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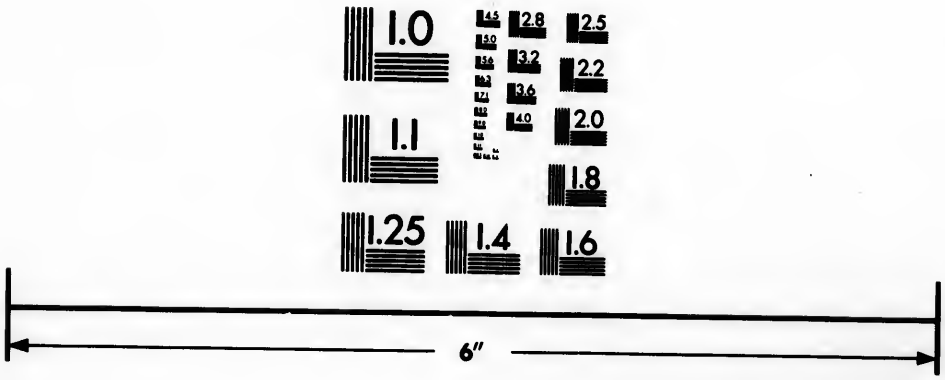

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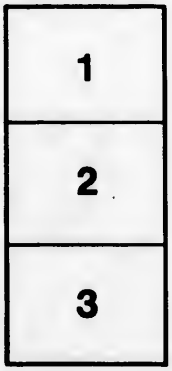

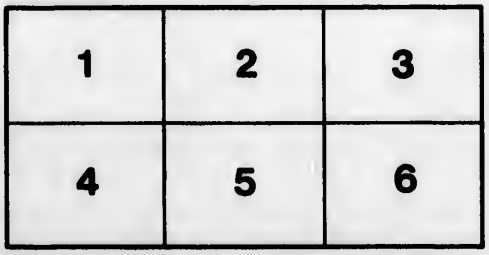

BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF THOSE

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,

TO WHOSE

INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT

THE

ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,

FOR

The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,

AND THEIR

PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.
Embellished with COPPER-PLATES,

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, Esq.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED FOR J. WILLIAMS, [No. 20.] DAME-STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXV.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

Containing the Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the accession of her Majesty Queen Anne, to the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

WE are now come down to that reign, under which the nation was extremely happy at home, and her reputation carried to the highest height abroad.

Queen Anne acceded to the throne on the eighth of March, 1701-2 being then about thirty-eight. She had shewn a very just moderation in her conduct from the time of the Revolution, and she opened her reign by a well-considered speech to her privy-council, in which she declared how sensible she was of the loss the nation sustained by the death of the late king, and the burthen it brought upon herself, which nothing, she said, could encourage her to undergo, but the great concern she had for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberty of her country; and that no pains should be wanting on her part, to defend and support them. She expressed plainly her opinion for

 carrying

carrying on the preparations against France, and supporting the allies; and said, she would countenance those who concurred with her in maintaining the present constitution.

In pursuance of this declaration, the queen wrote to the states-general to assure them, that she would follow exactly the steps of her predecessor, in the steady maintenance of the common cause against the common enemy: and as a further proof of her sincerity, she appointed the earl of Marlborough, whom the late king had sent ambassador to the states, captain-general of her forces, and gave him a blue ribband. She likewise declared Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and George Churchill, Esq; admiral of the blue. These steps were sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the queen's intentions; she appointed her consort George prince of Denmark, lord high admiral.

The first expedition in the new reign, was that of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, which was intended for intercepting a squadron of French ships, that were to sail from the Groyne, in order to carry the new viceroy of Mexico to the Spanish West-Indies. This design was concerted by the earl of Pembroke. He sailed on the 12th of May, 1702, with eight ships of the third rate, one fourth rate, and two frigates; when he was at sea, he communicated his orders to his captains, which had been absolutely secret. On the sixteenth he found himself on the coast of Galicia; whereupon he sent the Salisbury and Dolphin to gain intelligence, in which they failed. He then sent them a second time, and they brought off a Spanish boat and a French bark, with several prisoners, who asserted, that there were thirteen French ships of war, bound from Rochelle to the Groyne; and therefore Sir John issued the necessary orders for keeping his squadron between them and the shore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. These orders were issued on the twenty-seventh, and the very next day he discovered fourteen sail between cape Prior and cape Ortugal, close under the shore, to whom he instantly gave chace; but they outsailed him, and got into the Groyne before he could come up with them.

Upon this he called a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that it was most expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed, in case they could do nothing on the coast of Spain, to repair into the Soundings, there to protect the trade, and to give notice of their return to the board of admiralty. This Sir John did, about the middle of June; but then the squadron being distressed for provisions, it was found necessary, on the twentieth of that month, to repair into port.

The miscarriage of this design made a very great noise: it was discovered that only eight of the twelve ships that had been chased

chaſed into the Groyne, were men of war, and that the reſt were only tranſports: it was alſo ſaid, that Sir John Munden had called off the Saliſbury, when ſhe was actually engaged with a French man of war, and that he had diſcharged the priſoners he had taken very precipitately. To quaſh theſe reports, and to explain the whole affair to the world, the high-admiral iſſued his commiſſion for a court-martial, for the trial of Sir John Munden, at which ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were preſent.

This court ſat on board her majeſty's ſhip the Queen at Spithead, on the thirteenth of July, 1702, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, admiral of the white, preſident. The court being ſworn, and having examined the ſeveral articles exhibited againſt rear-admiral Munden, gave their opinion, that he had fully cleared himſelf from the whole matter contained in them; and had complied with his inſtructions, and behaved himſelf with great zeal and diligence in the ſervice. But it was thought neceſſary to lay him aſide, that the impartiality of the new adminiſtration might the better appear.

On the fourth of May, 1702, her majeſty declared war againſt France and Spain; this declaration was thought neceſſary before the grand fleet ſailed. The great view of king William was to prevent the French from getting poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. With this view he reſolved to ſend a grand fleet, under the command of the then high-admiral, with a body of land forces, under the command of the duke of Ormond, to make themſelves maſters of Cadiz. By this means, and by the help of a ſquadron he had ſent into the Weſt-Indies, and which was to have been followed by another, as ſoon as Cadiz was taken, he hoped this might be effected.

The ſcheme was well laid, and the ſecret well kept; for though the preparing of ſo great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was ſo effectually concealed, that not only France, and Spain, but Portugal too, that crown being then in alliance with France and Spain, had equal cauſe to be alarmed; which had conſequences very favourable to the grand alliance in all thoſe countries. In ſome caſes, delay does as much as diſpatch in others. All the maritime provinces in the Spaniſh and French dominions were alarmed, the Italian ſtates were intimidated.

After the queen's acceſſion, Sir George Rooke was declared admiral of this fleet, vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England. The duke of Ormond remained, as before, and the Dutch having joined the fleet with their ſquadron, the admiral hoiſted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the 30th of May, 1702; and on the firſt of June the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral. Beſides Sir George Rooke, there were the following flags, *viz.* vice admiral Hopſon, rear-

admiral Fairburne, and rear-admiral Graydon. There were five Dutch flags. The ſtrength of this fleet conſiſted in thirty Engliſh, and twenty Dutch ſhips of the line, excluſive of ſmall veſſels and tenders. As to the troops, the Engliſh conſiſted of 9663, and the Dutch of 4138. On the nineteenth of June, the fleet came to anchor at St. Helen's. On the twenty-ſecond, the two rear-admirals, Fairbourne and Graydon, were detached with a ſquadron of thirty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, with inſtructions firſt to look into the Groyne, and in caſe there were any French ſhips there, to block them up; but if not, to cruiſe ten or twelve leagues N. W. off Cape Finiſterre, till they ſhould be joined by the fleet.

On the tenth of Auguſt the fleet reached the rock of Liſbon, where the next day they held a council of war. On the twelfth they came before Cadiz, and anchored at the diſtance of two leagues from the city, Sir Thomas Smith, quarter-maſter-general, having viewed and ſounded the ſhore on the backſide of the iſle of Leon, in which Cadiz ſtands, and reported, that there were very convenient bays to make a deſcent: the duke of Ormond vehemently inſiſted in a council of war, upon landing in that iſle, in order to make a ſudden and vigorous attack upon the town, where the conſternation was ſo great, that in all probability the enterprize would have ſucceeded; but ſeveral of the council, eſpecially the ſea-officers, oppoſing the duke's motion, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould firſt take the fort of St. Katharine, and Port St. Mary, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to Cadiz.

The next day the duke of Ormond ſent a trumpet with a letter to don Scipio de Brancacio, the governor, whom the duke had known in the Spaniſh ſervice, in the laſt confederate war: but in anſwer to the letter, inviting him to ſubmit to the houſe of Auſtria, Brancacio declared, he would acquit himſelf honourably of the truſt that was repoſed in him by the king. On the fifteenth of Auguſt, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the bay of Bulls, above a mile on the left of St. Katherine's fort, the cannon of which fired on the men all the while, but with little execution. The firſt that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Pallant, and the earl of Donnegal; they were obliged to wade to the ſhore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time captain Jumper in the Lenox, and ſome Engliſh and Dutch light frigates, kept firing on the horſe that appeared near the coaſt, and they were ſoon after repulſed by the Engliſh foot.

The duke of Ormond having left a garriſon of three hundred men in La Rotta, marched on the twentieth of Auguſt towards Port St. Mary's. Some ſquadrons of Spaniſh horſe, about ſix hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant-colonel Gore's horſe, amongſt the dragoons, but

but retired on the approach of the Engliſh grenadiers, of whom a detachment under colonel Pierce, of the guards, were ſent to take fort St. Katherine; which they did, and made a hundred and twenty Spaniards priſoners of war. The duke entered Port St. Mary's, attended by moſt of the general officers: and notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders the duke had iſſued againſt plunder, there was a very great failing in the execution of them, for which Sir Henry Bellaſis and Sir Charles O'Hara were put under arreſt. When they came to England, Bellaſis was diſmiſſed the ſervice; and though O'Hara eſcaped public cenſure, he did not private.

It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz while the Spaniards were in poſſeſſion of Matagorda fort, over againſt the Puntal, it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected againſt it; but upon every firing, the guns ſunk into the ſands, and after a fruitleſs attempt, the deſign was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, which was done accordingly, with intention to make the beſt of their way home. The Spaniards did indeed endeavour to diſturb them in their retreat, but with very little ſucceſs; a detachment of Engliſh and Dutch troops, under the command of colonel Fox, having quickly repulſed them, with the loſs of a few horſe, who were the moſt forward in the attack, which diſcouraged the reſt ſo, that few or none of our people were loſt in getting aboard their ſhips.

In moſt of our hiſtories, the Cadiz expedition is treated as not much to the reputation of the nation in general, and of Sir George Rooke in particular. The diſorders at St. Mary's did not at all affect Sir George Rooke, who had nothing to do with them, nor was ever charged with them. That he did not purſue with great eagerneſs the burning the ſhips, or deſtroying the place, has indeed been imputed to him as an act of bad conduct.

While the admiral was intent on bringing the fleet and forces ſafely home, Providence put it in his power to do his country a more ſignal and effectual ſervice, than even the taking of Cadiz would have been. Captain Hardy, who commanded her majeſty's ſhip the Pembroke, was ſent to water in Lagos bay, where he underſtood from his converſation with the French conſul, who induſtriouſly ſought it in order to boaſt of their good fortune, that they had lately received great news, though he would not tell him what it was. Soon after arrived an expreſs from Liſbon, with letters for the prince of Heſſe and Mr. Methuen; which, when he was informed they were no longer on board the fleet, he refuſed to deliver, and actually carried them back to Liſbon. In diſcourſe, however, he told captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the convoy of a French ſquadron, put into Vigo the ſixteenth of September. Captain Hardy made what haſte he could with this news to the fleet, with which, however, he did not meet

meet until the third of October, and even then the wind blew so hard, that he found it impossible to speak with the admiral till the sixth, when he informed him of what he had heard.

Upon this Sir George called a council of war immediately, by whom it was resolved to sail to the port of Vigo, and attack the enemy. In order to this, some small vessels were detached to make a discovery of the enemy's force, which was done effectually by the Kent's boat; and the captain understood that Monf. Chateau-Renault's squadron of French men of war, and the Spanish galleons, were all in that harbour; but the wind blowing a storm, drove the fleet to the northwards as far as Cape Finisterre, and it came not before the place till the eleventh of October. The passage into the harbour was not above three quarters of a mile over, with a battery of eight brass, and twelve iron guns on the north-side, and on the south was a platform of twenty brass guns, and twenty iron guns, as also a stone fort, with a breast-work and deep trench before it, ten guns mounted, and five hundred men in it. There was, from one side of the harbour to the other, a strong boom composed of ships-yards and top-masts, fastened together with three-inch-rope, very thick, and underneath with hausers and cables. The top-chain at each end was moored to a seventy gun ship, the one was called the Hope, which had been taken from the English, and the other was the Bourbonne. Within the boom were moored five ships, of between sixty and seventy guns each, with their broad-sides fronting the entrance of the passage, so as that they might fire at any ship that came near the boom, forts, and platform.

The admirals removed the flags from the great ships into third rates, the first and second rates being all too big to go in. Sir George Rooke went out of the Royal Sovereign into the Somerset; admiral Hopson out of the Prince George into the Torbay; admiral Fairbourne out of the St. George into the Essex; and admiral Graydon out of the Triumph, into the Nothumberland. A detachment of fifteen English, and ten Dutch men of war, with all their fire-ships, frigates, and bomb-vessels, were ordered to go upon the service.

The Duke of Ormond, to facilitate this attack, landed on the south-side of the river, at the distance of about six miles from Vigo, two thousand five hundred men; then lord Shannon at the head of five hundred men, attacked a stone fort at the entrance of the harbour, and having made himself master of a platform of forty pieces of cannon, the French governor, Monf. Sozel, ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, with a resolution to have forced his way through the English troops. But though there was great bravery, yet there was but very little judgment in this action; for his order was no sooner obeyed, than the grenadiers entered the place sword in hand, and forced the garrison, consisting of French and Spaniards, in

number

number about three hundred and fifty, to ſurrender priſoners of war. This was a conqueſt of the laſt importance, and obtained much ſooner than the enemy expected, who might otherwiſe have prevented it, ſince they had in the neighbourhood a body of at leaſt ten thouſand men, under the command of the prince of Brabançon. It was likewiſe of prodigious conſequence in reſpect to the fleet, ſince our ſhips would have been exceſſively galled by the fire from the platform and fort.

As ſoon, therefore, as our flag was ſeen flying from the place, the ſhips advanced, and vice-admiral Hopſon in the Torbay, crowding all the ſail he could, ran directly againſt the boom, broke it, and then the Kent, with the reſt of the ſquadron, Engliſh and Dutch, entered the harbour. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon them, both from their ſhips and batteries on ſhore, till the latter was poſſeſſed by our grenadiers, who ſeeing the execution done by their guns on the fleet, behaved with incredible reſolution. In the mean time, one of the enemy's fire-ſhips had laid the Torbay on board, and had certainly burnt her, but that luckily the fire-ſhip had a great quantity of ſnuff on board, which extinguiſhed the flames when ſhe came to blow up: yet the vice-admiral did not abſolutely eſcape. Her fore-top-maſt was ſhot by the board, moſt of the ſails burnt or ſcorched, the fore-yard conſumed to a coal, the larboard ſhrowds, fore and aft, burnt at the dead eyes, ſeveral ports blown off the hinges, her larboard-ſide entirely ſcorched, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned; of whom about ſixty jumped over-board, as ſoon as they were grappled by the fire-ſhip. The vice-admiral, when he found her in this condition, went on board the Monmouth, and hoiſted his flag there.

In the mean time captain William Bokenham, in the Aſſociation, a ſhip of ninety guns, lay with her broadſide to the battery, on the left of the harbour, which was ſoon diſabled; and captain Francis Wyvill, in the Barfleur, a ſhip of the ſame force, was ſent to batter the fort on the other ſide, which was very dangerous, ſince the enemy's ſhot had pierced the ſhip through and through, and for ſome time he durſt not fire a gun, becauſe our troops were between him and the fort; but they ſoon drove the enemy from their poſt, and then the ſtruggle was between the French firing, and our men endeavouring to ſave their ſhips and the galleons. In this diſpute the Aſſociation had her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed, the Kent had her fore-maſt ſhot, and the boatſwain wounded; the Barfleur had her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed, and two wounded; the Mary had her bowſprit ſhot. Of the troops there were only two lieutenants and thirty men killed, and four ſuperior officers wounded; a very inconſiderable loſs, conſidering that the enemy had fifteen

French

French men of war, two frigates, and a fire-ſhip, burnt, ſunk, or taken; as were alſo ſeventeen galleons.

We are next to mention what was performed by ſeveral detachments made for particular ſervices. Among theſe the ſquadron commanded by captain Leake, claims the firſt notice. On the 24th of June, 1702, he received inſtructions from his royal highneſs, to proceed to Newfoundland, with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to protect the trade. He ſailed in purſuance of theſe inſtructions, and arrived in Plymouth Sound, on the 22d of July, where having gained the beſt intelligence he could, as to the ſtate of our own affairs, and of thoſe of the enemy, he ſo effectually purſued the deſign on which he came thither, that by the end of October he found himſelf ready to proceed with the homeward-bound ſhips for England, having taken twenty-nine ſail of the enemy, and burnt two. Of theſe, three were laden with ſalt, twenty-five with fiſh, and one from Martinico with ſugar and molaſſes; beſides which, he burnt and deſtroyed all the fiſhing-boats and ſtages, *&c.* at Trepaſſy, St. Mary's, Colonet, great and little St. Lawrence's, and the iſland of St. Peter's at the entrance of Fortune-bay, being all very conſiderable eſtabliſhments of the French in Newfoundland. At the latter of theſe places, there was a ſmall fort of ſix guns, which he totally demoliſhed: after all which extraordinary ſucceſs, he ſailed home ſafely, though the weather was bad, and arrived with the ſquadron under his command at Portſmouth, on the 10th of November in the ſame year.

In this, as in the former war, nothing gave us or the Dutch more diſturbance, than the expeditions made from time to time by the French ſhips at Dunkirk, where this year they had a ſmall ſquadron under the command of the famous monſieur de Pointis. This induced his royal highneſs to equip a particular ſquadron under the command of commodore Beaumont, which had orders in the latter end of the month of June, to ſail to the mouth of that port, to keep the French ſhips from coming out. The ſtates-general had, for the ſame purpoſe, a much ſtronger ſquadron, under the command of rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, as they apprehended, though it afterwards appeared, that the French kept ſeven or eight ſhips there purely to amuſe us and the Dutch, and to keep us in motion.

I am now to ſpeak of admiral Benbow's expedition to the Weſt-Indies, and of his unfortunate death, the memory of which I could, for the honour of my country, wiſh ſhould be buried in oblivion; but ſince that is impoſſible, I ſhall give the faireſt and fulleſt account of the matter that I am able, having taken all the pains that I poſſibly could, to be perfectly informed of every circumſtance relating to that affair.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 3d of November, 1701, from whence he ſailed to examine the ſtate of the French, and of our own

own Leeward-islands. He found the former in some confusion, and the latter in so good a state of defence, that he did not look upon himself under any necessity of staying, and therefore sailed to Jamaica. There he received advice of two French squadrons being arrived in the West-Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that island and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his strength would permit, of both places, he formed a design of attacking Petit Guavas; but, before he could execute it, he had intelligence that Monsieur Ducasse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, with a squadron of French ships, having an intent to settle the assiento in favour of the French, and to destroy the English and Dutch trade for Negroes.

Upon this he detached rear-admiral Whetstone in pursuit of him, and on the 11th of July 1702, he sailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the rear-admiral: but having intelligence that Ducasse was expected at Leogane, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the 27th. Near the town he perceived several ships at anchor, and one under sail, who sent out her boat to discover his strength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which he learned, that there were six merchant-ships in the port, and that the ship they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the admiral pressed so hard, that the captain, seeing no probability of escaping, ran the ship ashore, and blew her up. On the 28th the admiral came before the town, where he found a ship of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The rest of the ships had sailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz.* Cul de Sac, but some of our ships, between them and that port took three of them, and sunk a fourth. The admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, sailed for Donna Maria bay, where he continued till the 10th of August, when having received advice, that Monsieur Ducasse was sailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to sail to Porto-Bello, he resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed that day for the Spanish coast of Santa Martha.

On the 19th in the evening, he discovered near that place, ten sail of tall ships to the westward: standing towards them, he found the best part of them to be French men of war: upon this he made the usual signal for a line of battle, going away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join them, the French steering along-shore under their top-sails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great Dutch-built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates a-stern were a long time in coming up, and the night advancing, the admiral steered along-side of the French; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended

tended not to make any attack, until the Defiance was got a-breast of the headmost.

Before he could reach that station, the Falmouth attempted the Dutch ship, the Windsor the ship a-breast of her, as did also the Defiance, and soon after, the rear-admiral himself was engaged, having first received the fire of the ship which was opposite to him; but the Defiance and Windsor stood no more than two or three broadsides, before they luft out of gun-shot, insomuch that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and galled him very much; nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the action continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the service if he had a new line of battle, and led himself on all tacks, he did so.

On the 20th at day-break, he found himself very near the enemy, with only the Ruby to assist him, the rest of the ships lying three, four, or five miles a-stern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-shot of the enemy, yet the latter was so civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon the sea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what sail they could: and the rest of the ships not coming up, the admiral and the Ruby plied them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night.

On the 21st, the admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's line, within point-blank-shot; but the Ruby being a-head of the same ship, she fired at her, as the other ship did likewise that was a-head of the admiral. The Breda engaged the ship that first attacked the Ruby, and plied her so warmly, that she was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the Ruby was in such a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement the rear-ship of the enemy's was a-breast of the Defiance and Windsor, but neither of those ships fired a single shot. On the 22d at day-break, the Greenwich was five leagues a-stern, though the signal for battle was never struck night or day; about three in the afternoon the wind came southerly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage.

On the 23d the enemy was six leagues a-head, and the great Dutch ship separated from them. At ten, the enemy raked with the wind at E. N. E. the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a shot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadside. About noon they recovered from the enemy a small English ship, called the Anne-galley, which they had taken off the rock of Lisbon. The Ruby being disabled, the admiral ordered her for Port-Royal. The rest of the squadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral

admiral continued to ſteer after them; but his ſhips, except the Falmouth, were ſoon a-ſtern again; at twelve the enemy began to ſeparate.

On the 24th, at two in the morning, they came up within call of the ſternmoſt, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadſide with double round below, and round and partridge aloft. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was ſhattered to pieces by a chain-ſhot, and he was carried down; but he preſently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the action till day. Then appeared the ruins of the enemy's ſhip of about ſeventy guns, her main-yard down and ſhot to pieces, her fore-top-ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides bored to pieces. The admiral ſoon after diſcovered the enemy ſtanding towards him with a ſtrong gale of wind. The Windſor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the diſabled ſhip, fired their broadſides, paſſed her, and ſtood to the ſouthward: then came the Defiance, fired part of her broadſide, when the diſabled ſhip returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-ſail, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the ſignal of battle.

The enemy ſeeing the other two ſhips ſtand to the ſouthward, expected they would have tacked and ſtood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they ſaw thoſe ſhips did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their diſabled ſhip and him, and poured in all their ſhot, by which they brought down his main-top-ſail-yard, and ſhattered his rigging very much, none of the other ſhips being near him, or taking the leaſt notice of his ſignals, though captain Fog ordered two guns to be fired at the ſhips a-head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, ſeeing things in this confuſion, brought to, and lay by their own diſabled ſhip, remanned and took her into tow. The Breda's rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being by that time refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to purſue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle ſignal out all the while, and captain Fog, by the admiral's orders, ſent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, "That he had better deſiſt; that the French were very ſtrong; "and that from what was paſt, he might gueſs he could make "nothing of it."

The brave admiral Benbow, more ſurpriſed at this language, than he would have been at the ſight of another French ſquadron, ſent for the reſt of the captains on board, in order to aſk their opinion.

opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were moſt of them in captain Kirby's way of thinking; which ſatisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as Kirby phraſed it, *there was nothing to be done*, though there was the faireſt opportunity that had yet offered. Our ſtrength was, at this time, one ſhip of twenty guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, and three of fifty; their maſts, yards, and all things elſe in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ſhip, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ſhips, from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and one of them diſabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his ſquadron, very weak with a fever induced by his wounds, and was ſoon after joined by rear-admiral Whetſtone, with the ſhips under his command.

The reflections he made on this unlucky buſineſs, threw the brave admiral into a deep melancholy, which ſoon brought him to his end; for he died on the fourth of November, 1702, as much regretted as he deſerved. The command of the ſquadron then devolved on captain Whetſtone, who in this expedition acted as rear-admiral, and of whoſe proceedings in the Weſt-Indies we ſhall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time, it is requiſite that we ſhould follow the condemned captains home, in order to put an end to this diſagreeable narration. They were ſent from Jamaica, on board her majeſty's ſhip the Briſtol, and arrived at Plymouth on the 16th of April, 1703, where there lay a dead warrant for their immediate execution, in order to prevent any applications in their favour; and they were accordingly ſhot on board the ſhip that brought them home, and ſhewed at their death a courage and conſtancy of mind, which made it evident, that their behaviour in the late engagement did not flow from any infirmity in nature, but from the corruption of their minds; and I hope their example will always have a proper effect on ſuch as are entruſted with the like commands.

I ſhould now, according to the order I have hitherto purſued in this work, take notice of what was tranſacted at home, in relation to the navy, but as the queen's proclamation for a thankſgiving, in which honourable mention is made of the ſucceſs at Vigo, and the thanks beſtowed by the houſe of commons on Sir George Rooke for his conduct in that affair, will appear with greater propriety, when I come to the memoirs of his life; to avoid repetitions I ſhall not inſiſt further upon them here. I muſt however obſerve, that as, in the caſe of Kirby and Wade, her majeſty ſhewed a ſtrict regard to juſtice, ſo, with reſpect to admiral Hopſon, ſhe gave as lively a teſtimony of her juſt ſenſe of merit, for ſhe not only conferred on him the honour of knighthood,

hood, but was graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle upon him a penſion of 500l. a-year for life, with the reverſion of 300l. a-year to his lady, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, on account of the prodigious ſervice he did in breaking the boom at Vigo.

But this extraordinary mark of royal favour did not ſcreen him from a ſtrict examination in the houſe of lords, in conjunction with Sir George Rooke, as to the miſcarriage of the deſign upon Cadiz; but upon the ſtricteſt review that could be made of that whole affair, there appeared ſo little colour for cenſuring either of the admirals actions, that how much ſoever their enemies might deſire it, they were at laſt glad to let this matter fall. Indeed the fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was poſſible for the ſervice of the nation, and had thereby afforded an opportunity to our worthy miniſter at Liſbon, Mr. Methuen, to draw over from his alliance, with the two crowns, the king of Portugal, to the intereſt of the allies, and to conclude a treaty of commerce there; which, to ſay no more, has been of much greater benefit to the nation, than many, I might add moſt, of the treaties that have been concluded ſince.

There had hitherto appeared very little of party-oppoſition to the management of the war, and therefore the ſupplies for the ſervice of the year 1703, were very cheerfully granted, and very eaſily raiſed, which was the reaſon that the fleet was much earlier at ſea, had all things provided in a better manner, at leſs expence to the nation, and yet ſooner than they had ever been before, which was one great reaſon why the French never had any of thoſe advantages they boaſted of ſo much in the former war. In the month of March the queen made a kind of naval promotion. The marquis of Carmarthen was advanced from being vice admiral of the white, to be vice-admiral of the red; John Graydon, Eſq; was made vice-admiral of the white; John Leake, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue; George Byng, Eſq; rear-admiral of the red; Thomas Dilkes, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white, and Bazil Beaumont, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue.

The firſt ſcheme that was formed for performing any thing remarkable at ſea, was upon a foreign plan. It was intended, that the arch-duke, Charles, who was to take upon him the title of king of Spain, ſhould alſo marry an infanta of Portugal, and, in conſequence of that marriage, was to undertake ſomething of importance immediately, with the aſſiſtance however of the Engliſh and Dutch; and ſo hearty were the latter, that they ſent a ſquadron of men of war, with near three thouſand land-troops on board upon our coaſt, and after toſſing and tumbling there for ſome weeks, the project in the council of the imperial court was changed, the deſign dropt, and the Dutch went home again.

Sir

Sir George Rooke had propoſed a ſcheme for diſtreſſing the enemy, by ſailing very early into the bay of Biſcay, where he thought, if they had any men of war without Port Louis and Rochfort, they might be ſurpriſed and taken, or at leaſt their commerce might be interrupted; and for the performance of this ſcheme, he took it upon himſelf. About the middle of April he arrived at St. Helen's, with 18 ſhips of the line, with which he was very deſirous of ſailing on the intended expedition, without waiting for the Dutch; but this propoſition was not at firſt accepted; ſo that he remained there till the beginning of May, when he was ſo ill that he kept his bed.

The truth, however, was, that the admiral found himſelf ſo ill, that he applied for leave to go to Bath, which was granted him; and George Churchill, Eſq; admiral of the blue, was ſent to take upon him the command. But he not arriving in time, and Sir George finding himſelf better, put to ſea, and continued at ſea for ſomething more than a month; and then finding what he ſuſpected at the iſle of Wight to be true, that the enemy had notice of his deſign, and that moſt of their ſquadrons had ſailed; and therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no ſervice by remaining longer on the French coaſt, returned home about the middle of June, that he might be ready to undertake any more neceſſary ſervice.

When Sir George Rooke returned, he was ſtill ſo weak and infirm, that he aſked, and had leave to go to Bath, his ſuperiors ſeeing no reaſon to cenſure his behaviour; and therefore, as ſoon as he was able to undertake it, we ſhall find him again in command, and employed in a ſervice of much greater importance.

