing was prepared for landing immediately, the wind shifted, blew a hard gale off shore, and drove the enemy to sea; and the sea grew so tempestuous, that Thurot lost sight of the *Marante*, another of his ships, and was tempest beaten, with the remains of his shattered Squadron, so long in that inclement season and in a raging sea, that they all had like to have been lost: besides, they beat about so long a time, that the men were reduced to short allowance. So that, as soon as the seas and weather did permit, each ship made towards M. Thurot, and the commanders desired him to return to France, lest they should perish with famine. M. Thurot, whose future interest, at his court, depended upon the service he could do his King in this expedition, rejected their proposal with indignation: declared that he would not return without having done something: but agreed to land them for refreshment at the Isle of *Isla*, the nearest land in their reckoning. They arrived there the

same

* The *Blond* threw four guns overboard, and got back to *St. Maloes*.

* On Saturday, the 16th of February, the ships were discovered by the people on shore, who imagined them to be English vessels that wanted pilots, as the coast was foul and dangerous. Two gentlemen, therefore, Mr. M'Neal, and Mr. M'Donald, went out in a small boat, and were received on board the *Belleisle*, before they discovered their mistake; they were immediately conducted to Thurot's cabin, whom

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same day, and all the troops were put a-shore, and they found in the harbour a brig, laden with

A. D.
1760.

as

they found to be a man of a very good appearance, not more than eight and twenty years old: he was sitting at a table with about twelve officers, and when the gentlemen were introduced, he rose, gave them the chief place, and ordered wine and glasses to be set before them. M. Thurot addressed them in English, and the first compliments being over, he enquired about a safe harbour: after a short conversation, Mr. M'Neal was desired to go on shore, and tell the country people that they had nothing to fear, all he wanted being some fresh provisions, for which he would pay ready money.

Mr. M'Donald continued on board, but was treated with the greatest civility.

At night the ships anchored in Claggencarroch bay, when two of Thurot's longboats plundered two sloops that lay there at anchor, one of them belonging to Mr. M'Donald, from which they took five tons of flour; this violence was committed without the commodore's knowledge, and in the morning, when he heard of it, he paid Mr. M'Donald fifty guineas for his flour, and insisted upon his keeping the whole sum, though he told him it was more than the flour was worth. Soon after this, it having been agreed that Mr. Campbell of Ardmore, should furnish the fleet with some cattle, poultry, and other provisions, two hundred of the soldiers were sent on shore to bring them off. The rest of the troops were also permitted to land, and the poor wretches, the moment they got out of the boat, began to dig up every green thing they saw upon the ground, even the grass, which they devoured with the utmost eagerness. Mr. Campbell having delivered forty-eight steers, the general of the land forces offered him twenty shillings a-piece for them, and tendered him a bill upon the French resident at the Hague for the money; but Campbell, being unwilling to accept such payment, complained to Thurot, who told him the bill was not worth a farthing, and having upbraided the general for his unworthy conduct, obliged him to give fifty shillings a-head

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as much oatmeal, as, at six ounces a-day, would serve them twelve days. They also picked up a few cattle: with which supply they thought it most adviseable to depart from an island not capable to support so many additional mouths, to seek a more fruitful country, before they should make too great a hole in their scanty stores. So that, after three days stay at this island, M. Thurot's Squadron sailed for Carrickfergus, the nearest port in Ireland, and arrived before it next day.

Thurot's
Squadron
arrives off
Carrick-
fergus.

They cast anchor ^t in the bay, and amongst other devices to animate the drooping and desponding spirits of his men, Thurot ordered all the wine on board the ships to be distributed to their re-

for the steers, to pay down fifty guineas in part, and draw a bill for the remainder on the French King's banker at Paris, which he assured Mr. Campbell was good: every thing else was paid for in ready money.

On Monday the 18th, the Belleisle being very leaky, all her guns were brought to one side, to make her heel, and carpenters were at work all day in repairing her. Thurot knew nothing of the defeat of Conflans, till this day at dinner, when it happened to be mentioned by Mr. M'Donald: the whole company was so struck with the news, that they laid down their knives and forks, and looked at each other with expressions of the utmost consternation and disappointment.

The next day, Tuesday the 19th, the Squadron weighed anchor, and Thurot, when he took leave of Mr. M'Donald, made him a present of a double-barrelled fuzee, supposed to be worth about fifteen guineas.

^t On the 21st of February, at twelve o'clock, about two miles and a half to the north-east part of the castle, and within musket-shot of the shore of Kilrate point.

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spective crews and soldiers^u; who landed at three o'clock the same afternoon.

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During this tossing about of Thurot's squadron, it not being certain what was become of him, nor where he might tend his course, and strike a mischievous blow, to the detriment of individuals and private property; his force not being in a condition to act alone, with the least hopes of success, against the national strength; the opulent towns upon the sea-coast, in all the three kingdoms, prepared for defence against an insult. Liverpool fortified their shore, as well as the nature of the place would admit; and 1200 militia marched into the town, as soon as it was known the enemy had landed in Ireland. The gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Whitehaven raised and armed 600 men, to protect that port, in which were 200 sail of ships at that juncture of time. And every thing was done by the government that was in their power, to protect them, to guard the coasts, and to seek them out. Yet no certain intelligence could be got of their course, till Ireland took the alarm from their landing at Carrickfergus^w.

Preparations to prevent his landing in England.

When

^u Reduced by sickness and death to 600 men. Lost in the Begon 400 men; in the Marante 100 men; died and sick in the voyage 170 men.

^w There was a disagreement betwixt the general and Captain Thurot, the general being for the attack of Carrick, and Thurot for landing at the White-house, and attacking Belfast.

Immediately, upon the receipt of this intelligence, his Grace the Lord Lieutenant gave orders for the assembling, with the

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When M. Thurot's Squadron, reduced to three ships off the Isle of Mayoe, and standing in shore for the Bay of Carrickfergus, was discovered, from the castle, the small garrison were at their exercise, about half a mile on the road to Belfast, without the least apprehensions of an enemy's approach. For, at a quarter past eleven the guard was turned out, made up and marched off, to relieve that, placed over the French prisoners in the castle: the rest of the men continuing in the field of exercise. This was the secure situation of the garrison of Carrickfergus, when M. Thurot's Squadron came to an anchor in the bay; and discovered their hostile intention, by seizing and detaining two fishing boats. This was followed by an observation of a continual plying of boats between the ships and the shore; and produced an order for both guards to continue under arms at the castle; to double the centinels over the French prisoners, and to be particularly strict and watchful over them, till it should appear whether those three ships were friends or foes.

Thurot
lands, and
Carrick-
fergus at-
tacked.

For this purpose Lieutenant Hall was detached, with a reconnoitring party. Who descried a considerable body of troops, landed from eight boats, that immediately drew up in detachments, and took post on the dykes, hedges, and all the rising grounds, from whence they could command the most extensive views. This discovery removed

utmost expedition, at Newry, four regiments of infantry, viz. Pole's, Anstruther's, Sandford's and Seabright's; and three regiments of dragoons, viz. Mostyn's, York's and Whiteley's.

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all doubt about the ships: and Lieutenant Hall gave the necessary orders to his non-commissioned officers and men, to have a watchful eye on their approaches, and to take particular care, that they did not get round them, by going at the foot of the hill, undiscovered; in order to prevent which, he posted them himself, and told them, as soon as ever their advanced guard came within shot, to fire upon them, and continue so to do until they repulsed them; or, if necessitated to retreat, he likewise pointed that out to them, with orders to take every opportunity, or advantage of ground, in their retreat, to retard the enemy's approach, and to be sure to keep a communication with the town as much as possible: and on this he immediately went to the town, and acquainted Colonel Jennings, where he found him with the troops on the parade; who immediately ordered detachments to be made, to defend the gates of the town, and all the avenues leading thereto: soon after which the reconnoitring party retired, after having spent all their ammunition. During which time the lieutenant-colonel, and chief magistrate of the town, sent off the sheriff, and Mr. Mucklewaine, (who was captain of the militia of the corporation) with orders to take off the French prisoners of war, and convey them with all speed to Belfast, where they were to receive further orders. By this time the enemy were in full march for the town, computed to be near a 1000 men; and two or three straggling hussars, on horses they had picked up after landing, attempted to enter the gates; but tho'

A. D.
1760.
Defence of
the town.

on the first fire they retired, they were soon supported by parties of foot, who attacked both the north and south gates, as also the garden-walls of Lord Donnegall, but were repulsed also, and kept back as long as the men had ammunition; on which, Colonel Jennings ordered the whole to retire to the castle; which he had sufficient time to do, as at this time the enemy was a little checked from our fire, and would have been more so had the men had ammunition.

Before the gates of the castle were shut, they made their appearance in the market place; and then it was, the destruction of the enemy would have commenced, had it not been, that still for the dreadful want of ammunition, notwithstanding the supply of powder they had had, a few days before, from Belfast; but were in want of ball, and even time, if they had had lead, to make them up. The enemy, finding our fire so cool, on that account, attacked the gates sword in hand; and by the battering of the shot on both sides, the bolts being knocked back, the gates opened, and the enemy marched in: but Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, Lord Wallingford, Captain Bland, Lieutenant Ellis, with some other gentlemen, and about 50 men, repulsed the enemy, and beat them back. Here it was the enemy saw great resolution in a few Irish boys, who defended the gate, after it was opened, with their bayonets; and those from the half moon, after their ammunition was gone, threw stones and bricks.

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Had this attack of the enemy been supported with any degree of courage, they must certainly have succeeded in it, but they retired back under cover, leaving the gates open, with our men in the front of it, who gave them a short time to consider what was best to be done; first, to see the men's ammunition, who, if they had had any, would have certainly sallied, and even so without it, had not Colonel Jennings, and all the officers, thought the enterprize too hazardous. Then they considered, if the gate could be defended, the breach in the castle wall could not, it being near 50 feet long; and, having but a short time to deliberate, all agreed a parley should be beat, and Lieutenant Hall sent out to know on what terms they might surrender; which was accordingly done, and, on his going out, found the greatest part of the enemy under shelter of the old walls and houses before the castle gate. He, after the usual ceremony, demanded of the commandant (the general being wounded) what terms would be given the troops on their surrender, and at the same time sent the drum to call Colonel Jennings out of the castle, in order to treat with the French commandant on articles of capitulation, which were as follow, viz.

“ Colonel Jennings demanded, that the troops should march out with all the honours of war, and the officers to be on their parole in Ireland, and not to be sent prisoners to France; the soldiers also to stay in Ireland, and that an equal number of French prisoners should be sent to

A. D.
1760.

Bad conduct of the
enemy.

Parley
beat.

Capitulation.

A. D. 1760. France, within one month, or as soon after as ships could be got ready for that purpose.

Granted.

That the castle of Carrickfergus should not be demolished, or any of the stores destroyed, or taken out of it.

Granted.

That the town and county of Carrickfergus should not be plundered or burnt, on condition the mayor and corporation furnished the French troops with necessary provisions.

Granted."

Broke by
the French.

These were the *verbal articles* agreed on, tho' on *writing* them, the French commandant, after consulting the principal officers, declared, he could not, by any means, answer to his master, the French King, the granting to his Britannic Majesty the stores in the castle, which he insisted upon; and Colonel Jennings, to his great grief, had it not in his power to refuse, declaring solemnly, at the same time, with a grave countenance, that he had rather have been buried in the ruins. To which the French commandant replied, that he could not insert it in the articles of capitulation, yet he would give his word and honour, and did so, that if there was nothing of great value in the castle, belonging to the King, besides powder, he would not touch it, which there really was not. Likewise the magistrates of Carrickfergus, not furnishing the French with necessary provisions, they plundered the town, declaring it was their

Town
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their power to supply them, as they had found enough in the town afterwards. A. D. 1760.

M. Thurot being convinced by this essay towards a proof of the resistance he might expect on this island; that his success was owing entirely to the want of ammunition; and informed of the fate of M. Conflans's defeat, and that the neighbouring people had joined the militia, and were assembling from all parts at Belfast*, to the amount

Thurot resolves to re-embark.

* Carrickfergus, so named, as it is said, from Fergus I. King of Scotland, who landed there with a large body of men from that country, and is reported to have been drowned in passing the bay, is a market town, and a distinct county of jurisdiction, in the county of Antrim. Its distance from Dublin is 89 Irish, or about 113 English miles, due north. It is situated on a point of land at the opening of a very fine bay, where is a large and safe road for vessels of great burden, and a very handsome pier for merchant ships and smaller craft. It is fortified by a castle, which formerly had great strength, and is advantageously situated on an eminence, which commands part of the bay; but of late years has been more employed as a barrack for the quartering of troops, than with a view to any defence from it; so that it is now considerably out of repair. It is remarkable for the landing of King William III.

Belfast is between eight and nine Irish miles south-west from Carrickfergus. It has been a walled town, but its walls are now entirely ruined. It is a very large and populous trading town, and has been greatly improved within these few years, both in its buildings and riches. The great manufacture of the place is linnen, of which they export great quantities to England and to Scotland, with the latter of which they keep up a very considerable trade, taking in exchange their gauzes, gheatings, &c. It is situated at the bottom of Carrickfergus bay, the water flowing salt quite up to the town, where there

is

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1760.

amount of several thousands, and that four regiments of infantry, and three of dragoons, had orders,

is a very fine quay, at which lie vessels from all parts of the world, more especially from America; and the small craft, by means of a canal cut through the middle of the main street, for almost its whole length, are able to come up into the heart of the town. It is extremely well stored with provisions of all sorts, particularly wild fowl and fish, of which last the salmon is extremely fine and large; the fishery in the bay employing and maintaining great numbers of the poor. The principal buildings in this town, are, 1. The bridge, which is a very fine one, built of stone, consisting of near thirty arches, and broad enough for two carriages to pass a-breast; it may properly be said to be built over the bay; for the quay terminates at one end of it, and the shipping lie in a sufficient depth of water to the very foot of it. It grows much narrower and shallower, however, immediately above it, and runs up a great way into the country, under the name of the Laggon water. 2. The castle: this was formerly the residence of the garrison; but has not now the least appearance of any strength, being converted into apartments, the best of which are inhabited by the agent of the Earl of Donegal, to whose estate the greatest part of the town belongs. 3. The barracks: these are situated in the outskirts of the town; they are handsome and commodious, but much out of repair. And lastly, the linnen hall: this is a neat and elegant building, on the same model with that in Dublin, and contains above 100 small warehouses (on which the several linnen merchants names, of the north, who deal with this town, are inscribed and numbered) which enclose a large open square, wherein, at certain times of the year, a great concourse of merchants assemble, for transacting the wholesale linnen trade of the north part of Ireland. The inhabitants of this town, for the most part, are presbyterians, border very much on the manners of the Scotch nation, and speak with a very strong Caledonian accent. The jurisdiction of this

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orders, from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to march with all expedition to cut him off from his ships; he, after destroying the ammunition and cannon at Carrickfergus, and embarking his men with precipitation, determined to depart from that coast, where he also might expect to be shortly locked up by a squadron, as soon as it could be known where he was at anchor.

A. D.
1760.

Sails for
the coast
of Eng-
land.

This service for his destruction, was reserved for the brave Captain Elliot, then at Kingfale, who, by information from the Lord Lieutenant, of Thurot's lying before Carrickfergus, on the 24th of February, sailed immediately in the *Æolus*, with the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, in quest of the enemy, and arrived in the evening of the 26th at the entrance of Carrickfergus. But the weather proving tempestuous, and the wind contrary, he could not get in. However, being next day informed of what had passed, and of the course the enemy was expected to have steered, Captain Elliot got sight of them on the 28th, at four in the morning, and gave chase; and about nine having got along side the *Belleisle*, their commodore, off the isle of man, the action became general, and in about an hour and half, when Captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded Thurot's ship, and struck his colours with his own hand, the gallant commander being slain in the action, and thrown into the sea by his own men, all the enemy's ships

Pursued by
Captain
Elliot, &c.

Defeated,
killed, &c.

this town is under a seneschal, or sovereign, annually elected, and it sends two members to parliament.

struck,

A. D. 1760. struck, and an end was put to all the fears, that had so long filled the coasts of these kingdoms of a descent and plunder by M. Thurot's squadron, with the small loss of five men killed and thirty-one wounded: though the enemy had above 300 killed and wounded in this engagement. The French ships were conveyed, by the victors, into Ramsey bay, in the Isle of Man, to be repaired; the Belleisle having lost her boltsprit, mizen mast, and main yard, and so leaky as not to be fit for sea.

Loss on
both sides.

Import-
ance of this
victory.

A victory obtained with so much bravery over an enemy of such superior strength, with so much magnanimity; and that delivered the three kingdoms from the fatal effects, that might have befallen to their peace and commerce, from the continuance of the enemy on those seas, was celebrated with great rejoicing, as a most important service: and the conquerors were accordingly distinguished in a most public manner by the Irish parliament, whose commons voted them the thanks of their house; and the city of Cork presented Captains Elliot, Clemens, and Logie, with their freedom in silver boxes: though great murmurings expressed the general discontent of the nation, at the manifest neglect of the security of Carrickfergus, which was the only magazine in the north of Ireland, from whence all the troops, &c. were to be supplied with powder and ball, &c. and whose fortifications were so much out of repair, that they could not be maintained; though the parliament of Ireland had at several times, lately granted

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granted 450,000*l.* for repairing the fortifications of that kingdom.

A. D.
1760

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To this account of Thurot's expedition, the following particulars of his life are added, from a pamphlet published, by John Francis Durand, a clergyman of good character.

Thurot was born at Boulogne in France, his father and mother being both natives of that place; but his grandfather, by his father's side, was a native of Ireland, and captain in the Irish army under King James the Second, with whom he went off when he quitted that kingdom.

During King James the Second's residence at St. Germain's, Captain Farrel was one of his household, and paid his addresses to Mademoiselle Thurot, whose uncle was a member of the parliament of Paris.

He married her, but so great was the displeasure of all the young lady's friends, that none of them would look upon her; and three years after the death of his royal master, poor Farrel retired to Boulogne, in hopes that some of his wife's relations there would have more compassion than those he had left in the metropolis: but he was mistaken, for here he was obliged to subsist wholly on a very small pension which Queen Catherine allowed to all the discharged servants of the deceased King.

At Boulogne our Thurot's father was born, but not till three months after his own father's death; nor did Mademoiselle Farrel herself outlive her husband much above a year; so that the boy being taken by his mother's relations, went by their name.

Old Thurot is now alive at Boulogne, and was originally bred to the law; he had three wives, the second of which was called Picard, a vintner's daughter; and this was the mother of our Thurot.

She died in child birth of him, and a remarkable accident happened at his christening, to which he in a great measure owed his late high fortune.

While

A. D.
1760.

Affairs in
Germany.

We left the allied army, after the battle of Minden, taking proper measures to defeat the intentions

While his father held him at the font, his mother was receiving the last office, that of sepulture without in the church yard; this had such an effect upon Thurot, who had been a tender husband, that the tears streamed from his eyes in great abundance.

It is the custom in Roman Catholic countries about Christmas, at which season of the year this happened, for ladies of the first distinction to go into churches, and offer themselves as sponsors, for whatever children are brought to be baptized.

One Madam Tallard, a woman of great rank and fortune, was now standing for little Thurot, and observing the extreme agony in which the father of the child appeared, enquired what was the cause of it, and the priest informed her. She was so touched, that she made him a handsome present, and desired, if the boy should live till she returned again into those parts, he might be sent to see her.

When he was about 15 years of age, one Farrel came to Boulogne, who by some means or other got acquainted with old Thurot, and learning the origin of the family claimed relationship.

This man was the commander of a vessel, and used to smuggle goods; he assured old Thurot, that the house of the O'Farrels was still a flourishing house at Connaught, and offered, if he would let his young son go over with him, to make his fortune; to which he consented.

Thurot was equipped at the expence of his Irish cousin, and set out with him for Limerick, but stopped at the Isle of Man upon some business of the smugglers. And here taking some disgust, he refused to follow his cousin O'Farrel any farther.

After Farrel had sailed away, it was some time before a ship bound for France came into the port; so that Thurot was obliged to look about him for support: and being a handsome, spirited lad, a gentleman of Anglesey took a fancy to him, and he entered into his service.

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tentions the French had upon Hanover and Hesse. M. Contades was obliged to take up his quarters with

A. D.
1760.

This person was old in the trade of running goods, and had several small vessels continually passing between the Isle of Man and Ireland, laden with contraband commodities; with these he frequently sent Thurot; and once lodged him, at Carlingford, near a year, with one of his factors, to manage some business of consequence.

In this place he acquired his first knowledge of the English tongue, and at length determined, instead of returning to the Isle of Man, to go to Dublin, and see whether he could not learn some tidings of those relations about whom he had so often heard. Accordingly he set out for Dublin, with about eleven shillings in his pocket.

Whether he ever met with any of his Irish kinsfolk, is not known, but he was in Dublin reduced so low, that he was glad to enter into the family of Lord B—— as his valet. Here he lived near two years, by the name of Dauphine, and might perhaps have lived much longer, but for a most unhappy affair which happened in the family, and which made a great noise in the world. Thurot was in high favour with his mistress, and being suspected to be her confidant, was dismissed his lordship's service, as was at the same time my lady's woman, with whom young Thurot was on very good terms.

Lord B—— having laid things to Thurot's charge, of which he knew himself innocent, he spoke his mind of his lordship so freely, that Dublin became a very improper place for him to remain in. His friend, the waiting woman, whose name was Lynch, was soon after her dismissal from the family of Lord B——, received into that of the Earl of A——, who had a great estate in the north of Ireland, and going down thither the following summer, Thurot followed her.

In this place he made himself acceptable to many gentlemen, and to the Earl of A—— by his skill in sporting; but his situation being near the sea, and the opposite coast of Scotland favouring the trade of smuggling, in which he was a
much

A. D.
1760.

with many disadvantages : and Prince Ferdinand neglected no opportunity to improve his success.

We

much greater master than in cocking or hunting, he soon got in with a gang of these people. As he was generous in the highest degree, he made no scruple of bestowing upon his favourites a piece of India stuff for a gown, a yard or two of muslin, or some tea, which by degrees being known, he was applied to for some of these things in the mercantile way.

Thurot could not withstand the solicitation, and used frequently to sell tea, china, chocolate, India goods, and brandy at an easy rate. This trade continued some months, till one of his customers, a lady, being more rapacious than the rest, laid out fifty pounds at once with him, by which means her house was made a warehouse, and the excise people getting notice of it, came to search, found the goods, and seized them.—Thurot was discovered by the honest trader, and three nights after, the officers having laid their scheme, fell in with some boats laden with run goods, four of which fell into their hands, but the vessel in which was our captain, and which was lighter than the rest, had the good fortune to make the coast of Scotland ; the commodities in the boat were worth about 200 l. but how to get them sold was the matter. Thurot with his accomplices deposited them in safe places, and it was proposed that two of them, who were Scotchmen, should dispose of them about the country as pedlars. The design succeeded ; for in less than three months the whole cargo was sold off for near 300 l. 150 of which coming to Thurot's share, he made the best of his way to Edinburgh, where having equipped himself like a gentleman, he was determined to make the best of his way to France.

But Mr. V——, a gentleman of French extraction in Edinburgh, who was a merchant, and used frequently to send vessels from Edinburgh to London, wanted a master for one of his little sloops, and having seen Thurot, who passed for a sea-faring captain ; and finding by his accent that he was a Frenchman, made him the offer of it.

Thurot

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We have observed that General Imhoff was detached to besiege Munster. Which after a blockade for

A. D.
1760.

Thurot did not hesitate a moment, and the following week the Anie of Edinburgh, Thurot master, bound with linnen for London, set sail for the river Thames, where she was burnt, with many others, by some pitch taking fire in a neighbouring warehouse. Thurot having given an account of his trust to his employer's factor, fixed himself near London, taking lodgings in Paddington, where the author of these memoirs by mere accident got acquainted with him.

From 1748 to 1752, Captain Thurot was going continually backward and forward between France and England, and spent great part of his time in London, by his real name. Part of his time he lodged in a court in Carey-street, Lincoln-inn-fields, and was then instructed in the mathematics by one Mr. Donnelly, an Irish gentleman, famous for his knowledge and abilities in the mathematical studies.

He used frequently to go to a club, which was held every Monday night, somewhere about the Seven Dials, and consisted wholly of foreigners, chiefly of Frenchmen; some of these gentlemen took it in their heads one evening most grossly to abuse the English and Irish, calling them every contemptuous name, which liquor and ill-manners could suggest. Thurot listened to them for some time with a good deal of patience; till at length, finding they intended to set no bounds to their insolence, he very calmly got up, and seizing the two, which sat next to him, each by the nose, without saying a syllable, he led them to the door, put them out, and bolted it after them; then returning to his seat; some gentlemen, said he, let us drink about, and call another subject.—He afterwards became commander of a ship bound from Dunkirk, and lodged in Shadwell.

In this place he lived with a woman, who passed for his wife, and rented a house three years, during which time he never failed of running over two or three times a year between

A. D.
1760.

Siege of
Munster.

for some time, and six days open trenches, surrendered to his arms on the 20th of November, by capitulation; the very day on which the Prussians were defeated at Maxen, and Admiral Hawke

London and Calais, Dunkirk, and other French ports. This woman was with him during all this grand expedition.

After the year 1752, his chief place of residence was at Boulogne, where he became King of the smugglers, and during his reign, did not export and import less than 20,000 pounds worth of goods a year.

The son of Madam Tallard, his godmother, was president of the province; and it being well known that smugglers infested those parts, though the government could not point out the delinquents, he had orders to be very vigilant, and if possible to put a stop to their mal practices. In consequence of which M. Tallard arrested several of the smugglers, and among them was poor Thurot.

After being examined, he was sent to Dunkirk, and there confined in the common prison; but Tallard having been his play-fellow when a boy, and perfectly remembering the regard which his mother had for him, procured him his life.

Shortly after this, he was commanded up to Paris, to make discoveries that might prevent the robberies of the smugglers for the future. He remained there in prison several months, but during his examination convinced some people in power, that should the war break out with England, which, was at that time contriving, and in the form of an invasion too, M. Thurot might be rendered a serviceable man.

This consideration, together with M. Tallard's interest, not only procured him his liberty, but the command of one of the King's sloops; but finding in the beginning of the war that his sloop was not likely to be much employed, and that the thoughts of invading England was laid aside, he desired permission to go on board a Dunkirk privateer, in which he commanded till the beginning of the summer of the memorable year 1759, when he was advanced to command his last expedition.