The grand fleet was commanded this year by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. It conſiſted at firſt of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterwards reinforced with eight ſhips more, theſe were commanded by vice-admiral Leake. His inſtructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to theſe three heads, *viz.* annoying the enemy, aſſiſting our allies, and protecting our trade. He waited till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ſhips of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him, had been better adjuſted than it was to the things he had orders to perform, yet the time allowed him, which was only till the end of September, was much too ſhort, ſo that it was really impoſſible for him to execute the ſervices that ſeemed to be expected. He repreſented this, and is commended for it by biſhop Burnet, who had notwithſtanding cenſured another admiral for the ſame thing before; however, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was ordered to obey, and he did ſo, but was not able to get clear of the land till near the middle of July,

July, having alſo a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchant-men under his convoy.

On the 24th he arrived off the rock of Liſbon, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea-bay. He purſued his inſtructions as far as he was able, and having ſecured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have ſtaid ſome time upon the coaſt of Italy. But the Dutch admiral informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a ſpeedy return; and it was with much difficulty that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn. In the mean time, the inſtructions he had to ſuccour the Cevennois, who were then in arms againſt the French king, were found impracticable with a fleet; and therefore the admiral contented himſelf with doing all that could be done, which was to ſend the Tartar and the Pembroke upon that coaſt, where they alſo found it impoſſible to do any thing. The admiral then detached captain Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and ſent rear-admiral Byng to Algier, to renew the peace with thoſe ſtates, and on the twenty-ſecond of September arrived off Altea, from whence he ſoon after ſailed for England.

On the 27th, in the Streights-mouth, he met with an Algerine man of war becalmed, upon which he immediately took her under his protection, till all the Dutch ſhips were paſſed. In this he certainly performed the part of an Engliſh admiral, preſerved the reputation of our flag, did great ſervice to our trade, and put it out of the power of the French to practiſe upon thoſe piratical ſtates to our diſadvantage, as they had done formerly. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant ſhips waited for a convoy at Liſbon, he ſent Sir Andrew Leake thither with a ſmall ſquadron, who eſcorted them ſafe into the Downs.

On the 16th of November, the fleet being off the iſle of Wight, the Dutch crowded away for their own ports, and left the admiral to ſteer for the Downs, which he did; but before he made land, captain Norris in the Orford, a ſhip of the third rate, together with the Warſpight of ſeventy guns, and the Litchfield of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chace to a French ſhip of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the diſpute continued till two in the morning, when having loſt her fore-top-maſt, and all her ſails, and her ſtanding and running-rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe ſtruck. This ſhip came from Newfoundland, was commanded by Monſieur de la Rue, was named the Hazardous, and had fifty guns mounted, with three hundred and ſeventy men; but had more ports, and was larger than any of our ſixty gun ſhips, ſo that ſhe was regiſtered in the liſt of our royal navy.

But while the grand fleet was at ſea, rear-admiral Dilkes performed a very acceptable ſervice to his country on the French coaſt. For the lord high admiral's council having intelligence, that

that a conſiderable fleet of French merchant-ſhips, with their convoy, were in Cancall-bay, orders were ſent to the rear admiral, who was then at Spithead with a ſmall ſquadron, to ſail immediately in purſuit of them, which he did on the 22d of July. On the 24th he ordered the captain of the Nonſuch to ſtretch a-head of the ſquadron, and ſtand as near Alderney as he could, and ſend his boat aſhore to gain intelligence. On the 25th he ſtood towards the Caſquets for the ſame purpoſe, and at ſix in the evening anchored off the ſouth-weſt part of Jerſey; from whence he ſent captain Chamberlain, commander of the Spy brigantine, to the governor, that he might obtain from him the beſt intelligence he could give.

The governor ſent to him captain Lamprier, and captain Pipon, who well underſtood that coaſt, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty ſail, plying to the windward on the fifteenth to get to Granville, the rear-admiral, upon conſultation at a council of war with the pilots, reſolved to ſail immediately, though the tide fell croſs in the night, that getting clear of the weſtermoſt rocks of the Minques, he might attack the enemy by break of day; which ſucceeded perfectly well; for the next morning, the 26th, by day-light, perceiving the enemy at an anchor about a league to the weſtward of Granville, they, upon his approach, got under ſail, and ſtood in for the ſhore.

The rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to conſiſt of forty-three merchant-ſhips, and three men of war. Being come within four feet water more than the ſhip drew, he manned all his boats, and reſt of the ſhips did the ſame. By noon he took fifteen ſail, burnt ſix, and ſunk three; the reſt ſtood ſo far into a bay, between Avranche and the mountain of St. Michael, that in the judgment of the pilots, our ſhips could not attack them; whereupon, on the 27th in the morning, it was reſolved at a council of war, to go into the bay with the Hector, Mermaid, a fire-ſhip, the Spy brigantine, a ſhip of ſix guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted out as a fire-ſhip, and all the boats of the ſquadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being preſent, accompanied by captain Fairfax, captain Legg, and captain Mighells; as alſo by the captains Lamprier and Pipon.

There were three ſhips equipped for war, one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt, the ſecond of fourteen guns, which Mr. Paul, firſt lieutenant of the Kent, ſet on fire, who in this ſervice was ſhot through the lower jaw, and four men killed, and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant-ſhips were burnt and deſtroyed, by this ſecond attack, ſo that of the whole fleet only four eſcaped, by getting under the command of Granville-fort. The enemy, during this attack, ſent ſeveral large ſhallops from Granville,

Granville, but with no ſucceſs, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another veſſel of ſix guns, with forty, who covered all the boats. This laſt veſſel unfortunately run aground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. There were, during the time of this action, about five thouſand of the enemy ſeen on ſhore, but they did not advance near enough to do their own people any ſervice, or ours any hurt. The queen, to teſtify her kind acceptance of ſo cheerful and ſo effectual a ſervice, ordered gold medals to be ſtruck on this occaſion, and delivered to the rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly had very well deſerved them.

We are now to ſpeak of the greateſt diſaſter that had happened within the memory of man, at leaſt, by the fury of the winds, I mean the ſtorm which began on the 26th of November, 1703, about eleven at night, the wind being W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flaſhes of lightning, till about ſeven the next morning. The water flowed to a great heighth in Weſtminſter-hall, and London-bridge was in a manner ſtopt up with wrecks. The miſchief done in London was cómputed at not leſs than a million, and the city of Briſtol ſuffered upwards of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. But the greateſt loſs fell upon our navy, of which there periſhed no leſs than thirteen ſhips, upwards of fifteen hundred ſeamen were drowned; amongſt whom was Baſil Beaumont, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue, who had been employed all that year in obſerving the Dunkirk ſquadron, and had by his great care and conduct preſerved our merchant ſhips from falling into the hands of the French privateers; which ſervice appeared the more conſiderable by the great loſſes the Dutch this year ſuſtained. He was in all other reſpects a man well qualified for the ſervice of his country, and what made his loſs more regretted, he died in the flower of his age, and in the heat of the war.

Charles, arch-duke of Auſtria, being declared king of Spain by his father, and owned as ſuch by the allies, Sir George Rooke was ſent in October to Holland, in order to convoy his catholic majeſty to Liſbon. There the Dutch not being ready, the admiral was forced to continue for ſome time, and then the great ſtorm occaſioned a new delay; at laſt he embarked, and with a joint ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, and a conſiderable number of tranſports, with land forces on board, he arrived at Spithead on the 26th of December; he was there complimented by the dukes of Somerſet and Marlborough, on the road to Windſor met by his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark, and on his arrival was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect by the queen, for whom ſhe ſhewed greater deference than was even expected by the Engliſh court. Here we will end the naval tranſactions of Europe for this year, and proceed to

take a view of what paſſed in America, after the death of admiral Benbow in Jamaica.

The command devolving upon captain Whetſtone, whom Mr. Benbow had appointed rear-admiral of his ſquadron, he immediately put it into the beſt condition poſſible for going to ſea, and then cruized on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola. On his return to Jamaica an opportunity offered of ſhewing his great concern for the intereſts of the colony. A fire breaking out at Port-Royal on the 9th of February, 1703, burnt it down to the ground, leaving nothing ſtanding but the two fortifications.

Soon after this he ſailed again on a cruize, in hopes of meeting a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips, which were expected from France. He ſpent five weeks in ſearch of them to no purpoſe; and after looking into Port-Lewis, not finding any thing there, he ſtood away for Petit Guavas and Leogane. When he arrived near this port, he divided his ſquadron, becauſe when admiral Benbow attacked the enemy here, their ſhips eſcaped on one ſide, as he entered on the other. He therefore ſailed weſtward with part of his ſhips, and ſent the reſt to the ſouth. When theſe came in ſight, three privateers, which were in every reſpect ready for ſervice, ſtood away northwards; but the rear-admiral forcing two of them on ſhore, burnt them, and the other he took. Captain Vincent, who commanded to the ſouthward, rowed in the night into the Cul de Sac, where he found four ſhips, one of which he burnt, another he ſunk, the third, he towed out, and boarded the fourth, ſhe was blown up by the accidental firing of a grenado-ſhell. From this place the rear-admiral ſailed to Port de Paix, but found no ſhipping there; for the before-mentioned privateers were all that the enemy had in thoſe parts, with which, and five hundred men, they thought to have made an attempt on the north-ſide of Jamaica; and in theſe ſhips were taken one hundred and twenty priſoners.

While rear-admiral Whetſtone was thus employed, they were far from forgetting the ſafety of the plantations at home. Sir George Rooke, in September, 1702, detached from the Mediterranean captain Hovenden Walker in the Burford, five more third rates, ten tranſports, and four regiments on board, for the Leeward iſlands; he arrived in Barbadoes in the beginning of January; and upon the coming thither ſoon after of ſix of our Eaſt-India ſhips richly laden, he, by the advice of a council of war, ſent them home under the convoy of the Expedition, a third rate, captain Knapp, commander, who brought them ſafely to England. From Barbadoes, commodore Walker ſailed to Antigua, where he joined colonel Codrington, who was about undertaking an expedition to Guadaloupe, in which captain Walker was to aſſiſt him. They ſailed from Antigua the latter

latter end of February; on the 12th of March, general Codrington landed with great part of his forces, but was so warmly received by the French, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if commodore Walker had not sent in the Chichester, which drove the enemy from their batteries, which our men quickly entered. The next day the rest of the soldiers, and four hundred seamen were landed, who attacked the north part of the town with great fury, forced the enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the castle and fort, which they defended to the 3d of April, and then blowing them both up, retired to the mountains. After this our troops ravaged all the country, burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, carried the best of the artillery on board, burst the rest, and with a very great booty embarked, without the loss of a man.

The French writers give a different account of this affair, and because the English thought fit to retreat, they will needs have the proof of a victory on their side. Now as to this retreat, there were many reasons for it, and some indeed that rendered it indispensably necessary. General Codrington fell sick, and was forced to return to Nevis; then colonel Whetham, upon whom the command devolved, fell also dangerously ill, and was carried to Antigua. The command of the land forces fell next to colonel Willis, who, upon certain information, that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to embark the forces; and this was accordingly done, as I have before mentioned, on the 7th of May. It must be acknowledged, that this service suffered not a little from some disputes that happened between the land and sea officers: which is, generally speaking, the ruin of our West-India expeditions.

As soon as the news of vice-admiral Benbow's misfortune and death arrived in England, it was resolved to send another flag-officer thither with a considerable squadron. This command, it is said, was offered to Sir Stafford Fairborne, who refused it; and then it was proposed to Mr. Graydon, who, though a certain prelate styles him a brutal man, made this answer, "That it was his duty to go where the queen thought proper "to command him, and that he knew no difference of climates, "when he was to obey her orders." The strength he was to take with him, consisted only of a third, a fourth, and a fifth rate; which last proved unfit for the voyage, and therefore the Montague of sixty, and the Nonsuch of fifty guns, were ordered to see him a hundred and fifty leagues into the sea. They sailed about the middle of March, and on the eighteenth of that month they saw four French ships to leeward, *viz.* two of sixty, one of fifty, and another of forty guns. This last being both the smallest and sternmost, the Montague, commanded by captain William Cleveland, bore down to, and soon after en-

gaged her. Hereupon the vice-admiral made the ſignal for a line of battle, and conſequently for the Montague's coming off; but her fore-top ſail being ſhot in pieces the ſecond broadſide ſhe received from the enemy, ſhe could not tack ſo ſoon as otherwiſe might have been expected, inſomuch, that the other French ſhips wore, and bearing down to the ſhip that had been engaged, each of them fired her broadſide at the Montague; but ſhe being to windward, and the ſea running high, as the French generally fire in hopes of wounding maſts, yards, and rigging, all their ſhot flew over her, ſo that ſhe received not any conſiderable damage. The French ſhips were foul, for they were part of the ſquadron under the command of Monſieur Ducaſſe, with which vice-admiral Benbow engaged in the Weſt-Indies, and were very rich.

This affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral, who, notwithſtanding, ſeems to have acted according to the beſt of his abilities. He proceeded with all imaginable diligence in his voyage, and arrived at the iſland of Madeira on the tenth of April, 1703; and from thence he ſailed to Barbadoes, where he arrived the twelfth of May. The day before came a brigantine from Guadaloupe, with advice that commodore Walker was there, and that both ſeamen and ſoldiers were in danger of being ſtarved for want of proviſions. The vice-admiral thereupon applied himſelf to the agent-victualler, and having furniſhed himſelf with all the beef, pork, bread, and peaſe that could be got, he ſailed on the ſeventeenth. On the twentieth he ran in with the fort and town of Guadaloupe, and ſeeing it in ruins, he ſailed inſtantly for Antigua, and from thence to Nevis, where he met with the army and ſquadron in the greateſt diſtreſs; and having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the ſhips of war to Jamaica, where they arrived the fifth of June. The firſt thing he did there, was to direct a ſurvey of the ſhips under his command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their hulls, but in their maſts, ſtores and rigging; and at the ſame time very ill manned. This, together with ſome differences that aroſe between the admiral and ſome of the principal perſons in Jamaica, determined him to ſail home as ſoon as poſſible: and accordingly, having left the Norwich, the Experiment, and the Sea-Horſe, with the Harman and Eagle-galley fire-ſhips, together with two ſloops, to attend the iſland; and the Colcheſter and Sunderland to convoy home the latter trade, he ſailed for Blewfields, and proceeding from thence, he fell in with Newfoundland on the ſecond of Auguſt.

In the evening of that day there aroſe ſuch a fog as had ſcarce ever been ſeen; for it laſted thirty days complete, and the weather was ſo very dark, that it was difficult to diſcover one ſhip from another: this occaſioned the diſperſion of the fleet, which could not be brought together again till the third of September, when

when the vice-admiral thought it proper to consult his officers, as to the principal design of his voyage, which was the attacking the French at Placentia, and thereby forcing them to quit Newfoundland. At this council of war, there were present, besides the vice-admiral, rear-admiral Whetstone, and thirteen sea captains; of the land officers, the commander in chief, colonel Rivers, six captains, and an engineer. They took into consideration the queen's instructions to Brigadier Columbine, then deceased, and those to Mr. Graydon, and finding all their ships in a very weak condition, that they were thinly manned, and most of them sick, already at short allowance, and the soldiers, through their being forced to drink water in so cold a climate, having their limbs benummed, so that they were scarce fit for service; five regiments reduced to one thousand thirty five men; of five hundred they were to receive from New-England, there came but seventy, now reduced to twenty-five, and those in a manner disabled; and, from the best accounts, the enemy at Placentia judged to be not only superior in number, and consequently able to make a good resistance, but the avenues to the place extremely difficult, the grounds marshy, and no planks, or other materials, for mounting the guns on the batteries; these difficulties and obstructions being maturely considered, together with the good circumstances the enemy were in, and the assistance they might have from their privateers, and other shipping then at Placentia, the council of war were unanimously of opinion, that to make an attempt on that place with the ships and forces, in such a condition and at such a season of the year, was altogether impracticable; and instead of any probability of success, might tend to the dishonour of her majesty's arms.

This was the end of vice-admiral Graydon's unfortunate expedition; in which, though it is certain, on the one hand, that he did not do the nation any remarkable service, yet it is no less certain, on the other, that in respect to protecting the trade, and the rest of the things in his power, he did all the service he was able. But it was his misfortune, first to feel the effects of other men's mistakes, and next to be made answerable for them. On his return, the house of lords entered into an inquiry into his conduct; and, besides their former warm vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, came to a resolution of addressing her majesty, to remove him from all employments, for impressing servants in the West-Indies; desiring her at the same time, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute him for that offence. This had the desired effect: vice-admiral Graydon (as to service) was laid aside, and his memory has been loaded with the foulest imputations; though there is great reason to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjust, and that he suffered for miscarriages which it was not in his power to avoid. In order to have a clearer idea of this, we must consider that

that he juſtified himſelf as to his not fighting the French, under his orders, which were very preciſe upon that head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he muſt have been anſwerable for all the conſequences before a court-martial; while, on the other hand, the lords, as the ſupreme judicature, decided in this caſe on the reaſon of the thing; and becauſe, as they thought, the neceſſity of fighting ought, in his judgment, to have ſuperſeded his orders, yet, when he pleaded neceſſity in excuſe of impreſſing ſervants, this would not ſerve his turn; but he was puniſhed in that caſe as ſeverely for making uſe of his own judgment, as for the ſuppoſed neglect of it in the other.

I think it neceſſary to obſerve here, that at this time there were very warm diſputes in the houſe of lords, as to the conduct of the admiralty in the late reign, which had been cenſured by the houſe of commons, and in a great meaſure juſtified here; ſo that at this ſeaſon all the ſtrength of party was exerted on both ſides, and the merit of a man was leſs conſidered, than the faction to which he attached himſelf. But it is time to leave ſo troubleſome and unentertaining a ſubject, in order to return to the conduct of the war, and the great things performed in the year 1704, for the ſervice of which the commons granted upwards of four millions; and of this, the ſum of was for the ſervice of the navy: which ſhews, how deſirous the nation was of ſupporting the war to the utmoſt, and of giving whatever was neceſſary for the ſervice of the common cauſe, in hopes that it would be honeſtly and effectually laid out, for thoſe great and ſalutary purpoſes for which it was ſo chearfully given.

The king of Spain was very deſirous of proſecuting his voyage to Liſbon, and therefore came to Portſmouth, and would have embarked on the third of February, if the wind had been at all favourable. Sir George Rooke, who was to command the fleet that eſcorted him, and the land forces intended for this ſervice, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: for when he found the tranſports were ready, and that it was impoſſible to have the intended number of great ſhips ſo early at ſea, he propoſed ſailing with a ſmall ſquadron to Liſbon, and waiting there for a reinforcement.

In the firſt part of his deſign, Sir George was as fortunate as he could wiſh; for ſailing on the twelfth of February, he, after a fine paſſage, arrived with the ſquadron, and all the tranſports, in the river of Liſbon, on the 25th; and after two days had been ſpent in adjuſting the ceremonial, his catholic majeſty was conducted to ſhore by the king of Portugal, and moſt of the royal family. Among other debates in relation to this ceremony, there was one which deſerves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag. The king of Portugal deſired, that, upon his coming on board the admiral's ſhip in his barge of ſtate, and ſtriking his ſtandard, the Engliſh flag might be ſtruck

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at the ſame time; and that when his catholic majeſty, with himſelf, ſhould go off from the ſhip, his ſtandard might be hoiſted, and the admiral's flag continue ſtruck until they were on ſhore. This propoſition was made from the king of Portugal, by the king of Spain; to which the admiral replied, that his majeſty, ſo long as he ſhould be on board, might command the flag to be ſtruck when he pleaſed; but that whenever he left the ſhip, he was himſelf admiral, and obliged to execute his commiſſion by immediately hoiſting his flag. This, and ſome other reaſons, ſatisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portugueſe majeſty; ſo that the flag of England was no longer ſtruck, than the ſtandard of Portugal.

Two days after this, the admiral, in compliance with the reſolution of a council of war, ſent a ſquadron of ſeventeen ſail, to cruiſe off Cape Spartell; which ſquadron was afterwards increaſed to twenty-two ſail. On the ninth of March the admiral himſelf put to ſea, and continued cruiſing for a month. Rear-admiral Dilkes, who commanded the ſquadron before-mentioned, on the 12th of March in the morning, diſcovered four ſail of ſhips ſtanding to the N. E. He had wi h him three third rates, and two fourth, *viz.* the Kent, Bedford, Suffolk, Antelope, and Panther. By eleven he came up with them, and the Panther, which was the headmoſt of ours, engaged them; the Suffolk getting the wind of them, did the ſame, as alſo the Antelope, and the Dutch privateer; inſomuch, that the ſhip of ſixty guns ſtruck, after exchanging ſeveral broadſides. The rear-admiral could not get his own ſhip in reach of them until noon, and then engaging the commodore, which was a ſhip of ſixty guns, ſhe ſtruck to him in a little time, having loſt half her complement of men, as the third did ſoon after, which was a ſhip of twenty-four guns; and in this action the Panther had her fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board, the Suffolk her main-maſt, and the Antelope's maſts and yards were wounded. The two ſhips before-mentioned of ſixty guns, were galleon men of war, one of them called the Porta-Cœli, and the other the St. Thereſa, and came from St. Sebaſtians, with bombs, guns, iron bars, *&c.* being bound for Cadiz, where they were to be fitted out for the Weſt-Indies, the commodore Don Diego Bicuna having a commiſſion to command all the fleet deſigned thither; and in theſe ſhips were taken near ſeven hundred priſoners.

The rear-admiral, by reaſon of bad weather, did not arrive at Liſbon till the 25th of March, and then in going in he loſt the St. Thereſa, but moſt of the men were ſaved. Sir George Rooke being alſo returned, and meeting with orders to ſail up the Streights, prepared to execute them, though at the ſame time, the admiral was extremely preſſed by his catholic majeſty to undertake ſomewhat in his favour. The difficulties with which Sir George was at this time encompaſſed, were many and great,

great. In the firſt place, the reinforcement he depended on was not arrived; in the next, the queen's orders were poſitive for the relief of Nice and Villa Franca; and he knew how great a riſk he ran, in caſe either of thoſe places were taken for want of timely ſuccour. The deſign formed in favour of king Charles III. to invade Catalonia, and make an attempt on Barcelona, was almoſt ripe for execution, and that monarch inſiſted very ſtrenuouſly that the fleet ſhould eſcort this embarkation. In this thorny conjuncture the admiral reſolved to do as much as in him lay to ſatisfy all parties; and we ſhall hereafter ſee with how great judgment he executed this reſolution: in the mean time it is neceſſary that we ſhould explain the conduct of the adminiſtration in regard to the expedition of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel.

After Sir George Rooke ſailed, the court received intelligence, that the French were very buſy in fitting out a great ſquadron at Breſt. This alarmed us very much, becauſe it was not eaſy to foreſee how this force would be employed. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmoſt expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and of the white, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, Eſq; then rear-admiral of the ſame ſquadron. The admiral was inſtructed, if he found the Breſt ſquadron ſtill in port, to ſend away the trade, ſtore-ſhips, and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to Liſbon, and to remain before that port himſelf to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and deſtroy them if they came out. But in caſe he found the Breſt ſquadron already ſailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to give what ſtrength might be neceſſary to be ſent to Sir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ſhips, then he was to ſail with them himſelf, that our fleet might, at all events, be ſtronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudeſley executed his inſtructions punctually, and finding that a great ſtrength was neceſſary in the Mediterranean to oppoſe the French, he ſailed thither about the latter end of the month.

We have now ſeen how and why the ſuccours intended for Sir George Rooke's fleet, were ſo long delayed, and what care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time; we will next therefore return to that admiral, and give a ſhort account of the manner in which he extricated himſelf out of the difficulties in which we left him. In the firſt place he ſignified to the prince of Heſſe, who had the chief direction of his catholic majeſty's affairs, that if the troops which were to make the attempt on Barcelona, could be ſpeedily embarked, he was content to eſcort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his majeſty's affairs in Catalonia. In compliance with this offer, he

ſailed

failed accordingly with the transports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of May he arrived before the city of Barcelona. A priest and some others surrendered themselves, and informed the prince of Hesse, that if some few forces were landed, and a shew made of a bombardment, they would declare for king Charles III. and receive him into the place. Upon this there landed, on the nineteenth of May, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred Dutch foot, a company of Catalans, and as many volunteers as made up in the whole two thousand men. They remained ashore all night; and the prince finding nothing done, notwithstanding the Dutch had bombarded the place with some effect, his highness himself proposed the reimbarking the men, from apprehension of their being attacked by a superior force. The truth is, that he had great reason to abandon this design as he did, since, in the first place, the governor had discovered it, and had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party; and, in the next, the force he had with him was not at all proportioned to such an undertaking.

The admiral landed his troops before Barcelona, on the nineteenth of May; it was the twenty-seventh before they had any intelligence of the Brest squadron; and then, instead of shunning, they chased them; and on the sixteenth of June, the fleet was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the ships under his command; upon which it was immediately resolved, to proceed up the Mediterranean, in search of the French fleet.

On the twenty-first of May the admiral steered for the isles of Hieres, but in the passage met with a storm, which separated his fleet. On the twenty-seventh they joined again, and had sight of a large French squadron, which they rightly judged to be sailing for Toulon; and therefore it was resolved, in a council of war, to chase them thither, and if it was not possible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for Lisbon, in order to wait for a re-inforcement; which was accordingly done. On the fourteenth of June our fleet passed through the Streight's-mouth, and were joined two days after by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with his squadron, off Lagos: a council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be proceeded on. Several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on Cadiz, which was soon found to be impracticable for want of a sufficient number of land-forces. At this council of war the admiral also was pleased to declare, that he was limited by his instructions from attempting any thing, without the consent of the kings of Spain and Portugal; which was another discouragement to the service, because those princes could very seldom agree on any measure; so that, except sending some ships to the Terceras, in order to protect the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, there was little done, that I can find, which

which ought to be considered as the unavoidable consequence of this order.

Sir George Rooke being very sensible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance, called a council of war on the seventeenth of July, in the road of Tetuan, where having declared he thought it requisite they should resolve upon some service or other; after a long debate it was carried to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar.

The fleet, in pursuance of this resolution, arrived in the bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-first of July, and the marines, English and Dutch, to the number of eighteen hundred, were landed under the command of the prince of Hesse, on the Isthmus, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highness having taken post there, summoned the governor; who answered, that he would defend the place to the last. On the twenty-second the admiral at break of day, gave the signal for cannonading the town; which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot were spent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south molehead, and that if we were once possessed of these, the town must be taken of course, he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himself master of them.

This order was no sooner issued, than captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who were nearest the mole, pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and actually seized the fortifications before the rest could come up. The Spaniards seeing this, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty more wounded: however, they kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the seamen under his command, who very soon made himself master of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral sent a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated, and the prince of Hesse took possession of the place. I must, upon this occasion, observe, that as this design was contrived by the admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. I must likewise put the reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the seamen to take the place, but the cannonading of it in such a manner, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their posts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared that they might have been defended by fifty men against as many thousands. The French indeed say, in order to diminish, as much as possible, the glory of this action, that the Spaniards had neither garrison nor guns there; but this is far from being true, since there were above

above one hundred brafs pieces mounted. After putting as many men as could be fpared into the place, under the command of the prince of Heffe, the fleet failed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water.

While they lay here, the Dutch admiral fent a flag-officer and fix fhips to Lifbon, under orders to return home, and a promife that he would quickly follow them. On the ninth of Auguft they failed again from Gibraltar, and had fight of the French fleet, which they refolved to engage. The latter declined coming to action, and endeavoured to get away; but Sir George purfued them with all the fail he could make. On the thirteenth of the fame month, which was Sunday, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the fouthward, the wind being eafterly, and forming a line, lay in a proper pofture to receive him. They were fifty two fhips, and twenty-four galleys, very ftrong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear; to fupply which, moft of their galleys were placed in thofe fquadrons. In the centre was count Thoulouife, high-admiral of France, with the white fquadron; in the van the white and blue flag, and in the rear the blue, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet confifted of fifty-three fhips; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, two fourth rates, with a fifth and a fixth, and two fire-fhips, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van fhould pufh through our line with their gallies and fire-fhips, they might give them fome diverfion.

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half-gun-fhot of the enemy, the French fet all their fails at once, as if they intended to ftretch a-head and weather us; fo that our admiral, after firing a chafe-gun at the French admiral to ftay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the fignal, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catherine, the St. George, and the Shrewfbury. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night the wind fhifted to the northward, and in the morning to the weftward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they filed and ftood to the northwards. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French avoided it, and at laft bore away.

This plainly difcovers that we had the victory, notwithftanding the great advantages of the French: which I think thofe who underftand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For firft, their fhips were bigger; they had feventeen three-deck fhips, and we had but feven. Secondly, the

they had a great advantage in their weight of metal; for they had ſix hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ſhips, juſt come out of port; whereas ours had been long at ſea, and had done hard ſervice. Fourthly, they had the aſſiſtance of their gallies; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the action, the French admiral ordered a ſeventy-gun ſhip to board the Monk, a ſixty-gun ſhip of ours, commanded by captain Mighells; which ſhe did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulſe ſhe had her wounded men taken off, and her complement reſtored by the gallies. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was ſo much wanted in ours, that ſeveral ſhips were towed out of the line, becauſe they had not either powder or ball ſufficient for a ſingle broadſide. But the ſkill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and ſeamen under his command, ſupplied all defects, and enabled them to give the French ſo clear a proof of their ſuperiority over them in all reſpects at ſea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at preſent, but avoided us ever after, and durſt not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore juſtly ſaid, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the ſea, and left to us and the Dutch an undiſputed claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS.

It is true, that the French, according to their old cuſtom, claimed the victory. Lewis XIV. wrote a letter, affirming this to the arch-biſhop of Paris, directing *Te Deum* to be ſung on that occaſion, and afterwards publiſhed an account, when fallacy made it appear to be no more than an artifice of ſtate, in order to leſſen the ill conſequences that were apprehended from the defeat; and therefore, it is no leſs injurious to the glory of this nation, than to the honour of Sir George Rooke's memory, to make uſe of the diſtorted tales in their relation, to prejudice the indubitable facts contained in ours.

After the Engliſh had in vain endeavoured to renew the action, they repaired to Gibraltar, where they continued eight days in order to refit; and having ſupplied that place to the utmoſt of their power with ammunition and proviſion, it was thought convenient to return to England, care being firſt taken to provide ſuch a ſquadron for the Mediterranean ſervice as might ſecure our trade, and render any deſigns of the enemy abortive. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt the admiral ſailed from Gibraltar; on the twenty-ſixth he gave orders to Sir John Leake, to take upon him the command of the ſquadron that was to remain in the Mediterranean during the winter, and then ſailed home with the reſt, where he arrived ſafely on the twenty-fourth of September, and was received with all exterior marks of eſteem by the

the miniſtry, at the ſame time that the populace ſhewed for him an unfeigned affection.

Before we conclude the naval tranſactions of this year, it is neceſſary that we ſhould again paſs into the Mediterranean, in order to take a view of the ſervices performed there by Sir John Leake. The Spaniards, who were the beſt judges, found our poſſeſſion of Gibraltar ſo great a thorn in their ſides, that as they very lately prevailed on the French to hazard an engagement at ſea, to facilitate their retaking of it, ſo they afterwards demanded and obtained a ſquadron of French ſhips, under the command of Monſ. de Pointis, to aſſiſt them in carrying on the ſiege. The prince of Heſſe having ſent early advice of this to Liſbon, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of October, proceeded with his ſquadron to the relief of the place, and actually landed ſeveral gunners, carpenters, and engineers, with a body of four hundred marines; but receiving intelligence, that the French were appearing with a force much ſuperior to his, he found it neceſſary to return again to Liſbon.

He did this with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to ſupply and aſſiſt the garriſon in a ſecond expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his abſence. This enabled him to put to ſea again on the twenty-fifth of October, and on the twenty-ninth he entered the bay of Gibraltar at a very critical juncture; for that very night the enemy intended to ſtorm the town on all ſides, and had procured two hundred boats from Cadiz, in order to have landed three thouſand men near the new mole. But Sir John Leake entered ſo ſuddenly, that he ſurpriſed in the bay two frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 guns, a brigantine of 14, a fire-ſhip of 16, a ſtore-ſhip full of bombs and granadoes, two Engliſh prizes; and a Tartane and another frigate of 30 guns, which had juſt got out of the bay, was taken by an Engliſh ſhip that followed her.

The enemy, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, continued the ſiege, in expectation of a ſtrong naval ſuccour from France, and therefore Sir John Leake reſolved to land as many men as he could ſpare, to reinforce the garriſon; which he performed on the ſecond, third, and fourth of November, and continued ſtill on the coaſt in order to alarm and diſtreſs the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth he ordered his ſmalleſt frigates to go as near the ſhore as poſſible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a deſcent; but this was done ſo ſlowly, and the troops feigned ſuch a reluctancy to land, as gave the Spaniſh general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his deſign in execution, and to ſalute them in ſuch a manner with his great and ſmall arms, as made them ſcamper back to their camp with great precipitation. The Centurion arrived on the twenty-ſecond of November, and brought in with her

her a French prize from Martinico, very richly laden; and at the ſame time gave the admiral intelligence, that he had ſailed as far as was convenient into the bay of Cadiz, and had diſcovered a very ſtrong ſquadron there, which he apprehended would ſoon be in a condition to ſail. Upon this and ſome other intimations, Sir John Leake reſolved to put to ſea, and to ſtand with his fleet to the eaſtward of Gibraltar, that he might be the better able to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be found neceſſary, as well for the preſervation of the place, as for ſecuring the ſuccours that were expected from Liſbon.

On the ſeventh of December arrived the Antelope, with nine tranſports under her convoy; and two days afterwards the Newcaſtle with ſeven more, having on board near two thouſand land troops. They eſcaped the French fleet very luckily; for when they were off cape Spartel, they had ſight of Monſieur Pointis's ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty-four ſail of men of war, under Engliſh and Dutch colours. As they expected to meet the confederate fleet under Sir John Leake and rear-admiral Vanderduſſen thereabouts, they did their utmoſt to join them; but by good fortune were becalmed. They put their boats to ſea on both ſides to tow the ſhips; but the Engliſh obſerving that the men of war ſtretched themſelves, and endeavoured to make a half-moon to ſurround them, they made a private ſignal, which Sir John Leake would have underſtood. This ſpoiled the meaſures of the French, but they eſcaped by means of their oars; and the night coming on, they got away by favour of a ſmall breeze from the ſouth-weſt. By the arrival of theſe ſuccours, the garriſon was increaſed to upwards of three thouſand men; and having already obtained many advantages over the enemy, it was no longer thought requiſite to keep the fleet, which by long ſervice was now but in an indifferent condition, either in the bay, or on the coaſt; eſpecially when it was conſidered that Monſ. Pointis was ſo near with a force equal, if not ſuperior to that of Sir John Leake. The prince of Heſſe having acknowledged this to be reaſonable, the admiral called a council of war on the twenty-firſt of December, and having laid before them the true ſtate of the caſe, it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſail with all convenient ſpeed to Liſbon in order to refit, and to provide further ſupplies for the garriſon, in caſe, as the Spaniards gave out, they ſhould receive ſuch reinforcements from king Louis and king Philip, as would enable them to renew the ſiege both by land and ſea. This reſolution was as ſpeedily executed as wiſely taken, and the fleet arrived at Liſbon in the latter end of 1704, where we ſhall leave them in order to return to what was doing at home, and the preparations made for carrying on the war by ſea with greater vigour in the next year than they had been at any time ſince the beginning of this diſpute.

It

It was a common complaint at this juncture, that we did not profecute the war at fea with fo much vigour as might be expected from a nation fo powerful on that element: that the enemy's taking our fhips was a reproach on the nation, which ought to fail under the notice of parliament. In anfwer to this, I mean in the houfe of commons, it was faid, that though the facts could not be denied, yet on the other hand it muft be allowed, that the board of admiralty could not do more than the fupplies granted by parliament would enable them; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to be done for them. This was chiefly faid by the admirals and their friends, who were very numerous. The houfe having confidered the whole affair with great attention, came at length, on the feventh of November, 1704, to the following refolutions, *viz.* That forty thoufand feamen fhould be allowed for the year 1705, including eight thoufand marines. On the ninth they refolved that one hundred thoufand pounds fhould be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the fame year; and that forty thoufand pounds fhould be given to the office of ordnance for the fea fervice, over and above the ufual provifion; and that ten thoufand pounds fhould be given for making a wharf and ftore-houfe at Portfmouth. Thefe were great and glorious provifions, fuch as fhewed that the people were defirous not to fpare their treafure, where the credit of the crown and their own intereft were at ftake.

In confequence of this, a fort of thorough change enfued in the admiralty. Sir Cloudefley Shovel was appointed rear-admiral of England, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; Sir John Leake was appointed vice-admiral of the white fquadron, as Sir George Byng was of the blue; Sir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetftone, Efq; rear-admiral of the white, and Sir John Jennings, rear-admiral of the blue. I have thrown thefe promotions into the moft regular order I could, for the reader's eafe and my own, that I might the fooner return to action, and to the exploits of our fea force, under thefe new commanders; and though I have not obferved the ftrict rules of chronology, yet, as the promotions were the effect of the inquiries, I hope the reader will be fatisfied with my manner of ftating it. Thefe formalities thus fettled, let us now proceed to the tranfactions of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake in the Mediterranean, who fhewed no lefs prudence and fortitude in preferving Gibraltar, than Sir George Rooke had done courage and conduct in acquiring it.

The French and Spaniards, as their own writers confefs, were obftinate in their refolution of retaking Gibraltar, coft what it would. Hitherto, the marquis Villadarias had commanded before the town, and had done all that a man could do, in a very bad feafon, with very indifferent troops. King Philip, however, re-

removed him, and ſent marſhal de Teſſe, a Frenchman, with the title of captain-general, to command in his place; and, at the ſame time, baron de Pointis was ordered to ſail with his ſquadron from Cadiz to block up the place by ſea. This being performed, the Spaniards made no doubt of their being quickly maſters of the city; and indeed the prince of Heſſe found the French general ſo much better acquainted with the art of war, and ſo much better ſupplied with all things neceſſary, than the Spaniards had been, that he thought it requiſite to ſend an expreſs directly to Liſbon, to deſire Sir John Leake to come with all imaginable ſpeed to his aſſiſtance. Sir Thomas Dilkes was in the mean time arrived from England, with five third rates, and a body of troops; and theſe being embarked, Sir John ſailed from Liſbon on the ſixth of March, to prevent the loſs of this important fortreſs.

Upon the ninth of the ſame month, he had ſight of cape Spartell, but not having light enough to reach the bay of Gibraltar, he thought proper to lie by, to prevent his being diſcovered from the Spaniſh ſhore, intending to ſurprize the enemy early in the morning; but, by bad weather, was prevented from making ſail ſo ſoon as he intended. About half an hour paſt five, he was within two miles of cape Cabretta, when he diſcovered only five ſail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from Europa point; whereupon, concluding the garriſon was ſafe, he gave chace to the ſhips, which proved to be the Magnanimous of 74 guns, the Lilly of 86, the Ardent of 66, the Arrogant of 60, and the Marquis of 56.

At firſt, they made for the Barbary ſhore; but ſeeing our fleet gained upon them, they ſtood for the Spaniſh coaſt: at nine o'clock Sir Thomas Dilkes, on board her majeſty's ſhip Revenge, together with the Newcaſtle, Antelope, Expedition, and a Dutch man of war, got within half gunſhot of the Arrogant, and after a very little reſiſtance ſhe ſtruck, the Newcaſtle's boat getting firſt on board her. Before one o'clock, the Ardent and the Marquis, with two Dutch men of war, and the Magnanimous, with the Lilly, ran aſhore a little to the weſtward of Marbella. The former, on board which was then baron de Pointis, ran aſhore with ſo much force, that all her maſts came by the board as ſoon as ſhe ſtruck upon the ground, and only her hull, from the traffril to the midſhips, remained above water, which the enemy ſet fire to in the night, as they did to the Lilly next morning. After the engagement was over, our ſquadron got farther from the ſhore, and on the twelfth looked into Malaga road, where her majeſty's ſhips, the Swallow and Leopard, chaſed a French merchant-man aſhore, of the burthen of about three hundred tons, which the enemy burnt. The reſt of the enemy's ſhips, having been blown from their anchors ſome days before Sir John's arrival, took ſhelter in Malaga bay; and ſoon after hearing

ing the report of our guns, cut their cables and made the beſt of their way to Toulon.

Upon this, marſhal de Teſſe, finding it now abſolutely in vain to continue the ſiege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the reſt of his troops. M. Pointis was well received at the court of France, notwithſtanding his misfortune, neither did the marſhal de Teſſe meet with any check on account of his behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, ſince he had done all that man could do, there having been thrown into Gibraltar, by the fifteenth of March, new ſtile, more than eight thouſand bombs, and upwards of ſeventy thouſand cannon-ſhot fired, though to very little purpoſe.

While theſe great things were doing in the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron of cruizers into the Soundings. He ſailed in the latter end of January, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ſhips. As ſoon as he had ſeen theſe ſafe into the ſea, he diſpoſed of his ſquadron in ſuch a manner, as he thought moſt proper for ſecuring our own trade, and for meeting with the French privateers. Amongſt other new regulations which had been the conſequence of their merchants complaint, one was the ſending a flag-officer to have the conſtant direction of the cruizers; which in this caſe appeared a very wiſe proviſion, ſince Sir George Byng, by this diſpoſition of his ſhips, was ſo fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of forty-four guns, twelve privateers, and ſeven merchant-ſhips, moſt of which were richly laden from the Weſt-Indies. The number of men taken on board all theſe prizes was upwards of two thouſand, and of guns three hundred thirty-four. This remarkable ſucceſs made a great noiſe at that time; and gave ſuch a blow to the French privateers, that they ſcarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but choſe rather to ſail northward, in hopes of meeting with ſome of our ſhips homeward-bound from the Baltick.

We are now to give an account of the exploits that were performed by the grand fleet, which was commanded by the famous earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, as joint admirals; and the firſt orders they received, were, to proceed for the Mediterranean, with the force then ready, which amounted to twenty-nine ſail of line of battle ſhips, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bombs, and other ſmall craft. On the eleventh of June they arrived in the river of Liſbon, where they found Sir John Leake, with his ſquadron, in great want of proviſions; upon which the admiral ordered them to be ſupplied out of the ſtores brought from England, and that for four months whole allowance. On the fifteenth of June a council of war was held, in which it was determined to put to ſea with forty-eight ſhips of the line, Engliſh and Dutch, and diſpoſe them in ſuch a ſtation between cape Spartell and the bay of Cadiz, as might

beſt prevent the junction of the French ſquadrons from Toulon and Breſt.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the fleet, ſailed for Liſbon; from thence he ſailed to Altea-bay, and there took in his catholic majeſty, who preſſed the earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia; where he was aſſured the people were well affected to him. This being agreed to, the fleet ſailed accordingly to Barcelona, and arrived on the twelfth of Auguſt. After the troops were debarked, there were many diſputes, whether the ſiege ſhould, or ſhould not, be undertaken; but at laſt the affirmative carried it; and then a propoſal was made, that the fleet ſhould land two thouſand five hundred men, excluſive of the marines, and that the Dutch ſhould land ſix hundred of their men; which was agreed to; on condition, however, that on the firſt certain intelligence of the French fleet's being at ſea, both ſeamen and marines ſhould embark again immediately.

On the third of September, the prince of Heſſe having formed a ſcheme for attacking Fort Mountjuic, it was put in execution; and though it coſt his highneſs his life, yet, through the extraordinary bravery of the earl of Peterborough, who renewed the attack, it was taken. This giving a happy proſpect of the reduction of the place, the gunners and carpenters demanded by my lord Peterborough, were ordered by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to be in conſtant readineſs to land. After this ſucceſs, the ſiege was puſhed with great vigour; the trenches were opened the ninth, and batteries raiſed for fifty guns and twenty mortars. His catholic majeſty having at length conſented to it, our bomb-veſſels threw four hundred and twelve ſhells into the town; and eight Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne, being appointed to cannonade it from the ſea, while the cannon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like on ſhore, the viceroy deſired to capitulate the twenty-third, and the capitulation being ſigned the twenty-eighth, the gate and baſtion of St. Angelo was delivered up the ſame day, and the whole city in a few days after. The ſurrender of this capital of Catalonia ſo ſtrengthened king Charles's party, that the whole principality, Roſes only excepted, ſubmitted ſoon after.

While our army was before Barcelona, captain Loads was ſent to reduce Denia, and captain Cavendiſh to take Terragona, both which they effected. When artillery was wanted, it was landed from the fleet, and when ammunition was wanted for this artillery, all the twenty-four and eighteen pound ſhot were landed for the ſupply of the batteries, except as much as would ſupply thirty rounds; and when the city was taken, and a garriſon eſtabliſhed there by king Charles the third, the fleet landed eighteen hundred

hundred barrels of gun-powder, eight brafs cannon, and all the three pound fhot they had.

On the firft of October it was refolved in a council of war, that Sir Cloudefley Shovel fhould proceed for England with the beft part of the fleet; that Sir John Leake, with a ftrong fquadron, fhould be left in the Mediterranean; that fix fhips fhould be left to attend the earl of Peterborough, two more remain at Gibraltar, and a third and fourth rate be employed at the requeft of his Portuguefe majefty in cruifing for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet.

In purfuance of thefe refolutions, Sir Cloudefley, with nineteen fhips of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, paffed the Streights on the fixteenth of October, and arrived happily at Spithead on the twenty-fixth of November following, after as glorious a fea-campaign, as either ourfelves or our allies could expect.

The count de St. Paul, after the death of the famous John du Bart, was looked upon as the beft feaman in France, and therefore was promoted to the command of the Dunkirk fquadron, in the room of Monf. de Pointis. We had a fquadron under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, to watch that port, and another in the Soundings; yet Mr. de St. Paul found means to get out with his fquadron, confifting of five men of war and five privateers, and were joined at fea by feveral other privateers; on the 20th of October, O. S. they fell in with our Baltic fleet, and having directed Mr. du Bart, with one of the men of war and the privateers, to fecure as many of the Englifh fhips as poffible, Mr. de St. Paul, with the other three men of war, attacked the convoy, which made a very gallant defence, but was forced to yield, and the count d'Illiers, who commanded after the death of Mr. de St. Paul, (who was fhot in the midft of the action with a mufquet-ball), carried our three men of war, and twelve merchant-fhips, into Dunkirk.

At home we had this year a fignal inftance of naval difcipline, which therefore deferves a place in this work. One captain Crofs, who commanded the Elifabeth, gave her up to the French in the channel, after a very flight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the Triumph, on the twenty-fifth of Auguft; Sir George Byng being prefident, and having twelve captains to affift him. It appeared there, that he fhewed the utmoft figns of fear, which intimidated the men; and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulfed, and the fhip faved. He offered feveral things in his defence, fuch as that his furgeon was fick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the fentence pronounced upon him was, that he fhould be cafhiered, rendered incapable to ferve her majefty in any capa-

city, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a prisoner for life.

In this year our successes had been so great both by sea and land, and there appeared so fair a prospect of humbling the house of Bourbon in Flanders, and of driving them out of Spain, that when her majesty thought fit to recommend the Spanish war in a particular manner to parliament, the house of commons immediately voted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for the prosecution of those successes; and for the whole service of Spain, during the succeeding year, they gave no less than seven hundred twenty-six thousand seven hundred and forty pounds; afterwards they voted for the supply of the sea-service, for the year 1706, forty thousand men, including the marines; they then voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for the ordinary of the navy; ten thousand pounds to the office of ordnance, for the works at Portsmouth, and eighteen thousand two hundred ninety-eight pounds seventeen shillings one farthing, for ordnance stores and carriages, for the eight new ships built to supply the loss of such as perished in the great storm.

This, with the settling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this session of parliament. While the house was still sitting, Sir Edward Whitaker had orders to assemble a squadron to convoy the duke of Marlborough to Holland, which he did in the beginning of the month of April, and having seen the yatchts safe into the Maese, returned by the middle of the month.

Before we mention the proceedings of the grand fleet, it will be necessary to give an account of the exploits performed by Sir John Leake, whom we lately left steering his course for the river of Lisbon. In that passage he had the misfortune to meet with worse weather, and more contrary winds, than were usual in those seas, or in that season; which reduced the English squadron to some straits for provisions; and the Dutch, who are much heavier sailors, to far greater. However, when they were off cape St. Vincent, they met the Pembroke, Roebuck, and Falcon, which escorted a small fleet of victuallers, that could not have arrived more opportunely.

On his coming to Lisbon, Sir John Leake had some proposals made him by the Portuguese ministry, which were thought altogether impracticable in the then situation of things, and therefore Sir John waved complying with them. In the beginning of February, came letters from the admiralty, with advice of the mighty preparations that were making in the French ports, and the resolution that had been taken by the Spaniards to send away their galleons directly from Cadiz, under a French convoy, for the West-Indies; which Sir John was directed to consider, and, if possible to prevent; of which mighty hopes were conceived in England,

England, when these news were made public; Sir John being held as able, and reputed withal as fortunate an admiral as any in the service.

Upon this intelligence, he called a council of war on the sixteenth of February, in which it was resolved, to proceed directly with the ships then ready, which were nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ships, and one bomb-vessel, English; six ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel, Dutch; and with these, in case the galleons were in the harbour of Cadiz, to enter it directly, if wind and weather would permit, and either take or destroy them. On the nineteenth another council of war was held, before which was laid a memorial of the Portuguese ministry, directed to Mr. Methuen, in relation to the homeward-bound Brazil fleet; and strict instructions from the lord high-admiral for succouring his catholic majesty without delay. Upon mature deliberation, they remained fixed to their former resolves, with these additions only, that as soon as they had executed their intended design on the galleons, they would make such a detachment as the Portuguese desired; and that whenever they should be joined with the ships and transports from England at Gibraltar, whither they intended to repair, they would instantly steer their course for the coast of Catalonia.

When these resolutions were formed, Sir John Leake acquainted Mr. Methuen, our ambassador at the court of Portugal, that it would be necessary to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels, that the enemy might have no intelligence of our design; and, upon Mr. Methuen's application, such an order was granted. But as there is nothing weaker, or at least nothing more subject to disappointment, than human policy, so this point that was thought so necessary to our security, proved, by an accident, altogether unaccountable, the ruin of our designs. Sir John Leake sailed with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-fourth of February; but, when he arrived before fort St. Julian, the duke de Cadaval, who commanded there, discharged first several single guns, and then fired the cannon of a whole bastion upon him. This surprised the admiral very much, who sending to know the reason of it, the duke pretended that it was done in pursuance of the order of embargo, as if the court of Portugal could possibly intend to detain the fleet of the allies in their harbour. This dispute hindered Sir John's sailing, somewhat more than twenty-four hours, and in the mean time the Portuguese, who doubted whether the embargo did not extend to the fleet of the allies, suffered five merchant-ships, two of which were Danes, and were supposed to have given notice of the design, to go out of the port the next day after the embargo was laid.

On

On the 27th Sir John Leake reached cape St. Vincent, where he met with an eafterly wind, which decayed fo about noon, that it became perfectly calm. Next morning, however, he lay fair for the galleons, if they had come out before the wind would fuffer him to reach Cadiz. But that night he received advice, that the galleons had failed with a very hard gale at eaft, on the tenth of March, N. S. the 27th of February according to ours; fo that it is plain that if he had failed on the 24th he muft have met them. He was likewife informed, that they confifted of thirty-fix fail, that is to fay twenty-four galleons, and ten or twelve French privateers, from forty to fifty-fix guns, which were ordered to fee them fafe into the fea. Sir John fteered after them, though with little hopes of coming up, unlefs the eaft wind had left them when they were at the heighth of cape St. Vincent. Next morning he faw two fail a-head, to which the fleet gave chafe. About fix, the Dutch vice admiral Waffenaer took one of them, and foon after the other was taken by the Northumberland; they proved to be Spanifh fhips bound for the Canaries; and as they failed from Cadiz the day after the galleons, it was thought needlefs to continue the chace any longer.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the conduct of king Charles III. He had been left in the city of Barcelona with a very fmall garrifon, while the earl of Peterborough went to conquer the kingdom of Valentia, which he very happily accomplifhed, though with a very inconfiderable force. The French and Spaniards in the mean time were projecting the deftruction of king Charles's affairs at a fingle blow; and it muft be acknowledged, that their fcheme was fo well laid, that nothing but a few untoward accidents could poffibly have difappointed it. This defign of theirs was to fhut him up in Barcelona, which city they intended to attack both by land and fea, in the beginning of the month of March, when they looked upon it as a thing impoffible for our fleet to have fuccoured him, as indeed it would have proved. The command of the land army was committed to marfhal Teffe, but whether he really wanted activity in his own nature, or was fo croffed in all his undertakings by the grandees of Spain, that he could do nothing; I fay, which ever was the cafe, fo it was, that when the count de Thoulouife was ready to fail with the French fleet from Toulon, the Spanifh army was in no condition to form the fiege; fo that the whole month of March was fpun out in preparations, and the place was not invefted till the beginning of April.

This defign was very early difcovered here at home, and advice was fent of it to Sir John Leake before he failed from Lifbon; but it does not appear, that either the earl of Peterborough, or king Charles, apprehended this mifchief, at leaft in due time, otherwife the king would have been provided with a better garrifon,

riſon, and the place have been certainly put into a condition of making a greater reſiſtance. After miſſing his deſign on the galleons, the fleet under the command of Sir John Leake, repaired to Gibraltar, where he received a letter from his catholic majeſty entreating his immediate aſſiſtance, in terms which diſcovered the deep diſtreſs he was in, and the concern and terror he was under.

The king's fears were far from being ill founded. M. Teſſe came before the place with a numerous army, and the count de Thouloufe landed ammunition and proviſion ſufficient for the ſervice of an army of thirty thouſand men for two months; ſo that it is very evident, the French did all that could be expected from them by ſea; and if their endeavours had been as well ſeconded on ſhore, the place had undoubtedly been loſt. But it ſo fell out, that the Sieur de Lepara, their principal engineer, was far enough from being a perfect maſter of his trade. He made a miſtake at the beginning, which loſt him eight or ten days time, and before he could correct this, they loſt him by a ſhot from the place. This proved an irreparable misfortune; for though he was but an indifferent engineer, yet after his death it appeared they had not his equal, ſo that when they came to make an aſſault on the place, they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. And having now ſhewn the errors, miſtakes, and misfortunes of the French and Spaniards before Barcelona, we will return to our fleet, and the meaſures taken for relieving king Charles by raiſing the ſiege.

On the third of April, commodore Price, with ſix Engliſh and as many more Dutch men of war, joined Sir John Leake, who, in a council of war held on the ſixth, reſolved, in obedience to king Charles's letter, to ſail immediately to Barcelona. In purſuance to this reſolution, he arrived on the eighteenth in Altea-bay, and the next day had intelligence, that Sir George Byng, with a ſquadron from England, was coming up; three days after they were joined by commodore Walker, with his ſquadron, as they had been the day before by Sir George Byng; and then it was determined to ſail north of Majorca, and that each ſhip ſhould make the beſt of her way without ſtaying for the reſt. Upon the 26th the earl of Peterborough came off from Terragona, with a ſquadron of barks, having fourteen hundred land forces on board; and when he came to the fleet, hoiſted the Union-flag on board the Prince George, as admiral and commander in chief. His excellency found that the councils of war had rejected his propoſals, and indeed their rejecting them ſaved the place; ſince before his arrival, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, and admiral Waſſenaer, had anchored in the road of Barcelona, and by the contrivance of Sir George Byng, a conſiderable body of troops had been thrown into the town.

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On the 27th in the afternoon, the whole fleet arrived in the harbour of Barcelona, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; for the count de Thouloufe having received an exact account of the naval force of the allies, thought fit to ſail away with the French fleet to Toulon; which obliged the land-army to raiſe the ſiege with great precipitation. This relief appeared the more ſurpriſing, and muſt have been conſequently the more grateful to king Charles, and all his faithful ſubjects, ſince it prevented their deſtruction but by a few hours, the enemy having made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſtorming the place that very night, when, conſidering the extreme weakneſs of the garriſon, their ſucceſs could ſcarce have been doubted.

Two days after the arrival of the fleet, M. de Teſſe thought fit to raiſe the ſiege in a very extraordinary manner, for which our own, and the French hiſtorians, profeſs themſelves equally at a loſs to account. His army conſiſted ſtill of fourteen thouſand men, the ſuccours thrown into the place did not exceed ſix thouſand; ſo that it was very ſtrange he ſhould leave behind him a train of one hundred and ſix pieces of braſs cannon, forty-ſeven mortars, two thouſand bombs, ten thouſand grenades, forty thouſand cannon-ſhot, two hundred barrels of muſquet-ſhot, five thouſand barrels of powder, eight thouſand ſwords, eighteen thouſand ſacks of corn, beſides flour, rye, and oats, in proportion, not only undeſtroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a preſent to the beſieged, by way of compenſation for the trouble they had given them.

Yet to me the cauſe of this is pretty evident; the marſhal ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of regaining the kingdom of Caſtile, by a ſtrange ſort of a march, firſt into Rouſillon, then round by the Pyrenees, and ſo through Navarre, which conſtrained him to leave his ſick and wounded in the camp, with a letter recommending them to the earl of Peterborough's clemency: and, I make no manner of queſtion, that he choſe to let things remain as he did, that theſe helpleſs people might obtain the more favour; which, though needleſs, when he had to do with an Engliſh general, was nevertheleſs humane in him. The admiral took to himſelf and his officers the honour of this great exploit, which was one of the moſt important, and withal one of the moſt honourable, that happened throughout the war. His moſt catholic majeſty, on the other hand, was no leſs ready in paying a juſt tribute of praiſe and reſpect to his merit; ſo that, if ever there was a fact ſo well eſtabliſhed as to be out of all diſpute, it is this, that Barcelona was relieved by Sir John Leake.

The next great ſervice that was attempted, was the reducing Alicant; and in ſailing thither, putting into Altea-bay, the admiral received notice that Carthagena would ſubmit: upon which Sir John Jennings was ſent to that city, who returned the

24th

24th of June, after leaving a garrison in the place. But with respect to Alicant, the governor refused to surrender, and therefore it was resolved to besiege it by land, while it was attacked by the fleet at sea. To facilitate this, seamen were landed from the fleet, and Sir George Byng, with five ships, anchored in a line so near the town, that he quickly dismounted all the enemy's artillery, though the guns pointing towards the sea were one hundred and sixty.

On the 28th in the morning, it was resolved to attack the place on all sides; and with this view Sir J. Jennings landed the marines he brought from Carthagena. About nine in the morning the ships had made a breach in the round tower, at the west end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain, between the mole and the eastermost bastion, when the land-forces marching up towards the walls of the city, fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and serjeant, advancing, without order so to do, to the breach of the round tower, all the boats under the command of Sir J. Jennings, went directly to sustain them, but before the men landed, the grenadiers were beaten back. However, the boats proceeded, and all the men getting ashore, captain Evans of the Royal Oak mounted the breach first, got into the town with two or three of the boats crews; captain Passenger of the Royal Ann followed, and next to him captain Watkins of the St. George, with some seamen. Sir J. Jennings, with the rest of the seamen and forces, who were in possession of the suburbs, moved on to support them; who coming into the town secured the posts, and made proper dispositions until the rest got in, when Mahoni retiring into the castle, left them in possession, with the loss of but very few men; colone Petit, however, was killed in the suburbs, standing arm and arm with Sir J. Jennings, by a small shot out of a window, as they were viewing the ground for raising a battery against the wall of the town; besides whom there were not above thirty killed either of the sea or land forces, and not more than eighty wounded, notwithstanding the Spaniards had a continued communication from one house to another, and fired on our men from the windows and holes made for that purpose.