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His most Serene Highness
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destroyed the navy of France. The garrison insisted upon terms for their own liberty, which were granted; but all their cannon, ammunition and provision, became a prey to the conquerors. General Imhoff found the fortifications in so miserable a condition, ruined by his battering pieces, that the works were scarce tenable. However, he left 5000 men to keep post there till further orders, and returned to join the grand army.

A. D.
1760.

Capitulation.

On the 28th of the same month, an expedition was undertaken against the Wirtembergers, who paraded in great security at Fulda. Of which we have the following particulars upon good authority. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick and Prince Charles of Bevern, set out from Marburgh with the following regiments, viz. De Boch, Hanoverian dragoons, Prince William and Frederick of Hesse's cavalry, two battalions of the regiments of guards, two of Imhoff's of Brunswick, the regiment of grenadiers Hessians, and that of Blunsbach, 100 hunters of Trimbach's corps, one squadron of white, and one of black hussars. This corps, having left their baggage behind, marched the same day to Kilsdorff and Hemershausen; and the following to Angersbach, their vanguard having in their way gallantly repulsed a body of the enemy, consisting of the volunteers of Nassau. At one o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the whole corps marched directly to Fulda. As the enemy did not in the least expect this visit, no troops were met on the road. At a little distance from Fulda, the Hereditary Prince having

Surprize of
Fulda by
the hereditary
Prince.

A. D.
1760.

ordered the whole corps to be drawn together; his Serene Highness went to reconnoitre in person, almost up to the gates of the town. As the country forms a plain of tolerable even ground, the right of which is watered by the river of Fulda, the Wirtemberg troops had ranged themselves in small bodies on separate spots of ground, against which the hussars and yellow dragoons drew up in front. In the mean time the rest of his Serene Highness's corps, both horse and foot, went round a hill, and proceeded in their march without interruption till they took post upon the flank of the regiments of Wirtemberg, who by degrees retreated into the town, the cannon firing upon them during the whole time they were filing off. The enemy's infantry having made some shew of forming themselves in the square of the town, some howitzers were played upon them to drive them from thence. The whole corps of the enemy having then passed through the town, the hussars, and yellow dragoons, led on by the Hereditary Prince in person, together with the Hessian grenadiers, and Boch's regiment of dragoons, passed it likewise in the pursuit: Whilst Prince Charles of Bevern went round the outside of it, and passed the river over the bridge. The enemy in their retreat shut all the gates after them; but they were forced open by cannon. The allies found on the other side of the town, the enemy's three battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Wernich, formed again in order of battle, as if with an intention of defending themselves; but the

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the rest of the troops of Wirtemberg had drawn towards the left, and retired as fast as possible.

A. D.
 1760.

The Hereditary Prince ordered immediately all the hussars, and Boch's regiment of dragoons, to advance; and in the mean time his Serene Highness, with the rest of the troops, filed off along the heights to the right, till he found himself able to gain the enemy's flank. It was then that he broke in upon them; and though they fired in the best manner they could, there were but six dragoons killed, and 14 wounded, on the side of the allies, Count Platen, a captain, was killed in the first onset by a musket ball. A considerable number of the enemy were cut to pieces; and the rest, having thrown down their arms, were made prisoners of war, together with all their officers. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and their baggage, fell to the conquerors.

Loss on
 both sides.

The next day, the 1st of December, 923 prisoners were sent to Hirschfield, under an escort, commanded by Major Marthal. The rest of these four battalions were either killed or very much wounded.

The Duke of Wirtemberg was in person with his corps, which he had just then drawn up for *a feu de joye*: So that these regiments were in their best cloathing. The Duke had invited all the ladies in the town of Fulda to his table; and to a ball which he intended to have given, that very day. But upon the unexpected news of the hereditary Prince of Brunswick's being at the gates of the town with his hussars, the Duke thought pro-

A. D.
1760.

per to get off. That part of his cavalry, which was not taken, was obliged to decamp in haste with the rest of his infantry; and to file off on the other side of the Fulda. One of these regiments of cavalry, the grenadiers, and the regiment of Wernich, were commanded in a very disorderly manner; and this enabled the allies to cut them so easily in pieces, and with so little loss.

On the 1st of Dec. the Hereditary Prince remained quiet at Fulda the whole day. His Serene Highness then advanced as far as Rupertenrode, a place situated upon the right flank of the enemy's army.

The time for action drawing near, and it not being possible any longer to dissemble, the belligerent powers to whom their Britannic and Prussian Majesties offered to treat of peace, the Empress Queen, the Czarina, and the French King, returned the following fallacious answer:

The confederates answer to the invitation to peace.

“ Her Majesty, the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia; her Majesty, the Empress of all the Russia's; and his Majesty, the Most Christian King, equally animated by the desire of contributing to the re-establishment of the public tranquillity on a solid and equitable footing, declare in return;

That his Majesty, the Catholic King, having been pleased to offer his mediation in the war, which has subsisted for some years between France and England; and this war, having besides, nothing in common with that, which the two Em-

presses

presses with their allies, have likewise carried on for some years against the King of Prussia.

A. D.
1760.

His Most Christian Majesty is ready to treat of his particular peace with England; through the good offices of his Catholic Majesty, whose mediation he has a pleasure in accepting.

As to the war which regards directly his Prussian Majesty, their Majesties the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the Empress of all the Russia's, and the Most Christian King, are disposed to agree to the appointing the congress proposed. But as by virtue of their treaties, they cannot enter into any engagement relating to peace, but in conjunction with their allies, it will be necessary, in order that they may be enabled to explain themselves definitively upon that subject; that their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, should previously be pleased to cause their invitation to a congress to be made to all the powers, that are directly engaged in war against the King of Prussia, and namely, to his Majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as likewise to his Majesty, the King of Sweden, who ought specifically to be invited to the future congress."

In pursuance of this resolution, we find several attempts made very early in the year by the French army upon the allies. They beat up their quarters at Herborn in the beginning of January, and a captain and 110 men, after a vigorous resistance, were made prisoners of war. But this was soon revenged by a party under M. de Derenthal, who relieved the castle of Dillembourg,

A. D.
1760.

where he made 40 French, and 700 private men prisoners, and took seven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon.

The cantonment of the two armies.

Though the Duke de Broglie had cantoned his troops in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and Prince Ferdinand had retired to Marburg, where he established his head quarters; these motions of the French during the winter, convinced the allies, that it behoved them greatly to be upon their guard, and to prepare for an early campaign, with prudence and vigour. Prince Ferdinand was promised a further supply of British troops. But, as it must be always the case on the continent, it was not possible for him to bring an army into the field, of equal numbers with the enemy; he therefore resolved to improve, by his military skill, the deficiency of his strength; which was also impaired by a detachment of 12000 men, sent under the command of the hereditary Prince, to reinforce the King of Prussia, after the battle of Connersdorf². M. Broglie, who had lately received the Marshal's staff, and the command of the French army, laid continually at bay, to seize an opportunity to surprize the allied army: and with a persuasion in his own mind, that the time was come, in the absence of the hereditary Prince, to favour his attempt, he, by a forced march, on the 25th of December 1759, to Klein Linnes, carried his design into action, but failed in the execution. The vigilant Ferdinand had watch-

M. Duke de Broglie's attempt on the allied army in the winter.

² See page 480, Vol. III.

ed his motions too narrowly, to suffer a surprize; and gave him such a warm reception, that after a cannonade for some hours, the sly Frenchman sneaked back to his old quarters.

However, Prince Ferdinand did not let him off so cheap. His Highness resolved to streighten the French quarters: and in his dispositions for this purpose, Colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of 400 men, under the command of Count Maret, and attacked them with such vigour and effect, that only 22 of them escaped the sword or captivity. This action happened on the 29th of December: and on the third day of the new year, it was retaliated with the surprize of an advanced post of the allies, consisting of a captain and 1100 men, at Herborn, as mentioned above.

Whilst the French made these motions upon the right of the allied army, the Wurtemburghers, supported by some of the light troops of France, made incursions into Hesse on our left, by Ronrot and Alsfeld, as far as Ziegenhayn; and in this manner rendered the arrival of provisions at Prince Ferdinand's army from the county of Nassau very difficult, as well as from that side, where the Wurtembergers were. The violent rains, which fell at the same time, rendered the convoys slow in arriving from Cassel. Prince Ferdinand therefore thought it most adviseable, for the convenience of his troops, to change his quarters of cantonment, and sent off his heavy baggage the 2d instant, and the artillery the 3d. The army marched the 4th:

A. D.
1760.

Prince
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at Eybach.Skir-
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4th: his Serene Highness himself led the rear guard on the 5th, and took up his head quarters at Marbourg, without the least interruption from the enemy. The main body of the army was cantoned in the adjacent villages, with an advanced corps at Dillenburg, and another towards the right of the French. The French attempted to carry off the garrison of Dillenburg. But the allies retired into the castle, at the approach of the Marquis Dauvet, and held out a close siege, till their distressed situation was removed by a strong detachment from the main army. Advice being received that the post of Dillenburg was attacked and closely pressed by the enemy, his Serene Highness set out at one o'clock in the morning in order to relieve it. And the relief was most happily effected by M. de Derenthal; one of his Serene Highness's aids de camp. Seven hundred of the French were taken on this occasion, with about 40 officers, among whom was M. Paravicini; as also seven pair of colours, and two pieces of cannon. Neither was this the whole loss in this quarter and on this occasion. Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons had been posted in the village of Eybach, on the side of Dillenburg, to cover the siege. But Major Keith's Highlanders and Colonel Luckner's hunters, fell upon them, the same day with such bravery, that they killed the greater part of the regiment, made many prisoners, and took 200 horses and all their baggage.

Next day the allied main army was alarmed on the left by the French grenadiers, supported by

eight

A. D.
1760.

eight battalions and a body of dragoons, under the command of M. de St. Germain, but with no advantage. For the Duke of Holstein putting himself at the head of a strong detachment near Erldorff, obliged him to retire with precipitation, merely by dint of a severe cannonade; with the loss of 50 men, and seven officers prisoners.

This, and the severity of the season, cooled the enemy's courage, and so fully compleated the security of the allies from any immediate surprize, that the French parties disappeared; their army retired into winter quarters in and about Franckfort on the Maine: and Prince Ferdinand cantoned his army at Cassel, Paderborn, Munster, and Osnabrug, where he expected the British forces by the way of Embden.

In this situation we find both armies till the beginning of March, when the Marquis de Blaisal, with a detachment of 2400 men, was ordered from the head quarters at Giesßen, to beat up the quarters of the allies. His first attempt was made upon Marpurg, where he forced the gates of the town. The garrison retired into the castle, and kept such a fire upon the enemy, that, not being in a condition to form a siege, the Marquis contented himself with carrying off hostages for the payment of 100,000 florins, imposed upon the citizens by way of contribution. This detachment proceeded to Hombourg, Alsfeldt, and Hartzburg, other frontier posts of the allies, in order to break their chain of communication; but found those posts so well secured, that they had no stomach to attack either of them.

But

A. D.
1760.

French
inhumani-
ty.

But previous to these motions, the new French marshal exhibited a specimen of his politeness, and the humanity to be expected by an enemy in his power. The town of Hanau-Muntzenberg having acknowledged the regency^z of Hesse Cassel, without his permission, M. Duke de Broglie demanded 750,000 livres from the magistrates of that town, to be paid within twenty-four hours, on pain of military execution. This demand was sent to the magistrates by the Prince de Robeig, who paid no regard to the remonstrances of the impossibility to raise such a sum, the country being totally exhausted, and their credit entirely sunk, and rejecting an offer to pay 8000 florins down, which was raised amongst the inhabitants with the greatest difficulty, with a promise to make good the whole demand in a few weeks; this prince reinforced the garrison with two battalions; disposed four squadrons in the streets and market-places; shut the gates of the town; planted cannon at every corner; fixed tarred matches to several houses; and, these menaces not being effectual, he ordered the grenadiers to remove the most valuable goods and best effects belonging to the magistrates and merchants, to be deposited in the town-hall, till redeemed with all the money they could possibly squeeze from that ruined city; under the sanction of his most Christian Majesty's special order for so doing^a.

^z Upon the death of the Landgrave.

^a The French exacted from the Dutchy of Cleves and the county of La Marck the sum of 3,200,000 livres, which reduced the inhabitants to the utmost distress.

This

This act of power was highly resented by the allies: and General Luckner was detached with a party to retaliate their inhumanity, by raising contributions on the city of Fulda. He so far executed his orders as to surprize the town, and to carry off hostages from thence, but could not maintain his ground, at the approach of a strong body of the enemy, who took possession of this post, and proceeded to plunder Hirschfeldt and Vacha, a town situated on the frontiers of Hesse, at the head of the chain of cantonments, which the allies had formed on the Werra, and commanded by Colonel Freytag. The colonel, not in a condition to dispute the post with the enemy, retreated to an eminence at a small distance from Vacha, and found means there to amuse the enemy, till he was enabled, by a reinforcement of two battalions of grenadiers, to face about; and, by their help, pursued the French, and obliged them to quit Geissa, with a considerable loss.

M. Duke de Broglie had now recruited his army to one hundred thousand men, and formed a separate corps of thirty thousand men, drawn from Duffeldorp, Cleves, Cologne and Wesel, to act separately upon the Rhine, in order to divide the forces of the allies. But notwithstanding this grand preparation to take the field, with a prospect of success, the new marshal was greatly embarrassed by the resignation of some of the best officers, who were disgusted at his promotion to the chief command, in prejudice to the rights and interests of many old generals, over whom he had been

A. D.
1760.

Retalliated.

Two
French
armies.

Disgusted.

lifted

A D. 1760. lifted by ministerial favour and intrigue; and for want of forage for his cavalry, without which it was impossible for them to take the field so early as intended. A very fortunate circumstance for the allies. For, though Prince Ferdinand was not better provided, in a country quite exhausted, and could procure no provisions otherwise than from Hamburg and Bremen; this inaction of the French gave him time to receive the reinforcement of British troops, by the way of Embden, and completed that corps to 25,000 effective men.

English troops arrive.

Prince Ferdinand prepares for opening the campaign.

Prince Ferdinand, thoroughly informed of the difficulties and disgusts of the enemy, and that the nine thousand Wurtembergers had been recalled from the French army by their Prince, resolved to try his fortune in the field, his Serene Highness collected his forces, and, on the 5th of May marched with his main body to Fritzlar, where they encamped on the 20th, having left General Sporcken, with the troops in the bishoprick of Munster, to form a camp near Dulmen, to observe the motions of the corps under the Count de St. Germain, who was assembling thirty-four battalions and thirty-eight squadrons, and were ordered to rendezvous, on the 2d of June, near Wesel. At the same time General Imhoff was detached to Kirchain on the Orme; and General Gilsoe, with another detachment, to Hirschfeldt on the Fulda. General Imhoff ordered Colonel Luckner to scour the country before him, with his hussars, who, on the 24th of May, fell

Takes the field.

in

in with a French patrol, who giving the alarm to the garrison at Butzbach, consisting of 500 pikets under General Waldener, they fled with great precipitation; but were pursued, overtaken, routed and dispersed, having abandoned all their flour, forage, wine and equipage, which was considerable, and which Colonel Luckner found in the town, and carried all away, with 100 prisoners, to the camp of General Imhoff at Arrenberg; except such part thereof, as he distributed to the poor inhabitants of the town.

M. Duke de Broglio, immediately upon report of this action, put his main army in motion, and, in person, marched with a large body of troops to Freidburg: but did no more than canton that part of his army at Witteraw, and returned again to Franckfort; where he was informed that Prince Ferdinand was still encamped at Fritzlar. Several skirmishes happened, of no great importance, between General Sporcken and the Count de St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Duffeldorp: and between the Hereditary Prince and the enemy in the county of Fulda, who joined the corps under General Gilfoe, with two English regiments of dragoons, and some battalions of grenadiers; who surprized and made several parties of the enemy prisoners.

After these preludes to victory Prince Ferdinand quitted the camp at Fritzlar, and encamped on the hills between Ziegenheim and Freyfa, with General Imhoff, at a small distance on his right, and the Hereditary Prince on his left; having called

A. D.
1760.

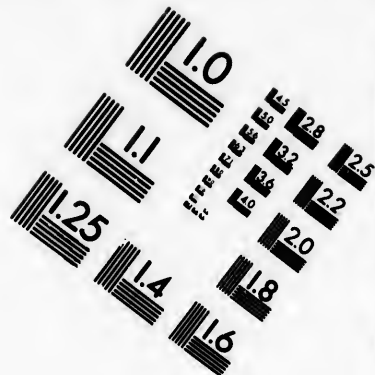
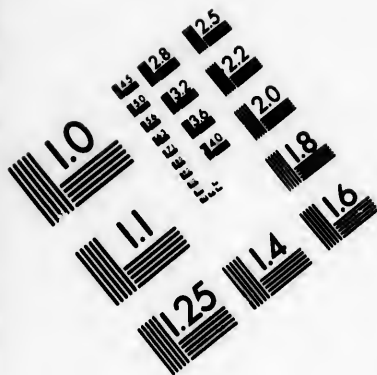
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Count St.
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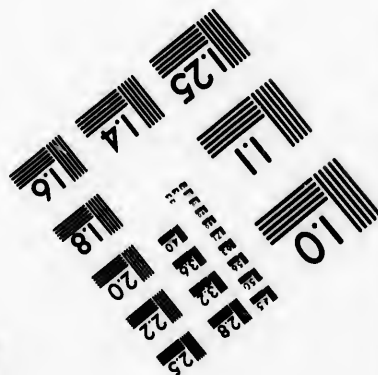
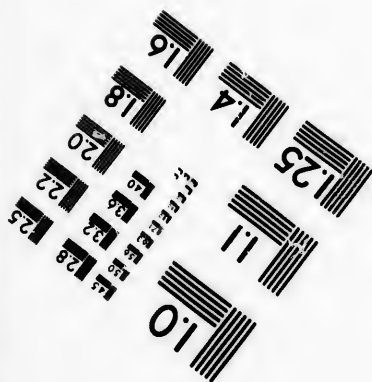
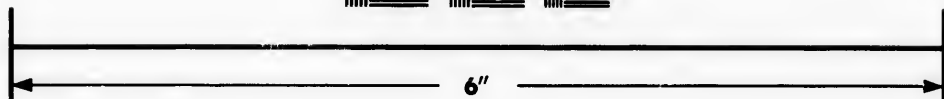
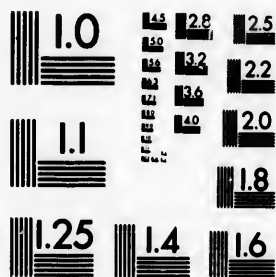
Prince
Ferdinand
marches to
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1760.

in both these detachments. This was effected on the 24th of June : and on the 28th M. Duke de Broglio, having assembled his forces also, marched to Neustadt, and encamped there, and occupied the strong post of Waffamburg, intended to penetrate into, and make himself master of the Electorate of Hanover. For which purpose he ordered the Count de St. Germain to join him at Corbach : to which place he marched with the main army, on the 8th of July, by the way of Franckenburg.

Prince Ferdinand's resolution to attack the French.

The battle of Corbach.

The motion of St. Germain's corps drew Prince Ferdinand from Ziegenheim. Who reached the heights of Brenau, near Wildurgen, on the 9th, and he detached the Hereditary Prince with the advanced corps, reinforced with some battalions and squadrons, under General Griffin, to Saxenhausen. The main body of the army under Prince Ferdinand followed the next morning by two o'clock, time enough to sustain the advanced party in case of an attack, had not the impetuosity of the Hereditary Prince's courage drove him precipitately to attack the enemy, before it was possible for Prince Ferdinand to come up to his assistance. For the same morning the Hereditary Prince, having advanced to Corbach, and finding the enemy there already formed, and judging them to be not yet very numerous, and their whole force against him not to exceed 15,000 foot, and 17 squadrons, he formed a design of driving that corps back ; and thus an engagement was brought on, and became extremely hot about two o'clock

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in the afternoon. The enemy being continually reinforced with fresh troops, and having the superiority of numbers, and a large artillery, the Prince found it not possible to dislodge them from their post : and as there was no necessity of maintaining that, which he himself occupied (our main army being arrived at Saxenhausen) and it not being practicable for them to come up in time to sustain the Hereditary Prince in his post, orders were sent him by Prince Ferdinand to rejoin the army, part of which was then formed. Accordingly, the Hereditary Prince made his dispositions for a retreat, which was attended with a little confusion among some of our battalions and squadrons. The enemy observing this, pressed very briskly upon our troops, both with their artillery and a large body of cavalry. Our battalions would have suffered considerably, had it not been for the bravery of the Hereditary Prince, who putting himself at the head of one of Bland's squadrons, and of Howard's regiment of dragoons, charged the enemy so furiously, as to enable our infantry to make a safe retreat. Fifteen pieces of cannon, however, fell into the hands of the enemy, which could not be carried off for want of the horses, that were killed in the action. Our loss in men, killed, wounded and prisoners amounted to five hundred. General Count Kielmansegge, distinguished himself greatly in this affair, as well as Major-General Griffin, with the two British battalions of Brudenell and Carr, and particularly one squadron of Bland's, commanded by Major Mill,

A. D.
1760.Hereditary
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rashness.

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A. D.
1760.

and Howard's regiment of dragoons; and the troops in general shewed great good-will and alacrity^b. The Hereditary Prince was wounded in the shoulder, but not dangerously.

Not-

^b The French account is dated from Neider Ense, July 11, and is as follows :

Marshal Broglie, by a wise combination of his motions on the river Ohm, and by the celerity and secrecy with which they were executed, got the start of Prince Ferdinand, who thought to have disputed his passing it. The consequences thereof have been the taking of Marbourg, which will be quickly followed by the surrender of Dillembourg. The same prudence, and the same measures, concealed from Prince Ferdinand the rapid march which brought the King's army in two days from Neustad: towards Corbach, and that which brought thither, at the same time, the body of reserve from the Lower Rhine.

However, Prince Ferdinand, who had less way to march to get thither, had time to cause some bodies of troops, which he had beyond his right, to occupy the heights and the woods, which commanded that post, and without which it could not be kept. Ten thousand of his troops were placed there on the 9th, before the head of ours could arrive at the camp of Neider Ense, which is above a league from it. During that night, and in the morning of the 10th, their number was augmented to near 30,000: they took possession of the woods and the heights, to give the rest of the army time to join them, that the whole might take place there. This opportunity was not to be let slip. A sufficient number of troops was not yet arrived. Not only the reserve, under the Count of Lusatia, was at a great distance, but the bridges to bring the army from the camp to Neider Ense were not finished, and only two brigades of foot of the reserve of the Count de St. Germain were yet arrived. The marshal wisely judged, that he was not to wait for what must come too late. He caused four brigades of foot to advance with all haste; he joined the two

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Remarks.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the gallant Prince who commanded suffered no discredit. On the contrary, his intrepid behaviour in putting himself at the head of a handful of English horse, and by that means preventing a total defeat, did as much honour to his military character, as the gaining a victory. The wounds he received on this occasion, instead of abating his ardour, seemed rather to have animated the young hero to meditate revenge. For, advice, on the 18th, having been received by Prince Ferdinand, That a body of the enemy, consisting of some battalions and light troops, were advanced on the left of our army, towards Ziegenheim, the Hereditary Prince immediately put himself in march, with six battalions, two Hanoverian and four Hessian, Elliot's regiment, (which was just arrived) Luckner's hussars, and two brigades of Chasseurs, to oppose

Seeks revenge.

of St. Germain; he caused the right of the woods, occupied by the enemy, to be attacked, and turned their right, whilst the woods in their center were attacked in front. The light troops, the dragoons, and the cavalry, who were formed in order of battle as they came up, supported this attack, and curbed the enemy's cavalry, who wanted to protect their foot. Their foot were repulsed, and driven from the heights, and out of the woods. A regiment of English horse, who advanced against our troops, were hewn in pieces by the Dauphiny volunteers and the dragoons. In fine, after a cannonading, which lasted nine hours, and a long and smart fire of small arms, all the enemy's troops retired in disorder towards the woods and heights at their backs, where Prince Ferdinand's army was arrived. They left behind them nineteen pieces of cannon, and two haubitizers; and we took another piece of cannon in pursuit.

A. D. 1760. Action of Emsdorff. French defeated.

that corps. On the 16th the Hereditary Prince engaged them near the village of Emsdorff. The action was very warm for some time, but in the end the enemy was entirely defeated. Two battalions of royal Baviere, three of Anhalt, together with the commander in chief Major-General Glau-bitz, and the Prince of Anhalt Coethen, were made prisoners of war. Six pieces of their cannon were taken, and all their arms, baggage, &c. Elliot's regiment signalized themselves greatly upon this occasion.

While these transactions retrieved the honour of the allies after the repulse, which the Hereditary Prince

For the success of the allies at Emsdorff, the following thanks were returned by Prince Ferdinand, dated Saxenhausen camp, July 20.

"His Serene Highness orders it to be publicly testified to the whole army, how much he is charmed and satisfied with the good conduct and valour of the corps that fought on the 16th instant, under the orders of the Hereditary Prince.

"The praises the Prince gave of them to the Duke were such, that nothing can be said in addition to them.

"His Serene Highness therefore gives his best thanks to those brave troops, and particularly to Elliot's regiment, which was allowed by every body present, to have done wonders.

"The Prince could not enough commend to the Duke, the bravery, good conduct, and good countenance with which that regiment fought.

"His Serene Highness desires much to be able to find means to acknowledge to Major Erskine principally, who was at the head of that regiment, and led it so gallantly, as well as to the officers and men, his real satisfaction, and to have it in his power to do them service. He desires those gentlemen to furnish him with an opportunity of doing it, and he shall seize it with pleasure."

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Prince met with at Corbach, M. Duke de Broglio remained encamped on the adjacent heights of that town; having, in his march from Franckfort detached sufficient forces to reduce the castles of Marpurg and Dillenbourg, whose garrisons were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. But these were not conquests sufficient to sooth his pride and self-conceit: which, on the other hand, met with a heavy mortification in the loss of the Count of St. Germain, the Marquis de Voyer and the Count de Luc, who were not only Broglio's seniors in commission, but at least of equal capacity, and could boast of much more experience in the art of war; and therefore disdained to serve under their junior. Upon which occasion the Count de St. Germain's command was conferred upon M. de Muy.

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1760.

Count St.
Germain,
&c. leave
the French
army.

The absence of the disgusted generals was soon felt in the future operations of the French army. Prince Ferdinand having formed a design to attack, or to force the enemy to an engagement, detached General Sporcke, on the 28th of July, to take post between Liebenau and Corbeke; and on the 29th his Serene Highness dispatched after him a reinforcement, in which were two

Prince Fer-
dinand's
design to
force the
enemy to
fight.