Next day brigadier Gorge, who commanded the troops before the place, summoned count Mahoni to surrender, which he absolutely refused; but the ships continuing to cannonade very briskly, and a great number of bombs being thrown into their works, the garrison, which consisted mostly of Neapolitans, compelled the governor to give up the place, notwithstanding all his declarations to the contrary. Brigadier Gorge took possession of it, and was appointed governor.

After the reduction of Alicant, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of September sailed to Altea-bay, from whence he sent Sir J. Jennings with his squadron, intended for the West-India service,

ſervice, to refit at Liſbon. He next made the neceſſary diſpoſition for a winter ſquadron, which was to be commanded by Sir George Byng, and then proceeded to put in execution his laſt orders, which were to reduce the iſlands of Ivica and Majorca. Theſe iſlands not only belonged to the crown of Spain, but their ſituation rendered them very neceſſary at this time to the allies, as affording them an opportunity of ſupplying the places they had lately reduced with proviſions, and ſecuring a proper retreat for their ſmaller veſſels, whenever it ſhould be found neceſſary to keep a ſquadron in thoſe ſeas during the winter. It does not appear, that the Spaniſh court had taken any precautions for their defence, as being entirely occupied with the thoughts of preſerving Minorca, which was looked upon as the iſland of greateſt importance, and therefore moſt of their regular troops were there.

On the 6th of September, Sir John ſailed from Altea-bay, and on the ninth anchored before Ivica. This iſland, which is about fourſcore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, ſalt, *&c.* and the inhabitants being a trading people, were rather inclined to ſubmit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and therefore, on the firſt ſummons, they ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion, which was readily accepted, and king Charles III. immediately proclaimed. On the 13th the fleet ſailed for Majorca, and arrived on the 14th before Palma. This iſland, which is one of the fineſt in the world, abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and ſo large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by the Conde de Alcudia, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the intereſt of king Philip, and when the admiral ſummoned him, ſent him a Spaniſh anſwer, "That he would defend the iſland as long as there was "a man in it." But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great miſchief, the inhabitants roſe and forced the viceroy to ſurrender. He ſhewed his wiſdom, however, where he could not ſhew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation.

Sir John Leake left a garriſon in Porto-Pin, and two men of war to carry off the Conde, and ſuch other of the inhabitants as were diſaffected to king Charles III. and on the twenty-third of the ſame month he proſecuted his voyage for England. Before his departure he received a letter from his Catholic majeſty, who very gratefully acknowledged his ſervices he had done him, and expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction as to his conduct on all occaſions. On the 2d of October Sir John paſſed the Streights, and on the 4th, when he was off the ſouth cape, detached Sir George Byng, with the winter ſquadron, for Liſbon. On the 17th he arrived ſafe at St. Helen's, having been ſeparated in a ſtorm from the reſt of the fleet, which came ſoon after into Portſmouth.

Portſmouth. And thus ended as ſucceſsful a ſea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other hiſtory.

Sir Stafford Fairborne, then vice-admiral of the red, was appointed. with a ſmall ſquadron, to look into the mouth of the river Charent, with orders alſo to deſtroy ſuch ſhips as the enemy might have at Rochfort. He ſailed for this purpoſe in the latter end of the month of April, and after continuing at ſea about three weeks, he returned to Plymouth with a few prizes. Soon after he received orders to ſail for the Downs, from whence he was quickly ordered over to Flanders, to aſſiſt in taking Oſtend. Arriving before that place, he ſtood in ſo near the town, that they fired upon him, which he returned; but was ſoon after ordered to Newport, from whence, after the blockade of that place was formed, he came back to Oſtend. A ſcheme had been contrived by ſome of the land-officers for deſtroying the little veſſels belonging to that port; but when it came to be executed, it was found wholly impracticable. The entrance of the harbour being long, narrow, and crooked, whatever veſſel or ſhip attempted to go in, muſt inevitably be much expoſed to the platform of guns; ſo that there ſeemed but little hopes of attempting any thing againſt the ſhips by ſea, which lay all in a cluſter cloſe to the quay, on the back ſide of the town; but there were letters in the camp which inſinuated, that as ſoon as the trenches were opened, the batteries raiſed, and ſome bombs thrown into the place, the Spaniards in garriſon, aſſiſted by the ſeamen and burghers, would oblige the French garriſon to yield.

On the 19th of June, the trenches were opened before the place; Sir S. Fairborne, with his ſquadron, cannonaded it by ſea, and at the ſame time two bomb-veſſels were ſent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great execution. Sir Stafford likewiſe cauſed all the ſmall frigates to run in as near the town as poſſible, and to diſcharge their broad-ſides; which they did with ſo little damage to themſelves, and ſo great hurt to the place, that the people began to mutiny, and the governor found himſelf under a neceſſity of capitulating, which he did on the twenty-fifth.

Thus the city of Oſtend, which had formerly held out ſo many months, was taken in a week; though, beſides the Spaniſh garriſon, count de la Mothe, was there with a conſiderable body of French troops, which he undertook ſhould not ſerve again in ſix months; and, as one of their own writers pleaſantly ſays, it had been very happy for France, if he had for himſelf undertaken never to ſerve again. Sir Stafford Fairborne returned to Spithead, to aſſiſt in convoying a body of troops that were intended for a deſcent.

Before we ſpeak of the proceedings of the grand fleet under Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the

the intended descent which we have just mentioned: this was a design framed upon the representation of some French Huguenots; particularly the famous marquis Guiscard, who was afterwards engaged in a design to assassinate the queen. The land-forces designed for this service consisted of very near ten thousand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the earl Rivers; under him by the lieutenant-generals Earle and de Guiscard: the earl of Essex, and lord Mordaunt, eldest son to the earl of Peterborough, were to serve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of August the fleet under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed from St. Helen's; but not being joined time enough by the Dutch, this project proved abortive; and it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to Lisbon with these forces on board, and that they should be employed in the service of his catholic majesty.

It does not appear, that after their disappointment in this scheme of making a descent on France, the ministry came to any resolution as to the employment of the grand fleet, or of the land-forces on board it; it looks as if all things had been trusted to the wisdom of the admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and of the general. The fleet was extremely late before it sailed for the Mediterranean, *viz.* the first of October, and being in the Soundings on the tenth of the same month, the Barfleur, a second rate, sprung a leak, which obliged the admiral to send her home, and to take the earl Rivers, and his principal officers, into his own ship the Association. Proceeding in their voyage, they met with exceeding bad weather, insomuch, that when the admiral arrived in the river of Lisbon, he had with him but four men of war, and fifty transports; but he had the good luck to find the rest of the fleet arrived before him, so that he began immediately to prepare for action, and sent two ships of Sir George Byng's squadron to Alicant, with money and necessaries for the army, then under the command of the earl of Galway, which was in very great want of them.

While he was thus employed, he heard, with regret, of the disorders in the Spanish court and in our army. It is hard to say, who was, or who was not, in the right; but this is certain, that in consequence of these disputes, Charles III. lost his interest among the Spaniards; and though he was once master of Madrid, he was forced to quit it again, and his affairs began to fall into such confusion, that the admiral at Lisbon could scarce tell what he had to do, or how to act for his catholic majesty's service, and therefore thought it requisite to send colonel Worsley to Valencia, to receive from the king himself, and the general, a certain account of their affairs, and a true state of the services they expected from him. While this gentleman was gone, and before the admiral had it in his power to take any settled resolution, the king of Portugal died, which threw the affairs of that

kingdom

kingdom into confusion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We before observed, that the Portuguese ministry acted in a manner no ways suitable to the strict alliance which then subsisted between our court and theirs. But now things grew worse and worse; and whatever sentiments the new king might be of, his ministers ventured to take some such steps, as were not to be borne with patience by an admiral of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's temper.

Upon the return of colonel Worsley, the admiral was apprized, by letters from the king and the earl of Galway, that, unless he could bring earl Rivers, and the forces under his command, and land them so that they might come to their assistance, things were likely to fall into great confusion, whereby all the advantages would be lost, which had been afterwards procured at so vast an expence, both of blood and treasure, by the maritime powers. These advices gave the admiral so much the more concern, as he knew that the ships were so much damaged, that it was impossible to fit them speedily for sea; and that, on the other hand, the land forces were so much reduced by sickness, death, and other accidents, that, instead of ten, there were scarce six thousand effective men. He resolved, however, to do the best he could to comply with the king and the general's desire; the rather because he saw that nothing but spirit and diligence could possibly recover those advantages, which had been lost through divisions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing, with the utmost diligence, the damage that had been done to his ships; directed the transports to be victualled, and made the other necessary dispositions for proceeding with both the fleet and army for the Spanish coast, and in the mean time dispatched five men of war with a considerable sum of money and clothes for the troops, and was on the very point of embarking the forces, when he was restrained by an order from England, of which we shall say more when we come to treat of the transactions of the ensuing year, to which it properly belongs.

In the mean time, captain William Cony, who commanded the Romney, a ship of fifty guns, having been dispatched, as we before observed, by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to cruise in those seas, and being then with the Milford and Fowey, two fifth rates, they received intelligence on the twelfth of December, that a French ship of sixty guns, with thirty pieces of fine brass cannon on board, that had been taken out of the ship commanded by M. Pointis, and which he had run ashore when he fled from Sir John Leake, lay at anchor under the cannon of Malaga, he resolved to go and attempt her; though one of the fifth rates was accidentally disabled, and the other separated from him; and failing directly under the cannon of the place, cut her from her

her anchors, notwithſtanding all the fire they could make, and carried her ſafe into the harbour of Gibraltar.

The complaints which had been made in the very ſeſſion of parliament, of miſcarriages in the Weſt-Indies, engaged the miniſtry to make choice of Sir William Whetſtone to go thither with a ſquadron of ſeven men of war, in order to ſettle affairs after the ravages which they had an account had been committed in thoſe parts. He ſailed accordingly with the trade in the ſpring of the year 1703, and arrived, on the 17th of May, at Jamaica. There he ſoon received intelligence, that a ſtout ſquadron of the enemy's ſhips was on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and that ſeveral rich ſhips were ſpeedily expected from the coaſt of New-Spain. Upon this, he ordered the ſquadron to be put in a poſture of ſailing as ſoon as poſſible, and having left a ſufficient convoy for the protection of the homeward-bound fleet, he proceeded on the ſixth of June, for the Spaniſh coaſt.

On the 18th of the ſame month, being then within ſight of Carthagena, he chaſed a ſhip, which in the night ran in among the Sambay keys, where there are very uncertain ſoundings and ſhoal-water, inſomuch, that the Briſtol, a ſhip of fifty guns, came on ground, but was got off again with little damage; however, he came up with the French ſhip, and after two hours diſpute, ſhe ſubmitted. She had forty-ſix guns mounted, and carried out with her three hundred and ſeventy men; but buried all but one hundred and fifty men, unleſs it were a very few they had put into prizes. She had brought ſix hundred and forty negroes from Guinea, of which two hundred and fifty died, and moſt of the reſt were put on ſhore at Martinico, the iſland of St. Thomas and Santa Martha, for they had heard that a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips was in the Weſt-Indies. The rear-admiral plying then to the eaſtward, diſcovered off the river Grande two ſail, cloſe in with the land, one of which being forced on ſhore, was burnt by her own men, being a privateer fitted out at Martinico, to diſturb our trade.

The coaſt being thus alarmed, and no proſpect of any immediate ſervice, he returned back to Jamaica; but appointed three of the beſt ſailors to cruize twenty days off Anigada, in the windward paſſage, for the French in their return home, it being the uſual ſeaſon for them to go from Petit Guavas, Port de Paix, and other places; but thoſe ſhips joined him again without meeting with any ſucceſs.

On his return to Jamaica, he had intelligence of a rich ſhip bound from Carthagena to Port Lewis, and in order to take her, he detached the Montague and the Hector, who though they miſſed their intended prize, brought in a ſhip of twenty-four guns, laden with ſugar, indigo, and hides. Towards the latter end of the ſame month, the rear-admiral put to ſea, to cruize off Hiſpaniola, where he met with ſuch a ſtorm,

ſtorm, as forced him back to Jamaica in a very diſtreſſed condition. While the ſhips, particularly his own, were refitting, the Montague, a ſixty-gun ſhip, was ſent to cruize on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, where he met with two French ſhips, one of forty-eight, the other of thirty-ſix guns, and the captain bravely engaged them both till he loſt them in the night. The next morning he had ſight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the engagement, but his officers and ſeamen were not in the humour to fight, and ſo the Frenchmen eſcaped. The captain on his return to Jamaica complained to the admiral, and brought the whole affair under the examination of a court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his duty to the utmoſt of his power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his officers, they were broke, as they well deſerved, and many of his ſeamen puniſhed.

The admiral, to repair this miſtake as far as he was able, ſent two fourth rates, the Briſtol and the Folkſtone, in queſt of thoſe ſhips; they fell in with them and the veſſels under their convoy; they behaved very briſkly in ſeizing the defenceleſs merchantmen; but though they had it in their power to have fought at leaſt, if not to have taken the men of war, they let them ſlip with half the fleet under their care; for which ſcandalous neglect, the ſenior officer, whoſe name, I believe, was Anderſon, came to be tried, was broke, and rendered incapable to ſerve at ſea.

A little after theſe unluckly incidents, while the admiral was detained for want of ſtores at Jamaica, the Suffolk, by ſome unfortunate accident, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the gun-room, where moſt of the men were killed, and ſeventy more in their hammocks were ſo burnt, that the greateſt part of them died. When things were once more put in tolerable order, he ſailed for the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and had thoughts of ſtretching over again to the main, with a view to have ſent the orders of his catholic majeſty, Charles III. to the governor of Carthagena; but finding this impracticable, and himſelf much too weak to undertake any thing againſt the French in thoſe ſeas, he returned back to Jamaica.

The enemy after Sir George Rooke had taught them, that ſea-fights were not for their advantage, had recourſe to their old trade of carrying on a pyratical war; and as they had little trade to protect, and many good ſhips, they were able to furniſh out ſtout ſquadrons for this purpoſe. Add to all that has been ſaid, the great concerns they had in the Weſt-Indies, where now not only the French, but the Spaniſh ſettlements were immediately under their care, and where, as France had the free uſe of the ports, ſo ſhe had the direction alſo of the naval forces of both nations, without which ſhe could never have carried on the war.

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The driving the Engliſh out of the Leeward-iſlands, was the point the French had moſt in view, and having an exact account of our condition there, the governor of St. Domingo, M. Iberville, had orders to aſſiſt in an attempt that was to be made on St. Chriſtopher's. The moſt probable relation that I have met with amongſt many, ſets the affair in this light. The count de Chavagnac, with a ſmall ſquadron of French men of war, attacked the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's in the month of March, where they burnt and plundered ſeveral plantations; but when they came to attack the caſtle, they were repulſed with loſs. They would, however, in all probability, have carried their point at laſt, if the governor of Barbadoes, on receiving information of what had happened, had not ſent down thither a ſloop, with intelligence to the governor, that a ſquadron from England was coming to his relief. This reached the ears of the French, as it was intended it ſhould, they embarked in much haſte, after having done a great deal of miſchief; but, however, nothing comparable to what the French writers ſay.

But, unluckily for us, before count de Chavagnac ſailed, count Iberville joined him with his ſquadron; ſo that they had now five ſtout men of war, ſome frigates, and twenty ſloops, with which they reſolved to attack Nevis. They landed in Green-bay, in the evening of the 22d of the ſame month, and they puſhed their operations ſo briſkly, that by the 24th, the inhabitants made a capitulation, by which they promiſed to deliver up all negroes, and to procure a number of priſoners, equal to that of themſelves, to be ſet at liberty in Europe, in conſideration of their not being taken off the iſland. The inhabitants undertook to deliver to the French, in leſs than ſix months, one thouſand four hundred negroes, or one hundred and forty thouſand pieces of eight; upon which the French retired, carrying off with them moſt of the effects, and a great number of negroes. A little after this commodore Ker arrived with a conſiderable force in the Leeward-iſlands, and having ſtationed ſeveral ſhips according to his inſtructions, he bore away with the reſt for Jamaica, which was then thought to be in danger, from the junction of Iberville's ſquadron with that of Ducaſſe.

In the mean time rear-admiral Whetſtone ſailed with a few ſhips from Jamaica, in hopes of attacking Ducaſſe, before he was joined by the ſuccours he expected. But this deſign being defeated by bad weather, he returned to Jamaica about the middle of July, and towards the latter end, was joined by commodore Ker, with the ſquadron under his command. There being now ſo conſiderable a force, the admiral was very deſirous that ſomething ſhould be attempted capable of effacing the memory of paſt miſtakes, and worthy the naval force of the Britiſh nation. After mature deliberation, it was reſolved to proceed

proceed to Carthagena, where they know the galleons were, to try what effects king Charles's letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our successes in Europe, to own him for his rightful sovereign in America. With this view, Sir Wm. Whetstone and captain Ker sailed from Jamaica on the eighth of August, and on the eighteenth arrived before Carthagena, and sent in a pacquet to the governor. At first he trifled a little, and gave evasive answers, but when more closely pressed, he declared roundly, that he knew no sovereign but Philip V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen large galleons, lying close in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the pilots unanimously declared, that any such design would be found impracticable, unless we were first in possession of Bocca Chica castle, and the other forts; and even in that case, it was very doubtful whether ships of so great a size as theirs could get in.

Then it was taken into consideration, what further service might be done, and the result of this was, a resolution to return to Jamaica; from whence, as soon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and commodore Ker to remain behind, in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the West-Indies. This scheme was immediately put in execution, and, upon their return, Sir William made all possible dispatch, in order to get home in time; and accordingly leaving the island the latter end of October, he arrived at Plymouth on the twenty-third of December, 1706, with the Suffolk, Bristol, Reserve, and Vulcan fire-ship, and a fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, having been landed abroad, and performed little, though no man in the service had shewn a greater spirit of activity, before his being sent on this West-India expedition.

Commodore Ker returned to Jamaica, in order to refit his vessels: but while he was thus employed, he was attacked by a greater evil, a mortality which prevailed among the seamen, and to such a degree, as in a manner utterly disabled him from any further service. The merchants, however, who suffered for want of ships to protect them, losing abundance of sloops, laden with silver, upon the Spanish coasts, began to complain loudly of the commodore's conduct; and even went so far, as to send home an agent, who had instructions to lay the matter before the house of commons, where, after a full and fair examination, this officer's behaviour received a censure, in consequence of which he was laid aside. In the mean time the command in the West-Indies devolved on Sir John Jennings, who had been detached for that purpose, with a considerable squadron from the Streights.

We are now to give the reader an account of the meaſures taken for the ſupplying the ſervice of the ſucceeding year; and this the ſucceſs attending the war, both by ſea and land, enables us to do in a very ſhort ſpace. The queen opened the ſeſſions on the third of December, 1706, with a moſt gracious ſpeech, wherein ſhe took notice of what had been already done, and of the reaſons which obliged her to deſire, that as great diſpatch as poſſible might be given to the ſupplies; and how much weight her majeſty's recommendation had, will appear from hence, that though they amounted to no leſs than five millons eight hundred ninety-three thouſand three hundred eighty-one pounds fifteen ſhillings and three-pence three-farthings, yet they were voted in leſs than a week.

This care of the public thus ſhewn, the houſe went into the conſideration of the ſeveral expeditions executed within the compaſs of the preceding year; and after a long debate, on the twenty-ſeventh of January, in relation to the method of carrying on the war in Spain, it was carried on the queſtion, by a great majority, that the ſeveral ſums of money for the extraordinary ſervices for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by the houſe, had been advanced and expended for the preſervation of our firm ally the duke of Savoy, for promoting the intereſt of Charles III. in Spain, againſt the common enemy, and for the ſafety and honour of the nation. Not long after, the houſe proceeded to take into conſideration the report from the committee, to whom the petition of ſeveral proprietors of plantations in the iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's in America, and other merchants trading to the ſame, on behalf of themſelves and the other inhabitants and traders to the ſaid iſlands, was referred, and the ſame being read, it was reſolved, "That "an humble addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe will "be pleaſed to appoint ſuch perſons, as her majeſty ſhall think "fit, to inquire into the true ſtate of the loſſes of the people of "the iſland of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, in order to lay "the ſame before this houſe the next ſeſſion of parliament, to "apply what may be convenient for the better ſecuring thoſe "iſlands, and ſupplying them with neceſſaries in order to a re-"ſettlement." The ſaid addreſs being preſented accordingly, her majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, "That ſhe was very well "pleaſed to find the houſe of commons had ſo compaſſionate a "ſenſe of the loſſes of her ſubjects in Nevis and St. Chriſto-"pher's; as alſo with the concern they ſhewed upon this occa-"ſion for the plantations, which were ſo juſtly entitled to their "care, by the large returns they made to the public; and her "majeſty would give the neceſſary orders for what the houſe "had deſired in that matter." Accordingly her majeſty was afterwards pleaſed to appoint two gentlemen, of known ability and integrity, to go to the ſaid iſlands, to procure an exact

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ſtate of the loſſes of her ſubjects there, in order to their being put on ſuch a footing, as might be beſt for the particular benefit of the inhabitants, and the general good of theſe kingdoms.

The houſe having had notice of the great declenſion of our intereſt in, and of our lucrative trade to Newfoundland; the marquis of Caermarthen having likewiſe acquainted them, that certain pirates had made a great and dangerous ſettlement at Madagaſcar, where they threatened to erect a kind of thieviſh republic, little inferior to thoſe on the coaſt of Barbary; and having offered to go himſelf with a ſmall ſquadron, to put an end to this miſchief while there was a probability of doing it, the houſe appointed a committee to take theſe matters into their conſideration; who, reſolved to addreſs her majeſty, "that ſhe "would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into her royal conſideration, "how the ſaid pirates may be ſuppreſſed, and their further rob-"beries, and depredations, may be effectually prevented." Which reſolution was on the 8th of April agreed to by the houſe. The ſame day it was reſolved, "That an humble ad-"dreſs be preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe will be graciouſly "pleaſed to uſe her royal endeavours to recover and preſerve "the ancient poſſeſſions, trade, and fiſhery, in Newfound-"land."

Her majeſty received theſe addreſſes very graciouſly, and promiſed that proper care ſhould be taken with reſpect to the matters contained in them: and thus ended the proceedings of this ſeſſion of parliament, with which I ſhall conclude the events of this winter.

We have now run through the naval tranſactions of about eighteen years, in which ſhort ſpace there happened ſo many things worthy of remark, and our maritime power encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that it is with no ſmall difficulty that I have been able to bring them into this compaſs. The two wars in which we were engaged, in conjunction with the Dutch, as they demonſtrated on the one hand our mighty power at ſea, ſo on the other they put us to a prodigious expence. The houſe of commons, in the year 1702, in a repreſentation to the queen, ſay expreſsly, that from November 1688, to March the eighth, 1701, there had been raiſed for the ſervice of the war, forty-five millions; an immenſe ſum indeed! As to the expences of queen Anne's war, we ſhall take notice of them when we come to the conclusion of it: at preſent let us obſerve, that one national end, with reſpect to England, was, in this laſt war particularly, in a great meaſure anſwered, I mean the deſtruction of the French power at ſea; for after the battle of Malaga, we hear no more of their fleets; and though by this the number of their privateers was very much inceaſed, yet the loſſes of our merchants were far

leſs in the latter than in the former reign, which I think was chiefly owing to a ſeries of inquiries conſtantly carried on either in one houſe of parliament or the other.

The ſucceſs of our arms at ſea, and the neceſſity of protecting our trade, joined to the popularity of every ſtep taken towards the encreaſing our maritime power, occaſioned ſuch meaſures to be purſued in order thereto, as annually added to its force. The great ſtorm in 1703, the misfortunes that ſo many ſquadrons met with in the Weſt-Indies, our ill luck in regard to the Dunkirk privateers, and, in ſhort, every other untoward accident which fell out within this period of time, though it bore hard upon private perſons, and was injurious to our trade in general, yet was in the main beneficial to our marine, inaſmuch as it gave a handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. Hence aroſe that mighty difference which, at the cloſe of the year 1706, appeared in the royal navy; which not only in the number, but in the quality of the ſhips of which it was compoſed, was greatly ſuperior to what it had been from the time of the revolution, or even before it.

The Spaniſh naval power had been long decaying, ſo by this war it was totally deſtroyed: they had indeed a few galleys in the battle of Malaga, and about half a dozen men of war in the Weſt-Indies; but, upon the whole, they had ſuch occaſion for ſhips of force, and had ſo few of them, that the aſſiſtance given them by the French, contributed not a little to the declenſion of their marine, as appears by the deſtruction of their men of war at Vigo, which was a loſs they were never able to repair.

It is certainly matter of great ſatisfaction to every man who wiſhes well to his country, that after running through a ſeries of ſuch events, ſetting out at firſt with the ſight of ſo great a naval power as the French king had aſſembled, while we ſtruggled under many difficulties; and when we got out of that troubleſome war, found ourſelves loaded with a debt too heavy to be ſhaken off in a ſhort interval of peace; it muſt, I ſay, be a great ſatisfaction to be able, at the cloſe of this chapter, to aſſert, that we had overcome all theſe difficulties; and, inſtead of ſeeing the navy of France riding on our coaſts, ſent every year a powerful fleet to inſult theirs, ſuperior to them, not only in the ocean, but in the Mediterranean, forcing them, as it were, entirely out of the ſea; and this, not by the thunder of our cannon, but by the diſtant proſpect of our flag; as, at the raiſing of the ſiege of Barcelona, when the ſon of the French king, the famous count Thoulouſe, high-admiral of France, fled from Sir John Leake, and took ſhelter in the harbour of Toulon.

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By this, we not only ſecured our trade in the Levant, and ſtrengthened our intereſt with all the Italian princes, but ſtruck the ſtates of Barbary with terror, and even awed the Grand Signior himſelf ſo far, as to prevent his liſtening to any propoſitions from France. Such were the fruits of the increaſe of our naval power, and of the manner in which it was employed; and though ſome, through miſconception of the advantages flowing from this diſpoſition in thoſe princes and ſtates; and ſome again, from a perverſe humour, perhaps, of objecting againſt whatever carried us into a great expence, inveighed againſt ſending ſuch mighty fleets into thoſe ſeas; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this war, ſuch fleets were neceſſary; that they at once protected our allies, and attached them to our intereſt; and, which is of greater importance than all the reſt, that they eſtabliſhed our reputation for maritime force ſo effectually, that we feel even at this day the happy effects of that fame which we then acquired. Of what conſequence, therefore, could the expences of theſe fleets, however large, be to a nation like this? eſpecially if we conſider, that the greateſt part of it only ſhifted hands, ſince it is the peculiar property of naval expences, that though they riſe ever ſo high, they can hardly ever impoveriſh, becauſe they are raiſed on one part of the ſociety, and laid out with the other, and, by a natural circulation, muſt certainly very ſoon return into the firſt hands.

It is a further ſatisfaction, that we can ſafely ſay our trade flouriſhed through the courſe of the war, and our merchants were ſo loyal to the queen, and ſo well affected to her government, that upon every occaſion they were ready to credit the adminiſtration with the beſt part of that immenſe wealth that had been raiſed under their protection. Theſe were glorious times indeed, if riches, victory, and honour, can render a nation glorious; and for all theſe mighty advantages, we ſtood indebted to the maternal affection of the queen; the wiſdom and probity of her miniſters; the heroic courage and generous public-ſpirit of the officers ſhe employed by land and ſea; and, above all, to the ſincere union of parties amongſt us, the contempt of private advantages, and a ſteady concern for the ſafety, reputation, and future proſperity of this nation.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the Union of the two kingdoms, to the end of the reign of her majesty Queen Anne.

AS I propose to make the UNION of the two kingdoms the great event from whence, in this chapter, I shall deduce our naval history to the present times; and as this event in itself has had a great influence on the naval power and commerce of this nation, I think I cannot act with greater propriety, than to open the chapter with an account of that important transaction. This I take to be more necessary, because almost all the historians, and writers of memoirs, have given too much way to their passions and prejudices, in what they say about it; and this to so great a degree, that they not only contradict and abuse each other, but also darken things in such a manner, that even the most intelligent reader can hardly discern the truth.

It had been very apparent to almost every English ministry, from the time the two kingdoms had been united under one monarch,

monarch, that ſomething was wanting to complete that ſtrength and harmony, which every reaſonable man looked for from this conjunction; neither was it long, before ſome able ſtateſman perceived what it was that muſt produce this effect; and a national union accordingly was propoſed in the reign of king James I.

It was defeated then, as great and good deſigns are generally defeated, through want of public ſpirit. The king was partial to his countrymen, and the Engliſh were partial to their country. The former thought it his duty to make all his old dependants rich, in a manner not over juſtifiable; and the laſt deſpiſed the poverty of that nation to ſuch a degree, that they forgot how far their own power and riches might ſuffer from ſuch treatment.

Under king Charles I. his old hereditary ſubjects departed from their duty to him, and, a potent faction in England inclining the ſame way, the great weight of theſe northern neighbours was ſoon made but too evident, by the murder of the king, and the deſtruction of the conſtitutions of both kingdoms. After the Reſtoration, the politics of Charles II. took ſuch a turn, as neceſſarily occaſioned all thoughts of a cloſer union between the two crowns to be laid aſide, it having been a maxim, during his reign, to make uſe of one nation to awe the other. The unfortunate king James II. ſat too ſhort a time on the throne, and felt too many cares, from the time he aſcended it, to form any projects of this nature, though otherwiſe much might have been expected from him; for he was certainly a better judge himſelf, of the intereſt of both kingdoms, than any prince of his line. Some thoughts there were of an union in the beginning of king William's time; but the deſign was dropped from the belief, or rather the apprehenſion, of its being impracticable.

In regard to the advantages reſulting from this meaſure to both kingdoms, they were, in the judgment of the miniſtry, very great; on the ſide of England eſpecially, and of Scotland apparently. With regard to the former, the benefits derived from it were real and ſubſtantial, but ſome of them were ſuch as it was not thought proper to avow. For example, the government in England could never be ſafe, whilſt Scotland remained an independent kingdom, at liberty to make laws, ſet up trading companies, or raiſe forces whenever ſhe thought fit; nor was the ſucceſſion ſafe, while the parliament of Scotland had an indubitable right to depart from that meaſure, and a ſtrong party was actually formed in that country for departing from it.

The other motives that were commonly inſiſted upon, were theſe, *viz.* The uniting the intereſts of both kingdoms, which had often thwarted each other, and thereby giving the united kingdoms,

kingdoms, or, which was the ſame thing, England, much greater force, and conſequently much greater weight abroad; the convenjency of bringing both nations under one form of government, the ſeat of which muſt always remain fixed in England, and conſequently all advantages accruing to Scotland for the future, muſt be drawn to, and centre there; the extirpating the French and Jacobite intereſt, where it was evidently ſtrongeſt, introducing the Hanover ſucceſſion, ſecuring the Proteſtant intereſt, giving one turn of mind to all the people in the iſland, putting them under the ſame rulers, the ſame taxes, and the ſame prohibitions, ſo as to have but one political head, with a due ſubordination of members; theſe were conſiderations ſo high in themſelves, and of ſuch certainty in their conſequences, that the bulk of the Engliſh nobility and gentry were no ſooner acquainted with them, than they were convinced of their utility, and that it was not very eaſy to ſet the purchaſe at too high a rate; eſpecially, when they conſidered the miſchiefs to which they had been expoſed in former times from the want of ſuch an union.

The advantages propoſed to Scotland, were the freeing that kingdom from all the grievances of which they had ſo long, and ſo juſtly complained; ſuch as, that their intereſt always gave way to that of England; that their concerns abroad were ſacrificed, inſtead of being protected; that, with equal prejudice to them, they were conſidered ſometimes as ſubjects, but moſtly as foreigners; that they were diſcouraged in carrying on their trade and manufactures; and, in fine, continually upbraided with their poverty, while it was made an invariable maxim of Engliſh policy, to keep them poor. By this union, it was propoſed to make them one nation with the Engliſh, and to admit them to a full participation of their liberties, privileges, and commerce; as alſo, to a ſhare in the government and legiſlature, and a perpetual conjunction of intereſts at home and abroad; ſo that henceforward the government of the united kingdoms would be equally in the hands of perſons of both countries, which would prevent partiality on the one ſide, and take away many hardſhips that had hitherto been felt on the other.

In ſhort, it was inſinuated, that, for the ſake of peace and general ſecurity, the Engliſh were content to grant their neighbours, not only as good conditions as they could well expect, but even better than they could reaſonably deſire; and that, to obtain the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Scotland, the people of England were deſirous to bury in oblivion all their former prejudices, and to contribute, as far as lay in their power, to ſupport and enrich the inhabitants of the northern part of the iſland, and to treat them ſo favourably in point of taxes, as that they ſhould have many and ſtrong reaſons to be very well plea-

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ſed with the exchange of nominal prerogatives, for real and weighty advantages.

Such as oppoſed the union in Scotland were either the friends of the Stuart family, or ſuch as were, from neglect or diſappointment, diſcontented under that adminiſtration. The former was in earneſt concerned for the dignity and independency of the crown of Scotland, the honour of the nobility, and the welfare of the people, conſidered by them as a nation having intereſts ſeparate from, and in ſome caſes oppoſite to, thoſe of the Engliſh. Theſe men, upon their principles, heartily diſliked the union, and had reaſon to diſlike it. But as for the malcontents, they ſet up pretences of an odd, and extraordinary nature, and while they pretended zeal for the government, alledged, that Scotland would be prejudiced by the union; which, according to their principles, it was impoſſible to prove

There was a third party in Scotland, which muſt be allowed by men of all principles, to have acted with great candour and uprightneſs. Theſe were ſtyled the Squadron, and had been very inſtrumental in the Revolution, and were cordial friends to the government; but, from motives of ſtate which I ſhall not take upon me to explain, had been turned out of their places, and ill enough treated during this reign. Theſe men, however, remained firm to their principles, which led them to approve and promote the union; and they did it with great zeal. Their arguments were ſtrong and concluſive, and made the greater impreſſion, becauſe they were diſintereſted. There was, as is uſual in caſes of the like nature, a good deal of corruption practiſed; but all this would never have carried the point, if it had not been abetted by the induſtry and zeal of theſe worthy men. The earl of Stair, who was not of their number, knew this, and therefore adviſed taking them, and the country party, into the commiſſion for ſettling that important treaty; but his advice was followed by the miniſters only in the latter part, which, though it amazed the world at that time, had however the effect he expected from it, and was one great cauſe that the affair ſucceeded ſo well as it did.

All things being thus ſettled, the queen, by her commiſſion, dated at Kenſington, the 27th of February, 1706, in virtue of powers granted to her by an act of parliament, paſſed in Scotland, appointed thirty commiſſioners on the part of Scotland, and on the 10th of April following, her majeſty appointed as many Engliſh commiſſioners. This commiſſion was opened at the Cockpit, on the 16th of April, 1706, William Cowper, Eſq; then lord keeper, delivering the ſenſe of the Engliſh commiſſioners, and the earl of Seafield, lord high-chancellor of Scotland, acted in like manner on the part of the Scots commiſſioners.

ers. On the first of May, the queen paid them a visit, and inquired into the progress they had made.

About a month after, she did the same; and these instances of royal care had such an effect, that on the 22d of July, the commissioners signed and sealed the articles, which were presented to the queen the next day. By these articles, which were in number twenty-five, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united, under the title of GREAT-BRITAIN; the protestant succession settled; one parliament established; the common enjoyment of privileges and commerce stipulated; ships built in Scotland, admitted under the act of navigation; an equal distribution of customs and excises fixed; the duties upon salt regulated; the land-tax adjusted in the following proportion, *viz.* that when England paid 1,997,763l. 8s. 4d halfp. Scotland should pay 48,000l. and so in proportion; and, as an equivalent for Scotland's being charged with the debts of England, there was granted to the former by the latter, the sum of 398,085l. 10s. to be applied to the discharge of the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, the capital stock of the African and India company, with interest at 5 *per cent.* and for the improvement of manufactures and trade in that part of the island. It was also provided, that the monies and weights of Scotland should be the same with those of England; the Scotch courts of justice were preserved, together with all hereditary offices; and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the representative of Scotland was fixed at sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which, though small in proportion to the English peers and commoners, yet was high in comparison of the share borne by Scotland in the taxes; the rights and privileges of the rest of the peers were fully secured; so that, except sitting in the house, they were to enjoy all the privileges of the peerage; and all the laws of either kingdom, inconsistent with the union, were declared null and void.

In the next session of parliament in Scotland, the union was carried, though not without great debates, and some protests. In England it went easier. In the house of commons, there was little or no opposition; there would have been a very warm one in the house of lords, but it was prevented by the wisdom of Sir Simon Harcourt, after viscount Harcourt, and lord chancellor, who drew the act so, that it would admit of no debate, but upon the general question, whether it should, or should not pass. It was carried in the house of commons by a majority of 273, against 160, and was carried up to the house of lords on the first of March, by the late earl of Wilmington, then Spencer Compton, Esq; passed in that house by a majority of 55, to 29, and on the sixth of March the queen came, and gave her royal assent.

It

It is certain, that the paſſing the union was a mortal blow to the French; and it is no leſs certain, that the French did not exert themſelves, as they might have done, to prevent it. The true reaſon, why the French were ſo cool in this affair, was this; they thought that, though the union would deſtroy their intereſt in Scotland entirely, if it could be eſtabliſhed, yet, that the ſuffering that law to paſs, was the likelieſt way for them to defeat it: for they depended upon a back game; and, looking upon it as a thing certain, that this would throw Scotland into the utmoſt confuſion, they projected an invaſion, not with any ſincere intention of fixing the ſon of king James upon the throne of Scotland, but of making uſe of him to excite a civil war in that kingdom, which, they apprehended, would at leaſt force England to conſent to the diſſolution of the union, in order to make the people of Scotland eaſy.

If this had not been their ſcheme, why did they afterwards attempt the invaſion? If want of money had been the only reaſon for their not exerting their influence, how came they by the mighty ſums of ready money, which that fruitleſs and fooliſh invaſion coſt them? I have now done with this affair of the union, and ſhall only add my opinion of it freely, which is, that both nations have been great gainers by it, and that neither have the leaſt cauſe to complain of it. If, on the one hand, the inhabitants of North-Britain have not profited as much by it as they expected, it is their own fault; for, without induſtry and application to TRADE, it is impoſſible any nation ſhould be great gainers by it; and, on the other, if the Engliſh repine at ſeeing ſo many of that nation in civil, military, and naval employments, they are blind to their own intereſts; for it is plain, that by acting in this manner, theſe men waſte all their days in the ſervice of England; whereas, if they applied themſelves to commerce and manufactures, they might live happily in their own, and enjoy there the greateſt freedom and independency.

The war had now continued long enough to make both ſides very weary of it, and yet the French were not ſufficiently humbled, to think of peace on the terms preſcribed to them. On the contrary, they found means this campaign, to bring more troops into the field, than ſince the war began; which obliged the allies to make as formidable augmentations to oppoſe them. In ſhort, as the maritime powers bore the largeſt ſhare in the expence, and reaped the leaſt immediate benefit from the continuance of the war, it was reſolved to make the utmoſt efforts this year to put an end to it. With this view, the duke of Marlborough, and the Engliſh miniſtry, concerted ſeveral ſchemes for diſtreſſing the enemy on all ſides, particularly in Spain, in Italy, and even in their own country; and this, eſpecially, by the help of the great maritime power we then had in the Mediterranean. It would

would lead us into frequent and unneceſſary repetitions, if we ſhould enter here into a copious detail of theſe projects, and therefore, to avoid ſuch inconveniencies, we will ſpeak of each in its turn, and, as near as may be, in the order of time in which they were undertaken.

In reſpect to the war with Spain, an opinion began about this time to prevail in England, that it was neglected, chiefly becauſe the miniſtry found it impracticable to puſh this, and the war in Flanders at the ſame time. The duke of Marlborough knowing how injurious this report was to his reputation, preſſed the proſecution of the war in Spain this year, with the utmoſt ſpirit; the rather, becauſe a great reinforcement of Engliſh and Dutch troops had been lately ſent thither: and it was very well known, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel would neglect nothing that might contribute to the advancement of the ſervice. The army, under the command of the earl of Galway, was very early in the field, and promiſed great things; but whether his abilities were unequal to ſuch a command, as ſome have ſuggeſted; or, as others alledge, king Charles ruined his own affairs, by marching back with a great body of troops into Catalonia; ſo it was, that about the middle of the month of April, that nobleman found himſelf under the dreadful neceſſity of either ſtarving, or fighting a ſuperior army.

Accordingly, on the 14th of April, his lordſhip, with about ſixteen thouſand men, ventured to give battle to the duke of Berwick, who had twenty-four thouſand, and of theſe near eight thouſand horſe and dragoons, that were very fine troops. The Engliſh and Dutch were at firſt victorious, and broke through the enemy twice; but the Portugueſe, it is ſaid, behaved very ill, or rather did not behave at all, which gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking the Engliſh and Dutch, of whom about ten thouſand were killed or taken priſoners. The earl of Galway retired with the broken remains of his army, which, however, nothing could have ſaved, but the timely appearance of our fleet. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, knowing the diſtreſs our army was in, through the want of almoſt every thing neceſſary, ſent Sir George Byng, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to the coaſt of Spain for their relief. Sir George ſailed on the thirtieth of March, and coming off Cape St. Vincent, on the fifteenth of April, received there the news of our defeat.

He ſoon after received a meſſage from Lord Galway, acquainting him with the diſtreſs he was in, and deſiring, that whatever he brought for the uſe of the army, might be carried to Tortoſa, in Catalonia, to which place his lordſhip deſigned to retreat, and that, if poſſible, he would ſave the ſick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things that could be got together,

gether, ſhould be put on board. Accordingly, he took care of the ſick and wounded men, and ſent them to Tortoſa, where Lord Galway propoſed to make a ſtand with the poor remains of the army. This ſervice employed Sir George Byng almoſt the whole month of April, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, from Liſbon, either on that part of the coaſt of Spain, or at Barcelona, whither he was deſigned. Thus all the great things that were hoped for, from the augmentation of our forces in Spain, were abſolutely diſappointed; and this, chiefly, through the unaccountable miſmanagement of that prince, for whoſe ſervice all the expenſive and hazardous expeditions were undertaken. Let us now turn our eyes to Italy, where we ſhall find a ſcene much of the ſame nature.

The firſt deſign that was formed upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy, is very poſitively ſaid to have been concerted with the famous earl of Peterborough; but his royal highneſs, finding that nobleman had no longer any great credit at court, he changed the ſcheme entirely, and concerted by his miniſters at London a new one, with the duke of Marlborough. This, was the beſt deſign laid during the war, if we except the march into Germany, which had this advantage over it, that it was not only laid, but executed by the duke of Marlborough. The taking Toulon, if it could have been effected, would have deſtroyed for ever the maritime power of France; rendered her utterly incapable of carrying on any commerce with Spaniſh America, and have diſtreſſed her to ſuch a degree at home, as muſt have produced an immediate peace, even upon worſe terms than had been hitherto preſcribed to her. All things were ſoon ſettled between us and the duke of Savoy; he could not undertake ſuch an expedition without large ſupplies of money, and theſe we both promiſed and paid him: yet, even this would not have engaged him in ſo dangerous an attempt, if we had not given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that our fleet ſhould conſtantly attend him; which we likewiſe very punctually fulfilled.

The firſt ill omen that appeared, was, the reſolution taken by the emperor, at this juncture, when his forces in Italy ſhould have been employed in promoting our deſign, to make with them the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. In vain our miniſters repreſented to his imperial majeſty the mighty things we had done for him and his family; the great importance of the preſent undertaking to the common cauſe, and the certainty of his acquiring Naples without reſiſtance after this expedition was over. In vain were the like applications from the Dutch; and in vain the earl of Mancheſter's journey, and the queen's letter to diſſuade him from that ill-timed attempt, though written in the ſtrongeſt terms, and all with her own hand. He alledged, that ſuch aſſurances had been given to his friends in Naples, that

that something should be immediately done for their service, that it was impossible for him to desist, and therefore, notwithstanding all these applications, count Daun had orders to march with 12,000 men, part of the troops that should have been employed in the expedition against Toulon, to invade that kingdom; which he accordingly performed.

The duke of Savoy, notwithstanding this disappointment, continued, at least in all appearance, firm in his resolution, and it was resolved to prosecute this great design, with the assistance of the English fleet. Accordingly, Sir Cloudesley Shovel having joined Sir George Byng, near Alicant, sailed for the coast of Italy, and, on the 5th of June, came to an anchor before Final, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-seven transports. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the admiral; and soon after the fleet sailed for Nice, where, on the 29th of the same month, the admiral had the honour to entertain the duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, most of the general officers, together with the English and Dutch ministers, on board his own ship, the Association.

After dinner, they held a council of war, and therein it was resolved to force a passage over the Var, in which hazardous enterprize the English admiral promised to assist. On the last of June, this daring attempt was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable; and so indeed they had proved, to any forces in the world, except English seamen. The late gallant Sir John, then only captain, Norris, with some British, and one Dutch man of war, sailed to the mouth of the river, and embarking six hundred seamen, and marines, in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musket-shot of the enemies works, making such a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, astonished at an attack they never suspected, began to quit their entrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who followed Sir John Norris to the place of action, no sooner saw this confusion, than he ordered Sir John to land with the seamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with so much spirit, and Sir John and his seamen scampered over the works, the French thought inaccessible, so suddenly, that the enemy, struck with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The duke of Savoy immediately pursued this advantage, and in a single half hour passed that river, which, in the judgment of the best officers in his army, had, without this assistance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of his expedition.

On the 2d of July, his royal highness, and prince Eugene, with the British envoy, and Sir John Norris, dined again on board the admiral; and after dinner, they entered into a conference,

tence, wherein, upon mature deliberation, his royal highness was pleased to declare, that since the queen of Great-Britain had earnestly recommended to him the marching directly to Toulon, without losing time in the sige of any place, of less importance, he was resolved to comply with her majesty's proposal, and hoped for a good conclusion of the affair, through the continuance of her majesty's friendship and assistance, which had encouraged him to undertake it. The army of the allies consisted of about 35,000 men, all enured to hardships, commanded by officers of the greatest experience, and of the highest reputation, supported by a numerous fleet, commanded by an admiral of known courage and conduct, who, upon all occasions, shewed the utmost zeal for the service.

It is impossible to describe the confusion into which this march of the duke of Savoy threw the French. Toulon was not in any state of defence; they had no troops in that part of the country; they scarce knew whence to bring them. They had then in the port a better fleet than they have been masters of since; besides twenty-five frigates, fire-ships, and other vessels of the same size, all of which, they were sensible, were in the utmost danger of being destroyed. In this distress, Lewis XIV. shewed less presence of mind than on any other occasion in his whole reign; for he condescended to recal the best officer in France, whom he had disgraced, I mean the marshal Catinat, in order to consult him; and, after taking his advice, was prevailed upon, by female intrigues, to trust the execution of an affair of such importance to the marshal de Tesse, who had so notoriously blemished the honour of the French arms, by raising the siege of Gibraltar.

To say the truth, the zeal of his subjects contributed more to the preservation of the place, than either the monarch's care, or the skill of his generals; for the nobility and gentry of the adjacent provinces, did not content themselves with arming and marching thither their tenants and servants, but even coined their plate, and pawned their jewels, to raise money to pay the workmen employed in the fortifications, which were carried on with such amazing alacrity, that in three weeks time, the town, as well as the port, was in a pretty good state of defence; and they had, besides, in the neighbourhood three intrenched camps, which, however, was all owing to the dilatoriness of the allies.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, sailed for the Hieres, after having made all the necessary dispositions, for securing a safe and constant intercourse between the army, and the dominions of the duke of Savoy, upon which the success of the whole was then thought to depend. It was the 15th of July before the siege of Toulon was formed, and on the 17th admiral Shovel landed, and assisted at a council of war, in

in which many demands were made on the fleet for the ſervice of the army; and the admiral cheerfully promiſed all that was in his power, which he accordingly performed. One hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and ſhot, and a conſiderable number of ſeamen to ſerve as gunners; and cordage, nails and ſpikes, with all other things wanting for the camp, were ſupplied from the ſhips; ſo that affairs had a very good face till the 4th of Auguſt, when early in the morning the enemy, making a vigorous ſally, forced moſt, if not all the confederate troops out of their works, and took poſſeſſion to the right, where they continued all day, and upon their going off deſtroyed them, drawing away eight or ten guns into the town; in which action there were killed and wounded on the ſide of the duke of Savoy above eight hundred men; among them were the prince of Saxe Gotha, and ſome officers of diſtinction.

This attempt being made with ſuch ſuperiority of numbers, it put the troops under great apprehenſions, and the generals were of opinion, it would not be proper to carry on the ſiege, ſince, while the duke of Savoy's army decreaſed, the enemy continually gathered ſtrength, inſomuch that, on the ſixth of Auguſt, his royal highneſs deſired the admiral would immediately embark the ſick and wounded, and withdraw the cannon, in order to his raiſing the ſiege, which from this time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment. His royal highneſs alſo informed him, that he propoſed to decamp the tenth in the morning, and deſired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the Var; which being done, it was propoſed to carry the duke, prince Eugene, and the troops which could be ſpared for ſervice in that country, on board the fleet to Spain, but ſince there was not any thing determined in this affair, the admiral ſoon after ſhaped his courſe down the Streights, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as poſſible, and five bomb veſſels, ſupported by the lighteſt frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and notwithſtanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour, from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the ſucceſs that could be expected. By this means the land-army had time to quit their camp at La Villette, which they did in five columns in great ſafety, the enemy having ſomething elſe to do than to purſue them; and as to any attempts afterwards, his royal highneſs put them pretty much out of their power, by marching, in two days, as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in ſix. This diſaſtrous end had the famous ſiege of Toulon,

Toulon, from whence the confederates hoped, and the French feared so much.

To speak impartially, one may safely set the faults of both generals against each other. If the duke of Savoy had arrived a week sooner, he had carried his point: and if, on the other hand, marshal Tesse had understood his business, as well as marshal Catinat, his royal highness had returned without an army. After all, this business, though it miscarried in the main, proved of great service to the allies, and had many happy consequences, which perhaps ought to balance the expence of it; for besides the great damage the French sustained in their shipping; the burning and destroying of eight of their capital ships; the blowing up several magazines; the burning of above one hundred and sixty houses in Toulon, and the devastations committed in Provence by both the armies, to the value of thirty millions of French livres; this enterprise brought these further advantages to the common cause, that it caused a great diversion of the enemies forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakened, the duke of Orleans's progress, after the battle of Almanza, retarded in Spain; the succouring of Naples prevented; and the conquests of the allies in Italy secured.

I must observe further, that as no prince in the world knew better than the duke of Savoy how to repair faults, and recover past miscarriages; so he gave on this occasion a noble proof of his high spirit, and great presence of mind, by investing the important fortress of Suza, which surrendered at discretion, on the 24th of September, and thereby gave him an open passage into Dauphine, at the same time that it enabled him to shut the French effectually out of his dominions.

Our admiral, not a little chagrined at the miscarriage of an expedition upon which he had set his heart, after having assigned Sir Thomas Dilkes a squadron of thirteen sail, for the Mediterranean service, sailed with the rest of the fleet from Gibraltar. On the 23d of October, he had ninety fathom water in the Soundings, in the afternoon he brought the fleet to and lay by. At six in the evening he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, whence it is presumed, he believed he saw the light of Scilly; soon after which he made signals of danger, as several other ships did. Sir George Byng, who was then within less than half a mile to the windward of him, saw the breaches of the sea, and soon after the rocks, called the Bishop and his Clerks, upon which the admiral struck; and in two minutes there was nothing more of him, or his ship seen.

Besides the Association, the Eagle, captain Robert Hancock, of seventy guns, and the Romney, captain William Cony, of fifty guns, perished: the Firebrand fire-ship was lost likewise; but captain Piercy, who commanded her, and most of the company were saved: the Phœnix fire-ship, commanded by captain

Sanſom, ran aſhore, but was happily got off again. The Royal Anne, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was ſaved by the preſence of mind of the officers and men, who in a minute's time ſet her top-ſails, when ſhe was within a ſhip's length of the rocks. Lord Durſley, in the St. George, ran as great hazard, and was ſaved by mere accident; he ſtruck on the ſame rocks with Sir Cloudeſley, and that wave which beat out the admiral's lights, ſet his ſhip afloat. The day after this unhappy accident, ſome country fellows took up Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's body, ſtripped him, and buried him in the ſand; but the boats crew of the Saliſbury, and the Antelope, having diſcovered it, dug him up again, put his corps on board the Saliſbury, by whom it was brought home to Plymouth, on the 28th of October, conveyed thence to London, and buried with great ſolemnity in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a magnificent tomb was ſoon after erected to his memory.

Rear-admiral Dilkes, with the ſquadron appointed for the Mediterranean ſervice, ſailed for Gibraltar on the 5th of October, in order to have eſcorted a convoy of troops, and proviſions from Italy to Catalonia. But when he was ſome leagues weſtward of Barcelona, he received ſeveral expreſſes, deſiring that he would enter that port, his catholic majeſty having ſome matters of great conſequence to communicate to him. The admiral accordingly repaired thither, and found that the principal point in view with his catholic majeſty was, the reduction of the iſland of Sardinia, and the defence of the Catalonian coaſts. The propoſition made by his majeſty, not being conſiſtent with the orders Sir Thomas Dilkes had already received, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of waving, in the beſt manner he could, complying with what his catholic majeſty deſired; and ſince the care of the embarkation in Italy, was particularly recommended to him, by his inſtructions, he ſailed from Barcelona on the ſecond of November; but meeting with hard gales of wind, his ſquadron was ſeparated, and could not join again before the 14th, when being off cape Corſica, he received a letter from the king of Spain, which contained an account of the loſs of Lerida, and of the great danger of Tortoſa and Terragona.

He arrived at Leghorn the 19th of November, but met in the road with ſo terrible a ſtorm, that almoſt every ſhip in his ſquadron ſuffered by it. At his arrival he demanded a ſalute of ſeventeen guns, which was refuſed him: upon this, he wrote to her majeſty's miniſter at the court of the grand duke, who complained of the diſreſpect. The ſecretary of ſtate ſent him ſoon after an anſwer, importing, that the caſtle of Leghorn never ſaluted any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral firſt; and therefore Sir Thomas Dilkes, being a rear-admiral only, had no right to expect it; and as to the number of guns, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was content with eleven, and returned the

ſame

ſame number. On the firſt of December, this diſpute being adjuſted, he was invited on ſhore, and died a few days afterwards of a fever, cauſed, as moſt people imagined, by an Italian dinner.

Upon his deceaſe, the command devolved on captain Jaſper Hicks, who was the ſenior officer, and who ſailed from Leghorn to the coaſt of Genoa, where embarking the troops at Vado, a little town to the weſtward of Savona, he eſcorted them ſafely to Spain, and then proceed with his ſquadron to Liſbon, where he received orders to put it in the beſt condition he could, againſt the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was coming, with the title of admiral and commander in chief, from England. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this year the enemy had a conſiderable force in the Mediterranean, which relieved their party in the iſland of Minorca, and did other ſervices in thoſe parts but it was in a manner by ſtealth, and in the abſence of our fleet, which, as the reader has ſeen, was then before Toulon. I ſhall conclude this ſubject with obſerving, that how ill ſoever our affairs went in Spain, it was owing entirely to the diſputes amongſt our land-officers, and the miſchiefs and miſcarriages induced thereby: for, at ſea, all things went well; our fleets and ſquadrons did all that could be expected from them, and it ſeemed to be our misfortune, that it was not in their power to do all that was to be done.

At the time that our fleets were every where ſuperior to thoſe of the enemy, our trade ſuffered in almoſt all parts of the world, by their ſmall ſquadrons of men of war, as well as privateers. This, though it fell heavily upon us, was a plain proof of the weakneſs of the French power; ſince it never can be conceived, that ſo haughty a prince as Lewis XIV. would have ſtooped to this piratical way of carrying on the war, if he could have maintained it in a manner more honourable.

Sir Thomas Hardy, who had commanded a ſquadron in the Soundings a year before, and who had this year been employed on the coaſt of Ireland, to protect the Eaſt-India fleet, was, in the beginning of the month of July, ordered to eſcort the Liſbon trade. Sir Thomas, purſuant to this order, ſailed with the ſquadron under his command, and the outward-bound merchant-men. But being ſeveral times forced back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of Auguſt, 1707, before they got ninety-three leagues off the Lizard. About half an hour after two that afternoon, captain Kirktown, in the Defiance, who was in the rear of the fleet, made the ſignal of ſeeing ſix ſail, which being alſo ſeen about three, right a-ſtern from the maſt-head of the Kent, Sir Thomas Hardy brought to for the rear, that were a great way off, and ſpread very much, to come up with the body of the fleet, conſiſting in all of above two hundred ſail.

Between three and four o'clock, Sir Thomas Hardy perceiving, that the ſix ſail came up with him a pace, and thereby judging they might be ſeekers, made the ſignal for the ſhips that were to continue with him, to chaſe to windward, and alſo chaſed with them, both to prevent theſe ſix ſail from taking ſome of the heavy ſailers, and to try to come up with them, in caſe they were enemies. About five, the ſix ſail were ſeen from the Kent's deck, making all the ſail they could before the wind after the fleet. Soon after they ſhortened ſail, and brought to, to ſpeak with one another; whereupon, Sir Thomas Hardy believing them to be the French ſquadron, mentioned in his orders, made the ſignal for the Liſbon fleet to part, whilſt he, with his own ſquadron, continued to chaſe to windward the enemy, who had formed themſelves in a line of battle. About ſix, the ſix ſail bore away, and he, with his ſquadron, tacked after them, and continued the chaſe till near ſeven o'clock; but then conſidering that it was almoſt night, that the ſix ſail were then hauled to, and almoſt in the wind's eye, he ſaw no probability of coming up with them, it being little wind; and, therefore, he made the ſignal for the captains with him, to adviſe with them according to his orders. The reſult of this conſultation was, that Sir Thomas Hardy ſhould leave off the chaſe; and leſt the enemy, ſuppoſed to be Guai Trouin's ſquadron, of whoſe ſtrength he was informed by a letter from the admiralty, dated the 8th of July, 1707, ſhould paſs by him in the night, and fall upon the trade, which could not be protected by the convoys directed to be left with them; all the captains unanimouſly agreed that it was for her majeſty's ſervice, to bear away, and keep company with the Liſbon fleet, till they got 120 leagues at leaſt from the Land's-end, according to his royal highneſs's order.

Sir Thomas Hardy complied with their advice, and ſaw all the fleet ſafe as far as he was directed. But upon the complaint of ſome merchants, ſurmiſing that Sir Thomas Hardy had not chaſed the ſix ſail of French men of war, a court-martial was ordered to examine his conduct therein. This court, having ſifted every circumſtance of this affair, and heard the principal officers of the ſquadron upon their oaths, declared their opinion to be, that Sir Thomas Hardy had complied with his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral's orders, both with regard to the chaſing the enemy, and alſo the protecting the trade; and accordingly, the court did acquit the ſaid Sir Thomas Hardy, from the charge brought againſt him.

Towards the latter end of April, a large fleet of ſhips bound for Portugal, and the Weſt-Indies, and making in all a fleet of fifty-five ſail, had a convoy appointed them, conſiſting of three men of war, the Royal Oak, of 76 guns, captain Baron Wylde commander and commodore; the Grafton, of 70 guns, and

and the Hampton-Court, of 70 guns. They failed on the first of May from the Downs, and fell in, on the second, with the Dunkirk squadron, commanded by M. Forbin, consisting of ten men of war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely two hours and a half; but then captain Acton, of the Grafton being killed, and his ship taken, and the Hampton-Court soon sharing the same fate, after having sunk the Salisbury, then in the hands of the French, by her side; the commodore thought proper to shift for himself as well as he could, which it was not very easy for him to do, as he was immediately attacked by three of the largest French men of war, and had eleven feet water in his hold. He disengaged himself, notwithstanding, and with great difficulty ran on shore near Dungeness, from whence he soon got off, and brought his ship into the Downs. But while the men of war were thus engaged, the lightest of the enemies frigates, and their privateers, took one and twenty of our merchant-ships, and carried them with the two men of war, into Dunkirk.