To this may be added, that the loss of the allies on this occasion was 85 killed (75 of which were of Elliot's regiment) and 95 wounded. Of the enemy, 177 officers, and 2482 private men were taken prisoners. In the action near Corbach were killed of the allies 178, wounded 467, missing 179. Total 824. Lost twelve pieces of cannon, four haubitizers, and thirty ammunition waggons.

A. D.
1760.

English battalions of grenadiers, two regiments of Highlanders and four squadrons of dragoons, Cope's and Conway's; to reconnoitre the position of the Chevalier de Muy, who commanded 35,000 men, the reserve of the enemy's left, and was encamped with his right at Warbourg, and his left at the heights opposite to the village of Menne and Offendorff. And it appearing that the Chevalier de Muy, who had passed the Dymel at Hadbergen, had thus extended his corps down the banks of that river, in order to cut off the allies from Westphalia, whilst M. de Broglie was advancing with his main army towards their camp at Kalle; and Prince Xavier of Saxony advanced with his reserve, on the left of the allies, towards Cassel; Prince Ferdinand left General Kielmansegge, with a body of troops, at Cassel, for the protection of that city, kept his army under arms all-day on the 30th, and at about eleven at night his Serene Highness marched with the army in six columns; passed the Dymel between Liebenau and Dringelbourg, without loss or molestation; and about five, next morning, the whole army assembled and formed in the heights of Corbeke. But, according to a previous agreement, it having been concerted that the Hereditary Prince and General Sporcke should turn the enemy's left, whilst Prince Ferdinand advanced with the army upon their front; the Hereditary Prince, at the time the main body was forming, marched in two columns, and, by marching to Donhelbourg, leaving Klein-Elder on his left, and forming in two

The strength and situation of M. de Muy.

Prince Ferdinand's dispositions for an attack.

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lines, with his left towards Dossel, and his right near Grimbeck, opposite to the left flank of the enemy, whose situation was with their left on the high hill near Ossendorff, and their right to Warbourg, he completed his design with all possible success; a thick fog, which continued till half an hour past nine in the morning of the 31st, covering their motions from the sight of the enemy; though the Chevalier de Muy, in consequence of his intelligence from M. de Broglio, concerning the march of the allies, had detached the Marquis de Castries, a Lieutenant-General, with all the grenadier companies, and the hunters belonging to the foot, two regiments of dragoons and Fischer's people, to find out and mark their motions, so early as at day-break.

The fog being dispersed, it was discovered that the allies seemed to direct their march in two columns against the left flank. Therefore the Chevalier de Muy placed on the heights of Menne the four brigades of foot of Bourbonnois, la Couronne, Jenner and Planta, under the command of the Marquis de Segur, lieutenant-general; and the Major-Generals d'Amenzaga and de Travers. The brigades of la Tour du Pin, and Touraine, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Maupeou and Major-General de Roquepine, were disposed on the right, on this side of Warbourg. The Lieutenant-Generals de Lutzelbourgh and d'Auvet, with the Major-Generals de Lugeac, de Soupire and de Manginon, with the cavalry, occupied the centre, opposite to a very extensive

A. D.
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A. D.
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plain. The dragoons were placed between the right of the foot and the left of the horse, and were commanded by the Duke de Fronsac. The brigade of Rourgé formed a reserve on a small eminence, behind the left of the cavalry. The artillery was disposed in the front of the line. Fischer's people occupied the town and the tower of Warbourg.

The column of foot of the allies right wing, having turned the heights behind the French left, by the village of Essendorff, the Chevalier de Muy caused the brigades of Bourbonnois, la Couronne and Jenner, to advance to the tower, which is on those heights, and at the same time brought up the brigades of Rouergue and Touraine to support them. The head of the allies first column got before the French, to the height behind their left, whilst their second column advanced in a parallel line in the bottom.

Battle be-
gun.

Whereupon the Chevalier de Muy caused the French brigades of his left to form in two lines, and the engagement began. The Hereditary Prince immediately attacked the enemy's flank; and, after a very sharp dispute, obliged them to give way; and, by a continual fire, kept forcing them to fall back upon Warbourg: the enemy being attacked almost in the same instant by General Sporcke and the Hereditary Prince in flank and rear. The army was, at this time, marching with the greatest diligence to attack the enemy in front; but the infantry could not get up in time; General Waldegrave, at the head of the

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British, pressed their march as much as possible; no troops could shew more eagerness to get up, than they shewed. Many of the men, from the heat of the weather, and over-straining themselves to get on, through morassy and very difficult ground, suddenly dropped down on their march.

General Mostyn, who was at the British cavalry that was formed on the right of our infantry, on the other side of a large wood, upon receiving the Duke's orders to come up with the cavalry as fast as possible, made so much expedition, bringing them up at a full trot, though the distance was near five miles, that the British cavalry had the happiness to arrive in time, to share the glory of the day, having successively charged, several times, both the enemy's cavalry and infantry.

The English artillery got up on a gallop^d, and seconded the attack in a surprising manner. Such an appearance and vigour struck the French cavalry with terror; and, though very numerous, they retreated, as soon as the British horse advanced to charge them; except only three squadrons; but they were soon broken^e. A part of the English cavalry then fell upon the enemy's infantry,

^d Captain Philips made so much expedition with his cannon, as to have an opportunity, by a severe cannonade, to oblige those who had passed the Dymel, and were formed on the other side, to retire with the utmost precipitation.

^e The French account of this battle palliates the affair as much as possible, and can't avoid running into the usual way of fiction, to cover their real loss and disgrace.

The

A. D. 1760. fantry, which suffered extremely; and particularly the regiment of Lochman Swiss. Prince Ferdinand

The brigades of Bourbonnois, la Couronne, and Rouergue, led by Mess. de Castries, Segur and Travers, charged the enemy five times, with the greatest courage, says the French account, and, notwithstanding their superiority, forced them to give way several times. Those brigades were well seconded by that of Jenner, commanded by M. d'Amenzaga, which had the second column of the enemy to deal with. Mean while the enemy's horse came into the plain, and part of it advanced against the flank of our infantry; to protect which M. de Muy brought up the brigades of horse of Royal Piedmont and Bourbon.

The combat had continued on the left upwards of four hours, with equal advantage on both sides, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, when it was observed that some of the enemy were filing off towards our bridges on the Dymel. The danger was pressing: to prevent it, the Chevalier de Muy marched thither the brigade of Touraine, under the Marquis de Roquepine. At the same time he ordered thither M. de Maupezu, with the brigade of la Tour du Pin, and caused the cavalry and dragoons to re-cross the river: at the same time he drew off the infantry of the left. The brigade of Planta covered their retreat with admirable order and bravery. M. de Lugeac, who led the brigade of Bourbon, marched against the English horse just as they were going to fall on our foot, and put them in confusion. This vigorous and well-timed charge enabled us to pass the river in good order. The dragoons under the Duke de Fronzac covered the infantry as they came out.

All our troops drew up afterwards in order of battle on the heights before the wood on the right of the Dymel, where batteries were erected, which stopped the enemy.

After two hours we marched to Volckmarsen, where we encamped, without the enemy's daring to follow or harrafs us. This retreat, made in sight of an enemy so much superior in number, shews the valour of the troops which fought that

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nand ordered an attack to be made on the town of Warbourg, by the legion Britannique: and the enemy finding themselves thus attacked upon their two flanks; in front and in rear, retired with the utmost precipitation, and with the loss of many men, as well from the fire of our artillery, as from the attacks of the cavalry. Many were wounded in the Dymel, in attempting to ford it.

A. D.
1760.

French
defeated.

that day. Not one pair of colours or standard was taken from us. We lost six pieces of cannon, which it was impossible to bring off, notwithstanding all the pains of Major General Pelletier, by whom all our batteries were placed to the best advantage.

We have not as yet received the particulars of our loss. The enemy make it amount to 3000 killed or wounded. Theirs must be more considerable.

The Marquis de Castries, Major-General de Amenzaga, and Brigadier de Montbarrey, have received severe contusions. Colonel Valence, of the Bourbonnois regiment, the Prince of Rochefort, and the Chevalier de la Tour du Pin, are wounded. The Chevalier de Muy gives the highest commendation to all the private men, as well as to the general officers, and other officers who were engaged. He has likewise expressed his satisfaction with the behaviour of the field-officers of the reserve, particularly M. de Valognie, who distinguished himself much in the action, and contributed greatly to the good order of the retreat, by the openings he caused to be made. M. de Sauveur of the horse, and M. de la Tour du Pin, of the foot, likewise deserve high commendation. The latter was not wounded till the end of the action, after we had crossed the Dymel. M. Lochman was made prisoner [some accounts say he was killed.] M. de la Roche, lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Aumont, is dead of his wounds.

The remainder of the troops, under the Chevalier de Muy, retreated to Wolfshagen, and have been since ordered to Stadtberg. — So says M. de Muy's account.

The

A. D.
1760.

The enemy's loss was fifteen hundred men killed upon the field of battle; and the amount of the prisoners made, exceeded that number; besides ten pieces of cannon, with some colours. The loss on our side was very moderate, and fell chiefly upon the brave battalion of Maxwell's English grenadiers, which did wonders. Colonel Beckwith, who commanded the English brigade, formed of English grenadiers and Scotch highlanders, distinguished himself greatly, and was wounded in the head.

Lord Granby, with the English cavalry, contributed extremely to the success of the day.

Marquis
of Granby
pursues the
enemy.

The Marquis of Granby, by order from his Serene Highness, passed the river in the evening, in pursuit of the enemy, with twelve British battalions and ten squadrons: and encamped upon the heights of Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg; on whose heights the French grand army was encamped. Upon the appearance of the Marquis, M. de Muy retreated from the heights of Volkmissen, where he had laid under arms all night; and took the rout of Wolfshagen.

The loss
of Munden.

This fortunate day was immediately succeeded by the loss of Munden; of which Prince Xavier of Saxony, on the first day of August, made himself master sword in hand. He made 350 prisoners, and took several pieces of cannon in this town.

Cassel, &c.

This Prince was pushing his success; and had actually taken Cassel, Gottingen and Eimbach, and threatened Hamelen with a siege, when Major-General Luckner came up with the enemy, at

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Eimbach on the 10th in the morning, drove them back, and took the whole detachment of 342 men at Nordheim, prisoners of war. At the same time Colonel Donnop attacked 2000 volunteers, detached by M. Broglio into the wood of Sababourg, to preserve a communication with Prince Xavier. But Donnop dislodged them; after killing, wounding, and taking 500 men. And the Prussian hussars on this occasion took three pieces of cannon. However these advantages were checked with the loss of Ziegenheim, and its garrison of 700 men made prisoners of war: and of 50 officers, and 1000 sick men found in Cassel by the French, when abandoned by the allies to save the houses and to prevent the distresses incident to a siege.

A. D.
1760.

General
Luckner's
and Colo-
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Ziegen-
heim lost.

The French were greatly distressed for forage, and had ordered 20,000 men to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geismar, under the cover of the greatest part of their army. Which coming to the knowledge of Prince Ferdinand on the 5th of August, he past the Dymel next morning with a body of troops, and posted them so advantageously, as rendered the enemy's attempt totally ineffectual: and being informed that 1000 horse and foot, called the volunteers of Clermont and Dauphine, passed their time in a most careless security at Zierenberg, not far from the French camp at Dierenberg, his Serene Highness, having frightened away the foragers, took the rout of Zierenberg, that same morning, and having advanced within a league, without meeting

Bad situa-
tion of the
French
army.

A corps
surprized
at Zieren-
berg.

a patrol

A. D.
1760.

a patrole, he ordered five battalions, with a detachment of 150 Highlanders, and eight squadrons of dragoons^f, to proceed and beat up their quarters by surprize. This detachment, leaving their tents standing, marched off, at eight in the evening, and, passing the Dymel near Warbourg, they were joined by the light troops under Major Bulow. Thus united, these troops agreed upon the manner to form the attack, and how to secure a retreat, in case of danger. They marched together, till they came to a mill within two miles of Zierenberg, and could see the fires and lights of the enemy's grand guard. Here they seperated. Maxwell's grenadiers, Kingsley's regiment and the Highlanders, marched forward in profound silence by three seperate roads. And though the Vedettes of the grand guard challenged them, they did not push forward to reconnoitre. But when they came nearer, the French heard their treading, and fired. This obliged them to push forwards with the utmost expedition, with their unloaded firelocks, and to push the piquets. They slew the guard at the gates with their bayonets, and rushed into the town with such impetuosity, that the French had not time to assemble; but fired from the houses; which so exasperated the allies, that they broke in upon them, and made a severe use of their bayonets: and killed many more that attempted to mount their horses. This assault continued a full hour; when the allies re-

^f Bock's, the Greys and Inniskillings.

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turned with about 400 prisoners, including 40 officers, who threw down their arms in the streets; and carried off two pieces of artillery, with very little loss, and, perhaps not with much merit on the part of the allies, as such actions are productive of no real advantage.

Notwithstanding the several advantages gained in the battle of Warburg, and otherwise, the French could not be said to be disabled. Broglio had still a vast superiority of troops: and had he pushed his arms, there is the greatest reason to believe, that the allies could not withstand him in a general engagement; and that he might have penetrated into Hanover, which seemed to be the principal object of his instructions. But, as he suspected the affections of his officers, the French marshal declined a battle, the loss of which, would in all probability have brought on his own disgrace: and there was no security for his army should his communication with the means of subsisting be cut off, as probably might have been the case, had he penetrated into Hanover, and left the allied army, under the command of such an able general, as Prince Ferdinand, behind him. But they, who seemed to penetrate deepest into this measure, countenanced by Broglio's future motions, ascribed this otherwise most unaccountable conduct of the marshal duke, to positive instructions from his court, alarmed about this time by the preparations in England, for some vigorous blow: and not judging it safe, in case it should fall upon France itself, as suspected, to trust

A. D.
1760.

Broglio's
superiority.

Motives
for his in-
action and
retreat.

A. D.
1760.

trust the defence of their kingdom to an undisciplined militia and raw recruits, which at this juncture was the only strength left at home, they ordered their grand army to fall back, to prevent its being detained by the military skill of Prince Ferdinand, at too great a distance, in Hanover, when its service might be wanted to cover the capital of their own country from the invasion of the English. Thus we may rationally account for the inactivity of the grand French army, and for M. Broglio's retreat from Immenhausen, and entrenching himself in a manner that indicated a fear of being attacked near Cassel; having his right towards that city, and his left towards Wessenstein.

Marbourg
and Butz-
bach sur-
prized.

These motions being made known, Prince Ferdinand improved the opportunity. He detached several parties to scour the country and to surprize the enemy. That commanded by Major Bulow surprized Marbourg and Butzbach. He entered these towns, destroyed the ovens, cloathing, spare arms, and other stores of the French army: took two standards, eight officers, two companies of the regiment of Rougrave: burnt between two and 300 waggons of flour, and made a large booty for his troops; with which they retired to Frankenberg, and joined Colonel Forfen, upon advice that a strong body of French was marching against him, under the command of M. de Stainville, from Mardenhagen. Bulow and Forfen, on the 12th of September, moved their corps towards Franckenau: in which march Stainville
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came up with their rear, as they crossed the river Orck, or Oricke, near Munden, and charged them with such vigour, that notwithstanding the allies behaved with great courage and conduct, they were routed with the loss of eight pieces of cannon, and 1200 men made prisoners, amongst whom was Colonel Forfen; and perhaps their fate might have been still worse had not the French been checked in their pursuit by the seasonable arrival of a considerable corps, under the command of the Hereditary Prince. For, though his men were too much fatigued by a forced march of five German miles, that he thought it prudent to put off the attack till next morning, his presence carried so much weight with the enemy, that M. de Stainville retired in the night to Frankenburg.

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1760.

Major Bulow, &c. defeated by M. de Stainville.

General Wangenheim, who was also detached with a party, consisting of four battalions, and six squadrons, to drive the enemy from the defiles of Soheite, or Sehede, performed that service: but as he laid afterwards encamped with his Hanoverians at Lawenthagen, a superior force of the enemy attacked him and made him retreat also, with the loss of four pieces of cannon, and about 200 men. As for the main army; Prince Ferdinand made the best dispositions to gain some advantage over the M. Duke de Broglie, ordering General Gilfoe's corps towards Minden, and to encamp at Sababourg; and the reserve, under Lord Granby, to advance to Giesmar, fixing his

General Wangenheim's expedition.

Surprized in his camp.

A. D. 1760. own head quarters at the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel's palace, at Giesmar Wells, till the latter end of September; when his Serene Highness thought it more eligible to remove them to Ovilgumme, in Westphalia: where we shall leave the allies brooding the destruction of their enemies, till we have taken a view of the war in the other parts of Germany.

Affairs of
the Pruf-
sians, &c.

In the whole course of this war it has been evident that the King of Prussia, our ally, met with the greatest embarrassment from the Empress of Russia: and what he had to expect in the ensuing campaign from that powerful enemy, was apparent in the Czarina's behaviour towards his Britanic Majesty, who, having tried every motive of interest that might follow to her Czarish Majesty and her subjects, to disengage her from the confederacy against his Prussian Majesty, and in a most respectful manner had ordered his pacific intentions delivered at the Hague, as mentioned before; to be previously communicated to the court of Petersburg, could obtain no satisfactory answer. To that previous application her Majesty the Empress of Russia replied, with proper acknowledgments of the receipt of a copy thereof, delivered by Mr. Keith, the British minister at her court. But that she could not give a positive answer thereto, till she had consulted with her allies, because it was at the Hague, and not to her Imperial Majesty alone, to be made in form. However, she took this opportunity to explain

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her intentions so fully upon her future conduct in this war, as sufficiently to shew that she was resolved to proceed, to the utmost of her power, in the execution of such measures, as might tend to distress and ruin the King of Prussia. For, Mr. Keith, having some time before, by order of his court, endeavoured to sound the temper of the Russian court, by intimating to her Czarish Majesty, in a conference with the chancellor, "That not only the King his master, but that likewise the King of Prussia, desired to renew with her Imperial Majesty the good harmony, that formerly subsisted;" her Imperial Majesty of Russia ordered this answer to be given ^h: "That she has always

Declara-
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rina.

^h On the 3d of December 1757, O. S.

A. D.
1760.

just and sufficient satisfaction; not to conclude any peace, but on honourable, safe, and advantageous conditions, and in concert with her faithful allies: and, in fine, never to suffer that, for the sake of saving the effusion of innocent blood for a short time only, the repose of Europe should stand exposed to the same dangers as before; but that if satisfactory propositions for a peace should be offered, her Imperial Majesty was ready to accede to whatever her allies in conjunction with her should find reasonable."

Prepara-
tions in
Russia.

Agreeable to this stern declaration, which discovered and confirmed her Czars Majesty's war-like intentions, twelve regiments of militia were drawn from the Ukraine, and numerous recruits were raised in all parts of her dominions, with orders to reinforce the army in Poland¹. A large train of heavy cannon, with an immense quantity of stores, of all kinds, were embarked for Königsberg: and every other measure was taken to convince the world, that she would prosecute the war with vigour, and that she entertained a more than ordinary pleasure in mortifying his Prussian Majesty, whenever opportunity might offer.

By the
Queen of
Hungary.

The Empress Queen took every measure that foresight could dictate to render the ensuing campaign decisive. Silesia was the favourite object, and all her preparations indicated a resolution to bend her chief strength that way. In which her Imperial Majesty was seconded by the Russians and Swedes.

¹ See page 476, Vol. III.

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His Prussian Majesty was all attention. His dispositions were to be made with the utmost prudence, both in regard to his enemies and to his own strength, which suffered much during the winter, by sickness. But that was not a misfortune peculiar to his army^k. The Austrians lost a great number of soldiers in the same manner. A circumstance which on all sides protracted the time for opening the campaign. His Majesty recruited his grand army, and with it watched the motions of Count Daun. He covered the eastern parts of his dominions, where the Russians were expected, with 40,000 troops, under his brother Henry; and he sent a large detachment to oppose the Swedes. In the mean time his Prussian Majesty employed himself in fortifying his camp, which was very strong by nature, near Meissen; and rendered it impregnable by art; vast intrenchments being made; where it was accessible, furnished with such a numerous artillery, that there were about 250 cannon in the front alone.

M. Daun was much superior to him in numbers: but instead of endeavouring to bring on a general action, he also fortified himself in a strong camp near Dresden.

The Swedes, this year, got the start of their allies. General Manteufel, who had orders with his invalids to drive the enemy to their strong holds, and to free the Prussian territories from

^k Four thousand men died in the Austrian camp, in 16 days, not so much by the severity of the weather, as for want of provisions and other necessaries.

A. D.
1760.

By the
King of
Prussia.

M. Daun's
caution.

Swedes
take the
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1760.

Surprize
the Pruf-
fians.

General
Manteufel
taken.

Swedes de-
feated.

Hopes of
peace re-
vived.

their incurfions, fell a victim to his own security. The Swedes, informed that there were two companies and a battalion of foot in the suburb of Anclam, in the further Pomerania, Count Ferfen, their general, formed a defign to surprize them: which he executed in the night between the 27th and 28th of January 1760. At five in the morning the Swedes attacked the troops in the suburb on the further fide of the Peene, drove them into the town, and entered with them. General Manteufel, upon the first alarm haftened immediately into the grand fquare: but on his arriving there, he was wounded in three places, dropt, and was made prifoner, though he defended himfelf with great bravery. A major, three lieutenants and 187 rank and file, fhared the fame fate; befides 13 killed on the spot¹. An advantage, that might have been of more importance to the enemies of his Pruffian Majesty, had the Swedes found their way back without interruption, or have been able to maintain their poft at Anclam. But Major General Statterheim mounting his horfe with the utmoft expedition, and taking the command of the Pruffians, whom he rallied, drove the Swedes back with the lofs of 38 men, whom he made prifoners: amongft whom there was a lieutenant.

Whether it was the want of neceffaries, or the expectations of a peace, which began to revive in

¹ Another account make 300 prifoners, 13 killed and 12 wounded.

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the spring, as appears from the several offers made to the belligerent powers of Breda, by the States-General; and of the city of Nancy by King Stanislaus, for a place to hold a congress^m; the main armies did

A. D.
1760.

^m The States General offered the town of Breda as a proper place for holding a congress. To this offer General Yorke returned an answer, importing, "That the King his master thanked their High Mightinesses for the sincere desire they express to put an end to the ravages of war, which carry defolation all over Europe; that he readily accepted of their gracious offer, and would be extremely pleased, from his high regard and invariable friendship for their High Mightinesses, that all the other powers at war would likewise accept it."—To the same offer, the French declaration was in substance as follows: "That his most Christian Majesty was highly sensible of the offer their High Mightinesses had made of the town of Breda for holding the congress: that his Majesty, to give a fresh proof of his sincere desire to increase the good harmony that subsisted between him and their High Mightinesses, accepted their gracious offer with pleasure; but as he could do nothing without the consent of his high allies, it behoved him to wait for their answer, which could not fail to be favourable, if nothing but the place for holding the congress remained to be settled."

King Stanislaus having also written a letter to the King of Great Britain, making him an offer of the city of Nancy to hold the congress in, his Britannic Majesty returned him an answer to the following effect: "I have a due sense of your Majesty's obliging offer of your city of Nancy, for holding a congress, in case the powers at war should be inclined to put a stop to the effusion of human blood. I should be extremely glad that the negociations, so much to be desired, were carried on under your Majesty's eye; but as the city of Nancy is not conveniently situated for all the powers who are interested in the great work of peace, I

A. D.
1760.

did not take the field till the year was greatly advanced. The ministers of England, France and Prussia, at the Hague, dispatched new propositions of peace to their respective courts, about the middle of March; and Leipsic and Breda were proposed for a congress. But these transactions

“ can only thank your Majesty for the obliging offer of your
“ good offices, and of the city of Nancy for the seat of the
“ the negociation.”

To the like offer made to the King of Prussia, his Majesty wrote the following :

Monseigneur mon Frere,

“ With real pleasure I have received your Majesty’s letter. Certainly I should not refuse the offer you make me of the city of Nancy, if that depended on me. All the negotiations that should be carried on there under your auspices, could not but take a favourable and happy turn; but your Majesty, perhaps, knows by this time, that every body’s sentiments are not so pacific as yours.

“ The courts of Vienna and Russia have refused, in an unprecedented manner, to come into the measures, which the King of England and myself proposed to them; and it is likely, that they will draw the King of France into the continuance of the war, the advantages of which they alone expect to reap; but, certainly they alone will be the cause of the effusion of human blood consequent on their refusal.

“ However, I shall not be the less grateful for your Majesty’s offers. If all Sovereigns were endowed with your humanity, goodness and justice, the world would not be exposed, as it is now, to desolation, ravages, massacres, and conflagrations.

“ I am, with sentiments of the highest esteem, and the most perfect and most sincere friendship,

Your Majesty’s

At Freyburg,

Good brother,

Feb. 8. 1760.

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in the political state did not prevent each party making the best use of their time in skirmishing. The Austrians made an attempt to surprize the advanced guard of the Prussian camp in Saxony, posted at Grassenhayen. This affair was committed to the care of General Beck, who made the attack on the 20th of February, and succeeded in the first onset. The Prussians were surprized and thrown into confusion; but they soon recovered themselves, rallied and repulsed the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers. The loss was almost equal, not exceeding sixty men killed and made prisoners on each side. The Prussian General Czeritz, who commanded the party attacked, fell from his horse and was made prisoner, and two field pieces were lost. Yet though this was the worst of the affair, the Austrians plumed themselves so much with it, that they published a pompous account, in which it is represented under all the circumstances of an important victoryⁿ.

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1760.
Skirmishes
with the
Austrians.

Another

ⁿ Thus related in the Brussels Gazette: "A considerable advantage, say the advices from Prague, has been gained by General Beck, over the Prussian General Czeritz, whose flying camp, of about 4000 men, formed the head of the enemy's grand camp. The former came the 20th upon the flank of General Czeritz, and attacked him with an impetuosity which nothing could withstand. The action was almost within sight of the Prussian army, and was conducted so rapidly before succours came up, that the Prussian corps was driven in disorder as far as Torgau. General Beck retreated with as much prudence as the attack had been made with courage.

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A. D.
1760.
Russians.

Another skirmish happened the very next day in Prussian Pomerania. A party of Russian cosacks, belonging to Major Settelben's corps, which had made great ravages in the east parts of this country; having, for some time, hovered about in the neighbourhood of Starguard, advanced in the night as far as Schwedt, surprized the Margrave in his palace, and the Prince and Princess of Wurtemberg, and carried them away by force. But the Prince being very ill of his wounds, he had received at Kunnerdorff, he could not be moved. The Prince of Bevern being informed of this affair, detached a body of horse in quest of

He led away 400 prisoners, with General Czeritz, and nine other officers, and all the field artillery belonging to that corps, which consisted of eight pieces. It is thought the number of the dead is equal to that of the wounded; but as the execution was chiefly made with the sabre, there are a great many more wounded. Our loss is so trifling, that it is scarcely talked of. The success of these stratagems enhances the reputation of our arms, and has a marvellous effect on all our men that are fit to carry arms.—It may serve once for all to observe, that these exaggerations are never made use of but as props to a bad cause. The superiority of numbers has been, during the whole campaign, greatly on the side of the Austrians; and the little advantages they have been able to gain by that superiority, makes it necessary for them to turn the false end of the object glass to the eyes of the people in their representations. His Prussian Majesty has, indeed, been unfortunate in the loss of his generals; but neither the terror of his arms, nor the glory he has acquired as a general, have received the least diminution by the skirmishes that have gone against him. His enemies dare not attack him in the field, and the advantages gained by stratagem do them very little credit.

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those Cossacks, with such expedition, that they came up with them near Damm, routed them, retook their booty, and carried back their prisoners in triumph.

A. D.
1760.

The attempt of General Laudohn, to surprize ^{Neustadt} the Prussian troops at Neustadt, though attended ^{surprised.} with greater loss, did not satisfy the enemy's wishes. The account of this affair is thus related.

March 25. Lieutenant-General Baron Goltze, having received intelligence of General Laudohn's assembling his troops, and of the enemy's cavalry and infantry having moved from behind the Oppa towards Hotzenplotz and Johanisthal, recalled all his detachments, and began his march towards Neiss on the 15th instant, with his whole force. In the mean time General Laudohn, who had set out from his quarters on the 14th, with Palfy's regiment of cuirassiers, Lewenstein's dragoons, 500 hussars of Nadafti, 500 of Kalnocki, 2000 Croats, and fourteen companies of grenadiers, marched all night, with a view to surprize the Prussian troops at Neustadt. The latter were scarce out of the gates, when they were surrounded by those of the enemy. General Jacquemin was posted with the regiment of Lewenstein near Bechulsdorff on the road to Steinau, General Laudohn followed, with the regiment of Palfy, and 2000 croats, supported by fourteen companies of grenadiers; 1000 of their hussars were upon the right flank of the Prussians, the advanced guard of which consisted of 100 men, under Captain Bleu-

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Bleumenthal of the regiment of Manteuffel. Captain Zitzwitz commanded the rear guard, consisting of the same number; and the rest of the aforesaid regiment, with a squadron of dragoons of Bareith, under Captain Chambaud, followed with the baggage.

General Laudohn summoned the Prussians twice, by the sound of trumpet, to lay down their arms; which they not complying with, he ordered all his cavalry to advance. General Jacquemin fell upon the advanced guard, while General Laudohn himself attacked the rear, and the hussars, in platoons, flanked the baggage. The Captains Blumenthal and Zitzwitz formed their small force in a kind of square, from whence they kept a continual fire. The Austrian cavalry nevertheless advanced six times on a gallop, to within ten paces of the Prussians; but perceiving many fall on their side, among whom were several officers, they retreated in great disorder. Afterwards the croats having taken possession of a wood, between Siebenhausen and Steinau, through which the roads were very bad, and by the rains rendered almost impassable for carriages, they there attacked the Prussians on all sides. Unfortunately a waggon broke down in a defile, and as the Prussians did not think proper to stay to repair it, they were obliged to abandon all that was behind it. By which five covered waggons, laden with baggage, and eighteen carts with meal and oats, fell into the hands of the enemy, who harrassed the Prussians,

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Prussians as far as Steinau, and were constantly engaged with the rear guard.

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The loss of the Austrians however greatly exceeded the Prussians; they buried above 300 men in different places, and sent 500 wounded to Neustadt. Besides which, the Prussians took twenty-five prisoners, among whom were several officers. They had thirty-five men killed, and four officers, and sixty-nine private men wounded, in Manteuffel's regiment; as also one lieutenant, with three dragoons, in Bareith's. The enemy made a subaltern officer, two drummers, and thirty-six private men prisoners; so that the loss of the Prussians, in the whole, including the missing, amounts to about 170 men; which was not much, considering the great superiority of the enemy.

Loss on
both sides.

And though General Laudohn so far succeeded by this accident, as to make himself master of Neustadt, he found himself in no condition ° to maintain his ground; but on the 17th, at break of day, he abandoned his acquisition, and retreated to Jagernsdorff, with fourteen companies of grenadiers, having ordered the Austrian cavalry^p to march to Freywalda.

The army of the Empire began to stir. General Luckinski, with a considerable body of troops from the Imperial army, and a train of fifteen pieces of cannon, marched in the night between

Motions
of the Im-
perialists.

° Having lost 28 officers, and 1000 men killed and dangerously wounded.

^p Lowenstein's regiment suffered greatly:

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the 16th and 17th of April, towards the village of Zeitz, and attacked two squadrons of the regiment of carabineers. He took eight officers and about 100 troopers. But being pursued by a Prussian detachment, under General Solomon, the Imperialists were obliged to quit their prisoners.

King of Prussia changes his camp, and collects his forces.

The King of Prussia resolved to take the field; collected all his troops from that chain of their cantonment, in the neighbourhood of Wildruff, extending from the forest of Tharandt, on the right of the Elbe. This was done without loss. Then he fixed his head-quarters at Schlettau, a very small village, about half a league from Meissen; and ordered the troops at Freyberg to begin their march at three o'clock in the afternoon, of the 23d of April, and to encamp at Meissen, where his Majesty encamped with his grand army, in a most advantageous situation, between the Elbe and the Multa. Where nature did not secure this camp, it was made inaccessible by deep intrenchments, fortified with 250 pieces of heavy cannon. As soon as his Prussian Majesty had got possession of this camp he detached 10,000 men, to join his brother Prince Henry, who was assembling an army near Franckfort upon the Oder, to oppose the Russians: and was in a condition to reinforce his other armies, if need required.

General Laudhon occupies

On the other side, the Austrians, though M. Daun kept in his strong camp, to watch the motions of the King, prepared in earnest for taking the field. General Laudhon was ordered to occupy the passes of Wartha and Silverberg. Which ser-

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vice he performed effectually by a feint march against Landshut, which diverted the attention of the Prussians from his real design; who otherwise would have thought those passes deserving of their defence. For by this means the Austrian General left Neiß in his rear, Glatz on his right flank, and Schweidnitz in his front, where General Fouquet was blockaded, and Sprotau, where Prince Henry had his head-quarters, about fourteen German miles from Schweidnitz. Laudhon, after gaining this advantageous situation, endeavoured to improve his scheme; and being informed that General Fouquet, at Landshut, had weakened his post by detachments under the Major-Generals Ziethen and Grant, and imagining this to be an immediate opportunity to wipe off the dishonour, he, a few days before, had suffered by a repulse with great loss, in an assault, which he had ventured to make upon Glatz, in the night between the 17th and 18th of June, formed a resolution to attack Landshut, where Major Fouquet commanded. Accordingly leaving a small number of troops before Glatz, Laudhon marched on this expedition with an army of near 50,000 men. Fouquet, it is certain, was by no means in a condition to resist such a strength; but desirous of maintaining the post at Landshut, from whence he had just dislodged the Generals Geisrugg and Jahnus, took all measures immediately for making a good defence; but having detached Major-General Ziethen, with four battalions and two squadrons, towards Frawenstein, in order to pre-

serve

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the passes
of Wartha
and Silver-
berg.

Surprizes
General
Fouquet.

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serve a communication with Schweidnitz, as well as Major-General Grant, on the other side, with some cavalry; there were but few generals left with him, and only part of his corps, of which the whole was in itself but too weak.

On the 23d, at two o'clock in the morning, General Laudohn, with all his forces, attacked all the redoubts which General Fouquet occupied near Landshut, and carried three of them, viz. those on the heights of Mummel, Beuch, and Blaffdorf, after a very vigorous defence on the part of the five battalions that guarded them. Amongst others, one of Mosel's battalions distinguished itself extremely on this occasion.

General Fouquet, having thrown himself into the two redoubts, which he had still in his possession, upon the heights of Kirchberg and Galgenberg, was twice summoned, on the part of General Laudohn, to surrender with his people; which he refused complying with: in consequence whereof he was attacked with great fury by the enemy; who by their superior force penetrated at last into the redoubts, which had been defended till six o'clock. General Fouquet fell there into the hands of the enemy, after having received two wounds: but part of his infantry, and almost all the cavalry, made their way, and got to Breslau.

Major-General Ziethen likewise, upon the approach of the enemy, threw himself into Schweidnitz, with his four battalions and two squadrons, without the loss of a single man. This affair,

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however unfortunate, did great honour to General Fouquet, for having defended his post with the utmost bravery, though he had but a handful of men, opposed to an army, which, as the enemy themselves declared, consisted of 50,000, and did not yield till after having occasioned as great a loss, as they would have suffered by a defeat in a pitched battle. The Austrians themselves allow, Loss on both sides. they had near 6000 men killed in the affair, and almost double that number wounded; which is the more credible, as Marshal Daun found himself was obliged to detach five regiments of infantry and two of cavalry from his own army towards the county of Glatz, upon the news of this action.

The loss sustained by the Prussians does not appear any otherwise, than by the accounts published at Breslau; which say, that no more than about 3000 men escaped. But even then, they sold their lives at so dear a rate, that the conquerors lost more men killed, than the conquered.

General Laudohn, without delay resumed his attempt upon Glatz; and on the 26th, at five in the morning, his batteries on the left, and under the direction of Colonel Rouvroy, began a very brisk fire; that part which was under Colonel Alson played, an hour after, on the old fortress, and the Fleche at the left of the attack, was abandoned by the enemy. Immediately M. de Bechard, major of the corps of Sappers, the grenadiers of Simbscon, and those of Preysack, took possession of it, by order of General Laudohn, who was present. Glatz besieged.

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General Draskowitz then marched a battalion to sustain M. de Bechard, who was assisted by M. de Rouvroy. All the efforts made by the enemy to regain this Fleche, add nothing to their glory. They were driven back to the covered way, and even to the outer post of the principal works. The desertion was so great on the side of the Prussians, that whole companies came over to the besiegers. In a short time the whole garrison laid down their arms. The Austrians entered the old fortress sword in hand. The new one surrendered at discretion.

Surrenders.

The whole action continued only from half an hour after six in the morning till eleven in the forenoon.

The magazine in Glatz was immense. It contained 101 brass cannon, 220 grenadoes, 11000 cartouches, a number of mortars, and other ammunition.

King of
Prussia's
march to
Dresden.

His Prussian Majesty could not possibly guard against these incidents. His attention was fixed upon Dresden, for the first object of his operations. But he could not in prudence march thither with M. Daun close at his heels. So that an expedient must be found to get clear of so troublesome a guard upon all his actions. For this purpose, his Majesty decamped and marched his army in two columns through Lusatia, in the beginning of July; which carried such an appearance of his intention to penetrate into Silesia, that, M. Daun leaving Saxony in the care of the Imperialists and a body of Austrians, under Count Lascy, he marched into Silesia with his whole army, and with the

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utmost expedition. This was the very thing the King wished for, and intended to bring about. So that as soon as his Majesty was duly informed of Daun's removal at a distance from him, he cut short his rout, and directed his march to attack the forces under General Lascy, near Lichtenberg: but they had retired at his approach. He then made the best of his way to Dresden, and encamped between that city and Pirna⁹.

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Deceives
M. Daun.

His

⁹ From the King of Prussia's head quarters at Grunau, near Dresden, July 11.

On the 2d instant, the army marched in two columns, through a very woody country, with very little interruption from the enemy, who might have rendered our march extremely difficult, perhaps impracticable, if they had had notice of the King's designs, and had placed their troops properly to intercept us. On the afternoon of the same day we passed the river Pulsnitz, on the bridge at Cracau, and encamped upon the heights near that town.

On the 4th, his Majesty, at the head of the van-guard, marched to Koningsbruck, repassed the Pulsnitz, and continued on towards Lichtenberg, with an intent to attack General Lascy's corps stationed there: but that general, having notice, from his out-posts, of his Majesty's approach, thought proper to retire.

On the 5th, the army marched, in the morning, in three columns, to Marionstern.

And, on the 6th, (advice having been received that Marshal Daun had quitted his strong camp at Reichenberg, and was marched from thence to Bautzen, and proceeding towards Gorlitz) our army was ordered to pass the river Sprehe, near Gros-Dobrau; and from thence we occupied the camp at Doberstutz, about half a German mile from Bautzen.

On the 8th, intelligence having been given of Marshal Daun's actual arrival at Gorlitz, and of his continuing his march to Lauban, (by which means the marshal had gained two marches upon the King) orders were given for striking

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Sum-
mons's
Dresden.

Gover-
nor's an-
swer.

His Majesty without loss of time prepared for an attack. He summoned the governor to surrender: but the state of the fortifications and garrison was much better conditioned than at the time the Austrians miscarried before it: and its defence was now entrusted to General Macguire, whose military experience and bravery had recommended him to that important service. The governor returned for answer, That he was resolved to defend that capital to the last extremity. The Prussian batteries began to play that same night, between

our tents at eight o'clock at night, and we repassed the Sprehe near Bautzen; and

On the 9th marched by Bischoffswerda to Harta, where the head quarters were fixed.

On the 10th his Majesty sent a strong detachment under General Zeithen to Marsdorff near Reichenberg, and marched himself with the rest of the army to Weiffig: whereupon General Lascy, who was encamped at Weisse-Hirsch, quitted that post, crossed the Elbe on the stone bridge of Dresden, and encamped on the plain between Pirna and that town. The army of the Empire, under the Duke of Deux Ponts, was encamped upon the heights behind Plauen.

On the 12th the army marched in two columns, and took possession of the strong camp at Reichenberg, where General Zeithen joined us: General Hulsen, with his corps from Meissen, appeared in the afternoon on the opposite side of the river. A bridge of boats was thrown over the Elbe at Kaditz; and the Prince of Holstein, and General Bulow, were left with a strong detachment to keep possession of the post of Weisse-Hirsch.

The army marched on the 13th to Kaditz; and his Majesty crossed the river, and ordered the army to follow as expeditiously as possible: and that day the head quarters were fixed at Grunau, behind the great garden, from whence the Austrian pandours had been dislodged; and the army encamped in two lines one towards Pirna, and the other towards Dresden.

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the 13th and 14th of July, from both sides of the Elbe. This firing continued for some days. But neither the vigour, with which his Prussian Majesty continued his operations; nor the possession of the suburbs towards the Pirna gate, which the Prussians carried after a vigorous attack; nor the moving arguments of the miserably distressed citizens, who petitioned the governor to consent to a capitulation, could prevail with General Macguire to listen to any terms of a surrender. Resolute defence. The town was not only in a better posture of defence; but he derived great expectations from the vicinity of the Imperial army, and Laschy's body, encamped near Gross Seydlitz, to which place they had removed on this occasion; and from the vigilance of Count Daun, who, he was fully satisfied would not fail to march to his relief, as soon as informed of his situation: though every sally made from the city was repulsed, and his Prussian Majesty daily gained some advantage, and was preparing to batter in breach. Count Daun did not frustrate the governors expectations. When he discovered the deception, and that he had been duped by the march of his Prussian Majesty, and was made acquainted with the danger, to which Dresden was exposed, the Austrian General wheeled about, and marched with such rapidity, that his grand army reached the seat of action, in the neighbourhood of Dresden, on the 19th day; and he found an opportunity to throw 16 battalions into the town.

It is very evident, that the proximity of those Siege raised. Prussian armies behind him presently obliged his Majesty

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Damages
done.

Majesty to resolve to raise the siege : but, he first wrecked his vengeance ; and played his heavy artillery in such a manner, as to reduce the most splendid and valuable parts and buildings of the city to ashes ; amongst which were the cathedral church and the Porcelaine manufactory, without affecting either the fortifications or the Austrian garrison.

Resolves to
support
Silesia.

Having withdrawn his troops and artillery from before Dresden, the Prussian Monarch practised every art, to bring Count Daun to a battle : which that cautious general as judiciously avoided : and a dilatory suspension of action in his present situation plunged him deeper into danger. This determined the King's resolution to march into Silesia, where his affairs bore a most ruinous prospect. For if the Russians, who were in full march to join the Austrians under General Laudohn, should effect their design, it would not be possible for his brother Henry to maintain his ground ; and not only Schweidnitz and Neifs, but the whole county of Silesia, the chief object of the war between him and the Empress Queen, must be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. Of which there was the greatest probability, unless Prince Henry could be timely supported with a sufficient force to prevent the junction of the Austrians and Russians. For, Laudohn, encouraged by his success at Landshut and Glatz, already mentioned, had undertaken the siege of Breslau, and made such other dispositions, as discovered his intentions against Schweidnitz and Neifs : Prince Henry being at so great a distance from Breslau, as to be supposed unable to march

General
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to its relief. The Austrians arrived before this capital on the 30th of July; and on the first of August, the Prussian commandant having answered his summons with a resolution to defend the city to the last extremity, General Laudohn, without waiting for his heavy artillery, began a most severe bombardment, which destroyed the finest streets and buildings in the city; amongst which was the King of Prussia's palace.

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Bombard-
ed.

Prince Henry, who had his camp at Gleissen, watching the motions of Marshal Soltikoff, at the head of a numerous army of Russians, marching with an appearance of joining the army under General Laudohn, fully convinced of the necessity to prevent their junction, and that this service could not be expected from the army under his Prussian Majesty, employed in Saxony, resolved to march to Glogau, and began his march on the 27th of July. Here he received the first advice

Motions of
Prince
Henry.

Raises the
siege of
Breslau.

Extract of a journal of what passed in the army of his Royal Highness Prince Henry, from the 27th of July.

On the repeated accounts, received from all quarters, that the Russians were to march to Breslau, Prince Henry resolved to go and meet them, and prevent their executing that design. For this purpose his Royal Highness marched, in the afternoon of the 27th of July, from Gleissen to Strapel, and, on the 28th, assembled his whole army at Rietschutz. He marched the 29th to Pudligar, where he was obliged to halt the army the 30th, on account of the want of forage in this country, that is totally exhausted. On the 31st we went to Linden, near Slawe, where, having learnt that it was only Tottleben's corps that had advanced and passed through the plains of Polnisch-Lissa, and that the grand army of the Russians had marched through Kosten and Gustin, which made it impossible for us to follow them, the Prince resolved to march to Glogau.

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of the siege of Breslau; and though he had taken this post to oppose the Russians in their march, the Prussian General instantly determined to make forced marches, for its relief; and not without hopes of seizing an opportunity to defeat and disperse Laudohn's army. The execution of this resolution was as rapid, as the measure was prudent. On the 3d of August his Royal Highness arrived at Parchwitz, a post occupied by 2000 Austrians, who retired by Leubus, on the other side of the Oder, and burnt the bridge at Prince Henry's approach. General Caramelli, having repassed the Oder near Breslau, to rejoin General Laudohn near Canth, fell into the hands of General Werner, who, on this occasion, destroyed the regiment of dragoons of the archduke Joseph, cut to pieces a considerable part of it, and took seven officers and 370 men prisoners. They that escaped gave the alarm to Laudohn, who immediately raised the siege of Breslau, and retreated with great precipitation to Canth. On the 5th the Prussians arrived at Lissa, and next day crossed the Elbe at Breslau, having marched twenty-five German miles in five days.

Laudohn's
loss,

General Laudohn could not retreat with that safety, as to prevent any loss. Prince Henry detached several parties to harass his army, and they brought in several hundreds of Austrians, with a major-general, prisoners. Neither could any thing but the expedition used by the Prince in this march have saved Breslau; and, with it, all Silesia must have fallen a prey to the enemy.

* A camp strongly fortified, and designed for the Russians.

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For, the Russians, on the sixth, had advanced within five miles of this capital; but were obliged to retreat, by the wise and vigorous conduct of Prince Henry; who, by occupying the heights, and his admirable motions, as you will find below, defeated not only the Austrians but the Russian attempt upon Breslau; and with an army greatly inferior in numbers, prevented the junction of Soltikoff and Laudohn; and obliged the latter to retreat towards Schweidnitz. On the 6th, Prince Henry passed the Oder, with a body of troops, at Breslau, and put this detachment under the command of General Plathen, who was obliged to post himself behind the Old Oder, in order to cover the town. The prince received advice, by a detachment, which had been sent to Hunsfeld, that the Russians were strong there. All accounts, however, mentioned, that the army of the enemy was still five miles distant from Breslau. This made his Royal Highness think, that it was only General Tottleben's corps; and he gave orders to Colonel Thadden to occupy, that afternoon, the height of Freywald, from whence the enemy might, by posting themselves there, possess themselves of another height, at a small distance, from whence they might easily bombard Breslau. Colonel Thadden carried the height of Freywald, and there discovered the whole Russian army encamped behind Hunsfeld. The colonel raised a redoubt on the height, which, though occupied only by one battalion, kept in awe the whole army of the enemy. The Russians threw royal grenades

A. D.
1760.Prussians
advanced
to the
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Breslau.

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nades at it, all the afternoon of the 7th, without any effect.

General Laudohn being still encamped at Canth, Prince Henry's army remained likewise between Grubichen and Mochbern, in order to cover Breslau from his attempts upon it. The Russian army decamped from Hunsfeld on the 9th, and marched towards Schebitz and Kuntzendorff. General Platen, and Colonel Thadden, harrassed the enemy's rear guard; and in order to support the corps under them, his Royal Highness directed bridges to be thrown at Oswitz, and sent some battalions likewise under General Goltz, for the same purpose.

General Platen's corps encamped at Prottsch. As the King was then upon his march, Prince Henry thought, that by remaining with his army on the left side of the Oder, he might keep the Austrians in some awe; but perceiving, by several motions which the Russians made, that General Platen's camp would by that means be exposed, his Royal Highness took the resolution of passing the river, and encamping at Hunern; which was accordingly done on the 12th. The enemy probably thought that he meant to attack them, which occasioned their setting fire to four villages, through which they thought the Prince's army would advance; and the Cossacks, supported by some infantry and artillery, attacked several times his advanced troops, but without effect.

Arrival of
the King's
army.

In this crisis, where there seemed nothing wanting but courage and conduct in the enemies of

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Prussia, to crush the Prussian power in Silesia; and which perhaps might have been collected, after some time for consultation; the King of Prussia, with an amazing rapidity, in defiance of all obstructions, which he had reason to expect in his march through Lusatia, in the hands of the enemy; passing between two armies, one commanded by General Reid, the other by General Lascey, and with a third army under General Beck in his front, and with the grand Austrian army in his rear, continually sending out parties to distress him; marched 200 miles in five days, and arrived without loss at Bautzlau on the 7th of August; though he was encumbered with 2000 waggons and upwards, and passed the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiß, the Queiß and the Bober. A piece of generalship that cannot be too much admired, especially as M. Daun, with a superior army, had no other business but to watch the King of Prussia's motions, and to prevent his penetrating into Silesia.

Surprising
march.

The King halted till the 9th, to rest his troops; and marched to Hohendorff, where he encamped; where his Majesty found that M. Laudohn had occupied the heights of Prausnitz before his arrival, and that the march of the enemy was covered by General Beck, from his post at Wolffsberg. On the 10th the King took possession of the camp of Lignitz, and the Austrian armies, which had followed him, occupied all the ground between Partchwitz and Cossendau. M. Daun forming the center with his army, and occupying the heights of Wahlstadt, and Hochkirk; M. Laudohn, covering the ground between Jeschendorff

Encamps
at Lignitz.Situation
of the
Austrians.

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kendorff and Coschitz. General Wanhendorff possessing the heights of Parchwitz: and General Beck, who formed the left, extending his troops beyond Cossendau. This advantageous position of the enemy prevented the King's passing the Katzbach and the Scartwasser, as intended: so that his army marched in the night of the 11th to turn the enemy, and to reach Jauer. At break of day the columns were all ready near the village of Hohendorff, from whence a new camp at Praunfritz was discovered; and advice was received by some prisoners, that it was M. de Lafcy's corps, which was just arrived from Lauban. The army immediately passed the Katzbach to attack him. M. de Lafcy made his dispositions with so much skill, and knew so well how to avail himself of the advantages that the ground gave him, that he retreated to Marshal Daun, without the Prussians being able to attack him with any prospect of success. He filed off by the low grounds, and posted himself upon the heights of Hennersdorff, which covered Jauer, before the King's army, which was stopt by the defiles, could get thither. Both armies encamped; the King's at Schichau, and that of the enemy's at Hermsdorff and Schlaup. The next day attempts were made again for turning the enemy, on the side of the mountains, by passing at Pomsen and Jagerdorff. The roads might have been practicable for the army; but they being so steep, the ammunition waggons could not be brought on; and therefore the attempt was laid aside. On the 13th the Prussians

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fians went back to their camp at Lignitz, and Marshal Daun, with the Generals Laudohn, Lascy and Beck, came to occupy his former position behind the Katzbach. There the King heard that the Ruffians had laid a bridge at Auras, and that Count Czernichew was to pass it that same day, with 24,000 men. It was suspected besides, that the enemy had some design upon him. Troops, which have for a long time been opposed to each other, can reciprocally guess at each other's designs; the method, used by the enemy's generals, grows familiar; and the least motion they make, discloses their designs.

So that his Prussian Majesty was presently convinced of the danger he was exposed unto, should he wait in his camp for the approach of the enemy. He foresaw, that it was concerted by the Austrian general to attack him in three places at once: that General Lascy was to advance on his right: M. Daun to attack him in front: and General Laudohn to fall upon his left; and at the same time to possess himself of the heights of Plaffendorf. These were the motives for the march, which the King made on the 14th, to put his army in order of battle on the aforesaid heights; which changed the scene of operations, and much disconcerted the dispositions, the enemy had made from the nature of the ground. Scarce had the Prussians taken this new position, when they were informed, about two o'clock in the morning, that M. de Laudohn was in full march, and that his columns were advanced by Bennowitz: whereupon

King of
Prussia's
critical
situation.

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the Prussian army separated into two bodies; their right remained upon the ground where it had been formed, to observe Marshal Daun, and to prevent him from advancing from Schwartzwasser, and through Lignitz; and sixteen battalions and thirty squadrons turned about, in order to fall upon the corps under Laudohn.