The most extraordinary thing that happened in this engagement, was the conduct of a midshipman, on board the Hampton-Court, who, while the enemy were employed in plundering the ship, conveyed captain Clements, who was mortally wounded in the belly, into the long-boat, into which himself, and seven of the sailors crept through the port-holes, and concealed themselves, as well as they could, under the thouls. The enemy, in the mean time, driving with the flood, when they thought themselves at a sufficient distance, they fell to their oars, and had the good fortune to get into Rye harbour on the third of May. This affair made a very great noise, the merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the admiralty to have acquainted commodore Wylde, that the Dunkirk squadron was at sea; which, in all probability, might have enabled him to have escaped this misfortune.

The French, according to their usual custom, magnified this success of theirs excessively; for they asserted, that besides the three men of war, there was a frigate of forty guns sent to strengthen the convoy, and that the fleet of merchant-men consisted of fourscore sail, of which they took twenty-two, and made 1200 prisoners. In Forbin's memoirs, we have some very extraordinary circumstances; such as, that he engaged the commodore himself, and killed him with a musket-shot through a port-hole, while he was giving his orders sword in hand between decks, and afterwards made himself master of his ship; in which, as we have seen, there is not one word of truth; and all that can be said in excuse of the French relation, is that M. Forbin mistook the Hampton-Court for the commodore.

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All the French relations, however, do us the juſtice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory coſt them very dear. The French king, as ſoon as he had advice of this engagement, promoted M. Forbin to the rank of chef d'eſcadre, and gave him likewiſe the title of count, which he ſoon after merited by an extraordinary exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

The Ruſſia fleet being this year very numerous, and very richly laden, Sir Benjamin Ayloffe being then governor, and ſome other principal merchants, applied themſelves to the admiralty, in order to know what convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the apprehenſions they were under, from the Dunkirk ſquadron; they were told, that they ſhould have one fourth, and two fifth rates, with which they were very much diſſatisfied. To make them in ſome meaſure eaſy, Sir William Whetſtone had orders to convoy them beyond the iſlands of Shetland. Accordingly the fleet, conſiſting of about fifty merchant-men, ſailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his inſtructions directed, by admiral Whetſtone, who left them about three weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their voyage, under their proper convoy.

Some time after captain Haddock, who commanded, made a ſignal of his ſeeing eleven ſail of the enemies ſhips, which ſome of the fleet not regarding, but truſting to their good ſailing, fifteen of them fell into the enemies hands, off the iſland of Kildine, on the coaſt of Lapland, on the 11th of July; and the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of about forty ſhips, with their convoy of three men of war, by the favour of a hard gale, and a thick fog, got into Archangel.

In the latter end of Auguſt, there was a great fleet ready for Liſbon, having on board proviſions, military ſtores, and upwards of a thouſand horſes, for the king of Portugal's ſervice. The merchants were extremely uneaſy on the head of a convoy. They obſerved, that ſo many ſhips had been taken in performing the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the Portugueſe to ſend their orders for corn even againſt their will into Holland; for this reaſon, they earneſtly inſiſted, that ſuch a convoy might be given them, upon this occaſion, as might effectually ſecure ſo great a fleet, (for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchant-men,) and thereby recover our credit at Liſbon; and, in conſequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great meaſure diverted into other hands for the two laſt years.

Theſe repreſentations were by no means pleaſing to the admiralty, where admiral Churchill, the duke of Marlborough's brother, commonly expreſſed the ſenſe of his royal highneſs's council, and thereby drew on himſelf the merchants diſpleaſure in

in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and as strong a convoy as could possibly be provided for them; yet it so fell out, that it was the 24th of September before this convoy was ready to sail. It consisted of the Cumberland, captain Richard Edwards, of eighty-guns; the Devonshire, of the same force; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, each of fifty guns. But, to say the truth, the Chester and Ruby were, properly speaking, the convoy; for the other three ships were only to see the ships fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not sail till the 9th of October, and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of count Forbin and M. du Guai Trouin, off the Lizard.

The French were at least twelve sail of line-of-battle ships, The convoy disposed themselves in a line, and thereby gave the merchant ships an opportunity of escaping. M. du Guai attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; the Devonshire defended herself, for a long time, against seven, and till evening against five French ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men, escaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous resistance, and having set the French ship which attacked her, and was commanded by M. de Bearnois, on fire, got safe into Kinsale harbour; the count de Forbin took the Chester, and messieurs de Courserat and de Nesmond took the Ruby. As for the Lisbon fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boasting of the men of war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal, and though in effect the convoy did all that could be expected from them, by securing the merchants at their own expence.

But, in the midst of so many discouragements, the nation was not altogether deprived of good fortune. even in respect to these little disputes; for at the very close of the year, captain Haddock, in her majesty's ship the Ludlow-Castle, got sight, off the long sand, of two frigates, which proved to be the Nightingale and Squirrel, formerly her majesty's ships, but taken by the French, and now fitted out from Dunkirk, as privateers, and each of them having as many men as the Ludlow-Castle. They both lay by, till he came with gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven at night, he came up with the Nightingale, and took her, and as soon as the captain of the Squirrel perceived it, he crowded sail and stood away. The captain of the Nightingale was one Thomas Smith, who had formerly commanded a sloop in her majesty's service, and was broke at a court-martial for irregular practices: captain Haddock, who died lately an admiral, and who commanded the

the ſquadron in the Mediterranean, immediately before the laſt war, carried in his prize to Hull, from whence he thought fit to ſend up all the Engliſh who were on board the Nightingale, *viz.* captain Thomas Smith, who commanded the ſhip; Charles Aiſlaby, lieutenant; Mr. Harwood, who acted as a midſhipman; an Iriſh prieſt, and an Engliſh ſailor, who were immediately committed cloſe priſoners for high-treaſon, and a proſecution, by the attorney-general, directed againſt them.

About the ſame time, arrived the welcome news of our ſucceſs in Newfoundland, where captain John Underdown, commander of her majeſty's ſhip the Falkland, having received advice on the 25th of July, that the enemy had many ſhips employed in the fiſhery, in ſeveral harbours to the northward, our commanders of ſhips, merchants, and inhabitants, petitioned him to endeavour the deſtroying of them, and by that means to encourage and protect the Britiſh trade in thoſe places. In purſuance of which repreſentations, on the 26th of July, captain Underdown ſet ſail from St. John's, having taken major Lloyd, who deſired to be employed in the expedition, with twenty of his company, on board the Falkland, and twenty more of the ſame company, on board the Nonſuch. On the 27th, they came before Bonavis, and finding there no appearance of an enemy, the commodore ordered captain Hughes upon that ſtation, to ſail with him.

On the 2d of Auguſt, they ſtood into the bay of Blanche, till they came off Fleur-de-lis harbour. Major Lloyd was immediately ſent into the harbour in the commodore's pinnace, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in the pinnace belonging to the Nonſuch, in order to make what diſcoveries they were able. They found there were ſeveral ſtages, and other neceſſaries for the fiſhery, to which they ſet fire, and afterwards they returned, without any loſs ſuſtained, on board the men of war. By ſix the next morning they doubled the cape, and ſaw a ſhip, which, upon the briſk exchange of a few ſhot, ſtruck; the commodore ſent his boats aboard, and found her to be from St. Malo's, carrying about three hundred and ſixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called the Duke of Orleans. In another arm of the bay, named Equillette, was another large ſhip; but the place being rocky, and the water ſhallow, it was impoſſible for either the Falkland or Nonſuch to come near her; whereupon, the Medway's prize was ordered to go as cloſe in as ſhe could, with ſafety; and, at the ſame time, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in boats well manned and armed, were directed to land upon the iſland, under which ſhe lay. This was executed with ſo good effect, that the enemy, after having fired ſeveral broadſides, being no longer able to keep the deck, againſt our ſmall ſhot from the ſhore, ſtruck. This ſhip was of the force of

twenty

twenty guns, and fourſcore men, belonging alſo to St. Malo. Having here received information, that about three leagues to the northward, in La Couche, there were two ſhips, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-ſix, both of St. Malo; the commodore gave captain Hughes directions to burn the laſt prize, and afterwards to join him at La Couche, himſelf in the Falkland, with the Nonſuch, making the beſt of their way thither.

The fifth, in the afternoon, they came into La Couche, where they found the two ſhips in readineſs for ſailing. The enemy fired ſeveral broadſides at them, which, as ſoon as our men of war returned, they ſet their ſhips on fire, and left them, going over to the next harbour, called Carouſe, in which, the commodore had received intelligence, there were four ſhips. He immediately weighed, and ſtood for that harbour, and about eight o'clock at night was joined by the Medway's prize; but there being very little wind at S. W. and much difficulty in getting out, it was about ſix the next morning before he got off the harbour's mouth. The commodore ſent in his boat, but found the enemy had eſcaped, having by the advantage of a little wind, and the great number of men and boats, cut and towed out. The Britiſh ſhips ſtood to the northward, and ſaw ſeveral veſſels, to which they gave chace; about five in the afternoon they came off the harbour of St. Julian, where they diſcovered a ſhip, and having loſt ſight of the veſſels they had purſued, ſtood in for the harbour, and came to an anchor in twenty-ſix fathom water. The place where the ſhip was hauled in, being very narrow and ſhoally, the commodore ordered the Medway's prize to go as near as poſſibly ſhe could. The enemy fired two guns, but it was not thought fit to attack her till the morning. Accordingly, the ſixth of Auguſt, at four of the clock, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and lieutenant Eagle, went in, with all their boats well manned and armed, and immediately landing, drove the enemy from their poſts, who were likewiſe on ſhore. Our men took their boats, and went aboard their ſhip, where they found the enemy had laid ſeveral trains of powder, in order to blow her up; which being ſeaſonably diſcovered, ſhe was preſerved, and by noon they towed her out to ſea. But the Britiſh pilots being unacquainted with the coaſt, and the commodore thinking it not proper to go farther to the northward, it was reſolved to ſail back to Carouſe, and there remain till they were joined by the duke of Orleans prize, which was left at Grand Canarie, with a lieutenant and ſixty men.

In the way to Carouſe, it was thought fit to look into Petit Maiſtre, where they deſtroyed great numbers of boats and ſtages, with vaſt quantities of fiſh and oil; about ſeven at night, they came to an anchor in Carouſe harbour, and moor-

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ed. On the 12th and 13th it blew a hard gale at S. W. Having deſtroyed the fiſhery at Petit Maiſtre, and the duke of Orleans prize being come to La Couche, on the 14th, by four in the morning, they weighed and ſtood out to ſea, taking her with them, and ſteered for St. John's harbour, where the Falkland and Nonſuch, with the two prizes, arrived the 17th of the ſame month, having before given the Medway's prize orders to ſail to Trinity.

We ought now, according to the method that has been generally obſerved, to ſpeak of the proceedings in the Weſt-Indies; but, as what was done there this year, is ſo ſtrictly connected with what happened in the following, that it is ſcarce poſſible to divide them, without deſtroying the perſpicuity of both relations; I ſhall defer ſaying any thing of the events that fell out in that part of the world, till I come to ſpeak of them in their proper places; that is, after having accounted for the naval proceedings in the ſucceeding year.

The firſt parliament of GREAT-BRITAIN, met upon the 23d of October, when the eyes not only of this kingdom, but of all Europe, were fixed upon them. The earlieſt thing they did was, to make choice of John Smith, Eſq; for their ſpeaker; and the next, in the houſe of commons, was, to vote an addreſs of thanks to the queen, for her moſt gracious ſpeech made to them on the ſixth of November, to which day they had adjourned. In the houſe of lords it went otherwiſe; inſtead of their uſual addreſs, their lordſhips proceeded to a direct conſideration of the ſtate of the kingdom, in which very warm debates aroſe, in regard to the navy eſpecially.

This produced the appointing of a committee, in which this matter might be reſumed, upon the 19th of December, at which her majeſty was preſent. The ſheriffs of London, preſented a petition, ſigned by two hundred of the moſt eminent merchants of the city of London, ſetting forth the great loſſes they had lately ſuſtained at ſea, for want of convoys and cruizers; and praying that ſome remedy might be ſpeedily applied, that the trade of the nation might not be entirely deſtroyed.

The houſe went as heartily into this matter as the ſufferers could deſire, and appointed the 26th to hear the merchants further, in a grand committee, where they were permitted to make a regular charge, and encouraged to exhibit their evidence. In the courſe of this inquiry, it fully appeared to their lordſhips, that many ſhips of war were not fitted out to ſea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay. That convoys had been often denied the merchants, and that, when they were promiſed, they were ſo long delayed, that the merchants loſt their markets,

markets, were put to great charges, and, where they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruizers were not ordered to proper stations in the channel; and, when convoys were appointed, and ready to put to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them till the enemies privateer squadrons were laid in their way, and with superior force prepared to fall on them; which had often happened.

Many advertisements, by which these misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty; but had not only been neglected by them, but those who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. To carry these things as far as possible, they caused an exact report to be drawn of their proceedings; sent it to the admiralty-office; received the best answer that could be given from thence; heard the merchants by way of reply to this, digested the whole into a second report, and, together with an address suitable to a matter of such mighty consequence, laid it before her majesty, on the first of March, 1707. Her majesty received this address very graciously, and promised to pay all the regard thereto, that the nature of the thing, and the respect due to the advice of the hereditary council of her kingdoms deserved.

The house of commons also went into a grand committee, on the affairs of the navy, of which Sir Richard Onslow was chairman; they heard with great attention all that the merchants had to say, and carefully examined all the evidence they could produce; and though there were some people who endeavoured to stop the mouths of the merchants, when they ran out into invidious characters of those officers by whom they thought themselves wronged, yet the majority of the house were inclined to hear their sentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, such complaints as appeared to be well founded; and with this view their lordships, on the 7th of February, addressed the queen to lay aside captain Ker; and on the 26th of the same month, the house of commons presented an address of the same nature, against the same person.

These warm proceedings had a proper effect; they convinced such as sat at the admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat British merchants with contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the officers to know, that having friends at the board, or being tried, where no evidence could reach them, would not always secure them from punishment. On the complaint of the merchants, however, against Sir Thomas Hardy, tho' prosecuted with great heat, both houses concurred to vindicate him, which was sufficient to encourage the officers of the navy to do their duty; since, where they could prove they had done this, it was most clear they ran no hazard; but,

but, if purſued by groundleſs clamour, were ſure to come off with reputation.

As the ſeaſon for action was now coming on, the lord high-admiral made the following promotions: Sir John Leake was declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commodore in chief of her majeſty's fleet; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white. Some alterations were likewiſe made in his royal highneſs's council.

An act paſſed for regulating convoys, and cruizers; and a further term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the Eaſt-India company, in conſideration of their advancing 1,200,000l. for the public ſervice, there being granted in the whole, for the year 1701, no leſs than 5,933,657l. 17s. 4d. a ſupply unheard of in former times, and for a great part of which we ſtand indebted to this day. Of this, upwards of 2,300,000l. were intended for the ſervice of the fleet, and great things were expected, eſpecially ſince all parts of the iſland ſeemed heartily united in one intereſt; and the carrying on the war, humbling France, and exalting the houſe of Auſtria, were every where conſidered as the great objects of our care; being eſſentially neceſſary to the welfare of the nation.

But, before our projects were thoroughly adjuſted, the French actually played off one of theirs; which put us into great confuſion, and had like to have had much worſe conſequences. This was the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the chevalier de St. George; which was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleaſed to give the perſon, whom the queen ſoon after diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Pretender. The deſign is ſaid to have been carried on with great ſecrecy; but this muſt be underſtood only of the French court; for it was ſufficiently known, and talked of in Scotland, long before it was undertaken. I do not think, that ſo idle an expedition demands, in a work of this nature, a very critical explanation, and therefore, I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that it ought to be reckoned amongſt the number of thoſe affronts, of which the French have never been ſparing to this nation, and was chiefly deſigned to ſhew how much, in ſpight of all the power of the allies, Lewis XIV. was able to alarm and diſtract us.

The troops, intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the marquis de Gace, afterwards ſtyled the marſhal de Martignon. The fleet conſiſted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the count de Forbin, who is ſaid to have diſliked the deſign, becauſe, very probably, he knew the bottom of it; for it is very certain,

certain, the French never intended to land, and refuſed the chevalier to ſet him on ſhore, though he would have gone with his own ſervants. The true ſcheme of the French king was to create a diverſion, and, if poſſible, raiſe a rebellion in Scotland, that, by means of trials and executions, the queen and her miniſtry might be ſufficiently embarraſſed at home, and have the leſs leiſure to proſecute their views abroad; and, from theſe motives, he ordered his miniſters in all foreign courts to talk in very magnificent terms, of the ſuccours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him, that, on the rebound, they might make the louder noiſe in Britain, and induce us to believe our danger the greater, and more inevitable.

In this reſpect, the French politics had their effect; for, on general Cadogan's ſending over an expreſs, diſcloſing the whole deſign, the queen acquainted the houſe of commons therewith, on the fourth of March, and received a very loyal addreſs from them, as well as from the lords; but the apprehenſions expreſſed here, and in Holland, had ſuch an effect upon the monied intereſt, that it occaſioned a prodigious run upon the bank, and diſturbed our foreign remittances ſo much, that all thinking people were at this time convinced of the great riſk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while heavily loaded with debts at home. Our public ſecurities fell ſurpriſingly, and things would have fallen into downright confuſion, if the fright had not been quickly over.

This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George Byng and lord Durſley ſailed for the French coaſt, on the 27th of February, without diminiſhing the convoy of the Liſbon fleet; which, when we had time to conſider it, appeared prodigious, and ſufficiently convinced the French, that a real invaſion was not at all their buſineſs. On Sir George Byng's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aſide their embarkation; but, upon expreſs orders from court, were obliged to reſume it, and on the ſixth of March actually ſailed out of Dunkirk; but being detained by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage for Scotland.

Sir George Byng purſued them with a fleet of forty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips. He afterwards detached rear-admiral Baker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to convoy the troops that were ſent from Oſtend, and proſecuted his expedition with the reſt. On the 13th of March, the French were diſcovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made ſignals, but to no purpoſe, and then ſteered a N. E. courſe, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George Byng followed them, and took the Saliſbury, an Engliſh prize, then

then in their ſervice, with ſeveral perſons of quality on board; finding it was altogether impoſſible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of count Forbin's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, purſuant to the orders he received from the miniſtry, from whence he ſoon came to London, where he was moſt graciouſly received by the queen his ſovereign, and by his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark.

Thus ended this affair of the invaſion, which made ſo much noiſe at that time, and which has been handed down in ſo many different lights to poſterity. An affair, indeed, which ſpeaks the true policy of France, and ſhews how artfully ſhe can ſerve her own ends, and with how great readineſs ſhe betrays, and gives up to deſtruction, ſuch as are ſimple enough to truſt her. But, through the wiſdom of the Britiſh miniſtry, joined to the cunning of ſome of the nobility of Scotland, who were taken into cuſtody upon this occaſion, and who, it is generally thought, gave ſuch lights as enabled the government to take theſe effectual methods; the latter part of the French ſcheme proved as abortive as the firſt; all the priſoners being ſoon after ſet at liberty, and every thing being done to ſatisfy and quiet the people of that country.

The great point the miniſtry had in view this year, was, to put the affairs of his catholic majeſty into better order, and, to repair, as faſt as it was poſſible, the many unlucky conſequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was ſo early at ſea, that on the 27th of March he arrived at Liſbon; having, in his way thither, ſeen the merchant ſhips bound to Virginia, and the Canaries, with their reſpective convoys, well into the ſea, and taken care for the ſecurity of others deſigned to the ports of Portugal. Here he found the ſhips that had been left with captain Hickes, which were fourteen of the third rate, beſides ſmall frigates, and bomb veſſels: and at a council of war it was reſolved, that, as ſoon as the tranſports were ready to receive the horſe on board, the fleet ſhould proceed to Vado, and that ſuch of the ſhips of war as could not be got ready by that time, ſhould follow to Barcelona, where there would be orders left how they ſhould farther proceed. But, as for the Dutch ſhips, they were all ſeparated in bad weather, between England and Liſbon. It was alſo determined, at the deſire of the king of Portugal, to appoint the Warſpight, Rupert, and Triton, to cruize off the Tercera, or Azores iſlands, for the ſecurity of his majeſty's fleet expected from Brazil; nor was there any care omitted to guard the Streight's mouth, leſt otherwiſe our trade ſhould ſuffer by the enemies cruizers or privateers. The procuring tranſport ſhips, and putting them in a condition for receiving the horſe, took up a con-

a considerable time; but, on the 23d of April, the admiral was ready to sail with as many as could carry fifteen hundred, with one second rate, twelve third rates, two fourths, a fire-ship, bomb vessels, *&c.* together with twelve ships of the line of battle of the states-general; and, upon advice from colonel Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, and from other hands, that some French ships of war were seen cruizing off the Steights mouth; one third, and one fourth rate, and another of the Dutch ships of war, were appointed to strengthen those before ordered to ply up and down in that station.

The admiral sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the 28th of April, and, in his passage up the Streights, he, on the 11th of May, being about twelve leagues from Alicant, had sight of several vessels, which he took for fishing boats. But he had a better account of them the next day, for having detached before some light frigates from Barcelona, to give notice of the approach of his fleet, one of them had the good luck to take a French frigate of twenty four guns, and thereby obtained an account of the convoy that was expected. Upon this, the captains of our frigates made the necessary dispositions for intercepting them. The next day, the French convoy appeared in sight, consisting of three men of war, one of forty-four, another of forty, and the third of thirty-two guns, with ninety settees and tartanes laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the duke of Orleans's army, and bound for Pensacola, near the mouth of the Ebro. The British frigates bore down immediately upon the enemy's men of war, and these abandoning their barks, and endeavouring to make their escape, came in view of the confederate fleet, which, seeing seven men of war, concluded they were enemies, and thereupon the admiral made a signal to give them chase. But as the great ships could not follow them near the coast, the French made their escape in the night. The vice-admiral of the white, who sailed on the left with his division, perceiving the barks near the coast, sent his long-boats, and small ships, and took several of them. The next morning they saw some of them dispersed, which were likewise secured by the long-boats; and some barks of Catalonia, coming out of their harbours at the same time, to have a share in the booty, sixty-nine of them were taken, and the rest dispersed.

On the 15th of May, the admiral arrived at Barcelona, where he was joined by several of our ships, and complimented by the king of Spain, on his late success; his catholic majesty took this opportunity of desiring a squadron might be left under his direction at Barcelona, while the fleet crossed to Italy, to bring over the reinforcements he expected, and the queen of Spain, who, it was thought, was by this time arrived at Genoa. He signified also his desire, that the provisions lately taken might be

be laid up in his magazines, which were but indifferently furnished.

As to the provisions, the admiral ordered they should be disposed of, as the king required; but with respect to his other demands, the admiral thought it necessary to call a council of war, to determine which should be executed, since it appeared absolutely impracticable to undertake them all. This council, after mature deliberation, determined to leave with the king two third rates, one fourth, and one fifth rate of ours, and two ships of the states general, and with the rest of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to the port of Vado, in order to the transporting the horse and foot from thence to Barcelona, as also her majesty the queen of Spain, if she should be ready when the fleet arrived.

The admiral sailed in pursuance of this resolution, and on the 29th of May safely anchored before Vado; but finding nothing in readiness, he sent Sir Thomas Hardy to wait on the queen of Spain at Milan, where he arrived the 18th of June, and was received with all possible marks of respect and esteem. Upon his pressing instances, her majesty consented to set out immediately for Genoa, where she arrived on the 1st of July, embarked on the 2d, and arrived happily at Mataro on the 14th.

After having conducted the queen, with all imaginable respect, to Barcelona, the admiral thought next of the reduction of Sardinia, which he performed almost as soon as he arrived. He appeared before Cagliari on the first of August, and having summoned it, the marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for king Philip, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. Upon this, the admiral ordered the place to be bombarded all that night, and the next morning major-general Wills landed about 1800 men, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking the city; but the Spanish governor, believing himself now at the last extremity, saved them any further trouble by coming to a speedy capitulation. The reduction of this island, was of equal advantage to the common cause, and to that of king Charles; for it gave great security to our navigation, and enabled his catholic majesty to supply himself from thence, as often as he had occasion, with corn and other provisions.

The admiral had scarce completed the conquest of the island, before his assistance was required for the reducing another; and therefore sailing from Cagliari the 18th of August, he arrived before Port Mahon on the 25th; but not finding lieutenant-general Stanhope, he sent two ships of the third rate to Majorca, to hasten the embarkation of those which were to be furnished from that island. These returned the 1st of September with some settees, laden with military stores for the army; nor was it more than two days, before the Milford, and three Dutch ships,

ſhips of war, arrived with the lieutenant-general, being followed by five third rates, convoy to fifteen tranſports, that had on board them the land forces; whereupon a council of war was held of the ſea officers, and it was reſolved, that the ſhips that were to return to Great-Britain, ſhould leave behind them, to aſſiſt in the attempt, all the marines, above the middle complement of each of them, and that the ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch, deſigned to be continued abroad with Sir Edward Whitaker, ſhould remain at Port Mahon, to aſſiſt with their marines and ſeamen in the reduction of that place, ſo long as the lieutenant-general ſhould deſire it; due regard being had to the ſeaſon of the year, the time their proviſions might laſt, and the tranſporting from Naples to Barcelona, four thouſand of the enemy's troops for the ſervice of his catholic majeſty. It was alſo reſolved, that the Engliſh ſhips ſhould ſpare the forces as much bread as they could, and both they and the Dutch all their cannon-ſhot, except what might be neceſſary for their own defence; and that, when every thing ſhould be landed, which was neceſſary for the ſiege, the admiral ſhould proceed to England, with one ſecond rate, and ſix thirds of ours, and eight Dutch ſhips of the line; but ſome time after this, he ſent home two Engliſh and two Dutch ſhips of war, with the empty tranſports of both nations, in order to their being diſcharged. The ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour, that, by the end of October, the place ſurrendered, and the garriſon, conſiſting of about a thouſand men, marched out, and were afterwards tranſported on board our veſſels, ſome to France, and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation.

Before this conqueſt of Port Mahon, Fort Fornelle, which had beneath it a harbour little leſs conſiderable, though leſs known than Port Mahon, had ſubmitted to the obedience of king Charles. This ſervice was owing to captain Butler, and captain Fairborne, who battered that fort, with the two ſhips under their command, till they obliged him to ſurrender. The place was naturally ſtrong, and was, beſides, tolerably fortified; having four baſtions, and twelve pieces of braſs cannon: yet, it coſt but four hours time, and the loſs of ſix men killed, and twelve wounded. They found in the garriſon, a hundred cannon, three thouſand barrels of powder, and all things neceſſary for a good defence.

Some little time after, the general ſent a detachment of about a hundred Spaniards, with three hundred or more of the marquis Piſaro's regiment, to Citadella, the chief town of the iſland on the weſt ſide thereof. Sir Edward Whitaker diſpatched two ſhips of war thither; which place put them to no great trouble, for the garriſon, immediately ſurrendering, were made priſoners of war, conſiſting of a hundred French, and as many Spaniards. Being thus poſſeſſed of this important iſland, we

had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which, during the war, was exceedingly useful to us in the cleaning and refitting such of our ships as were employed in the Mediterranean; and not only magazines of stores were lodged there for that purpose, but such officers appointed to reside on the place, as were judged requisite, and a vast expence saved thereby to the nation,

But it is now time we should return to the fleet, which, as we observed, sailed under the command of Sir John Leake for England, the 6th of September. His excellency, on his arrival at Gibraltar, being there informed, that four French men of war had taken some of our merchant ships, running, as they called it, without convoy, near cape Spartel, and carried them into Cadiz; he thought proper to leave a small squadron, consisting of two third rates, one fourth, and a fifth, to cruize in that station, in order to prevent such accidents for the future, and then pursued his voyage to England, where he arrived safely at St. Helens, on the 19th of October, having met in the Soundings with the squadrons cruizing there under the command of lord Dursley, afterwards earl Berkley, and for some time at the head of the admiraly.

Sir Edward Whitaker had now the sole command of the squadron left for the Mediterranean service, and was consequently exposed to all the difficulties which usually happen to officers under different orders. On one side, he was bound to regulate his conduct by the instructions left him by Sir John Leake; on the other, he was continually solicited by king Charles, to undertake this or that expedition for his service. The chief thing the imperial court had at this time in view, was, the reduction of the island of Sicily, an enterprise not to be undertaken, but in conjunction with our fleet; and, as it afterwards proved, not then neither; for when Sir Edward had disposed every thing in the best manner possible, for the supporting this design, the viceroy of Naples declared, there were such discontents in that kingdom, as would not allow him to send any troops from thence; but, if Sir Edward Whitaker would furnish him with a small squadron, he was ready to undertake the reduction of the places on the coast of Tuscany, which belonged to the crown of Spain.

In compliance with this request, the Defiance, and the York, with the Terrible bomb vessel, were sent into the road of Piombino; but the Germans, as usual, were so backward in their preparations, that it was necessary to continue a month longer in those seas; to very little purpose, at least with respect to either of the designs before-mentioned: but, in regard to a dispute that then subsisted between his holiness and the imperial court, and which had almost risen into a war, it had a better effect; for our chasing some of the pope's gallies, and threatening

tening to bombard Civita Vecchia, contributed not a little to bring down the pontiff's haughty ſtomach, and inclined him to an accommodation upon terms acceptable to the imperial court.