The Austrian's plan for a battle.

The Austrian plan was to advance by those heights, where the Prussian army was now drawn up in order of battle, and where it was expected to meet only with some weak detachments, that might be surrounded or easily driven off. Under this presumption the Austrian advanced parties, about three o'clock in the morning of the 15th of August, attacked those of the Prussians, who gave way. This confirmed the opinion entertained of their weakness on the heights, and encouraged Laudohn to accelerate the movement of his main body, to push his success; not expecting any opposition in the attempt to make himself master of that important post. But, as the daylight came on, the Austrian general was soon convinced of his mistake, and with great surprize saw the whole Prussian army drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to receive him in most excellent order. Nevertheless he was now so far engaged, that there could be no hopes of avoiding a battle. He could not retreat, and as it becomes a brave general in such a situation, he despised danger, and resolved to stand his ground, and to leave the issue to the valour of his troops and to fortune. He had just time to form, when

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the Prussians began the attack with such vigour, and so well conducted, that, notwithstanding the Austrians did all in their power, they were forced to give way, and were driven back as far almost as Katzbach, maintaining a running fight, all the way; which occasioned a prodigious slaughter. His Prussian Majesty, expecting that M. Daun would endeavour to advance with his army from Lignitz, to attack his right, which was not in a condition to maintain their ground without further assistance, should he succeed in the attempt, did not think it adviseable, any more, to tempt fortune by pushing Laudhon's army more vigorously; and kept a situation, from whence his victorious troops might be able to succour his right in case of need. But, though M. Daun did make the attempt several times, the disadvantage of the ground, and the fire of the Prussian battalions, to which his columns were exposed, defeated all his skill and vigour.

The battle thus fought lasted but two hours: and his Prussian Majesty gained a complete victory; which may be attributed chiefly to his great abilities, more than to the strength of his army; and may be said to retrieve his affairs in Silesia, with a very inconsiderable loss on the part of the victorious Prussians¹. For, if he could not oblige

¹ The number of Prussian officers killed and wounded in the said action, was, of the infantry eight, of the cavalry four, total twelve killed; of the infantry fifty-five, of the cavalry nineteen, total seventy-four wounded.

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1760.

lige the confederate Austrians and Russians to evacuate that province, he prevented the much laboured junction of Prince Soltikoff and General Laudohn, and frustrated their designs upon Breslau and Schweidnitz^u.

In

We shall add the Austrian account of their loss in this battle, as it was published by authority at Vienna, which was as follows :

“ Infantry : killed 1322, wounded 2022, prisoners 112, missing 2033. Cavalry : killed, 52 men, and 141 horses ; wounded 258 men, and 179 horses ; missing, 100 men, and 72 horses. Artillery : killed, 40 men, and 30 horses ; wounded, 90 men, and 54 horses ; missing, seven men. Total of our loss, 6043 men, and 476 horses. We also lost, on this occasion, 68 pieces of cannon, namely 45 three-pounders, 13 six-pounders, and 10 twelve-pounders.”

^u *A letter, said to be written by the King of Prussia to the Marquis d'Argens, from his Majesty's head-quarters at Hamdorff, near Breslau, August 27, 1760, was intercepted by the Russians ; and the following is the translation of it.*

“ At any other time, my dear Marquis, the affair of the 15th would have decided the campaign : at present that action is no more than a scratch. A general engagement must determine our fate. It will soon happen, according to appearances ; and then we may enjoy ourselves, if the issue of it be favourable. Mean while, I thank you for the sincere part you take in the late advantage gained. Many wiles, and much address, were required to bring on that action. Don't mention dangers ; the late affair cost me only a coat and a horse. This was buying victory cheap.

I never received the other letter you speak of. We are in a manner blocked up, as to our correspondence, by the Russians on one side of the Oder, and by the Austrians on the other. A small combat was necessary to clear the way for the stage-coach, which I hope hath delivered you my letter.

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In this action the enemy lost upwards of 10,000 men: two of their generals, 80 officers, and more

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I never was in such an ugly situation as I am in this campaign. Believe me, nothing but a miracle can enable us to surmount all the difficulties which I foresee. I shall certainly do my duty in the action. But, my dear Marquis, always remember that I do not despair of fortune, and that in my plans I am obliged to leave too much to chance, for want of means to form more solid projects. I have the labours of a Hercules to undergo, at an age when my strength leaves me when my infirmities increase, and when, to tell you the truth, hope, the sole consolation of the wretched, begins to fail me.

You are not sufficiently acquainted with affairs, to form a clear idea of all the dangers that threaten the state. I know them, and conceal them. I keep all my fears to myself, and communicate to the public only my hopes, and the few pieces of good news I can tell them. If the blow I propose to give should succeed, it will then be soon enough, my dear Marquis, to manifest our joy. Till then do not let us flatter ourselves, lest a piece of bad news should sink our spirits too much. I lead here the life of a military monk. I have many things to think of. The rest of my time I devote to letters, which are my consolation, as they were that of the antient consuls, dictators, &c. I don't know whether I shall survive this war; but, if I should, I am fully resolved to pass the rest of my days in retirement, in the bosom of philosophy and friendship.

As soon as the correspondence is more free, you will do me a pleasure by writing oftener. I know not where we shall have our quarters this winter. My house at Breslau was destroyed in the late bombardment. Our enemies envy us even day-light and free air: they must, however, leave us some place; and, if it be safe, I shall rejoice to see you.

Pray, Marquis, what will become of the peace between France and England? You see that your nation is blinder than you imagined. *Those fools lost Canada and Pondicherry to please*

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1760.

more than 5000 men prisoners. Eighty-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three pair of colours were taken from them. The enemy lost about 2000 men upon the spot, without reckoning the wounded; but their loss by desertion was equal to that in the field. The King marched, immediately after the action, to Parchwitz, where he passed the defile, that had been so well disputed; and Marshal Daun, the same time detached Prince Lowenstein with the reserve, and M. de Beck, to join Count Zernichew. The King began his march on the 16th for Neumarck. The Russians repassed the Oder at Auras, and Prince Lowenstein retired on the side of Jaur.

General
Hulsen's
escape and
brave con-
duct at
Sreghla.

This advantage was followed by the escape of General Hulsen's army, from the toils laid for him by the combined army of Imperialists and

the Queen of Hungary and the Czarina. Heaven grant that Prince Ferdinand may pay them well for their zeal! The innocent officers, and the poor soldiers, are the chief sufferers by these things: the persons who alone are culpable feel nothing of them.—These are matters that happened to occur to me. I am in the train of writing; but I see I must make an end, that I may not tire you, or neglect my own business. Adieu, dear Marquis,

Yours sincerely, &c."

* The number of Austrian generals, and other officers, taken prisoners in the battle of the 15th, near Lignitz, is as follows: two major-generals, three colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, nineteen captains, eighteen first lieutenants, twenty second lieutenants, eighteen ensigns and adjutants, one lieutenant quarter-master, one fourier to the staff; total eighty-six.

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Austrians; after the King's departure for Saxony with the grand army. The design was to cut off his communication with Torgau. This obliged him to quit his camp at Meissen on the 17th, and to march to Strehla; which he effected without any loss. The enemy divided themselves into two bodies; and on the 20th, at day-break, appeared on the right flank of General Hulsen. One of them attacked an advanced post of four battalions of grenadiers, on a height about the distance of a cannon-shot from the Russian camp. This attack continued, with the greatest fury, till six in the morning. The other was so disposed as to over-awe, and prevent the main body of Hulsen's army taking any measures for the relief of that post. However, these battalions maintained their ground with great courage and obstinacy, against a great superiority of numbers: and repulsed the enemy at every onset: but, as their fate might be hazardous, General Hulsen ordered his cavalry to wheel round a rising ground, and to charge the enemy in flank. By this piece of generalship, and by the vigour, with which it was executed, the enemy's horse and battalions were driven into great confusion, a considerable number of them were slain, and forty-one officers* and 1214 men were made prisoners^y. The action ended by seven in the morning, with the loss of

* Amongst whom was a Prince of Nassau Usingen.

^y And one piece of cannon, two pair of colours and two standards.

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no more than nine officers, and 500 private men, on the part of the Prussians.

But as the enemy were advancing their whole force to the above-mentioned post, which the Prussians could not maintain, without being cut off from the Elbe, General Hulsen withdrew the four battalions, and placed them on the right flank of his main body, which, during the whole time, had remained in the same position. The news of the Duke of Wirtemberg's approach, had already determined General Hulsen to take possession of the camp at Torgau. Accordingly the main body of the army marched, at one in the afternoon, in sight of the enemy, and arrived safe there, without losing one man; the enemy not daring to make any attempt on them. Thus, by the skilful dispositions made by General Hulsen, the cavalry alone, with a few battalions, not only repulsed the whole force of an enemy, so much superior in number, but gave them a severe blow.

Remarks.

We have here displayed the triumphant arms of his Prussian Majesty. But these advantages were not so definitive, as to deprive his enemies of either the means or opportunity to continue the war, to keep the field, and to penetrate into the very heart of his dominions. It is true the Russians were prevented from joining the Austrians, as intended in the confederate plan of operations; and M. Daun, after the battle of Lignitz, was driven to seek a place of safety amongst the mountains of Silesia. But the Russians in Pomerania, animated with the arrival of their fleet off Colberg, to assist them
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in the reduction of that sea-port, laid siege to that town in the beginning of September. The town was blocked up by sea, and a vast army sat down before it by land. However, this attempt proved no more successful than their former on Colberg. General Werner was detached with 6000 men from the Prussian camp, under the command of General Goltze, near Glogau, to raise the siege or to relieve the garrison. These troops set off for their march on the 7th of September, and on the 18th arrived before the place of their destination; having marched 250 miles in eleven days: which struck the Russians with such a panic, who thought themselves entirely out of the reach of any part of the Prussian forces, that they not only raised the siege, but retreated in so great a hurry, that they abandoned their tents, cannon, ammunition, forage, baggage and even their provisions to the Prussians, whom their fears had magnified to an infinite many more, than they really were, or could be spared for that service.

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Colberg
besieged.

Siege
raised.

The confined situation of M. Daun's army, occasioned by the masterly movements of his Prussian Majesty, strengthened by the junction with his brother Henry and a part of his army, who had left the other part under General Goltze, encamped near Glogau, to watch the Russians in that quarter; stopped the operations of the confederate Austrians and Russians so effectually; that, to deliver him from thence, the Russians were prevailed upon to march into Brandenburg.

Bad situa-
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sians, &c.
into Bran-
denburg.

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An account of
their barbarities.

Of which march, its motives, and barbarous irregularities we have an authentic narrative from the court of Berlin. This account is introduced with a supposition, That the Russians had resolved by their excesses this year, in the territories of his Prussian Majesty, to surpass the enormous cruelties, to which his dominions had been a prey last year: and that after four unsuccessful campaigns, his enemies thought they should more easily obtain their ends by means, equally shocking to humanity, and inconsistent with the practice of civilized nations, than by endeavouring to terminate the war by arms and the superiority of their forces.

In this light all the operations of the enemy, during this campaign, and in particular, this famous expedition into Brandenburg, with a resolution to penetrate up to Berlin, present themselves to every impartial reader. Review the mighty armies of Austrians and Russians we have followed this year into Silesia. They overran that fine country not like enemies, come to fight in a good cause, or even to get a forcible possession of the fortresses by regular sieges; but to carry fire and sword into a province, which they are pleased at Vienna to consider as part of the incontestable dominions of the House of Austria. Towns exhausted by most heavy contributions, were plundered and sacked, as in the particular case of Landshut, contrary to all the laws of war: and the military licentiousness exercised against Breslau and other fortresses in Silesia, which they were conscious could not be taken without
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artillery, of which they were in want, creates a belief that they bombarded them for their pleasure, and took a delight in beholding numbers of houses and stately edifices consuming in the midst of flames.

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1760.

An abominable practice, that would soon have totally ruined Silesia, had not Providence put a stop to it, by the battle of Lignitz; which disconcerted their plan for the rest of the campaign: at a time when, to all human appearance, the Prussian Monarch was ready to be swallowed up by three armies, each of them superior to his in numbers: and his enemies had made themselves so sure of his ruin, that they had fixed the day to determine his fate. But on that day the battle was not given to the strong. Victory not only decided in favour of the Prussian hero; but reduced those grand armies, he had defeated, or frightened, to consult in the best manner for their own safety. The Russians retired towards the frontiers of Poland, as usual, setting fire to every place where they had received any loss, or apprehended any attack. The Austrian armies shut themselves up in the hills of Silesia, and opposed those natural barricades to the efforts, which his Majesty made to come to blows with them. There they waited for the issue of the diversion, which the policy of their court was to procure, to be made. Marshal Soltikoff remained the whole month of September, without daring to make the least motion, in presence of the small corps under General Goltze; the operations of his troops being confined to the desolating

Remarks.

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1760.

those parts of lower Silesia, that were in his power. But, as this proceeding could not deliver the Austrian army from its confined position, which in the end might prove fatal to it, the court of Vienna again had recourse to those methods, which it employed, with so much success, to extricate itself from a dilemma, and prevailed with the Russians to invade the Marche of Brandenburg.

Berlin
bombard-
ed.

For this end, the Generals Czernichef and Tottleben were detached with upwards of 20,000 men, and General Lascy was sent against Berlin with 14,000 from the Austrian army. The whole Russian army followed at a small distance, to sustain this grand enterprize. But each party wanting to get before the other, General Tottleben, without waiting for the arrival of the large corps of troops, appeared on the 3d of October before Berlin, with 2000 light troops and some foot. He immediately summoned it, and upon its refusing to surrender, he threw into the town some hundreds of royal grenades, bombs, and red hot balls, in hopes of obtaining by fire and by terror, what he could not promise himself from his forces. The three assaults made on Halle gate, were repelled; and the flames, which had broke out in five different parts, were happily extinguished.

Defended.

The prudent measures taken by the Prussian generals, who were at Berlin, at last obliged the Russian general to retire without effecting his purpose. Mean while, Prince Eugene of Wurtemburgh, and Lieutenant-General Hulsen, had come to the assistance of the capital, and for some time put a stop

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stop to the enemy's enterprizes: they would probably have obliged them wholly to drop their design, had not Count Czernichef, on one side, and General Laschy, on the other, come up with their troops. At the same time the grand Russian army arrived at Francfort on the Oder, and General Panin, with seven regiments, was detached towards Berlin, to sustain General Czernichef; and he could be followed every day by fresh detachments.

The two Prussian generals above-mentioned, seeing the great superiority of the enemy, would not expose the city to the precarious issue of a battle, and resolved to give it time to capitulate, in order to prevent the calamities to which it might be exposed: accordingly they withdrew on the 6th, before day-break, to Spandow, and the governor and the magistrates made separate capitulations with General Tottleben. It was agreed that the town should be delivered up to the Russians; that the garrison, consisting of two battalions of Itzenplitz's regiment, and one battalion of Ludenitz's militia, should be prisoners of war; and that, on paying a contribution 1,500,000 crowns, and 200,000, as a gratuity to the troops, for which the town was obliged to become bound, it should enjoy full liberty, protection, and safety, while the enemy staid in it. The prisoners, who, at the most, amounted to 1200 men, and no more, were carried off; and the cadets, who could not be comprehended in the capitulation, which mentions only generals, officers, subalterns and soldiers,

Capitu-
lates.

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1760.

diers, were carried away with the rest on foot. Though scarce above ten or twelve years old, their tender age could not secure them from this hard usage, which put an end to many of their lives.

Capitulation broke.

This capitulation was no better observed than that made in the year 1757, with General Haddick ^y. For both Russians and Austrians immediately broke it. By the third article of the two capitulations for the garrison, and the town, it was settled, “ that no soldier should be quartered “ in the city or suburbs ; that the light troops “ should not be permitted even to enter the place, “ and that both the royal palaces and private “ houses should be entirely safe, and not be exposed to pillage :” nevertheless, several Austrian regiments took up their quarters in the town, as hath just been mentioned. They even lived at discretion ; and, not content with eating and drinking at the expence of their landlords, they compelled them to give them money, goods, and whatever they asked. There were few inhabitants of Berlin, whom these guests did not cost hun-

^y By virtue of the capitulation concluded with General Haddick in 1757, the city of Berlin was to be no more molested or burdened by the Austrians during the whole course of this war ; nevertheless, some Austrian regiments took up their quarters by force, and against the will of the Russians, at Frederickstadt, and in the New Town, where, by this act of violence, and the excesses of every kind which they were guilty of, they gave fresh proofs how little they regard their own engagements.

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dreds or thousands of crowns. The town was, in a manner, over-run with coffacks, hussars, and other light troops, who robbed both in the streets and in the houses, and wherever they came. Nor were the regular troops wholly free from this reproach: the Austrians, in particular, distinguished themselves in these exploits. On a careful enquiry, it has been found, that 282 private houses were broke and plundered, and the inhabitants compelled, by the most barbarous acts of violence, to part with money, watches, and whatever the soldiers had a mind to. A very great number of persons were beat, cut with swords, and abused in a cruel manner. A woman named Schack was found dead on the quay of Collen with her body disfigured by wounds. People scarce dared to appear in the streets for fear of being robbed; and most of those, whose business obliged them to be abroad in the evening, or at night, were stripped of every thing. The King's stables, which by the capitulation were not to be touched, were a principal object of the enemy's ravage, though the Russian commander had placed there a safeguard of 24 men. All his Majesty's coaches, which could not, surely, be reckoned implements of war, were broke to pieces, after being stripped of the velvet, embroidery and lace; and the apartments of M. Schwerin, one of the King's equeries, which are over the stables, were plundered. The hospital for invalids, and the hospital called la Charité, those retreats of the unhappy, the infirm, and the indi-

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1760.

gent, which, one would imagine, the most cruel enemy would have respected, were not spared, but pillaged, and exposed to other excesses of different kinds. In the church of Jerusalem, the Austrians robbed the vestry and the poor's box, and opened some graves to strip the dead. It must be acknowledged, that General Tottleben, and Brigadier Bachmen, who was appointed vice-governor, endeavoured to maintain order and discipline in the city, and that they even put a stop to some excesses committed by the troops: but most of the disorders were suffered to pass unpunished; and, by the excesses committed in breach of the capitulation, the city sustained the loss of some hundred thousand crowns, over and above the enormous contributions exacted from it.

Nevertheless, what happened at Berlin, was nothing compared to what was done in the small towns and the flat country, the whole, from the gates of Berlin to the distance of several miles, being laid totally desolate. In particular, the Austrian, Russian, and Saxon troops joined, to leave the most detestable marks of their rage and inhumanity at the castle of Charlottenbourg. Esterhasi's Austrian hussars, and the Saxon Uhlans, distinguished themselves in this exploit, and their officers looked on unconcerned. Whole squadrons entered the castle on the 9th of October, and plundered it for four days successively, without receiving the least check from either general or officer. All the tapeltry was torn down; looking-glasses, pictures, tables, chairs, china, in short, all

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all that was of any value, was broke or spoilt, except a large quantity of effects, which some greedy officers took for themselves, and sent away in covered waggons. Even the King's chapel, that sacred place, which the most savage nations would have respected, was ravaged, and profaned by their nastiness, and the organs broke. In the apartments of the castle, the pictures of the royal family were spoilt and disfigured, and several statues of the celebrated cabinet of Cardinal Polignac, valuable monuments of antiquity, were mutilated or damaged. In short, such havock was made at this country seat, that scarce any thing more than the walls could properly be said to be left. Nevertheless, the plunder got here did not satisfy the enemy's greediness, nor secure the inhabitants of the town from being plundered, tho' they had ransomed themselves by the payment of 15,000 crowns in ready money. Every thing was taken from them; and what could not be carried away was broke or destroyed. Several inhabitants were horfewipped, and cut with sabres; of which two died. Even the women, without distinction of age, were exposed to the rage of the enemy, and made the victims of their brutality.

Schoenhausen, the Queen's country-house, shared much the same fate. A Russian subaltern arrived there on the 8th of October, with eight hussars, and demanded, with grievous threats, her Majesty's plate. In vain he was told, that it had been carried, long before, to a place of safety: they searched the castle, and, not finding what they

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they wanted, pulled down and tore the tapiftry and the curtains, and, taking what they liked, went to the house of the keeper of the castle, stripped him and his wife, beat him with rods and whips, and even pinched them with red hot pincers in a cruel manner. The General Czernichef and Tottleben, being informed of these cruelties, promised, indeed, to put a stop to them; but, instead thereof, the castle was totally desolated between the 9th and 12th. All the tapiftry and curtains, left after the former visit, were torn, and the chairs, pictures, and china, broke to pieces. In short, Schoenhaufen was made a defart; nor did the offices belonging to it, or the village of Pankow, which adjoins to it, fare better. A servant belonging to the castle was laid on the fire in his own apartment, and the minister's footman hacked to death with sabres. The women were dishonoured in the most barbarous manner; all the cattle were driven away, and every house and barn emptied.

The palace of the Margrave Charles at Friedrichfelde received the same treatment from the Ruffians; and most of the provincial towns met with no more favour. Francfort, in particular, was most grievously harrassed many ways; though the enemy's generals had given the magistrates assurances in writing, that they had no farther exactions to fear. Lieutenant-Colonel Roschewsky lighted a large fire in the great square, with which he threatned to set the city in flames. A burgo-master was whipped in a cruel manner, and all the

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the magistrates threatened with the same treatment. By these violent measures they extorted great quantities of cloth, linen, and forage, and a contribution of 50,000 crowns, besides what was given under the title of extraordinaries: which, however, did not prevent many acts of cruelty and robbery from being committed in that town; where the damage amounts to above 200,000 crowns.

The fate of Copenick, Furstenwald, Beskow, Alt-Lansberg, Strausberg, Orangeberg, Lubenwalde, and, in general, of all the towns in the Marche, where the enemy came, was equally hard. They were forced to pay contributions, and to furnish things, much above their abilities, and, after all, were exposed to pillage and shocking acts of cruelty. But nothing can come up to the dreadful sight, which the flat country presented from Berlin to the frontiers of Poland, Silesia, and Saxony, wherever the enemy have been. The villages were entirely plundered, and the country people left destitute both of corn and cattle. Their beds, their furniture, and, in short, all they had, was carried off. The corn, which the enemy could not use, or carry off, they scattered about, and threw into the dirt. All the cattle, cows as well as horses, oxen and sheep, were taken: above 100,000 head passed through Francfort. Some villages were set on fire, particularly Sconeberg and Grossen-Beer. In short, wherever they came, they beat and abused the inhabitants in the most cruel manner, and barbarously

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rously dishonoured the women, without distinction of age or condition, in presence of their parents and husbands. In fine, to fill up the measure of their deeds of inhumanity and horror, they laid aside all regard to the sepulchres of the dead, which have always been held in a kind of veneration by the most barbarous nations. The troops under General Laschy, in their return thro' Wilmersdorff, an estate belonging to the Schwerin family, broke open the burying vault, opened the coffin of the master of the horse to the King, who had been dead twelve years, and those of his lady and children, stript the bodies, and threw them on the ground. These barbarities, of which the history of the least civilized nations furnishes few examples, will be handed down to the most distant posterity, and perpetuate the shame of Prussia's enemies.

It is confessed that it may be retorted upon his Prussian Majesty, that his arms are not free entirely from an accusation of licentiousness and excess; particularly the complaints exhibited against him for the behaviour of his army at Dresden, and sometimes of his own conduct. But the reader may see his apology in the note ^z at bottom for

^z What is said above, is only a brief summary, and as it were the outlines of the scene of devastation, which the King's enemies made in the Marche in their last invasion. A detail of particulars would fill volumes. But no fact has been mentioned, but what any one may be convinced of by the testimony of their own senses. We have not taken the liberty to make ill-grounded and exaggerated complaints, such as are

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for those excesses, and is left to judge thereby, how much less culpable the Prussian arms are, than
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those of a court, which employs venal pens to excite false compassion, by magnifying the evils it hath brought on itself through its own fault. It is well known how it filled Europe with its clamours, when its capital, defended by its allies, as if it had been a regular fortress, sustained, more through their fault, than that of the besiegers, the natural consequences of a siege; while it appears quite insensible at the fate of the city of Wittemberg, which those very allies reduced to ashes without any necessity, and almost without having fired against the ramparts. It forgets probably, or wants to make the public forget, that its allies made no scruple to bombard likewise without necessity, and for the most part without success, Zittau, Schweidnitz, Custrin, Colberg, Breslau, Berlin, and Cosel: and that in this manner they reduced a part of those towns to ashes, and greatly damaged the rest. That court would at present have great reason to make the most serious reflections on the obligation it lies under to its troops and those of its allies, for the conduct they have held, if the King were disposed to follow bad examples, and to retaliate on the subjects of Saxony the calamities, which his subjects have been so unjustly made to suffer. But his Majesty's manner of thinking will always prevent his recurring to such rigorous methods, till he be forced to it by indispensable necessity. He detests this illicit manner of making war the more, as it contributes so little to the end, for which war is waged.

Unable hitherto to crush the King, the magnanimous defender of the German liberties, it again hath recourse to those methods which the Ferdinands [of Austria] employed in the last century, to reduce the whole Empire under their despotic yoke. By its conduct in our days, it renews the sad remembrance of that long and bloody war which Germany then groaned under, for the space of thirty years. Let all Europe consider at present what it hath to expect from such an enemy. Let it judge, whether the House of Austria, in case it could

A. D. 1760. than those of his enemies in acts of cruelty and licentiousness.

King of Prussia obliged to march into Brandenburg.

Is followed by M. Daun.

The Russians retire.

The march of the Prussians into Brandenburg with 80,000 men, had the desired effect. His Prussian Majesty could not remain inactive and give up his electorate to be plundered, pillaged, ravaged, ruined and conquered, by an enemy, that rejected the proposals of peace, and fought nothing but destruction wherever they came. His presence was necessary in Brandenburg. His Majesty accordingly called in his detachments, which lock'd up M. Daun in the mountains, marched, and arrived at Dam on the 20th of October. M. Daun released from his confinement, marched immediately after his Prussian Majesty, with this caution, to keep without the distance that might force him to a battle. But though the Russian generals found it very easy to slip, as it were, into Brandenburg, with an army of 80,000 men, and to make themselves masters of an open city, defended only by a handful of men; that mighty army no sooner were informed of his Prussian Majesty's approach for the relief of his oppressed subjects, but they fled with great precipitation; some towards Poland, others into Saxony. So that if the King could not arrive time enough to prevent the miseries above de-

accomplish the depression of that of Brandenburg, would not extend its ambitious views farther; and, to gain its end, seek to involve other states in the calamities in which it wants to plunge those of his Majesty.

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scribed; he was enabled, by the flight of the Russians, to remove the theatre of war into Saxony; where the Austrians and Imperialists, had got possession of Leipzig^a, Wittenberg^b, Torgau^c, and were masters of all that electorate: while his Prussian Majesty was absent from that country, and employed in more important affairs for his own and his country's security.

But when all the world were ready to despair of his Prussian Majesty's affairs, this martial Prince, as thunder disperses the clouds, resumed his operations in the field with a vigour that surprized every body, chastised his enemies, and made the horizon of his glory brighter, than at the beginning of the campaign. Contemning enemies, that dared not fight him in the field, and glutted their passions with a predatory war, to the destruction of innocent and defenceless individuals, his Majesty with his right, passed the Elbe at Roslau on the 27th, and there was joined by the troops under Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg and General Hulsen: and on the 28th proceeded to Kemberg, and joined the left, amounting in all to 80,000 men.

^a Evacuated by the Prussian garrison, which took the road to Magdebourg, on the 4th of October.

^b Capitulated on the 13th of October to the Count of Guasco, an Imperial general. By which two battalions of Plotho and one of Grollman were made prisoners of war: and 31 pieces of cannon, with a quantity of ammunition fell into the enemies hands.

^c Surrendered to the Imperialists under the Prince of Deux Ponts, whereby 2400 Prussians were made prisoners.

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King of
Prussia
marches in
quest of
the enemy.

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1760.
Is followed
by M.
Daun.

M. Daun, whose principal business was to attend to the motions of his Prussian Majesty, called in the corps under General Laschy, and also crossed the Elbe at Torgau, and, by advancing to Eulenberg, discovered his intention to open a communication with, or to join the army of the Empire encamped near Leipsic. But not being able to effect that design, the Imperialists decamped and got off in a fog, and Daun retired to Torgau. Gen. Hullen^d drove the Imperialists from before Leipsic, took possession of that city^e; placed a garrison in it, and rejoined the Prussian main army encamped at Eulenberg.

Critical
situation
of the
King of
Prussia.

Resolves
to force
M. Daun
to fight.

Every return of the sun smiled upon the continual successes of his arms: but these were only glittering enjoyments, that, without a compleat victory, could not establish the King's interest and security. While the enemy were in a condition to keep the field, his substance and strength suffered extremely, by protracting a war, that was not able to procure an honourable and secure peace. These considerations, put his Majesty upon measures to force M. Daun to a general engagement: of the two, it being more glorious to die in the field of battle, in defence of his dominions and subjects; than to suffer them to sink under the burden and continuation of a consuming war.

^d And Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg made 500 men of the Duke of Wirtemberg's troops prisoners at Cothen: and obliged the Duke himself to retire to Leipsic.

^e And of Wittenberg, and made 400 pandours prisoners of war.

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The Austrian general had taken all precautions to prevent a surprize; and was no ways apprehensive, that his Prussian Majesty would attack him in a camp so well fortified. But on the 2d of November, the King decamped, to execute his resolution to attack the Austrians. His Majesty encamped at Lang-Reichenbach, between Schilda and Torgau: his hussars attacked General Brentano, who was on his march with about 1000 horse, and made 400 prisoners: and he learnt at Reichenbach, that the right wing of the Austrians was at Groswich, and their left at Torgau. The King resolving to attack them next day, proposed to march through the wood of Torgau, by three different roads, with 30 battalions and 50 squadrons of his left wing. The first line was to advance by the way of Makrene to Neiden, the second by Peckhutte to Elfnick, and the third, which consisted wholly of cavalry, by the wood of Wildenhayn to Vogelsang.

On the other hand, General Ziethen, with 30 battalions and 70 squadrons of the right, was to take the great Leipfic road, and coming out of it at the Ponds of Torgau, to direct his attacks against the villages of Suptitz and Groswich.

This plan was executed in the following manner: the King's line, while on their march, fell upon the corps under General Reid, consisting of two regiments of dragoons and three battalions of pandours, who retired at the approach of the Prussians, into the wood of Torgau. But they found in the wood near Wildenhayn another more

A. D.
 1760.
 M. Daun's
 situation.

Battle of
 Torgau.

A. D.
1760.

considerable corps of the enemy ; who, after firing some volleys of cannon on the vanguard, immediately retired to Groschutz.

The Prussian vanguard was on the point of attacking them, when they learnt that St. Ignon's dragoons were in the wood on their left, between two columns of their foot. Being immediately attacked by the Prussian hussars, they wanted to retire, but met the grenadiers of the vanguard, whose fire stopt them : so that the hussars made most of them prisoners. Those, who escaped, fell in with the second and third lines, where the Prussian cavalry was, and were either dispersed or taken.

At two in the afternoon, the King got through the wood to the little plain of Neiden. There he found Bathiani's dragoons and a regiment of foot, which after firing some cannon-shot, retired to Torgau ; from whence was heard a brisk and continued fire of cannon and small arms, which made them judge that General Ziethen was already engaged with the enemy. On this the King mended his pace, and passing the morasses near Neiden, inclined on the right towards a small wood, marching in three lines. The horse were on the left of the foot, with their left at the Elbe.

On their approach M. Daun made a front, and received them with a brisk fire of 200 pieces of cannon. His right extended to Groswich, and his left to Zinne. His foot occupied very advantageous eminences along the Leipzig road. His second line, against which the King directed the

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attack, was placed on a piece of ground, which terminated in hillocks towards the Elbe.

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1760.

His Majesty had disposed the attack in such a manner, that either his right or his left must take the enemy in rear, and close them in, so that they should not be able to undertake any thing against the part, where he intended to effect his attack. Nevertheless the Prussians were repulsed the first time, after a very smart fire of artillery and small arms. And the grenadiers suffered much from the Austrian carabineers. The King made a second vigorous attack; but his men were again repulsed, and forced to give way. Whereupon the King made Bareith's dragoons advance, who took prisoners the Emperor's own regiment, those of Neuperg and Gaisrugg, and a battalion of Bareith's. At the same time, Spaen's cuirassiers fell upon other regiments of foot, and put them into disorder. Upon which the enemy advanced between 60 and 80 battalions towards Torgau, placing their left at Zinne, and their right at the Elbe. The Prince of Holstein went to meet them with the cavalry, and at first made them give way; but, at the second shock, he was himself forced to retire. Nevertheless, he returned to the charge, and a third line of foot attacked the vineyard of Suptitz, whilst General Ziethen with the right wing took the enemy in rear. This disposition had the desired success; it threw the Austrians into great disorder.

Austrians
defeated.

These different attacks lasted till a quarter after nine at night; as the night was uncommonly dark,

A. D. 1760. it was not possible to pursue the enemy. M. Daun was wounded in the thigh, and perhaps the victory was facilitated by his wound: The enemy employed the rest of the night in crossing the Elbe, with all speed, on three bridges of boats, which they threw over it at Torgau. Next morning, at day-break, the Prussians entered that town, and seized twenty boats belonging to their bridges.

Torgau
surrenders.

Loss on
both sides.

The enemy lost in this engagement four generals, 200 officers, and 7000 men, made prisoners: 29 pair of colours, one standard, 37 cannon, and three obusiers. In the first attacks, in which the Prussians were repulsed, the enemy took two generals, some officers, and about 1500 soldiers. The Prussians lost 2500 men killed, and 4000 wounded. The action was very sharp, the ground was disputed on both sides with the greatest obstinacy^f.

The two generals, whom the enemy made prisoners, were Count Finckenstein and M. Bulow. The King's breast was grazed by a ball, and the Margrave Charles received a violent contusion on the thigh.

M. Daun
wounded,
resigns the
command.

M. Daun, finding himself wounded in the action, resigned the command of the army to General Buccow; and his arm being shot off in a few

^f Account of this battle published at Vienna makes the loss of the Prussians 20,000 men killed, wounded, and missing; and their own to be no more than 10,000. But it is thought that the Austrians loss was greatest, and that both accounts were purposely exaggerated.

minutes after, the sole command devolved upon General O'Donnel: who retreated with great expedition towards Dresden, provided for the safety of that city, and took possession of the strong camp at Plauen.

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1760.

Austrian
grand army
marches to
Dresden.

The news of this victory spread terror amongst the enemies of Prussia. All Saxony fell once more into the hands of the Prussian Monarch, except Dresden and the Austrian camp; it being too late in the year to besiege that city. The Russians retreated into Poland, before a detachment sent against them from the field of battle; and General Laudohn, who was entrusted with a strong corps of Austrians in Silesia, raised the siege of Coid, and retired into the county of Glatz, as soon as he heard, at that distance, of the defeat of M. Daun near Torgau.

Effects of
this victo-
ry.

Having for awhile got clear of these potent enemies, who made the best of their way into winter-quarters; and swept the Swedes out of Pomerania, where they were severely handled by Colonel Belling, (who surprized 2000 of their troops in the neighbourhood of Prentzlaw, and made two officers, six subalterns and 250 private men prisoners of war, about the latter end of September) and by General Werner, (who attacked the Swedish corps under General Ekrenschwerdt, near Pasewalch, made sixteen officers, and 500 private men prisoners, and took six pieces of cannon,) his Prussian Majesty detached 10,000 men, under General Focade, by the rout of Thuringia, to join Prince Ferdinand, in his operations

King of
Prussia's
other suc-
cesses.

Detaches
10,000
men to
Prince
Ferdinand.

A. D.
1760.

Retires
into win-
ter quar-
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A compa-
rative view
of his Pruf-
sian Ma-
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sent situa-
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tions against the French, and then disposed of his other troops in cantonments for the winter.

A happy conclusion for his Prussian Majesty; by which he extricated himself from those formidable and imminent dangers, that gathered about him from every quarter; and which placed him in a much better situation, than he was left at the close of the year 1759. He was now in full possession of all his own dominions, except those provinces which had remained, from the beginning of the war, in the hands of the enemy. And he had now over-run and seized upon the greatest part of Lusatia, Saxony, Swedish Pomerania and Mecklenburg; from whence his Majesty might raise large contributions, towards the support of his army, and to retaliate for the plunder and money raised by his enemies on his subjects in the course of this year. So that, by comparing his advantages, with those gained by all his confederate enemies, during this campaign, and with his own state at the end of the last campaign, we shall find the ballance vastly preponderate in his Prussian Majesty's favour. The Swedes had penetrated a considerable way into Pomerania, but were repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged to retire to Stralsund. The Russians made several efforts to reduce Silesia and Brandenburg, and indulged their barbarous nature with excesses of the most brutal kind, as well as by excessive contributions: but they were fled; and hid themselves in Poland. The Austrians and Imperialists had made great progress in Silesia, and got possession of all Saxony:

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but they abandoned their conquests, as the Prussian arms returned from the field of victory, and left his Majesty in possession of all their laurels, except Dresden. It is impossible to look upon this map of the seat of war, without being lost in amazement of those great abilities, which were sufficient to deliver the King from so many perplexing difficulties, and placed him in a better situation, than he was in at the close of the last campaign. For, then he was forced to sit down with the loss of four capital battles: and to conclude with the most fatal of them, the surrender at Maxen. But, though the Prussians set out in the year 1760, with the unfortunate affair of General Fouquet, both the King and his brother Henry prevented the Austrians from deriving any advantage from their victory, and the battles of Lignitz and Torgau, crowned his Prussian Majesty with two great and glorious victories, that totally ruined the operations of his enemies.

The situation into which Prince Ferdinand had brought his army, and the great preparations, which were carried on with all seeming vigour in England, for an expedition with land forces, made it shrewdly supposed that the army in English pay in Germany, and the troops embarked on board the expedition fleet, were destined to act in such a manner, as to carry the seat of war into the heart of France itself.

The Hereditary Prince was detached with sufficient strength to clear the Duchy of Cleves, and the adjacent parts, from French troops; and

A conti-
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A Hereditary
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tached over
the Rhine.

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1760.

His suc-
cess.

Invests
Wesel.

The
French
resolve to
relieve the
place.

M. de
Castries
marches to
its relief.

this Prince passing the Rhine at Roervot, on the 29th of September, he scoured the country to Rhineberg, sat down before Wesel, and sent detachments, which took possession of Rees and Emmerick. Wesel was completely invested on the 3d of October: and on the same day Cleves surrendered, with a garrison of 500 men, to another of his detachments.

He did not meet the like success before Wesel. His Serene Highness had the season, as well as a powerful and vigilant enemy to encounter. The heavy rains, which fell at this time, swelled the Rhine and the Lippe so as to overflow their banks, and render the roads in Westphalia impassible, retarded his operations, and allowed the French time to march to the relief of this fortress.

The trenches were opened on the 10th of October, at night, without any loss. The governor made two sallies, without any success, or damage to the works; and fortified the bridge over the Rhine, by which way he expected succours.

The importance of this fortress, with whose conquest the whole country adjoining would infallibly submit to the allies, determined M. Duke de Broglie to detach a sufficient force to defeat their attempt; which, he was persuaded, might arrive time enough, on account of the delay the besiegers would meet with from the season.

The French marshal ordered M. de Castries to take upon him the command of this corps, which was composed of a strong detachment from the main army in Hesse, and of troops collected from the

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the Low Countries. These forces being united, M. de Castries, with forced marches, reached Rhineberg, an advanced post of the allies, on the 14th, and obliged the troops to retire, though supported by the Hereditary Prince in person. In this short and brisk action, his Serene Highness's horse was wounded. A battle was unavoidable; and the Hereditary Prince, after reconnoitring the French camp, in person, formed a design to surprize them. But his troops were not sufficiently collected to carry his design into execution: Major-General Bock's corps could not arrive till next morning, at six o'clock: Lieutenant-General Waldegrave's at eleven: and Lieutenant-General Howard's in the evening, when it grew dark. His Serene Highness had also ordered four Hanoverian battalions, of those that were destined for the siege, to march to his assistance; but they could not complete their junction the same night.

The enemy having left five battalions and some squadrons at Rhineberg, marched by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen; where M. de Castries halted for the coming up of his last troops, expected to arrive on the next and following day. Therefore his Serene Highness thought it best to attack the French in this situation, and without waiting for his troops, upon their march to his assistance, he left four battalions and five squadrons, under Major-General Bock, in order to observe Rhineberg, and to attack that post, in case of success on the side of Campen, and at ten o'clock in the evening, of the 15th, he

silently

A. D.
1760.

Drives the
advanced
guard
from
Rhine-
berg.

Hereditary
Prince
resolves to
give the
French
battle.

A. D. 1760. **Strength of both sides.** **A stratagem.** **Disconcerted.** **The enemy attacked.** **The Hereditary Prince retreats.**

silently decamped, and marched with only twenty battalions, and just as many squadrons, to surprize M. de Castries's camp, which contained thirty battalions and thirty-eight squadrons. However, the stratagem was well planned, and would probably have succeeded, had it not been disconcerted by skirmishes with a detachment of Fischer's corps, who had thrown themselves into the convent of Campen about the same time, and which the allies were obliged to pass, in their march towards the left flank of the enemy. This convent stood at about half a league in front of the camp: and the troops in it must be cut off, to prevent an alarm to the camp. But this could not be done without firing some muskets, which being heard by the main body, M. de Castries took the alarm, and had warning enough to put his troops hastily under arms. However, his Serene Highness persisted in the attack, which he began about five in the morning: but the enemy being posted near a wood, this situation encreased the difficulty. They repulsed the allies twice: and after a terrible and well-supplied fire of the musquetry, from five in the morning till about nine at night, without ceasing, his Serene Highness having received a slight wound in his leg, by the shot that killed his horse under him, and convinced of the impracticability of driving the enemy out of the wood, with the force he could muster, and his infantry having spent all their ammunition, he came to a resolution to retreat towards the Rhine, whose overflowings had rendered his communication with the

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the siege very hazardous and almost impossible. This retreat was executed without a brisk pursuit from the enemy: and with the same order and resolution with which his brave troops had fought all the day, carrying with them sufficient proofs of their bravery, in the person of Lieutenant-General de Seyar, several other officers and some hundreds of private men, who were made prisoners; together with one pair of colours and some pieces of cannon. A loss much superior to that of the allies; which did not exceed 1000 men, killed, wounded, prisoners and missing^f. Lieutenant-Colonel Pitt and Lord Down were wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy. Major-General Elliot and Colonel Harvey, and another general officer, were wounded, but not dangerously. So that, notwithstanding the superiority of the French, and the bridge over which the retreating army was to pass, was broken down by the floods of the Rhine, they did not attempt to oppose the passage of the allies, or even so much as to fall upon their rear; except an action which happened with cannon and small arms from morning till night, on the 16th, between a party of the French and an advanced body of the allies, near Elverick.

In consequence of this retreat the Hereditary Prince was obliged to raise the siege of Wesel: Siege of Wesel raised.

^f The French said that the affair was bloody, and that the loss on both sides did amount to 6000 men. It is remarked, that in all these enterprizes the English troops bore the heat and burden of the day, and thereby suffered most.

A. D.
1760.

Loss on
both sides.

A. D.
1760.

An expedi-
tion by
sea from
England.

and he marched to Bruynen, where he fixed his head-quarters, and remained encamped for some time, watching the motions of M. de Castries; and, perhaps waiting his ulterior orders for his future operations, when the English embarkation should put to sea. But that embarkation, which had been carrying on at Portsmouth four months successively, and consisted of 8,000 men, to be convoyed by a large squadron of men of war, and supported with a large quantity of mortars, cannon, bombs, ammunition and all sorts of implements and stores for the field and for sieges, under the command of General Kingsley by land, and of Commodore Keppel by sea, did not take effect. Some were of opinion that this armament was originally intended, by the minister, against Martinico; but that he had not interest enough to get it carried into execution: and that he afterwards agreed to employ it in the best manner for the interest of the nation against France in Europe, by co-operating with the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick. This much is certain; the lateness of the season, and the embarkation of a detachment of the guards, shewed that their place of action was to be in Europe; perhaps on the coast of the Austrian Netherlands near Blankenburg; so that they could have opened a way by the Maese to the Hereditary Prince at Wesel, and enabled him to prosecute the war in that quarter with greater vigour; while Prince Ferdinand, reinforced by the corps from the Prussian army, should keep Broglie in
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play beyond the Rhine; or on the adjacent part of the coast of France, for the same purpose.

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1760.

Be this as it may; the check received by the Hereditary Prince at Campen, disabled him, for this season; and after our court received advice thereof, the troops, which had been embarked, and lay wind-bound at Spithead for some days, were ordered to disembark, to the great surprize and disgust of the nation, which expected great and glorious efforts to be made by an armament furnished out with so great parade and expence.

Disem-
bark.

The French, now flushed with this petty advantage, tried every engine to improve upon the circumstances of the allied army. M. de Castries, finding that the Hereditary Prince was resolved to remain in the neighbourhood of Schermbeck, to watch an opportunity to renew his expedition beyond the Rhine, detached a strong body to beat up his quarters. The Prince being informed of the design, called in his advanced posts, and prepared to give them a warm reception. He abandoned the tents in the front of his camp, and posted his infantry in ambuscade behind those in his rear, with orders for some regiments of horse and hussars, to fetch a compass, so as to fall upon the back of the enemy. This answered the Prince's expectation. The French, meeting with no resistance, and with a deserted camp, as they imagined, threw off their guard, and ran, in great disorder, to pillage the tents. But in the height of their security and plunder, the infantry sallied from their ambush with great impetuosity, and

A French
detach-
ment at-
tack the
Hereditary
Prince.

Defeated.

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1760.

being seconded by a well served artillery, and by the cavalry, that charged them in flank, the allies killed or took upwards of a thousand out of the twelve hundred, that had been detached from Wesel on this service. This action discouraged the French from making any further attempts upon the Hereditary Prince, during this campaign.

M. Broglio's intention.

But M. Duke de Broglio was continually seeking to gain some advantage over Prince Ferdinand, after the detachment of the corps under the Hereditary Prince. The French marshal would have been glad to force his Serene Highness to a general engagement, but he could not deceive him by stratagem: and the allies were too well fortified to be compelled. Therefore Broglio contented himself with the destruction he could make, without opposition, in the open country by detachments, which ravaged the defenceless where-ever they reached. M. de Stainville was detached with a considerable body of troops, to penetrate into Hanover; who, after his action with Major Bulow^{*}, advanced to Halberstadt, demanded 1,500,000 livres contribution-money from that capital, which had been exhausted by former exactions; received 30,000, and carried off hostages to the French grand camp near Cassel, for the remaining sum.

Prince Ferdinand attempts Gottingen.

After this, the French fell back to Gottingen. This movement induced Prince Ferdinand to advance as far as Hurste, where he established

* See page 368. Vol. III.

his

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his head-quarters; about the latter end of November. This situation of the two armies occasioned several skirmishes, and encouraged his Serene Highness to make a bold attempt to drive the French out of Gottingen. He began with an attack of the French post at Heydemunden, upon the river Worrau: In which was employed Major-General Breidenach, with two regiments of Hanoverians and Brunswick guards, and a detachment of cavalry; who carried their point so far as to get possession of the town; but, by pursuing the enemy, who had abandoned it, and taken post in the entrenchments, that covered the passage a-cross the river, the allied troops were so galled by the fire of the enemy's redoubts on the other side of the river, that after several unsuccessful attempts to force them, M. Briedenach was obliged to desist, and even to retire from the town at midnight, to recruit his strength. Nevertheless Prince Ferdinand invested Gottingen, and kept it blocked up from the 22d day of November to the 12th of December, notwithstanding a numerous and well-provided garrison, which baffled every endeavour of the besiegers; and the very wet season would not allow them to proceed in form with their approaches: besides, the garrison having, by a desperate sally on the 12th of December, taken one of the principal posts from the allies, Prince Ferdinand raised the blockade, and retired into winter-cantonments, fixing his head-quarters at Uslar. The English, under Lord Granby, were cantoned in the bishopric of Paderborn.

The blockade formed.

Raised.

A. D.
1760.
Remarks.

Though we had no mighty advantages to boast of, at the conclusion of a bloody campaign, in Germany; yet it is incontestable, that the employment of the French armies, and the dissipation of the Gallic finances, in a branch of war, from whence it was not possible for them to reap any national benefit, deprived our natural enemy of that strength, which might otherwise have been managed to obstruct our operations in North America, and in the East Indies; especially, as they had made sure of an alliance with Spain; whose behaviour, at the conclusion of the year 1759, towards the English, settled in the Bay of Honduras, shewed that it would be impossible to prevent hostilities in those parts, at least. For, the Spaniards, about the middle of October 1759, entered the river Belezé, seized and carried away thirty-one British subjects, whom they confined and tortured with the utmost severity; besides three loaded flats and thirty negroes, belonging to several baymen.

Affairs of
North
America.

The loss of Louisbourg and Quebec did not discourage their hopes, and could the French ministry have unshackled themselves from the German war, they would have found ways and means, perhaps in Dutch bottoms, or under the cover of some other of our very good neutral friends, and faithful allies, to recover their losses in North America. Of which the world has an extraordinary specimen, in a letter wrote by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to his militia officers in Canada, in order to keep up their spirits, with
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expectations of effectual succours from Old France^h. And, to puzzle our operations more, and

A. D.
1760.

^h S I R,

Montreal, June 3, 1760.

The Chevalier de Levy is just returned to this town; he has repeated to me the strong testimony, which he had before given me, of the good will, the zeal and ardour of your company of militia.

I expected no less from the fidelity of the brave Canadians, and from their attachment to their native country.

His Majesty, who is by this time, probably, informed of your brilliant victory, will be no less pleased with this, than affected with the distresses of the colony; so that supposing that a peace has not been concluded, on the receipt of this news, the King of England cannot possibly avoid subscribing such terms, as our monarch shall have imposed upon him.

You are not uninformed of the great advantages which he gained in Europe during the last campaign, over the English and Prussians.

The prisoners which are bringing in every moment, all agree in confirming them.

The truth is, his Majesty is in person in Holland, with an army of 200,000 men, the Prince of Conti in Germany with 100,000, and the Princes of Deux Ponts, and Soubise, command the army of the Empire of 200,000; and lastly, the Empress of Russia, and the Queen of Hungary, have joined their whole force, and were taking measures for the conquest of the remainder of his Prussian Majesty's dominions.

Besides this, the last accounts assure us, that the garrisons of Fort Frederick, Niagara and Chouagan, have suffered greatly by a sickness, which is not yet stopped, and that the regular troops in New England are reduced to nothing.

General Murray therefore has dispersed manifestoes to no purpose, to magnify his own nation, to pacify the Canadians, to engage them to lay down their arms, to discredit our bills of exchange, and our currency, at the same time that the Eng-

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1760.

and to divide our forces in the new world, the French had found means to spirit up a new Indian war. So that after the conquest of Quebec, we had every inch of ground to maintain, by force of arms, in Canada, and some of our valuable

lish traders are eager to procure them, because they have been regularly paid.

You see, Sir, that the colony is drawing to the end of its hardships and distresses, and that it is upon the point of seeing plenty succeed to scarcity.

If the English make any attempt, it can have no other object than the ambition of their generals; we are thoroughly prepared to repulse them with spirit; we have a train of artillery, besides that which we took from the enemy; a still greater proportion of powder, ball, and ammunition, for the operations, which I have projected; we have also provisions enough, by means of the resources, which we shall find in the good will of the Canadians, who have the greatest interest in the preservation of their religion and liberty. The King's troops will even live, if necessary, upon roots, when they cannot do better, and will not fail to join their endeavours to those of the brave Canadians.

My intention then is, that you and all your militia, should hold yourselves ready to march with arms, baggage, and eight days provisions, to our frontiers, when the case shall require it.

I believe I may venture to assure you, that these will be the last dispositions, which I shall have occasion to make, for the defence of this colony; being firmly convinced, that some time in August, at latest, we shall have peace, provisions, and, in general, whatever we want.

I am, &c.

P. S. You will assemble the militia of your company, and read this letter to them; you will carefully inspect their arms; if any of them are out of order, you will give them a note, and the King's gunsmiths will repair them immediately.

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settlements were threatened with destruction by an irruption of the Cherokees.

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1760.

The situation of the garrison of Quebec was very critical¹. The severity of the climate, after a most severe service in the operations during the summer, to make the conquest of that supposed impregnable fortress; and the danger to which they were exposed on the land side, where the fortifications were not perfectly secured against a coup de main by an enemy, in possession of the open country; of the affections of the natives; and of many other advantages, were difficulties that rendered the tenure of this conquest very precarious. It was easy to foresee that the French would improve the first opportunity, after the departure of the English fleet, to attempt the recovery of Quebec. Therefore General Murray was no sooner fixed in this government, than he prepared against the efforts of the enemy, that remained encamped in the neighbourhood. He repaired the ruins made in the siege; and strengthened the weak parts of the city with eight wooden redoubts, and a stockade, that blocked up all the avenues of the suburbs. He opened embrasures, and placed his cannon to most advantage for the reception of a land force: he made foot-banks along the ramparts, and provided 4000 fascines and eleven months provision; which was deposited in the highest part of the city.