The ſquadron appointed to cruize in the Soundings, was commanded this year by lord Durſley, who was very fortunate in protecting our trade, but not altogether ſo happy in chaſing the French ſhips that appeared from time to time upon our coaſt, which was entirely owing to the foulneſs of his ſhips, and to the cleanneſs of theirs. In the middle of the ſummer, a reſolution was taken, to make a deſcent on, or at leaſt to alarm, the coaſt of France; and Sir George Byng as admiral, and lord Durſley as vice-admiral, of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe, and lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land forces. Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true deſign of which was diſturbing the French naval armaments on their coaſts, and obliging the French court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which neceſſarily occaſioned the diminiſhing of their army in Flanders. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the tranſports, having the troops on board which were intended for the deſcent, ſailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Deal. The 29th they ſtood over to the coaſt of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuſe the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The firſt of Auguſt the fleet ſailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they ſtood in pretty nigh the ſhore, to obſerve the condition of the enemy. The fourth they weighed; but anchored again about noon in the bay of Eſtaples.

Here a detachment of troops were actually landed; but the project on ſhore, which this deſcent was to have countenanced, being by this time laid aſide, an expreſs brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The ſeventh, they ſtood over again to the coaſt of England, and, being joined by ſeveral more tranſports in Dover road, arrived the 11th in the bay of La Hogue. The 12th, it was deſigned to have landed the troops; but, upon viewing the coaſt, they found ſo many of the enemy's forces brought together, to oppoſe a deſcent, and ſo many forts and batteries on ſhore, that it was judged impracticable. The 14th, the fleet ſailed again to the weſtward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their courſe, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no proſpect of doing any thing there. The ſame day, the lord Durſley, in the Oxford, with ſix other men of war, and frigates, ſailed to the weſtward, to cruize in the Soundings. The 17th, the reſt of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue;

but the men growing ſickly, and proviſions falling ſhort, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th.

When the ſquadron under lord Durſley had been victualled, and refitted, at Plymouth, he ſailed from thence on the 28th of September, with five ſhips of war, and was joined the next day by the Hampſhire, which had taken a ſmall French privateer. His lordſhip took another himſelf, of twenty-four guns, belonging to St. Malo. On the 7th of November his lordſhip returned to Plymouth, and ſoon after the Hampſhire brought in a privateer of 16 guns, and a rich merchant-man bound to the Weſt-Indies; the Saliſbury likewiſe brought in two prizes, and, through the great vigilance of this noble commander, the whole coaſt was very thoroughly protected. In the middle of December, his lordſhip having cleaned his ſhip, put to ſea again with his ſquadron, and, on the 29th, ſaw two ſhips which chaſed him; but when they came near, they bore away, and then his lordſhip returned the compliment, by chaſing them with all the ſail he could make, and at laſt came within gun-ſhot, when their commander lightened them by throwing many things overboard, and ſo they eſcaped; which gave great concern to his lordſhip, the one being a ſixty, the other a fifty-gun ſhip: ſo that, after a ſhort cruize, he returned with his ſquadron to Plymouth, without being able to make any other prize than a French fiſhing-veſſel from the banks of Newfoundland.

This indefatigable diligence of his lordſhip, though it was not attended with any extraordinary ſucceſs, grave great ſatiſfaction to the merchants, as it hindered the French privateers from venturing near our coaſts, as they had done for many years before, to the inexpreſſible damage of our trade, as well as to the prejudice of our reputation as a maritime power. It was, therefore, juſtly reſolved, to give his lordſhip an extraordinary mark of her majeſty's favour, by promoting him to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and though this was ſomewhat retarded by the death of his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral; yet it took place in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year.

Before we part with this ſubject, in order to account, as we have promiſed to do, for what happened this year in the Weſt-Indies, it is requiſite to ſpeak of the paſſage of the queen of Portugal on board our fleet to Liſbon. Her majeſty was ſtyled, before her marriage, the arch-ducheſs Mary-Anne of Auſtria, daughter to the emperor Leopold, and ſiſter to the emperor Joſeph. This marriage was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cauſe, and was therefore very grateful to our court, who readily offered to ſend her majeſty to Liſbon on board a Britiſh ſquadron. In the beginning of September ſhe ſet out for Holland, where rear-admiral Baker attended, with a

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ſmall ſquadron, to bring her over; which he accordingly did on the 25th of that month, and landed her at Portſmouth, where ſhe ſtaid ſome days at the houſe of Thomas Ridge, Eſq; and the queen, being then at Windſor, ſent inſtantly the duke of Grafton to compliment her majeſty on her part, as his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark did the lord Delawar. On the 6th of October, about three in the afternoon, the queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her majeſty was received by Sir George Byng, and, on her going off, the governor ſaluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning, at 7 o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to ſea, when all the cannon of the town were again diſcharged.

Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a quick and eaſy paſſage, brought her majeſty ſafely into the river of Liſbon, on the 16th of the ſame month. The king, with ſeveral magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne to welcome the queen; and, returning from thence, their majeſties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, from whence they proceeded through a vaſt crowd of people to the royal chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction, and heard *Te Deum* ſung. His majeſty conducted the queen to her apartment, and they ſupped in public with the infantas. There were great rejoicings upon this occaſion, and fire-works and illuminations for three nights together. The queen having generouſly expreſſed her great ſatisfaction as to the entertainment ſhe had received during her ſtay in England, undoubtedly the king was very liberal in his magnificent preſents to the admiral and others that conducted her. The arrival of the queen was attended with ſome other circumſtances, which increaſed the joy of the people; for, on the 12th, four ſhips from Brazil came into the river, and reported, that the reſt of that ſo long expected fleet were near the coaſt. Several other ſhips came in afterwards, ſo that, out of about a hundred ſail, there were but thirty or forty wanting, which were detained by contray winds. The cargo was rich, and there was a good quantity of gold in ſpecie aboard.

Sir George, the very next day after his arrival, had intelligence, that ſome French ſhips of conſiderable force had been ſeen upon the coaſt, which were ſuppoſed to be waiting for the reſt of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. Upon this, he immediately ſailed in queſt of them, though without ſucceſs, except that the news of being at ſea forced them to retire, and thereby ſecured the ſafe arrival in port of the remaining thirty-four ſhips, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port Mahon, to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Liſbon with a ſmall ſquadron. But, before he left the river, he received the queen's inſtructions to wear the union flag in the Mediterranean. He

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ſailed on the 27th of December, with ſix ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, and three ſtore-ſhips or tenders, leaving directions with Sir John Jennings, to appoint the firſt ſhips he ſhould have clean, to guard the mouth of the Streights; and having ſent two third rates, two fourths, and a fifth a-head of him to Alicant, to aſſure the governor of the caſtle there of his aſſiſtance, he arrived himſelf about the height of cape Palos the third of January, when ſtanding in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land ſo freſh, at N. N. W that he could not fetch the bay, ſo that he bore away to Port Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the fifth, the wind came to the north, and N. N. E. blowing extreme hard, with much ſnow; and the next day it was ſo very tempeſtuous, that it ſeparated moſt of the ſquadron, forcing him almoſt as high as Sardinia; but on the 12th, he got into Port Mahon, where he found moſt of the ſquadron.

When we laſt mentioned the exploits of the Engliſh navy in America, we gave an account of the arrival there of Sir John Jennings, who commanded in thoſe parts from October 1706, to January 1707, without having it in his power to perform any thing very remarkable. He was ſucceeded in his command by commodore Wager, who arrived at Jamaica in the ſummer of the year 707, and diſpoſed all things in ſuch a manner, that the deſigns of the enemy were rendered abſolutely abortive; the ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements were thoroughly protected, and ſuch convoys granted the merchants, as put the trade of that part of the world into a much better condition than it had been ſince the breaking out of the war; all which was very honourably acknowledged by the planters and merchants.

In the beginning of the year 1708, that part of the world was much alarmed with the news of M. du Caſſe's arrival, with a French ſquadron of great force, and which, it was ſuppoſed, had ſome deſign upon the iſland of Jamaica. This apprehenſion, however, ſoon ſubſided, upon the commodore's receiving certain intelligence, that du Caſſe was ſailed for the Havannah, in order to conduct home the galleons. It is certain, that under his convoy they might have been abſolutely ſafe, ſince he had double the ſtrength of the Engliſh fleet in thoſe ſeas; and, therefore, we may very well admire, that commodore Wager ſhould even form a deſign upon theſe treaſure-ſhips, and much more that he ſhould ſucceed in it, in ſpight of all the care and vigilance of M. du Caſſe, at once the moſt able and moſt active ſea-officer then in the French ſervice.

Such as knew the diſpoſition of the late Sir Charles Wager will readily acquit me of flattery, when I venture to give this character of him: that he was an officer who valued his reputation as much, and his fortune as little, as any man that ever was in

in the Britiſh ſervice. Avarice, therefore, had no ſhare in this project of his, which was grounded only in a deſire of doing his duty, and reſtoring the reputation of the Britiſh arms, which had not been a little ſunk in that part of the world, eſpecially by the covetouſneſs and cowardly proceedings of ſome of our commanders. The commodore underſtood perfectly the route of the galleons: he knew that they were to ſail from Porto-Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah, and, as he was very ſenſible that it was to no purpoſe to attempt them after they had joined du Caſſe, he was reſolved to try if it was not poſſible to intercept them in their paſſage from Porto-Bello to Carthagena.

With this view he ſent captain Pudner, in the Severne, to watch the enemies motions in Porto-Bello, from whom he received advice, on the 23d of May, that on the 19th the galleons were ſailed. The commodore had then with him the Expedition, Kingſton, Portland, and Vulture fire-ſhip, and cruized to the 27th, in expectation of the galleons, but not meeting with them, the commodore began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coaſt, and were gone for the Havannah.

On the 28th of May, about noon, the galleons, in all ſeventeen ſail, were diſcerned from his top-maſt-head, and at the ſame time they diſcovered him; but, deſpiſing ſo ſmall a force, reſolved to proceed. He chaſed them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the Baru, a ſmall iſland which lay in their paſſage to Carthagena, reſolved to diſpute the matter there, and ſtretching therefore to the northward with an eaſy ſail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-maſt-head, in the centre, the vice-admiral, with the ſame pennant at the fore-top-maſt-head, in the rear, and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizen-top maſt-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ſhips between them.

Of the 17th, two were ſloops, and one a brigantine, which ſtood in for the land; two others of them were French ſhips, which running away, had no ſhare in the action; the reſt Spaniards. The commodore inſtantly made his diſpoſition; he reſolved to attack the admiral himſelf, gave inſtructions to captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the Kingſton, to engage the vice-admiral, and ſent his boat to the Portland, commanded by captain Edward Windſor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral, and as there was no immediate occaſion for the fire-ſhip, ſhe plied to the windward.

The ſun was juſt ſetting when commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then, beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time, ſhe blew up, not without great danger to the

the Expedition, from the ſplinters and planks which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blaſt. Hereupon the commodore put abroad his ſignal lights, for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue ſight of ſome of the enimies ſhips; but finding, after this accident, they began to ſeparate, and diſcovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made ſail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broadſide, at leaſt many guns, into her ſtern, which did ſo much damage, that it ſeemed to diſable her from making ſail, and being then to leeward, he tacking on the Spaniard, got to windward of him, and the Kingſton and Portland, following his lights ſoon after, came up with him, and aſſiſted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ſhip he ſent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and before the riſing of the ſun, he ſaw one large ſhip on his weather-bow, and three ſail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying then with their heads to the north, the wind being at N. E. an eaſy gale Then he put out the ſignal for the Kinſton and Portland to chaſe to windward, not being able himſelf to make ſail, being much diſabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, ſo were there no leſs than three hundred Spaniſh priſoners on board his own ſhip.

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, the Kingſton and Portland had left off chaſe; but he made the ſignal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of ſight, the fire-ſhip ſtill continuing with him, and he having lain by ſometime, not only to put the prize in a condition of ſailing, but to refit his own rigging, made ſail eaſtward on the 31ſt, when the Kingſton and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ſhip they chaſed was the vice-admiral; to which, as they ſaid, they came ſo near as to fire three broadſides into her; but were ſo far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a ſhoal off Carthagena, that they were forced to tack and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneaſineſs, and determined him to call the captains of theſe ſhips to account; but, in the mean time, he ſent them orders to take or deſtroy a galleon of forty guns, which he underſtood, by a Swediſh ſhip that had been trading at Baru, had taken ſhelter in that iſland.

She was juſt coming out of port as the Kingſton and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her aſhore, ſet her on fire, and blew her up, ſo that nothing could be got out of her, as our captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of June, the commodore finding his proviſions and water ſhort, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in thoſe parts, reſolved to ſet the Spaniſh priſoners

ſoners a-ſhore, according to their requeſt, on the iſland of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordinly, and the Spaniſh rear-admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful ſenſe of the commodore's civility.

On the 8th of July, the Expedition, Kingſton, and Vulture fire-ſhip, brought the prize ſafe into Port-Royal harbour, where the commodore ſoon after arrived. He found, at his return, the new act of parliament for the diſtribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the ſailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered captain Long to deliver up near thirty thouſand pounds worth of ſilver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to ſatisfy the ſailors of the uprightneſs of his intentions. He likewiſe took care to deſpatch proper intelligence to England, that ſhips might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons that had eſcaped; and, on the 23d of July, he held a court-martial on the two captains who had behaved ſo indifferently in the late engagement.

A few days after, the commodore received a commiſſion, appointing him rear-admiral of the blue, which bore date before his taking of the galleon; and therefore, as Mr. Lediard very juſtly obſerves, ought not to be conſidered as a reward for that action; in which light, however, many other writers have placed it. Captain Edwards arriving at Jamaica, with the Monmouth, a third rate, the Jerſey, a fourth, and the Roebuck, a fifth rate, brought the rear-admiral orders, to ſend home with him, the Expedition, Windſor, Aſſiſtance, Dolphin, Dunkirk's prize, and Vulture fire-ſhip, with which he complied; and by the latter end of September, they all ſailed for England, the Dunkirk's prize excepted, which frigate, not being in a condition to be truſted home in the winter, the rear-admiral ſent her out on a ſhort cruize, with the Monmouth, under the command of his firſt lieutenant, when, in the Expedition, captain Purvis and they brought in two French merchant ſhips, one of one hundred, the other of one hundred and fifty tons, loaden with wine, brandy, and other goods, from Rochelle to Petit Guavas; but cruizing ſoon after, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, the Dunkirk's prize chaſed a French ſhip, until ſhe ran on ſhore near Port Françoiſe, and following her too near, the pilot not being well acquainted, ſhe ſtruck upon a ledge of rocks, where, being a very weak ſhip, ſhe ſoon bulged; captain Purvis, with ſome of his men, got upon a ſmall key, or uninhabited iſland, within ſhot of the French ſhip; and though ſhe had fourteen guns, and ſixty men, and fired ſmartly upon them, yet having his own boats, with a canoe he had taken, and having made a ſtage, from whence he was ready to attack them, the French demanded quarter, and ſurrendered the ſhip, upon agreement, that her commander and men

ſhould

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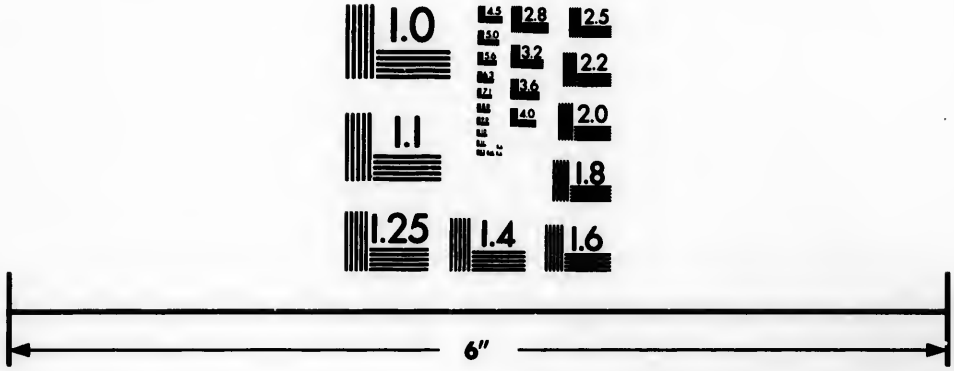

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ſhould be put on ſhore; and with this ſhip captain Purvis arrived at Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who refuſed to aſſiſt in the attempt, believing it altogether impoſſible to ſucceed therein.

Upon intelligence ſent the rear-admiral from the admiralty, that M. du Guai Trouin was ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron, which it was believed might be intended to execute ſome deſign upon the iſland of Jamaica, a council of war was held on the 1ſt of December, 1708, and it being judged, that, if they made ſuch an attempt, it would be againſt the harbour of Port Royal; it was determined, that all her majeſty's ſhips there, except ſuch as it might be neceſſary to ſend to windward, for intelligence, or on any other extraordinary occaſion, ſhould be drawn up in a line, at the entrance of the ſaid harbour, ſo as that, with the aſſiſtance of the fort, they might in the beſt manner poſſible defend it, and moſt annoy the enemy. The 18th of January, another council of war was called, and ſince the letter of advice before-mentioned was dated almoſt ſix months before, it was conſidered, whether the ſquadron ſhould be kept any longer together, ſince the enemies ſhips had not appeared; in which it was at length determined, they ought to be employed on neceſſary ſervices. Thus we have brought the proceedings in the Weſt-Indies down to the the cloſe of this year, and, according to the method hitherto purſued, we are now to return home, and to give an account of ſuch remarkable events there, as have relation to the affairs of the navy.

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead, for the trials of captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; captain John Balchen, of the Cheſter; and captain Baron Wild, of the Royal Oak; the two firſt for loſing their ſhips, and the laſt for breaking the line, diſobeying his commanding officer's orders, and neglect of duty. After a ſtrict examination of witneſſes, and free liberty given to the perſons accuſed to make their defence, and to produce whatever teſtimonies were in their power, captain Edwards was moſt honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty, in every reſpect, both as captain and commodore; and captain John Balchen was alſo acquitted; but captain Baron Wild being found guilty of neglect of duty, and diſobeying orders, was not only caſhiered, but declared incapable of ever ſerving in the royal navy.

On the 28th of October died his royal highneſs George prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England, and her Britiſh majeſty's conſort, at Kenſington, of an aſthma. He was born in 1653; married to her majeſty the 28th of July, 1683; and on the 13th of November, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, at ten in the evening. At this hour, the ordnance on the platform, and on board all the ſhips in the harbour

harbour of Portſmouth, were fired, a minute after each other, which laſted for ſome hours; and the next morning the union flag was hoiſted again, which had been taken down on the news of his royal highneſs's death. Her majeſty was pleaſed to keep the admiralty in her own hands, for about three weeks; and, on the 2:th of November, ſhe appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke lord high-admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, to the great ſatisfaction of the whole nation.

The new parliament meeting on the 18th of November, and having choſen Sir Richard Onſlow, Bart. for their ſpeaker, the lord high-chancellor, in a ſpeech from the throne, recommended a proviſion for the navy, and eſpecially for the building of new ſhips, and fortifying our ports. On the ſixth of December, the houſe of commons addreſſed, for an account of the number of men, that might be wanting to man her majeſty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promiſed, and upon this, accounts being laid before the houſe, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the ſame number of men, with the ſame allowance, and the ſame ſum for the ordinary uſe of the navy, as had been given the year before; but ſoon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to inquire into the number of ſhips employed as cruiſers and convoys. At the ſame time, they ordered the commiſſioners of the navy to lay before them the cauſes of the increaſe of the debt of the navy. But, to this addreſs, it ſeems, the miniſtry did not think fit her majeſty ſhould give any anſwer; ſo the affair dropped for that time. It is certain, and indeed it was very natural, this conduct of the court gave great offence; yet the commons were ſo hearty in the proſecution of the war, that, with their uſual liberality, they gave for the ſervice of the year 1709, no leſs a ſum than 6,457,830l.

There were alſo in this ſeſſion ſome other things done for promoting trade and plantations, ſuch as a grant of 103,203 l. for the relief of the inhabitants of St. Nevis, and St. Chriſtophers, and a vote in favour of the trade to Africa; but the moſt remarkable was, the joint addreſs of both houſes, that her majeſty would be pleaſed not to conclude any peace with the French king, unleſs he conſented to demoliſh the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk; which point being accordingly inſiſted upon in the conferences at the Hague, with M. de Torci, for ſettling the preliminaries of a general peace; and that miniſter ſhewing greater reluctance to conſent to this, than to any other of the articles, alledging, that his maſter bought, and paid for this town and port, beſides laying out immenſe ſums upon it ſince; which ſo provoked prince Eugene, that he could not help telling the French miniſters, with great warmth, that he wondered they ſhould ſpend ſo many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generoſity of a princeſs, who, having it in her power to preſcribe them harder terms, and force them

to

to deliver that, with what other places ſhe pleaſed, and revive many pretenſions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation. This had ſuch an effect, that the point was immediately given up.

Before we proceed to the operations of the year 1709, it may not be amiſs to take notice of a great naval promotion made by her majeſty, for this reaſon, becauſe it was one of the nobleſt teſtimonies of her majeſty's concern and regard towards ſuch of her ſubjects as had ſerved with extraordinary diligence and activity at ſea; for the poſt of rear-admiral of Great Britain having been vacant ſince the death of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, her majeſty, of her mere grace and favour, without the interpoſition of any of her miniſters, beſtowed it on Sir JOHN LEAKE, with this remarkable compliment, "That ſhe was put in mind of it by "the voice of the people."

Early in the ſpring, lord Durſley, who commanded in the Soundings, was at ſea with his ſquadron, and took ſeveral prizes from the French; and on the 22d of February, his lordſhip having only with him the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with eleven ſail twelve leagues from Scilly. This happened about three in the morning, and their lights being ſeen, his lordſhip made the ſignal for wearing, and was obeyed, though not without imminent danger of falling amongſt the enemy; for this proved to be M. du Guai Trouin's ſquadron. However, through the darkneſs of the weather, his lordſhip miſſed them; and then ſtretching away for Plymouth, captain Stuart of the Dartmouth, whom his lordſhip had ſent in a little before with a prize, informed him, that he had been chaſed by nine large ſhips off the Lizard, and that they were the ſame, in his judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged captain Tollet in his paſſage from Ireland. This affair having made a great noiſe, and doing extraordinary honour to the bravery of our Engliſh officers, I ſhall give a particular account of it from the captain's own papers.

On the 25th of February, captain Tollet, in the Aſſurance, of 70 guns, with the Sunderland, of 60, Hampſhire and Angleſea, of 50 guns each, ſailed from Corke, and being joined by the Aſſiſtance, a 50 gun ſhip, as alſo with the trade from Kingſale, continued his voyage for England. On the ſecond of March, about five in the morning, being then eight leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, he ſaw four ſail ſtanding after him. About ſeven, they came within random ſhot; whereupon he made a ſignal for drawing into a line of battle, and another for the merchantmen to bear away as they beſt could for their own ſecurity; ſome of them, with the Angleſea and the Sunderland, having before loſt company. About eight, the enemy bore down in a line, and when they were come within muſket ſhot, they hoiſted French colours.

The

The French commodore, who was in a ſhip of 70 guns or upwards, came ranging along the larboard ſide of the Aſſurance, and fell on board her, ſo that they engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, for the ſpace of almoſt half an hour; during which, the Frenchman plied captain Pollet ſo warmly with ſmall ſhot, as to cut off moſt of his marines and ſeamen that were quartered on deck. They then put off, and fell on board again on the lee ſide of the Aſſurance, firſt ranging on her bow, and then on her quarter, while ſhe fired her upper deck, and part of her lower deck guns, with ſuch vigour, that ſhe obliged the enemy to ſheer off, and ſtand away ahead towards the merchantmen. The three other ſhips, which were of 40 or 50 guns, then came ranging along-ſide the Aſſurance, firing ſeveral broadſides into her, and after that bore away as the former. The damage ſhe received was very great; her ſides were ſhot through and through in many places; her ſhrouds and back-ſtays cut to pieces, as likewiſe her main and falſe ſtay; which, if not timely ſeen, had occaſioned the loſs of her maſt. Her fore-ſail and foretop-ſail were torn to pieces; her beſt bower cut away; one of the flukes of the ſpare anchor ſhot off, and her ſmall bower, by the enemies boarding, drove through her bow. All poſſible diſpatch was made in fitting her rigging, which, with the bending of a new foreſail, and fore-top-ſail, took up ſome time. After this the ſhips of war all bore down, to ſecure what merchant ſhips they could, expecting to have engaged the enemy again; but they declined it. The captain of the Aſſurance, who had been four months ſick, and had been carried upon deck in a chair, was wounded; the firſt lieutenant was ſhot in the leg, which being dreſſed, he then returned to his charge upon deck; the ſecond lieutenant was killed, as were ſeveral French officers, whom they brought from Ireland. In the whole, the Aſſurance had five and twenty killed, and three and fifty wounded, and ſome of theſe died of their wounds; for the enemy making their chief attempt on her, ſhe had been ſeverely treated; the Hampſhire had only two killed and eleven wounded; the Aſſiſtance eight killed, and one and twenty wounded, among the latter was captain Tudor, her commander, who died afterwards of his wounds.

M. du Guai Trouin, who commanded the French ſquadron, had abundance of men killed and wounded, and took only five merchantmen. In the memoirs, which go under his name, it is acknowledged, that our officers did their duty extremely well; that not only his own ſhip was very roughly handled by captain Tollet, but alſo, that the Amazon, and the Glory, that were with him, met the like reception from the Hampſhire and the Aſſiſtance. As to the five prizes, he ſays, that two of them were ſent to St. Maloe's, one got into Calais, and the other two foundered on the Engliſh coaſt.

Lord

Lord Durſley, on the 20th of March, ordered three ſhips to cruize off Breſt, to gain intelligence, and in the mean time the Saliſbury took a French Weſt-India ſhip, richly laden. On the 29th, his lordſhip had orders to ſee the Liſbon fleet of merchantmen ſafe into the ſea; but his lordſhip having received certain intelligence, that M. du Guai Trouin was then cruizing at the diſtance of about thirty-five leagues from Scilly, his lordſhip propoſed to leave the trade and tranſports, under the protection of ſome Dutch men of war that were expected from Portſmouth, and reſolved to go himſelf in ſearch of the enemy; but theſe Dutch ſhips of war not arriving in time, his lordſhip thought it better to comply with his orders. He accordingly eſcorted the Liſbon fleet as far as he was directed, and had ſcarce parted from them, on the 9th of April, before he diſcovered the Achilles, commanded by M. du Guai Trouin, and the Glory, who, the day before, had taken the Briſtol man of war, a fifty-gun ſhip; his lordſhip immediately gave them chace, recovered the Briſtol, which, by a ſhot in her bread-room, ſunk afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were ſaved. The Achilles, much ſhattered, eſcaped by her ſwift ſailing, but the La Gloire, a French man of war of 44 guns, and 312 men was taken; his lordſhip having about ſeventy men killed and wounded in the action. On the 26th of April, two ſmall ſhips were taken, and on the 7th of May, a privateer, carrying 14 guns and 100 men; but the proviſions through all the ſhips then growing very ſhort, his lordſhip found it neceſſary to return to Plymouth on the 13th, with his ſquadron, which conſiſted at that time of one third and ſeven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majeſty's ſhip the Sweepſtakes, of 32 guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate.

To balance this piece of ill news, there arrived, about the ſame time, advice, that four French men of war had attacked ſome New England ſhips, laden with maſts, under the convoy of captain Walter Ryddle, in the Falmouth, a ſhip of 50 guns, about twenty-four leagues from Scilly. This happened on the 18th of May, and the French commodore, a ſixty-gun ſhip, attempted to board the Falmouth, captain Riddle ſaved him the trouble, by filling his head-ſails, and laying her on board under her boltſprit, directly athwart her hawſer, and at the ſame time, raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The enemy continued in this poſture about an hour and half, during which time he entered many men, but they were repulſed. However, the number of men on board her being much greater than thoſe in the Falmouth, it occaſioned various turns: but at length he thought fit to retire, having firſt cut all the laniards of the Falmouth's fore and mizen ſhrouds, believing it might prevent her following to reſcue the convoys, which the enemy

ſtood

ſtood after. Notwithſtanding this, captain Ryddle made ſail after him with ſuch diligence, as enabled him, notwithſtanding the bad condition he was in, to preſerve them all, and to bring them ſafe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had thirteen men killed, and fifty-ſix wounded. The captain himſelf was wounded in the right leg, and had ſeveral other hurts; and the ſecond lieutenant, and Mr. Lawſon, a volunteer, were ſhot through the body; the Falmouth had twenty thouſand pounds, New-England money, on board her at the time of the engagement.

On the very ſame day, application being made to his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, ſignifying that two French privateers had entred Bantry Bay, and ſurprized the Ruth of London, a Weſt-India ſhip, ſuppoſed to be worth 25,000l. at leaſt; his lordſhip ordered captain Camock, in the Speedwell, then in the harbour of Kinſale, to proceed immediately in queſt of the ſaid privateers and their prize. He accordingly ſailed directly for Beer-haven, at the very entrance of which he met one of the privateers and the prize, making the beſt of their way to France. The prize was immediately retaken, on board which the captain put his lieutenant with forty men, and then continued the chaſe all night; but finding the privateer had given him the ſlip, he the next morning entered Bantry Bay, and took the other privateer, with thirty men on board, moſt of them Iriſh, whom he ſent to the priſon of Corke, in order to their being tried for high treaſon. Three weeks afterwards, the ſame alert officer had the good luck to ſurpriſe a French privateer of twelve guns and ninety men, on the very point of taking three merchantmen, richly laden, all of whom he brought ſafe into the port of Londonderry.