¹ See page 124. Vol. III.

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1759.

This work being finished, his excellency sent out two detachments to take possession of St. Foix and La Crette, which two posts secured eleven parishes in the vicinity of Quebec, and from thence, in case of necessity, the garrison could be supplied with wood and other necessaries of life, during the winter ^k.

Loss of
men by
death, &c.

The continual labour and fatigue of this business to secure and to provide for themselves, added to the inclemency of the season; the constant living upon salt provisions, without any vegetables, and the frozen region carried off a great many brave soldiers, by the scurvy and other disorders: so that a thousand were dead before the end of April, and 2000 more were disabled and rendered unfit for service: the scurvy in particular getting the better of every precaution of the officer, and every remedy of the surgeon.

The
French
prepare to
attack
Quebec.

The Chevalier de Levi, who commanded the French cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal, still added to their misfortunes, by continual alarms on their posts, though they always tended to the honour of Old England; and by the preparations that were known to be in agitation to attack the city in the very depth of winter. This attempt was intended for execution in February. In pursuance of that scheme they made all the necessary preparations: rackets, or snow-shoes, were distributed to the soldiery; and great num-

^k All lower Canada, from the Point au Tremble, was reduced and took the oaths of fidelity to the King.

A. D.
1760.

bers of scaling ladders were made: they even exercised their men to fix and mount these scaling ladders. But, notwithstanding all their precautions to conceal their design, by cutting off all communication with Jaques Quartier, which hitherto had been open to the Canadians, Governor Murray was apprized of their intentions. The enemy, who had never lost sight of their project, sent a detachment to Point Levy, to take post there, to gather together the inhabitants of the southern coast, and strengthen their army therewith, and to form a magazine of provisions: the posts of Calvaire and St. Augustin were also reinforced by some companies of grenadiers. The enemy had been about eight days in possession of Point Levy, busied in heaping up a great quantity of flour, and killing 400 oxen for the subsistence of their army during the expedition, when the English light infantry, with a detachment of 200 men, dislodged them, (it could not be attempted sooner, the river not being froze over). Their retreat being very precipitate, they lost but few men: one officer and eleven private men only were made prisoners: but the English became masters of the greatest part of their provisions; and took post in St. Joseph's church, until they had built two wooden redoubts, and mounted cannon on one of them. A few days after the enemy came with a greater force to recover the said post; but having timely notice of it, some battalions were ordered to march over the ice to cut them off; others, with the light infantry, to attack them while

Skirmish
at Point
Levy.

A. D.
1760.

while they were besieging the church. The enemy, finding themselves furrounded on all sides, thought of a retreat, which was so precipitate, that, notwithstanding the English troops marched with all possible diligence, they overtook only part of their rear. After this retreat, the English finished their redoubts, felled many trees, and secured their post from the danger of any fresh insult. The same detachment, that had attempted to force them, went, some days after, and took post at St. Michael, below Point Levy. It was not thought proper to molest them, considering their great distance.

It seemed now probable the French had altered their views; that they would postpone any further attack till the spring, and then form a regular siege: at least all their preparations seemed to indicate this. They began rigging their ships, repairing their barks and boats, building galleys, casting balls and bombs, and making a prodigious quantity of facines and gabions; in short, preparing every thing that was necessary for a siege.

Their
Strength.

In the mean time, Governor Murray, informed of the design, and that the French commander had compleated his eight battalions, which had suffered much in the last campaign, and 40 companies of the troopes de colonie, from the choicest of the Montrealists; that he had formed those 40 companies into four battalions, and was determined to besiege Quebec the moment the St. Lawrence was open, of which river he was entirely master, by means of four of his King's frigates, and

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and other craft built convenient for that extraor-
 dinary navigation; he, after all that he was able
 to do, not having it in his power to make Quebec
 city stronger than a well fortified cantonment,
 thought it most adviseable to place the chief of
 his defence in such entrenchments as could be
 thrown up on the heights of Abraham, at the
 distance of about 800 yards from the ramparts
 of Quebec, which those heights commanded; and
 were defensible by the strength the governor had
 under his command, against a large army. For
 this purpose a great quantity of fascines, palisa-
 does and stakes were made, to intrench on the
 heights of Abraham, as soon as the season
 would permit. Whilst those preparations were
 making on both sides, part of the English light
 infantry, with a detachment from the army, went
 and surprized the enemy's advanced posts at St.
 Augustine, Maison-Brulee, and La Calvaire; and,
 notwithstanding their alertness in retreating, took
 90 prisoners. Some time after, they hoped to
 take their revenge, attempting to carry off the
 wood-cutters and rangers that covered Lorette and
 St. Foix; but they were repulsed. The circum-
 stances of the garrison became daily more critical:
 there was a great probability the French army and
 ships would fall down the river, as soon as it
 opened, and (the ground being yet frozen) that
 the English should not have time to form their
 intrenchments. But when his excellency set about
 fortifying the heights of Abraham the 23d, 24th,
 and 25th of April, and the fascines, and every ma-

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 1760.

General
 Murray's
 prepara-
 tions for
 defence
 frustrated.

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1759.

French
land.

terial and necessary were provided to execute the projected lines, the earth was still so covered with snow, and frozen below the surface, that he found all his endeavours impracticable: and on the 26th at night news was brought to the governor, that the French, to the number of 10,000 men, and 500 savages, were landed at Point au Tremble, about 20 miles higher than the embouchure of the river Caprouge, where they had designed to land; as the most convenient place for disembarking their artillery and stores, and for securing a retreat in case of need; but were prevented by a guard placed there by the governor for that very purpose.

Followed
by Gen.
Murray.

Governor Murray deprived of the advantage expected from the post of Abraham heights, and thoroughly informed of the dispositions the enemy were making to cut off his posts, he, on the 27th, ordered all the bridges over the Caprouge to be broken down; secured the landing place at Sillery and the Toulon; and then marched and took post so advantageously with the grenadiers, piquets, and Amherst's regiment, and two field pieces, that when that formidable army advanced to form from the defile, they were obliged to pass, and effected without any opposition or molestation from the English, they did not like the looks of our small victorious army, but, after reconnoitring their position, they thought proper to retreat.

Enemy re-
treats.

English
posts called
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However, as it could not be expected, that the enemy would entirely give up this attempt, the governor called in all his posts; who joined the army with
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the loss of two men only, and he retreated with his whole strength into the city, without any further loss; though the enemy did every thing in their power to harass his rear; took post with their whole army at St. Foix, and had advanced posts within musket shot of the city. A motion, which at first sight seemed to put his defence upon the strength of the city walls. But, though the enemy greatly exceeded the garrison in numbers, when the governor had considered and truly weighed the courage and discipline of his little army, that plumed themselves with the merit of beating the French, and that he was possessed of a very fine train of artillery; and further, that the chance was greater against him shut up in an undefensible fortification, where every thing depended upon the single point of holding out for a considerable time, till relief might be expected by sea, then frozen up, than in the field; from whence, in case of a defeat, he could fly to the city, as a dernier resort; his excellency resolved to march and give the enemy battle: and, if the event was not prosperous, to hold out to the last extremity; and then to retreat to the isle of Orleans, or Coudres, with what was left of the garrison, to wait for reinforcements. Accordingly the necessary orders were given; and half an hour after six next morning, he marched with all the forces he could muster, viz. 3000 men, and formed the army on the heights in the following order: Amherst's, Anstruther's, second battalion of Royal Americans, and Webb's, composed the

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1760.

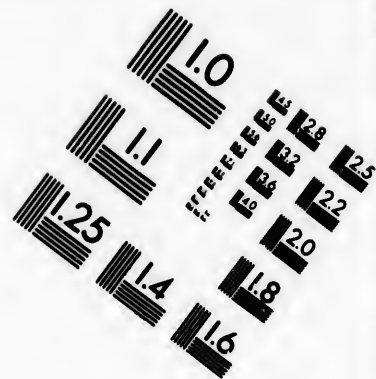
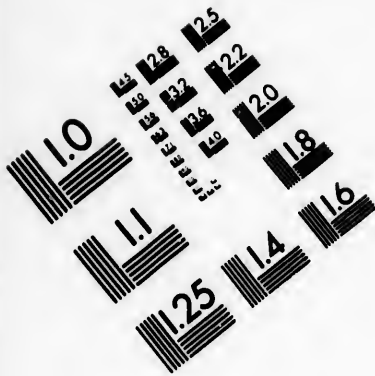
The Gov.
retires with
his forces
into the
city.

His mo-
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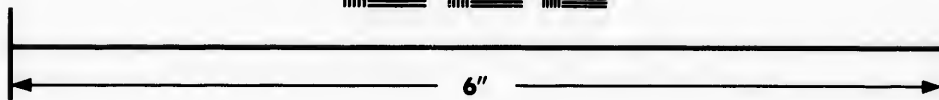
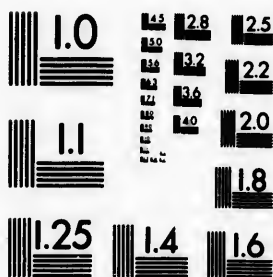
His order
of battle.

right





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1760.

right brigade, commanded by Colonel Burton: Kennedy's, Lascelles's, Highlanders, and Townshend's, the left brigade, commanded by Colonel Frazer. Otway's, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, were the corps de reserve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry, covered the right flank; and Captain Hazzen's company of rangers, with 100 volunteers, under the command of Captain Donald Macdonald, a brave and experienced officer, covered the left. The battalions had each two field pieces.

While the line was forming, the general reconnoitred the enemy, and perceiving that their van had taken possession of the rising grounds, three quarters of a mile in his front, but that their army was upon the march, in one column, as far as he could see, he thought this the lucky moment, and moved with the utmost order to attack them before they could form.

Attack began.

This was deemed the decisive moment to attack the enemy, in order to reap all the advantages that could be expected over an army not yet formed. In consequence of this resolution the men advanced. As soon as they came within musket-shot, the light infantry attacked the enemy's grenadiers on the left, and repulsed them briskly: at the same instant the volunteers and rangers attacked their right, (which also gave way) and made themselves masters of a redoubt, which the enemy had taken possession of: the center advanced posts fled without a blow. Major Dalling, who cannot be too much commended for
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1760.

his behaviour this day, and his services during the winter, forced their corps of grenadiers from a house and windmill, they had taken hold of, to cover their left flank. Here he, and several of his officers, were wounded: his men, however, pursued the fugitives to the corps, which were now formed to sustain them: they halted, and dispersed along the front of the right; which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the first impression, they had made on the enemy's left. They had immediately orders given them to regain the flank; but, in attempting this, they were charged, thrown into disorder, retired to the rear, and, from the number of officers killed and wounded, could never again be brought up during the action. Otway's was instantly ordered to advance, and sustain the right wing, which the enemy in vain made two attempts to penetrate. On these occasions, Captain Ince with the grenadiers of Otway's were distinguished. While this passed there, the left was not idle; they had dispossessed the enemy of two redoubts; and sustained with an unparalleled firmness the bold united efforts of the enemy's regulars, Indians, and Canadians; till, at last, the body of the enemy's army advanced with great strides, and formed in columns. As soon as formed, one of their columns came to sustain the grenadiers, pursued by the light infantry. They directly wheeled round the rising grounds, and took the right wing in flank. At the same time another column, headed by the Chevalier de Levy, wheeled round the left flank:

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1759.

flank: the battalions of the second line immediately made a movement to the right and left, to cover and protect their flanks. But this was the critical moment; fought down, and reduced to a handful, though sustained by the third battalion of Royal Americans, from the reserve, and Kennedy's from the center, they were obliged to yield to superior numbers, and to a fresh column of Rouffillon, which penetrated. They were in danger of having all the forces of Canada to cope with, and their communication cut off. These considerations obliged them to retreat, finding themselves not strong enough to resist, and not having been able to prevent the enemy's forming.

The disorder of the left was soon communicated to the right: but the whole retired in such a way, that the enemy did not venture upon a brisk pursuit. Most of the English cannon were left, as the roughness of the ground, and the wreaths of snow, made it impossible to bring them off; but what could not be brought off, were nailed up. We had 300 men killed, or taken prisoners in the action, and 700 wounded. The French lost, according to their own confession, 2500 men. The French army consisted of ten complete battalions, (having been completed by picked men from the Canadians) 400 savages, and 7600 Canadians, being in all 13,000 men. Our army, before the battle, was 3111 men. The French order of battle was, ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, 400 savages for the van; eight battalions drawn up in four columns, with some corps

Loss on
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¹ Return

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VOL.

of Canadians in the intervals, for the main body : two battalions, and some corps of Canadians, on the flanks, for the rear; lastly, 2000 Canadians for a reserve: such were their order and intentions, if they had had time to form.

A. D.
1760.

Obliged to retire ¹ within the walls, the place was immediately invested. The French opened their

¹ *Return of the officers that were killed, wounded, taken prisoners, &c. on the 28th of April, 1760.*

Amheist's regiment. Killed, Lieutenant Marwell, sen. Wounded, Captain-Lieutenant Cockburn; Lieutenants Munks, Maxwell, jun. Cathcart, Winter, Irving, Lockhart; Ensigns Moneypenny Barbutt, Mills, and Barker. Prisoners, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Ensign Montgomery; the latter is also wounded.—Bragg's. Wounded, Colonel Walch; Major Dalling; Captains Spann, and Mitchelson; Lieutenant and Adjutant Tassel; Lieutenants Brown and Phibbs; Ensigns Gilmor, Shepherd, and Beal. — Otway's. Wounded, Lieutenant Brown; Ensigns Lysaglet. Prisoner, Captain Ince, who is also wounded.—Kennedy's. Wounded, Captain Skey; Lieut. nt Clements. Prisoners, Captain Maitland, and Ensign Maw; the latter is also wounded.—Lafcelles's. Killed, Major Hufsey. Wounded, Lieutenants Foster, Bassett, Ewer, and Stratford; Ensigns Ustich, and Handfield. Prisoners, Captain Archbold, and Lieutenant Shirrit, who are also both wounded.—Webb's. Killed, Ensign Nicholson. Wounded, Captain-Lieutenants James Cockburn and Barbutt; Lieutenants Waterhouse, Royce, Crowe, and More; Ensigns Campbell and Johnson. Prisoner, Lieutenant Davers.—Anstruther's. Killed, Ensign Conway. — Monckton's. Wounded, Ensigns Snow, Steel, and Donald M'Donald.—Lawrence's. Wounded, Captain Faesch; Lieutenants Faesch, Campbell, Grant, Stephens, and Lewis Forbes; Ensigns Pinckney, Magee, Hill, and Stewart. Prisoners. Colonel Young, and Captain Chartris. Missing, Lieutenant Forbes.—Fraser's.

Vol. IV.

F f

Killed,

A. D.
1760.

their trenches in the night between the 28th and 29th: their ships anchored at Foulon, below their camp:

Killed, Captain Donald M'Donald; Lieutenant Cosmo Gordon. Wounded, Colonel Frazer; Captains John Campbell, Alexander Frazer, and M'Leod; Lieutenants Archibald Campbell, Hector M'Donald, Donald M'Bean, Alexander Frazer, sen. John Nairn, Arthur Rose, Alexander Frazer, jun, Simon Frazer, sen. Archibald Mackallister, Alexander Frazer. Grenadiers, John Chisholm, Simon Frazer, jun. Malcolm Frazer, and Donald M'Neal; Ensigns Henry Monro, Robert Menzies, Charles Stewart, Duncan Cameron, William Robertson, and Captain Lieutenant Charles M'Donald. Prisoners, Alexander Gregerson, and Malcolm Frazer, who are also both wounded. Missing, Lieutenant Alexander Campbell.—Artillery. Wounded, Major Goodwin; Second Lieutenants Heathcot, and Scott; Lieutenant Fireworker Davidson. Prisoner, Lieutenant Fireworker Cock, who is also wounded. Wounded, Major M'Keller, chief engineer.—Rangers. Wounded, Captain Hazzen.—Total, killed 6, wounded 89, prisoners 13, missing 2.

Return of the non-commissioned officers, rank and file, killed, wounded, &c.

Amherst's regiment, killed, serjeants four, rank and file 21; wounded, serjeants nine, rank and file 82.—Bragg's, killed, serjeant one, rank and file 14; wounded, serjeants four, drummers three, rank and file 100.—Otway's, killed, rank and file 12; wounded, serjeants three, drummer one, rank and file 43.—Kennedy's, killed, rank and file five; wounded, rank and file 16.—Lafcelles's, killed, serjeant one, rank and file 10; wounded, serjeants three, drummer one, rank and file 43.—Webb's, killed, rank and file 22; wounded, rank and file 63.—Anstruther's, killed, serjeant one, rank and file seven; wounded, serjeants three, rank and file 45.—Monckton's, killed, drummer one, rank and file one; wounded, rank and file nine.—Lawrence's, killed, serjeant one, rank and

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Wounded
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camp: for several days they were busy in landing their cannon, mortars, and other ammunition: they worked incessantly at perfecting their trenches, and in raising batteries; and on the 11th of May they opened three batteries of cannon, and one bomb battery. The necessary dispositions were made to defend the place to the last extremity: cannon were planted on every bastion, and even in the curtains: they raised two cavaliers, and made outworks. The enemy cannonaded briskly the first day; but the artillery from the walls (which had already obliged them to change their attack) soon silenced them, and their fire slackened daily: before they opened their batteries there were 132 pieces of cannon placed on the ramparts, mostly dragged there by the soldiery. Notwithstanding this formidable artillery, they were so circumstanced, that, had a French fleet appeared first in the river, the place must inevitably have fallen, though they had resolved to make, and should certainly have made, the most vigorous and obstinate resistance.

A. D.
1760.Siege of
Quebec.

Defence;

and file nine; wounded, rank and file 32.—Fraser's, serjeants three, drummer one, rank and file 51; wounded, serjeants 10, rank and file 119.—Light Infantry, killed, serjeants eight, rank and file 78; wounded, serjeants seven, drummer one, rank and file 124.—Rangers, killed, rank and file two; wounded, rank and file nine.—Total, killed, serjeants 19, drummers two, rank and file 232; wounded, serjeants 39, drummers six, rank and file 685.

Royal Artillery, wounded, &c.

Wounded, bombardiers three, gunner one, matrosses six; missing, matross one.

F f 2

Expressees

A. D.
1760.

English
men of
war arrive.

Attack the
French
squadron.

And de-
stroy it.

Exprefses had been difpatched over land to Nova Scotia, with accounts of this precarious and dangerous fiteuation of the garrifon of Quebec. Nothing could fave them but a timely arrival of men of war to their relief. Accordingly Lord Colville failed with his Majesty's fhips under his command from Halifax, on the 22d of April, and others under Commodore Swanton, who had been met on the 20th of the fame month off the banks of Newfoundland. But it was the 9th of May before the garrifon could get any tidings of thefe fhips: which was brought, to their exceeding great joy, by a frigate on the 9th of May, and on the 15th, in the evening, one fhip of the line and a frigate came to an anchor before the town. Next day Commodore Swanton ordered the two frigates to flip their cables, early in the morning; to run above the town, and to attack the French Squadron, which confifted of fix fhips. This order was no fooner iffued, than performed. The French, feeing thefe frigates ftand for them, they immediately weighed; were purfued, and attacked with fuch vigour, that they ran a-fhore at different places. The commodore was taken, and afterwards destroyed^m. In this fea action we cannot fufficiently

^m Commodore Swanton, on the 11th of May, arrived at the Ifle of Bec, in the river of St. Lawrence, with the Vanguard and Diana, where he intended to wait for fuch of his Squadron as had feparated from him, in his paffage from England; but having, on the 14th, received advice from Brigadier-general Murray, that the enemy had befieged Quebec, he got under fail with the utmoft difpatch, and anchored above

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in his paffa
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sufficiently express the readiness, vivacity and bravery shewn by Commodore Swanton, and the Captains Schomberg and Deane. Though Captain Deane lost his ship, it was in a good cause, and in doing honour to his country.

A D.
1760.

Next day the governor had resolved to make a strong sortie, in the morning, to penetrate into the enemy's camp; which seemed to be practicable, from the accounts he had received of their situation and discipline, by prisoners and deserters.

Siege
raised.

above point Levi, the 15th in the evening, where he found the *Lowestoffe*, one of his squadron, which arrived a few days before, and whose commander, Captain Deane, immediately came off to him with a message from the general, earnestly recommending the speedy removal of the French naval force above the town, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and many smaller vessels: in consequence of which he ordered Captain Schomberg, of the *Diana*, and Captain Deane, of the *Lowestoffe*, to slip their cables early the next morning, and attack the enemy; but they were no sooner in motion, than the enemy fled in the greatest hurry and disorder: the *Pomona*, one of the frigates, was driven on shore above Cape Diamond; the *Atalanta*, the other frigate, run a-shore, and was burnt at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and most of the other ships and vessels were likewise driven a-shore, or effectually destroyed.

The *Lowestoffe* ran upon some unknown rocks, in pursuit of the enemy, and was irrecoverably lost, but the officers and men were saved.

Lord Colville sailed from Halifax, with the squadron under his command, the 22d of April, but did not arrive at Quebec till the 18th of May; having been much retarded in his passage by thick fogs, great quantities of ice, and contrary winds.

A. D.
1760.

For this purpose his Excellency ordered the regiments of Amherst, Townsend, Lascelles, Anstruther and highlanders, the grenadiers and light infantry, under arms. But when all was ready for the march the governor received information, by the lieutenant of an advanced party, that the French army had abandoned their trenches °.

The destruction of their ships, on the 16th, struck them like a thunder-bolt. They went off the same evening, and raised the siege with such precipitation, that they abandoned thirty-four cannon, six mortars, all their field-equipage, their provisions, and, finally, an immense quantity of every implement necessary for a siege.

Enemy
pursued.

The governor instantly pushed out at the head of the intended sortie, and the troops marched with the utmost alacrity and expedition, in hopes of overtaking and forcing their rear. But the enemy had got too much the start; and their terrors gave them swiftness to improve the time and ground: so that they had passed the Caprouge before he could come up with them. Where he made many prisoners, and took much baggage, pursuing them till they recovered their former

° However, we took several prisoners, and much baggage, which would otherwise have escaped. They left their camp standing, all their baggage, stores, magazines of provisions and ammunition, thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, four of which were brass twelve pounders, ten field pieces, six mortars, four petards, a large quantity of scaling-ladders, and entrenching tools beyond number.

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assylum, at Jaques-Quartier^p, where we shall leave them to bewail the loss of their honour and their country, till we have related the means by which their final destruction, and the total reduction or conquest of all Canada, was effected.

General Amherst could not proceed to put an end to the Gallic power, at the conclusion of the last year, in North America. He was obliged to return into winter-quarters^q. He resumed that service as soon as the season would permit. But before he could reach Oswego (on the 9th of July) two French vessels had crossed the lake, and appeared off that fort. Being informed of this, the general ordered the *Mondega*, carrying 4 nine pounders, 14 six pounders and 100 seamen; and the *Mohawk*, carrying 16 six pounders and 90 seamen, to sail in quest of them, and if possible to cut them off from their harbour. General Amherst, during his stay at this fort, employed his time in every useful expedient to improve the troops and to forward his intended operations

A. D.
1760.

General Amherst resumes the expedition against Montreal.

^p It is remarked by one, who was at Quebec on this occasion, That by recapitulating all that has been mentioned, and adding, that 1000 men have died during the winter, and near 2000 have been alternately in the hospital, it will appear that 4000 men, or thereabouts, have accomplished all the work, and sustained incredible fatigues for eight months together, and at a season designed, in other countries, for the relief and refreshment of troops. Let it further be observed, that it was impossible to receive any pay during the whole winter; yet nobody ever grumbled (a circumstance very extraordinary among common soldiers). Thus have we equalled, if not surpassed, our forefathers in many things.

^q See page 134, 135. Vol. III.

A. D.
1760.

Embarks
at Oswego.

against the enemy. For it was the 9th of August before Schuyler's regiment arrived.

The whole army was ordered to embark at day-break, next morning. But the batteaus being not quite completed, the general embarked with the regulars, and left General Gage to bring up the provincials and the rear; who sailed next morning, and joined General Amherst on the 14th.

Advanceth
through
many dif-
ficulties.

This navigation was attended with several difficulties, from its own nature and the want of sufficient pilots; which greatly retarded the armed vessels. On the 16th he joined Colonel Haldiman's advanced post, at the bottom of the lake, which consisted of the light infantry, grenadiers and one battalion of royal highlanders, detached thither on the 7th, to assist the vessels to find a passage to La Galette: and here the general had intelligence of the enemy's two vessels, which had escaped the vigilance of those sent in quest of them on the 14th of July. An Oswegatchie Indian informed him that one of the French vessels was a-ground at the fort, and so much damaged that she could not get off; and that the other lay off Galette. At this juncture the armed vessels could not be found, having got out of the right channel: wherefore his Excellency fitted his row galleys to attack the vessel. This account also hastened his attack of the enemy's post at Isle Royale. As this post was deprived of any assistance from their ships, he resolved to proceed, without halting, down the river Swegatchie for that

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A. D.
1760.

purpose; and reached the Point de Baril with the advanced guard (consisting of the rangers, Gage's, the light infantry and grenadiers, with five row galleys; under the command of Colonel Grant) very late in the day of the 16th. They could see the French vessel a-ground, but as it was a calm, there was no reaching of her that night: and she fired her signal guns, to alarm the post on shore. The advanced guard was ordered to row into the south shore, till the return of day; and the main body of the army reached Point de Baril late at night.

Next morning, the 17th, at day-break, the enemy's vessel made an attempt to sail up the river: Colonel Williamson gave her chase, with five row galleys, and came up with her and took her, after a hot engagement, in which the galleys fired one hundred and eighteen rounds, and the French vessel seventy-two'; and she had three men killed and twelve wounded. Her crew consisted of 100 men, commanded by M. la Broquerie.

Destroyed
their arm-
ed ship.

This day the general took possession of Swe-gatchie, and encamped there, while he detached two engineers, with parties, to view the coasts and situation of the islands near L'Isle Royale; whose report, next day, being favourable, General Amherst, though the weather was excessive bad, was determined to seize the first moment to invest the place. He set off with Gage's regiment,

Swe-gatchie
surrenders.

* From ten 12 pounders and four swivels.

three

A. D.
1760.

Attacks
and con-
quers Isle
Royale.

three row galleys, the light infantry, grenadiers; first brigade of regulars, Schuyler's regiment of provincials, and the greatest part of the Indians with Sir William Johnson, and some light field pieces; and rowed down by the north shore, passed the fort, and took possession of the islands and coasts below it; whilst two companies of rangers, two row galleys, the second brigade of regulars, Lyman's regiment of provincials, with the remainder of the Indians, under the command of Colonel Haldimand, were to row down the south shore, to take post opposite to the fort, where they were under cover; the other provincial regiments, and the heavy artillery, remained at Swegatchie. The vessel sailed down the middle of the river, between the two columns, to anchor at random shot from the fort. This was effected with a smart cannonading from the fort on the troops, rowing along the north shore, and against the vessel, which sunk one row galley, and killed two men in another row galley: one man had his thigh shot off, and seven were wounded: Several boats and oars were struck with their shot. However, at eleven at night, the last boat came in, and the place was compleatly invested. Isle Galot and L'Abbe Picquets Island were found abandoned; the enemy having left them in a great hurry; for the scalps they had taken on the Mohawk river, with tools and utensils of various kinds, two swivels, some barrels of pitch, and a quantity of iron, were left behind. Our Indians,

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on finding the scalps, burnt the chapel, and all the houses.

A. D.
1760.

On the 19th, at day-break, the general viewed the islands, with Colonel Williamson and Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, and fixed the batteries, one on each of the two islands nearest the fort; and one on a point of land on the south shore. Detachments were immediately made to open ground.

The enemy kept a front fire at the vessels: but the general ordered his vessels to avoid firing, rather than keep it up, and spent the 19th in preparing fascines, and every necessary for carrying on the siege. Which preparations were so well conducted, that all the batteries began to play on the 23d, and did so much execution, that the enemy drew in their guns, and tried to put them under cover. General Amherst also made a disposition for storming the fort, after some time firing: but he was obliged, for the present, to put it off; his vessels not complying with his orders so well as he could have wished. But the enemy, not able to keep to their guns, and many of their guns being dismounted and disabled, the garrison beat a parley in the afternoon, which ended in a capitulation. By which his Majesty was put into possession of a fort and post, that entirely commanded lake Ontario, and effectually covered the Mohawk river, and all that part of his Majesty's dominions from the inroads and barbarities of the savages.

* About sixty miles from Lake Ontario, down the river St. Lawrence.

Having

A. D.
1760.

Encamps
on Isle au
Chat.

Damage
and loss by
water.

Subdues
the Isle of
Perrott.

Having repaired the fort, mended the batteaus, fitted out the vessels, and made such other preparations, as were judged essentially necessary for the passage of the army down the river, the general proceeded for Montreal, the place of his destination, on the 31st, and arrived at the Isle au Chat, a passage of about twenty-four miles: where he encamped that night; and next day arrived at Johnson's Point, fourteen miles lower, being interrupted and delayed by the parties of the enemy that lined and fired upon the batteaus from the shore, as they passed the Long Saut; and by the rapides and broken waves, which filled many of the batteaus with water, and drowned a corporal and three men of the royal highlanders. On the 2d this armament rowed twenty-four miles down lake St. Francis, arrived at Point au Beaudet; encamped and hauled in their boats under the shelter of coves, before night; when there arose a very violent storm of rain and wind; which continued all next day. But the army embarked again soon after day-break on the 4th, and arrived, that night, at Isle Perrott, with the loss of eighty-four men drowned, twenty-nine batteaus of regiments, seventeen of artillery, some artillery and stores, seventeen whale-boats, and one row galley, occasioned by the rapides. The regulars encamped upon this island, about two miles from the river. But the greatest part of our artillery, and the provincials, encamped on the river side, it being too late for them to proceed to the head-quarters.

The islanders abandoned their houses, and fled into the woods, at the approach of the English. But next day, being invited to come in by some of their own people, who were taken and dispatched to them, with assurances of protection, upon their submission and good-behaviour; they returned to their habitations, took the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty; and being suffered to keep quiet possession of their houses, they seemed, as much surprized with their treatment, as they were happy in it.

A. D.
1760.

It was the 6th before the boats could be repaired: when, soon after day-break, the whole army embarked, and the boats rowed in four columns by the right, it being intended to land on the left, at La Chine, on the Island of Montreal.

Lands at
La Chine.

Which lay at the distance of three leagues only from this place of embarkation: and the weather proving favourable, they arrived at the place of destination soon in the day, and landed without any other opposition than a few random shot from flying parties, that ran into Montreal, breaking down a bridge between our camp and the town.

General Amherst, determined to make the most of the day, marched on towards the city, repaired the bridge, and after a march of two leagues, formed the troops on a plain before Montreal; having left the New York troops, and two Connecticut regiments at La Chine, to protect the boats. The army, thus encamped, lay all night on their arms, and got up 2 twelve pounders, 5

Encamps
before
Montreal.

fix

A. D. 1760. six pounders and 5 three pounders of light artillery.

A party desired from the governor.

In this situation General Amherst, next morning, received a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Which was brought by two officers, and referred his Excellency to Colonel Bougainville for particulars: and this conference produced a cessation of arms till twelve o'clock. This colonel brought proposals for a capitulation from the French governor, and they were returned by General Amherst, with such alterations, restrictions

“ S I R, Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

I send to your Excellency M. de Bougainville, colonel of foot, accompanied by M. de Lac, captain in the regiment de la Reine; you may rely on all that the said colonel shall say to your Excellency in my name. I have the honour, &c.

VAUDREUIL.”

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

“ S I R,

I am to thank your Excellency for the letter you honoured me with, this morning, by Colonel Bougainville: since which, the terms of capitulation, which you demand, have been delivered to me. I send them back to your Excellency, with those I have resolved to grant you; and there only remains for me to desire, that your Excellency will take a determination as soon as possible, as I shall make no alteration in them. If your Excellency accepts of these conditions, you may be assured that I will take care they shall be duly executed, and that I shall take a particular pleasure to alleviate your fate as much as possible, by procuring to you and to your *Suite*, all the conveniences that depend on me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST.”

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A. D.
1760.

" S I R, Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

I have received the letter your Excellency has honoured me with this day, as well as the answer to the articles which I had caused to be proposed to you by M. de Bougainville.

I send the said colonel back to your Excellency, and I persuade myself that you will allow him to make, by word of mouth, a representation to your Excellency, which I cannot dispense with myself from making.

I have the honour to be, &c.

VAUDREUIL."

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

" S I R,

Major Abercrombie has this moment delivered to me the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me, in answer to that which I had addressed to you, with the conditions on which I expect that Canada shall surrender: I have already had the honour to inform your Excellency, that I should not make any alteration in them: I cannot deviate from this resolution: your Excellency will, therefore, be pleased to take a determination immediately, and acquaint me in your answer, whether you will accept of them or not.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

" S I R, Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

I send to your Excellency M. de Lapaufe, assistant quarter master general to the army, on the subject of the too rigorous article, which you impose on the troops by the capitulation, and to which it would not be possible for us to subscribe; be pleased to consider the severity of that article.

I flatter myself, that you will be pleased to give ear to the representations that officer will make to you on my part, and have regard to them. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Le Chevalier de LEVIS."

S I R,

A. D.
1760.

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760.

“ S I R,

The letter which you have sent me by M. de Lapaufe, has this instant been delivered to me: all I have to say, in answer to it, is, that I cannot alter in the least the conditions which I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil: and I expect his definitive answer, by the bearer, on his return: on every other occasion I shall be glad to convince you of the consideration with which I am, &c.

(Signed) JEFF. AMKERST.”

“ S I R,

Montreal, Sept. 8, 1760.

I have determined to accept the conditions which your Excellency proposes. In consequence whereof, I desire you will come to a determination with regard to the measures to be taken relative to the signing of the said articles.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) VAUDREUIL.”

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 8, 1760.

“ S I R,

In order to fulfil so much the sooner, on my part, the execution of the conditions which your Excellency has just determined to accept, I would propose that you should sign the articles which I sent yesterday to your Excellency, and that you would send them back to me by Major Abercrombie, that a duplicate may be made of them immediately, which I shall sign and send to your Excellency.

I repeat here the assurances of the desire I have to procure to your Excellency, and to the officers and troops under your command, all possible conveniences and protection: for which purpose I reckon, that you will judge it proper, that I should cause possession to be taken of the gates, and place guards immediately after the reciprocal signature of the capitulation: however, I shall leave this to your own convenience, since I propose it only with a view of maintaining good order, and to prevent, with the greater certainty, any thing being attempted against the good faith, and the terms of capitulation; in order to which I shall give the command of those

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cular articles *, that it was next morning before the capitulation could be completed and signed *. To which

A. D.
1760.

troops to Colonel Haldimand, who I am persuaded will be agreeable to you. I have the honour to be, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

Camp before Montreal, Sept. 3, 1760.

" S I R,

I have just sent to your Excellency, by Major Abercrombie, a duplicate of the capitulation, which you have signed this morning; and, in conformity thereto, and to the letters which have passed between us, I likewise send Colonel Haldimand to take possession of one of the gates of the town, in order to enforce the observation of good order, and prevent differences on both sides.

I flatter myself that you will have room to be fully satisfied with my choice of the said colonel, on this occasion.

I have the honour, &c.

JEFF. AMHERST."

* Particularly the thirtieth article, which is a copy of the most consummate impudence of a French negociator.

† *Articles of capitulation between his Excellency General Amherst, commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's troops and forces in North America, and his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Croix of the royal and military order of St. Lewis, governor and lieutenant-general for the King in Canada.*

Article I. Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present capitulation, the English general shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the gates of the town of Montreal: and the English garrison shall not come into the place, till after the French troops shall have evacuated it.

" The whole garrison of Montreal must lay down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war. Imme-

Vol. IV.

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diately

A. D.
1760.

which they were forced by the seasonable arrival of Governor Murray, who, during the time of

nego-

diately after the signing of the present capitulation, the King's troops shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards necessary to preserve good order in the town."

Art. II. The troops, and the militia, who are in garrison in the town of Montreal, shall go out by the gate of with all the honours of war, six pieces of cannon and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece. The same shall be granted to the garrison of Trois Rivieres, as to the honours of war.

Art. III. The troops and militia, who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques-Quartier, and in the Island St. Helen, and other forts, shall be treated in the same manner, and shall have the same honours: and these troops shall go to Montreal or Trois Rivieres, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the first sea port in France, by the shortest way. The troops who are in our posts, situated on our frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other posts, shall enjoy the same honours, and be treated in the same manner.

"All these troops are not to serve during the present war, and likewise shall lay down their arms. The rest is granted."

Art. IV. The militia, after being come out of the above towns, forts, and posts, shall return to their homes, without being molested, on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms.

"Granted."

Art. V. The troops, who keep the field, shall raise their camp, and march, drums beating, with their arms, baggage and artillery, to join the garrison of Montreal, and shall be treated in every respect the same.

"These troops, as well as the others, must lay down their arms."

Art. VI. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and of his most Christian Majesty, soldiers, militia or seamen, who shall have deserted, or left the service of their Sovereign, and

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negociation, landed with his troops from Québec, below the town; and of the corps, commanded by

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1760.

carried arms in North America, shall be, on both sides, pardoned for their crimes: they shall be, respectively, returned to their country; if not, each shall remain where he is, without being sought after, or molested.

“ Refused.”

Art. VII. The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, sabres, ammunition of war, and in general, every thing that belongs to his most Christian Majesty, as well in the towns of Montreal, and Trois Rivieres, as in the forts, and posts mentioned in the third article, shall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the commissaries, who shall be appointed to receive the same in the name of his Britannic Majesty. Duplicates of the said inventories shall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

“ This is every thing that can be asked on this article.”

Art. VIII. The officers, soldiers, militia, seamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds or sickness, as well in the hospital as in private houses, shall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.

“ The sick and wounded shall be treated the same as our own people.”

Art. IX. The English general shall engage to send back to their own homes the Indians and Moraigans, who make part of his armies, immediately after the signing of the present capitulation. And in the mean time, in order to prevent all disorders on the part of those who may not be gone away, the said general shall give safeguards to such persons as shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country.

“ The first part refused. There never has been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order shall be preserved.”

Art. X. His Britannic Majesty's general shall be answerable for all disorders on the part of his troops, and oblige

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by Colonel Haviland, from the Isle aux Noix,
which arrived soon after on the south shore, op-
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them to pay the damages they may do, as well in the towns
as in the country.

“ Answered by the preceding article.”

Art. XI. The English general shall not oblige the Marquis
of Vaudreuil, to leave the town of Montreal before the
and no person shall be lodged in his house till he is
gone. The Chevalier Levis, commander of the land forces ;
the principal officers and majors of the land forces, and of
the colony troops, the engineers, officers of the artillery, and
commissary of war, shall also remain at Montreal to the said
day, and shall keep their lodgings there. The same shall be
observed with regard to M. Bigot, intendant, the commissaries
of marines, and writers, whom the said M. Bigot shall have
occasion for ; and no person shall be lodged at the intendant's
house before he shall be gone.

“ The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all these gentlemen, shall
be masters of their houses, and shall embark when the King's
ships shall be ready to sail for Europe ; and all possible con-
veniences shall be granted them.”

Art. XII. The most convenient vessel that can be found
shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, by the
straitest passage, to the first sea port in France. The neces-
sary accommodations shall be made for him. The Marquis
de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, governor of Montreal, and *Suite*
of this general. This vessel shall be properly victualled at the
expence of his Britannic Majesty ; and the Marquis de Vau-
dreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being ex-
amined ; and his equipages, plate, baggage, and also those
of his *Suite*.

“ Granted, except the archives, which shall be necessary
for the government of the country.”

Art. XIII. If before, or after, the embarkation of the
Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of peace should arrive, and that,
by the treaty, Canada should remain to his most Christian
Majesty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall return to Quebec or
Montreal, every thing shall return to its former state under

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the dominion of his most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall become null and of no effect.

“ Whatever the King may have done on this subject, shall be obeyed.”

Art. XIV. Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France le Chevalier de Levis, the principal officers, and the staff of the land forces, the engineers, officers of artillery, and their *Suite*. These vessels shall likewise be victualled, and the necessary accommodations provided in them. The said officers shall take with them their papers, without being examined, and also their equipages and baggage. Such of the said officers as shall be married, shall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who shall also be victualled.

“ Granted ; except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all the officers, of whatever rank they may be, shall faithfully deliver up to us all the charts and plans of the country.”

Art. XV. A vessel shall be appointed for the passage of M. Bigot, the intendant, with his *Suite* : In which vessel the proper accommodations shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him : he shall likewise embark with him his papers, which shall not be examined, his equipages, plate and baggage, and those of his *Suite*. This vessel shall also be victualled as before-mentioned.

“ Granted ; with the same reserve, as in the preceding article.”

Art. XVI. The English general shall also order the necessary and most convenient vessels to carry to France M. de Longueuil, governor of Trois Rivières, the staff of the colony, and the commissary of the marine : they shall embark therein their families, servants, baggage and equipages ; and they shall be properly victualled during the passage, at the expense of his Britannic Majesty.

“ Granted.”

Art. XVII. The officers and soldiers, as well of the land forces, as of the colony, and also the marine officers and sea-

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separate expeditions against one place, by different
routs, without any communication with each other,
and

men, who are in the colony, shall be likewise embarked for France, and sufficient and convenient vessels shall be appointed for them. The land and sea officers, who shall be married, shall take with them their families, and all of them shall have liberty to embark their servants and baggage. As to the soldiers and seamen, those who are married shall take with them their wives and children, and all of them shall embark their havresacks and baggage. These vessels shall be properly and sufficiently victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

“ Granted.”

Art. XVIII. The officers, soldiers, and all the followers of the troops, who shall have their baggage in the field, may send for it before they depart, without any hindrance or molestation.

“ Granted.”

Art. XIX. An hospital-ship shall be provided by the English general, for such of the wounded and sick officers, soldiers and seamen, as shall be in a condition to be carried to France, and shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.

It shall be the same with regard to the other wounded and sick officers, soldiers and sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered. They shall be at liberty to carry with them their wives, children, servants and baggage; and the said soldiers and sailors shall not be solicited nor forced to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty.

“ Granted.”

Art. XX. A commissary, and one of the King's writers, shall be left to take care of the hospitals, and of whatever may relate to the service of his most Christian Majesty.

“ Granted.”

Art. XXI. The English general shall also provide ships for carrying to France the officers of the supreme council, of
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and through a most dangerous and difficult country, met almost at the same time at their rendezvous.

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justice, police, admiralty, and all other officers, having commissions or brevets from his most Christian Majesty, for them, their families, servants and equipages, as well as for the other officers: and they shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. They shall, however, be at liberty to stay in the colony, if they think proper, to settle their affairs, or to withdraw to France, whenever they think fit.

“ Granted: but if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered to us.”

Art. XXII. If there are any military officers, whose affairs should require their presence in the colony till next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it, after having obtained the permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war.

“ All those whose private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who shall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.”

Art. XXIII. The commissary for the King's provisions, shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to answer the debts he has contracted in the colony, on account of what he has furnished; but if he should prefer to go to France this year, he shall be obliged to leave till next year, a person to transact his business. This private person shall preserve, and have liberty to carry off all his papers, without being inspected. His clerks shall have leave to stay in the colony, or go to France; and in this last case, a passage and subsistence shall be allowed them on board the ships of his Britannic Majesty, for them, their families, and their baggage.

“ Granted.”

Art. XXIV. The provisions, and other kind of stores which shall be found in the magazines of the commissary, as well in

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Town and
all Canada
surrenders.

Thus before General Amherst had time to raise a battery, the enemy was struck with such a panic,

the town of Montreal, and of Trois Rivieres, as in the country, shall be preserved to him, the said provisions belonging to him, and not to the King, and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French or English.

“ Every thing that is actually in the magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the English commissary for the King's forces.”

Art. XXV. A passage to France shall likewise be granted on board of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as victuals, to such officers of the India company, as shall be willing to go thither, and they shall take with them their families, servants and baggage. The chief agent of the said company, in case he should chuse to go to France, shall be allowed to leave such person as he shall think proper, till next year, to settle the affairs of the said company, and to recover such sums, as are due to them. The said chief agent shall keep possession of all the papers belonging to the said company, and they shall not be liable to inspection.

“ Granted.”

Art. XXVI. The said company shall be maintained in the property of the Ecarlatines and Castors, which they may have in the town of Montreal; they shall not be touched under any pretence whatever; and the necessary facilities shall be given to the chief agent, to send this year, his Castors to France, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, paying the freight on the same footing as the English would pay it.

“ Granted, with regard to what may belong to the company, or to private persons; but if his most Christian Majesty has any share in it, that must become the property of the King.

Art. XXVII. The free exercise of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, shall subsist intire; in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly.

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These people shall be obliged, by the English government, to pay to the priests, the tithes and all the taxes they were used to pay, under the government of his most Christian Majesty.

“ Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion. The obligation of paying the tithes to the priests, will depend on the King’s pleasure.”

Art. XXVIII. The chapter, priests, curates and missionaries, shall continue, with an entire liberty, their exercise and functions of their cures, in the parishes of the towns and countries.

“ Granted.”

Art. XXIX. The grand vicars, named by the chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the episcopal see, shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country parishes, as they shall think proper. They shall, at all times, be free to visit the different parishes of the diocese, with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of death of the future bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.

“ Granted ; except what regards the following article.”

Art. XXX. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the bishop of the colony, who shall always be of the Roman communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman religion.

“ Refused.”

Art. XXXI. The bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace ; and, in the mean time, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the town or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his

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strength of his nation, and the success of the Gallic arms in Europe, was reduced to the necessity of

his predecessor exercised under the French dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him.

" This article is comprised under the foregoing."

Art. XXXII. The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges. They shall continue to observe their rules. They shall be exempted from lodging any military, and it shall be forbid to trouble them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries: safeguards shall even be given them, if they desire them.

" Granted."

Art. XXXIII. The preceding article shall likewise be executed with regard to the communities of jesuits and recolets, and of the house of the priests of Saint Sulpice at Montreal. These last, and the jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies and missions, as heretofore.

" Refused till the King's pleasure be known."

Art. XXXIV. All the communities, and all the priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the seignories, and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they may be. And the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions.

" Granted."

Art. XXXV. If the cannons, priests, missionaries, the priests of the seminary of the foreign missions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the jesuits and the recolets, chuse to go to France, passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships: and they shall all have leave to sell, in whole, or in part, the estates and moveables which they possess in the colonies, either to the French, or to the English, without the least hindrance or obstacle from the British government.

They may take with them, or send to France, the produce of what nature soever it be, of the said goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the 26th article. And such of
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of signing a capitulation, by which not only Montreal, but all Canada, an immense country, was

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the said priests who chuse to go this year, shall be victualled during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty; and shall take with them their baggage.

“ They shall be masters to dispose of their estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all that belongs to them, to France.”

Art. XXXVI. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, merchants, and other persons, who chuse to retire to France, shall have leave to do so, from the English general, who shall procure them a passage. And, nevertheless, if, from this time to that decision any French or Canadian merchants, or other persons, shall desire to go to France, they shall likewise have leave from the English general. Both the one and the other shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage.

“ Granted.”

Art. XXXVII. The lords of manors, the military and civil officers, the Canadians, as well in the towns as in the country, the French settled or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the entire peaceable property and possession of their goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandizes, furs, and other effects, even their ships; they shall not be touched, nor the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatsoever. They shall have liberty to keep, let, or sell them, as well to the French, as to the English; to take away the produce of them, in bills of exchange, furs, specie, or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the 26th article. They shall also have the furs which are in the posts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal. And for this purpose they shall have leave to send this year, or the next

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was surrendered to the King of Great Britain. Accordingly the British troops took immediate possession

next, canoes, fitted out, to fetch such of the said furs as shall have remained in those posts.

“ Granted, as in the 26th article.”

Art. XXXVIII. All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada, on the side of Acadia, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and shall enjoy the same privileges.

“ The King is to dispose of his ancient subjects: In the mean time they shall enjoy the same privilege as the Canadians.”

Art. XXXIX. None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michillamakinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried foldiers, remaining in Canada, shall be carried or transported into the English colonies, or to Old England, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.

“ Granted; except with regard to the Canadians.”

Art. XL. The savages, or Indian allies of his most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they chuse to remain there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his most Christian Majesty. They shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual vicars general, and the bishop, when the episcopal see shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.

“ Granted; except the last article, which has been already refused.”

Art. XLI. The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the colony, shall not be forced to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever. The British government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.

“ They become subjects of the King.”

Art. XLII.

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possession of all the fortresses in that province, and the French garrisons were engaged not to serve against Great Britain during the war.

A. D.
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Art. XLII. The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris, and the laws and usages established for this country; and they shall not be subject to any other imposts than those which were established under the French dominions.

“ Answered by the preceding articles, and particularly by the last.”

Art. XLIII. The papers of the government shall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and shall go to France with him. These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatsoever.

“ Granted, with the reserve already made.”

Art. XLIV. The papers of the intendency of the officers of comptroller of the marine, of the ancient and new treasurers, of the King's magazines, of the office of the revenues, and forces of St. Maurice, shall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the intendant, and they shall be embarked for France in the same vessel with him. These papers shall not be examined.

“ The same as to this article.”

Art. XLV. The registers, and other papers of the supreme council of Quebec, of the Provoite, and admiralty of the said city; those of the royal jurisdictions of Trois Rivieres, and of Montreal; those of the Seigneurial jurisdictions of the colony; the minutes of the acts of the notaries of the towns and of the countries; and, in general, the acts, and other papers that may serve to prove the estates and fortunes of the citizens, shall remain in the colony, in the rolls of the jurisdictions on which these papers depend.

“ Granted.”

Art. XLVI. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favours and conditions,
granted

A. D.
1760.

Thus concluded the campaign in North America against the French, with the important conquest

granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the countries above, as in the interior of the colony.

“ Granted.”

Art. XLVII. The negroes and Panis of both sexes, shall remain, in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong: they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony, or to sell them; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

“ Granted; except those who shall have been made prisoners.”

Art. XLVIII. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the general and staff officers of the land forces, the governors and staff officers of the different places of the colony; the military and civil officers, and all other persons, who shall leave the colony, or who are already absent, shall have leave to name and appoint attorneys to act for them, and in their name, in the administration of their effects, moveable and immoveable, until the peace. And if, by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominion, these officers or other persons, or attorneys for them, shall have leave to sell their manors, houses, and other estates, their moveables, and effects, &c. to carry away, or send to France, the produce, either in bills of exchange, specie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the 37th article.

“ Granted.”

Art. XLIX. The inhabitants and other persons who shall have suffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their representations to the British government, who shall render them due justice, against the person to whom it shall belong.

“ Granted.”

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quest of Montreal: without which it was impossible for us to reap the fruits, that we now enjoy in the possession of all Canada, nor preserve the conquest of Quebec, nor cover our provinces from inroads,

Art. L. and last. The present capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide* on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction, and any other pretence with regard to the preceding capitulations, and without making use of reprisals.

“Granted.”

P. S. Art. LI. The English general shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns; and that they do not, in any manner, insult the subjects of his most Christian Majesty.

“Care shall be taken that the Indians do not insult any of the subjects of his most Christian Majesty.”

Art. LII. The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall be embarked, at latest, 15 days after the signing of the present capitulation.

“Answered by the 11th article.”

Art. LIII. The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal, and other posts which they now occupy, till they shall be embarked for their departure: passports however shall be granted to those, who shall want them for the different places of the colony, to take care of their affairs.

“Granted.”

Art. LIV. All the officers and soldiers of the troops in the service of France, who are prisoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent back, as soon as possible, to France, where their ransom or exchange shall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and if any of these officers have affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there.

“Granted.”

Art. L.

Art. LV.

A. D. 1760. inroads, insults, and encroachments. For, it will be shewn in the next volumè, by the hostilities committed by the Cherokees, that while the French were in a condition to maintain the least property or interest on that continent, there could be no hopes of putting an happy end to the American war.

Art. LV. As to the officers of the militia, and the Acadians, who are prisoners in New England, they shall be sent back to their countries.

“ Granted; except what regards the Acadians.”

Done at Montreal. Sept. 8, 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

Done in the camp before Montreal, the 8th of Sept. 1760.

JEFF. AMHERST.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