It is now time to return to the proceedings of Sir George Byng, whom we left in the harbour of Port Mahon, where he was extremely diſtreſſed for want of naval ſtores, which were on board the Arrogant, a ſhip that had been miſſing from his arrival in that harbour, in queſt of which he detached ſhips to Majorca, and to the port of Cagliari in Sardinia; and at the ſame time diſpatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was ſtill on the coaſt of Italy to join him with his ſquadron, in caſe the emperor's troops, that were deſigned for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February, 1709, was ſpent in tedious expectations; but at laſt, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived, with about 3500 men, in tranſports under his convoy, to the great joy of Sir George Byng and general Stanhope, who had long waited for theſe forces, in order to attempt ſomething for the relief of Alicant, then beſieged by an army of 12,000 men, and for the ſafety of which, king Charles had expreſſed unuſual concern. As this city and caſtle

had

had been taken, as we before have ſhewn, by the remarkable valour of the Britiſh ſeamen; as the preſent ſiege of it was one of the moſt remarkable actions in this age; and as the attempt made for his relief cannot well be underſtood without it; I ſhall take the liberty of giving a ſuccinct account of the whole affair, from the time the place was inveſted, to its ſurrender.

ALICANT is a city and port, commanded by a ſtrong caſtle, ſtanding on a rock, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, and about ſixty-eight miles ſouth from the capital city of Valencia. There was in it a pretty good garriſon, under the command of major-general Richards, which made an obſtinate defence againſt a very numerous army of the enemy, with a very large train of heavy artillery, and excellently ſupplied with ammunition. At laſt, the city being abſolutely untenable, the garriſon reſolved to retire into the caſtle, which had hitherto been eſteemed impregnable. They ſunk three ciſterns in the ſolid rock, and then, with incredible labour, filled them with water. The troops that retired into it, were Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, and that of colonel Sibourgh, generally called the French regiment, becauſe it was compoſed of refugees. After ſome progreſs made in this ſecond ſiege, the French ſaw that it was impoſſible to do any great matter in the uſual way, and therefore, contrary to all expectation, reſolved upon a work exceſſively laborious, and, in all outward appearance, impracticable; which was that of mining through the ſolid rock, in order to blow up the caſtle and its garriſon into the air together. At firſt major-general Richards, and all the officers in the place, looked upon the enemies ſcheme as a thing utterly impoſſible to be acompliſhed, and were ſcarcely well pleaſed with their undertaking, in hopes it would give time for our fleet to come to their relief; yet, this did not hinder them from doing all that lay in their power to incommode the workmen, and, at laſt, to countermine them.

The beſiegers, however, wrought ſo inceſſantly, and brought ſuch numbers of peaſants to aſſiſt them in their labours, that they having, in about twelve weeks time, finiſhed the works thought proper for this ſervice, by very experienced engineers, and charged them with 1500 barrels of powder, ſeveral large beams, iron bars, and crows, and other utenſil of deſtruction, ſummoned the caſtle to ſurrender, March 20th, moſt ſolemnly aſſuring a ſafe and honourable convoy to Barcelona, with bag and baggage for every perſon in it, if they ſubmitted within three days, and prevented the ruin of the caſtle; but threatened otherwiſe, no mercy ſhould be ſhewn, if any might accidentally eſcape the blow: and, to demonſtrate the reality of their deſign, they deſired the garriſon might depute three, or more engineers, with other gentlemen of competent ſkill, to view their works, and make a faithful report of what they ſaw. Accordingly,

cordingly, two field-officers went to the mine, and were allowed the liberty of making what ſcrutiny they pleaſed; upon which they told the governor, that, if their judgment failed them not, the exploſion would carry up the whole caſtle to the eaſtermoſt battery, unleſs it took vent in their own countermine, or vein; but, at leaſt, they conceived it would carry away the ſea-battery, the lodging-rooms in the caſtle-cloſe, ſome of the chambers cut for ſoldiers barracks, and, they very much feared, might affect the great ciſtern.

A grand council of war was called upon this; the French meſſage delivered, and the engineers made their report; the beſieged acknowledged their want of water; but believing the fleet might be ſenſible of their diſtreſs, and conſequently under ſome concern for their relief, their unanimous reſolution was, to commit themſelves to the providence of God, and, whatever fate attended them, to ſtand the ſpringing of the mine. The French general, and Spaniſh officers, expreſſed the utmoſt concern at this anſwer, and the ſecond night of the three allowed, ſent to divert them from what they called, and it is very likely thought, inexcuſeable obſtinacy, offering the ſame honourable articles as before, even upon that late compliance; but theſe ſtill were rejected by the beſieged. The fatal third night approaching, and no fleet ſeen, the French ſent their laſt ſummons, and withal an aſſurance, that their mine was primed, and ſhould be ſprung by ſix o'clock the next morning; and though, as they ſaw, all hope and proſpect of relief was vain, yet there was room for ſafety ſtill, and the terms already propoſed was in their power to accept. The beſieged perſiſted in their adherence to the reſult of their firſt council, and the French met their uſual anſwer again; therefore, as a prologue to their intended tragedy, they ordered all the inhabitants of that quarter to withdraw from their houſes before five o'clock the enſuing morning. The beſieged, in the mean time, kept a general guard, devoting themſelves to their meditations. The major-general, colonel Sibourg, and lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft, of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, ſat together in the governor's uſual lodging room; other officers cantoned themſelves as their tempers inclined them, to paſs the melancholy night.

At length, day appearing, the governor was informed, that the inhabitants were flying in crouds to the weſtermoſt part of the town. The governor, attended by the above mentioned gentlemen, and about five or ſix other officers, went to the weſt battery, to inform himſelf better. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, lieutenant-colonel Thorncroft deſired him to remove, as being unable to do any ſervice there; he and colonel Sibourg both anſwered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there

they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel remained, becauſe his ſuperiors did, and other officers imitated the ſame example: but the hours of five being now conſiderably paſt, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, obſerving ſome ſmoke from the lighted matches, and other combuſtible matter near it, from whence the ſame aſcended to the centinels above. The governor and field-officers were then urged to retreat, but refuſed.

The mine at laſt blew up; the rock opened and ſhut; the whole mountain felt the convulſion; the governor and field-officers, with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyſs; the walls of the caſtle ſhook, part of the great ciſtern fell, another ciſtern almoſt cloſed, and the rock ſhut a man to his neck in its cliff, who lived many hours in that afflicting poſture. About thirty-ſix centinels and women were ſwallowed in different quarters, whoſe dying groans were heard, ſome of them after the fourth mournful day. Many houſes of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the caſtle ſuffered much; but, that it wears any form at all, was owing to the vent which the exploſion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine. After the loſs of the chief officers, the government fell of courſe to lieutenant-colonel Dalbaume, rather as I apprehend D'Albon, of Sibourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment from the whole garriſon, and with it made a deſperate ſally, to ſhew how little he was moved at their thunder. The bombs from the caſtle played on the town more violently, and the ſhot galled every corner of their ſtreets; which marks of their reſentment they continued till the arrival of our fleet, which they had expected ſo long.

The Spaniſh and French hiſtorians ſpeak of this action with all imaginable regard to the gallant defence made by the beſieged. The Spaniſh army was commanded by the chevalier d'Asfeldt, who was then in the French ſervice, and looked upon as the very beſt officer they ever ſent to king Philip. He was an excellent engineer, ſaw at once what was to be done, and having formed his plan, purſued it ſteadily, and accompliſhed it generally. Under him commanded don Pedro Ronquillo, a Spaniſh general of diſtinguiſhed merit. D'Asfeldt contrived and directed the mine, Ronquillo raiſed and defended the entrenchments between the caſtle and the ſea. Both punctually performed their parts, though both were difficult. D'Asfeldt was very ſtrict and auſtere; the Spaniards, even of his own party, thought him cruel; yet, upon this occaſion, he not only ſhewed himſelf generous, but humane. He uſed every argument poſſible to perſuade major-general Richards to ſpare himſelf and his brave garriſon, and deplored their loſs with tenderneſs and affection. The Spaniards magnified their heroic conduct,

conduct, and called the ruined castle, the monument of English courage.

On the 5th of April, about eight o'clock in the morning, Sir Edward Whitaker's squadron arrived, and attempted the relief of the castle; his ships were the Defiance, Northumberland, Essex, York, and Dunkirk. The last went within the line, as drawing less water than the other, in three and a half fathom; then laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind having blown fresh the night before, and an happy swell rolling in from the eastward at eleven, the great ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, making out of cannon-shot. The Dunkirk having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut between one and two, fell fast a-stern, lying exposed to the enemy's shot, bombs, and carcasses, till three in the afternoon, at which time, by winding the right way, she with much difficulty got off. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known to what extremities the garrison might be reduced, and the enemy increasing considerably in strength, the general sent a flag of truce a-shore, with proposals for surrendering the castle; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, the admiral (Sir George Byng) proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached some ships to cruize for the Turkey fleet; others, with transports for corn to Barbary; and the Suffolk, Humber, and Ipswich, which he left to clean at Port Mahon, were under orders to proceed to Genoa and Final, in order to embarking and transporting the German troops from those places to Catalonia.

In his way to Barcelona he landed general Stanhope, with the troops, at Terragona, and returning with the garrison of the castle of Alicant to Port Mahon, joined some other ships to those he first intended for Genoa and Final, and sent them thither under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker; but directed him first to proceed to Leghorn, for a supply of provisions, which was at this time very much wanted. The few ships he had with him at Port Mahon, he was cleaning as fast as possible, that so they might cruize against the enemy, who had taken the Faulcon, a ship of thirty-two guns, off Cape de Gat, in her passage to Lisbon, from whence he had ordered Sir John Jennings to join him, with the ships under his command, who was off Gibraltar the 21st of May, with sixteen men of war, English and Dutch, and about forty transports, laden with corn, as also provisions and stores for the fleet in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Port Mahon the 28th; from whence he guarded the corn ships to Barcelona, and was joined the 8th of June by Sir George Byng, with the rest of the English and Dutch men of

war; and there Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with his ſquadron from Italy, and above two thouſand recruits for the army in Catalonia.

A council of war being held, it was determined, that ſince the king of Spain, as the poſture of his affairs then ſtood, could not come to any reſolution relating to the fleet's aſſiſting in the reduction of thoſe parts of Spain, ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, the admiral ſhould ſail to a ſtation ten leagues ſouth of Cape Toulon, not only for intercepting the enemy's trade, but to alarm them all that might be; but ſince it was neceſſary that a ſquadron ſhould be on the coaſt of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was ſent thither with one ſhip of the ſecond rate, four of the third, five of the fourth, and three of the fifth.

Sir George Byng arrived before Toulon the 21ſt of June, in which harbour he ſaw only eight ſhips rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the reſt being diſarmed; which ſatisfied him, that the informations he had formerly received were true, that the enemy did not intend, in fact were not able, to bring out any fleet that year; but were reſolved to content themſelves with ſending abroad ſmall ſquadrons to protect their corn-fleets. After having thus inſulted Toulon, he in a ſhort time returned to Barcelona road, where he found moſt of the ſhips arrived from the ſervices upon which he had ſent them; and ſome of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been ſo fortunate as to make a great many prizes. The court of Spain was, at the inſtance of cardinal Grimani, very deſirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by general Stanhope, that it was her majeſty's pleaſure, part of the fleet ſhould aſſiſt in the deſign upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ſhips having been ſeparated in bad weather, and ours being too few to anſwer theſe and many other ſervices the court propoſed, he ſuſpended for ſome time the coming to any reſolution, being every day in expectation of the ſhips of the ſtates-general.

But at length, that the ſervice might not ſuffer through delay, the admiral formed a diſpoſition of her majeſty's ſhips, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the ſervice of Sicily, while he himſelf deſigned to proceed on the other with general Stanhope. The 26th of July, the court of Spain having notice of the enemies penetrating into the Lampourdon, with intention, as they apprehended, to beſiege Girone; and there being a want of ſhips to protect the coaſt of Catalonia, and hinder the enemies having ſupplies by ſea, as alſo a ſquadron to bring over the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of in that principality, and ſome ſhips to go to Italy, for money to ſubſiſt the troops; the court ſeemed to lay aſide the deſign on Sicily, and the admiral ſent five ſhips

for

for the veſſels laden with corn, which have been before mentioned.

The warmth, impatience, and irreſolution of the court at Barcelona, obliged the admirals to drop both theſe great deſigns; for, without regard to what had been reſolved, or even for what themſelves had demanded before, they were continually deſiring, that it was impoſſible our ſhips could perform one ſervice, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehenſion that the enemy would attack Girone, the Engliſh ſhips were deſired to intercept their ſubſiſtence. Soon after, they were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions themſelves, and then the moſt neceſſary thing that could be done, was to ſend for the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina. By that time this was reſolved on, money grew ſcarce, and then his catholic majeſty hoped, that the Engliſh ſhips would go on and fetch it immediately from Italy. Our admirals, however, ſtill flattered themſelves that ſomething might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, beſides, highly diſcontented with the French government.

On the 27th of July, the Dutch ſquadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a council of war, and laid before them the queen's orders, the deſires of his catholic majeſty, and the project formed by themſelves for attempting Cadiz; but the commander in chief of the Dutch ſhips excuſed himſelf from any ſhare in it; declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of Auguſt, which diſabled him from undertaking any ſervice beyond the 20th of that month. On the 28th of the month laſt mentioned, three Engliſh men of war, the Naſſau, Ludlow Caſtle, and Antelope, ſailed for Barcelona, having on board a great ſum of money, for the ſervice of his catholic majeſty. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng ſhould proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch ſhips be employed in other ſervices; which, however, could not be executed; and therefore Sir George Byng reſolved to return home to England, having taken on board the fleet general Stanhope, with colonel Harriſon's regiment of foot, and a Spaniſh regiment of dragoons, whom he landed ſafely at Gibraltar on the 31ſt. On the 25th of September he ſailed for England, arriving at St. Helen's, in the Royal Anne, with the Torbay, Chicheſter, Colcheſter and Antelope, and a ſmall prize taken by the Chicheſter, in her way from Gibraltar, on the 15th of October.

Sir Edward Whitaker was left with a pretty ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, where, in the Bay of Roſes, he diſcovered the grand convoy, intended for the French forces in the Lampourdan, which conſiſted of forty large veſſels, laden with corn, and other proviſions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the reſt from putting to ſea; by which the enemy was

greatly

greatly diſtreſſed, and king Charles's army ſo happily ſupplied with proviſions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwiſe they could not have done. Having thus attended our fleets in the Mediterranean, as long as they were employed in any conſiderable ſervice, we ſhall now return to the exploits performed in the Soundings by lord Durſley, with the ſquadron under his command.

Sir George Byng, in his return from the Mediterranean, having obtained an exact detail of the ſtrength, ſtation, and deſigns of M. du Guai Trouin, ſent an account of it to the lord high-admiral, who immediately diſpatched it to the lord Durſley, juſt returned from cruizing for a corn fleet, which the French expected from the Baltick. His lordſhip's inſtructions were, to give the enemy all the diſturbance he could, and to take particular care of the Weſt-India trade, the intercepting of which was the ſervice that was principally deſigned by M. du Guai Trouin. On the 8th of October, his lordſhip ſailed from Plymouth, with one third rate, and two fourths, having before detached captain Vincent with ſix ſhips, to ſecure the Weſt-India fleet; and ſoon after, his lordſhip joined that detachment, by which he effectually prevented the French from ſucceeding in their deſign. On the laſt of October, his lordſhip being then off Scilly, took a large French ſhip from Guadaloupe, and a ſmall privateer. Three weeks after, he met with the Barbadoes fleet, and having ſufficiently ſtrengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of Breſt, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further ſervice.

While his lordſhip was thus employed, there happened, in the latter end of November, ſuch an accident to one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, as very well deſerves our notice. Captain Hughes in the Wincheſter, chaſed a ſhip, which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whoſe commander being required to ſtrike, he, inſtead of paying reſpect due to the flag of England, fired both great and ſmall ſhot into him; but being anſwered in the ſame manner, after an obſtinate diſpute (though it was very well known the Wincheſter was an Engliſh ſhip of war) the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch ſeamen.

His lordſhip being the vice-admiral of the red, detached, on the 9th of December, captain Hartnol, in the Reſtauration, with four other ſhips, to cruize fifteen or twenty leagues weſt of Scilly, to protect ſome Eaſt-India ſhips, and their convoys, from Ireland; and, on the 2d of January, was going from Plymouth, with ſeven clean frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to proceed part of the way with Sir John Norris, towards Liſbon; his lordſhip, after complying with this order, remained in his appointed ſtation till he was forced from it by foul weather;

ther; which, however, gave him an opportunity of taking a French privateer of twenty guns, and retaking the St. Peter of Dublin, a rich ſhip, of which the enemy had made themſelves maſters, off Cape Clear. His lordſhip, conſidering that the Eaſt-India trade were not yet arrived from Ireland, appointed three ſhips of his ſquadron to ſee them ſafe from thence.

On the 21ſt of February, the Kent brought into Plymouth a ſmall privateer, and a French merchant ſhip; as the Reſtauration and Auguſt did the next day four more, which were bound from Nantz to Martinico; and not many days after, his lordſhip appointed the Reſtauration and Auguſt, to ſee two Eaſt-India ſhips well into the ſea; but, by contrary winds, they were forced back again. The 10th of March, the Montague took a privateer of ten guns, and his lordſhip having ſeen the Eaſt-India ſhips, and thoſe bound to the Iſle of May, a hundred and fifty leagues from Scilly, returned to Plymouth the 9th of May: ſeven days after which, the Lyon, Colcheſter, and Litchfield, brought in four prizes, two of them privateers, the others merchant ſhips; when his lordſhip leaving the ſquadron, came to town, after having acquired as much reputation as it was poſſible for an officer to do in that difficult ſtation, and where many had loſt the credit for which they had toiled many years.

Before I proceed to the events in the Weſt-Indies, I ſhall take notice of ſome accidents that happened in our naval affairs, and which ſeem to have eſcaped the attention of moſt, if not all our hiſtorians. In the firſt place, I am to obſerve, that in the latter end of June, her majeſty's ſhip the Fowey, of thirty-two guns, was taken in the Mediterranean, by two French men of war of greater ſtrength. On the 23d of September, captain Hanway, in her majeſty's ſhip the Plymouth, of ſixty guns, arrived at Plymouth with a French man of war, which he had taken on the 20th. Captain Hanway was bound to Plymouth, in order to repair ſome damages he had received; and about ſeven leagues N. W. by N. from the Deadman, he ſaw this ſhip, and chaſed her two hours, before he came up with her; as ſoon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great vigour, and after a ſharp action, which laſted above an hour, he obliged her to ſurrender. The French ſhip was called L'Adrid, had been fitted out from Dunkirk, commanded by the Sieur Jacques Caſhard, having forty guns mounted, (but had ports for forty eight,) and two hundred and ſixty men on board; ſeveral of the men belonging to the Plymouth being ſick on ſhore, captain Hanway could make uſe of no more guns in this action than the enemy's ſhip had mounted. The captain of the French veſſel, with fourteen other officers and ſeamen, were killed in the engagement, and ſixty wounded; of the Plymouth's company, the captain of a company of

of marines on board, and ſeven men, were killed, and ſixteen wounded.

In the latter end of the month of October, the Weſt-India fleet, being about one hundred and fifty leagues off the Lizard, met with a violent ſtorm, by which they were ſeparated from five ſhips of war, appointed for their convoy; the Newcaſtle, which was one of them, being ſo ſhattered, that ſhe loſt her main-maſt, and with much difficulty got to Falmouth; ſoon after, the Hampſhire and the Glouceſter were attacked by the ſquadron of M. du Guai Trouin, and made a gallant defence, notwithſtanding the great inequality of force; which, however, gave the ſhips under their convoy an opportunity to eſcape. At laſt, after ſeven hours fight, the Glouceſter, a ſixty-gun ſhip, and juſt rebuilt, was taken; but the Hampſhire obliged the enemy to ſheer off, and in a very ſhattered condition got into Baltimore. On Chriſtmas-day, the Solebay man of war, with eight merchant ſhips under her convoy, bound to Lynn in Norfolk, were unfortunately loſt upon Boſton-Knock, and only two boats full of men ſaved out of the ſhips. From theſe diſagreeable accidents, let us now return to the conduct of admiral Wager in the Weſt Indies.

As this admiral had been always extremely careful of the trade in that part of the world, ſo, in the ſpring of the year 1709, he ſent captain Hutchins, in the Portland, to protect the trading ſloops that were going to Porto Bello. All the latter part of the month of April, captain Hutchins lay in the Baſtimentos; from whence he deſcried four large ſhips, two of fifty, and two of thirty guns, in the harbours of Porto Bello. The two largeſt, as he was informed by the private traders, were the Coventry, a fourth rate, taken from us by the French, and the Minion, both from Guinea. On the firſt of May he had intelligence, that they ſailed the evening before; upon which he ſtood to the northward till the third, when he gained ſight of them about eight in the morning. At noon, he diſcovered their hulls very plain, and they being to windward, bore down to him, firing ſome guns as they paſſed by; ſoon after which they wore, as if they deſigned to engage in the evening, but did not. It was little wind, and about ſix o'clock he tacked upon them, and keeping ſight all night, near eight in the morning he came up within piſtol ſhot of the Minion, but was obliged to fight her to leeward, becauſe he could not poſſibly carry out his lee guns, though the ſhips of the enemy did. The Coventry, after he had been warmly engaged, got on his lee bow, and firing very ſmartly at his maſts, did them no little damage; but he being not willing to be diverted from the Minion, plyed her very ſmartly, nor could ſhe get from him, until they ſhot his maintop-ſail-yard in two, when both of them ſhot a-head, he creeping after them as faſt as poſſible in that crippled condition; in the mean while,

ſplicing

ſplicing his rigging, bending new ſails, and repairing other damages in the beſt manner he could.

About four in the morning a boat was perceived going from the Minion to the Coventry, ſo that he believed he had much diſabled the former, and that by the frequent paſſing of the boat between them, ſhe was ſending the beſt part of her loading on board the other. By ten at night he had completed all his work, and the next morning was ready for a ſecond encounter; but it proving little wind, he could not come up with them until the 6th, when before ſeven in the morning, he was cloſe in with the Coventry, which ſhip hauled up her main-ſail, and lay by for him. Coming nearer to her, it was obſerved ſhe had many ſmall-ſhot men, ſo that he durſt not clap her on board as he had deſigned, but plied her with his guns; in the mean time, he received but little damage from the Minion. Between eleven and twelve, he brought the Coventry's main-maſt by the board, and then her fire was much leſſened; however, continuing to do what they could, at half an hour paſt twelve ſhe ſtruck; the firſt captain being killed, the ſecond wounded, and a great ſlaughter made among the men, many of them being thoſe who belonged to the Minion: whereas of ours there were but nine killed, and twelve wounded, moſt of whom recovered; and in the prize, there were about twenty thouſand pieces of eight, great part whereof were found among the French ſeamen.

Rear-admiral Wager, upon the preſſing ſolicitation of the merchants, ſent the Severn and Scarborough to England, to convoy home the trade, becauſe they were but weakly manned, and according to the orders he had from the lord high-admiral, when any ſhips under his command were ſo reduced by ſickneſs, as to have no more men on board than were neceſſary to navigate the ſhip, theſe ſhips were to be ſent home; and the reaſon of this was, that by an act of parliament, which paſſed ſoon after commodore Ker's affair, our admirals were abſolutely reſtrained from preſſing men on any account in the the Weſt-Indies; ſo that, in truth, there was nothing left for an admiral to do in ſuch a caſe, but to ſend home ſhips that were of no further uſe. All the time the rear-admiral continued in this ſtation, he took care to keep a ſufficient number of ſhips to cruize upon the enemy, and to protect our trade, which they did with all the ſucceſs that could be wiſhed or expected. But in the autumn, our admiral was ordered home; and accordingly he left the few men of war that were ſtationed on the coaſt of Jamaica under the command of captain Tudor Trevor, who was ſoon after relieved by captain Span. As for the rear-admiral, he had a ſafe and ſpeedy voyage home, where he was received, on his coming from St. Helens, in the month of November, with all the reſpect imaginable; the letters from the Weſt Indies having, contrary to cuſtom, done the greateſt honour to the vigilance of

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our navy in those parts, while under his direction; which is a clear confutation of a modern maxim at a certain board, that it is impossible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad.

Before I close this account of our affairs in America, it is necessary I should say something of a misfortune that befel us in Newfoundland; and the rather, because none of our historians have been particular about it, for which reason, I am obliged to take what I have to relate, entirely upon the credit of a French writer. The Sieur de Saintovide, the king's lieutenant at Placentia, took the fort of St. John, on the east side of Newfoundland, by scalade, in which action the governor was wounded, and made prisoner, as were the soldiers of the garrison, consisting of about a hundred men. This, my author says, happened on the 1st of January, 1709, and the next day informs us, that the fort at the mouth of the harbour, built on a rock, and extremely well fortified, surrendered also, and the garrison, consisting of sixty men, were made prisoners of war. This affair must have been attended with very bad consequences for the present; but, as we shall see, these were not only remedied in the succeeding year, but the French settlements, in their turn, were in a manner totally destroyed. But, it is now time for us to return home, and to conclude the history of this year with a short account of the alterations made with respect to the management of naval affairs.

The earl of Pembroke, finding the sole care and direction of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had discharged his office of lord high-admiral in every respect to the general content of all parties, very prudently and virtuously resolved to lay it down. A great deal of pains were taken to divert his lordship from this resolution, but to no purpose; he thought the business might be better done by one who had greater experience in maritime affairs; and thereupon, this high office was offered to that gallant sea-officer the earl of Orford, who absolutely refused it, though he was willing to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. Her majesty, therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, thought proper to direct a commission, whereby she constituted and appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs. commissioners, for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom the queen bestowed a yearly pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, payable out of the revenue of the Post-office, in consideration of his eminent services.

Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion, *viz.* on the 12th of November, 1709, her majesty being pleased to appoint a gentleman who had been long laid aside, *viz.*

Matthew

Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; the lord Dursley vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, Esq; rear-admiral of the red, Sir John Jennings admiral; Sir Edward Whitaker vice-admiral of the white. And, Sir John Norris admiral; and John Baker, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue.

The parliament met, and the queen laid before them the proceedings of the last year, and directed an account of the expences of the government both civil and military, to be sent them from the respective offices. The business of Dr. Sacheverel took up the best part of the session; but it happened luckily, that the supplies were first granted, amounting in the whole to six millions, one hundred eighty-four thousand, one hundred sixty-six pounds, seven shillings; in order to the raising of which, a lottery was established, of one million five hundred thousand pounds, of which six hundred thousand pounds were subscribed on the 20th of January, being the first day the books were opened, and all the rest in less than six weeks. This was sufficient to shew the strength of public credit at that time, as also the disposition of the commons, to continue the war till the ends of it were answered; but, after Sacheverel's trial, it was soon perceived, that this ardour began to abate, which we find attributed by our historians to many different causes.

The chief, however, seems to have been the management of the French king, who, by publishing to all the world the mighty offers of peace that he had made to the allies, and dressing up in the strongest colours the hard conditions which the allies would have imposed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impossible, and calculated rather to prevent than promote the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe. By these representations, he raised great compassion among the neutral powers, excited divisions among the allies, and caused great jealousies and heart-burnings, both here and in Holland. This did not hinder our ministry from pursuing their former schemes, and endeavouring to restore a martial spirit, by the success of their designs on all sides; and as they had hitherto found their conduct most liable to be attacked on the subject of the war in Spain, they took all imaginable care to issue very early the sums granted for that service, which amounted to above a million; but it was resolved, since there was no immediate occasion for great fleets in the Mediterranean, to recal Sir Edward Whitaker, and to leave admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to protect the trade, and obey the orders of king Charles III.

Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral of the fleet, being in the Soundings with a considerable force, saw all the several fleets of our

our outward-bound merchantmen safe into the sea, and having sent them forward on their respective voyages, upon the 27th of July, he remained cruizing for two days afterwards, about sixty-eight leagues from the Lizard. On the 29th at noon, he discovered 13 sail. He ordered the Kent, Assurance, and York, to chase a-head, and followed with the rest of the ships under his command; but the weather proving hazy, he could not discover next morning more than one merchant ship. He received advice, however, before noon, that the Assurance had made prize of one of the enemies vessels, upon which he immediately sent his boat to bring the master of her on board him; which was accordingly done.

This Frenchman informed the admiral, that the ships he had seen the day before, were 14 merchant-men, bound for the banks of Newfoundland, and Martinico, under convoy of the Superbe, a French man of war of 56 guns, and the Concord of 30: that the former, having seen them into the sea, was to cruize in the Soundings, and the latter to proceed to Guinea; and that, on their perceiving the English fleet, the Concord bore away with the merchant-men under his convoy. Soon after this the Kent, commanded by captain Robert Johnson, came up with, and engaged the Superbe, for the space of an hour, when she struck; in which action captain Johnson behaved like a gallant officer, and an experienced seaman; for, as he attacked the French ship without waiting for other ships, so she was taken by him without any assistance, although she had a greater number of men than the Kent. Both of them were very much shattered in the fight; but so good a sailer was the Superbe, that, had she not been three months off the ground, she would in all probability have escaped. This ship had taken several valuable prizes from us before, and our cruizers had often chased her without success; but falling thus into our possession, she was registered in the British navy, being a very beautiful vessel, and not above eighteen months old.

Sir Edward Whitaker was at Port Mahon with his squadron, when he received the order before-mentioned, and sailing from thence on the 27th of March, he arrived at Lisbon on the 4th of April, with three ships of the third rate, where he made some stay, in order to take the homeward-bound merchant-men under his protection; and then sailing on the 29th of that month, he arrived safely on the first of June with our own, and the Dutch and Portugal fleet, and their convoys, in our channel. As for vice-admiral Baker, having conducted the transports to the several ports to which they were bound, he, in his return to Barcelona, got sight, off the Faro of Messina, of four large ships, with several settees under their convoy; this was on the 2d of May, and he chased them with all the diligence possible. The next morning captain Masters, in the Fame, took one of the ships,

ſhips, and ſoon after captain Cleveland, in the Suffolk, took another, called Le Galliard, of fifty-ſix guns; but the remaining two, which were gallies, eſcaped, with moſt of the ſettees. The vice-admiral having ſeen the tranſports ſafe into Barcelona, and having received advice, that Sir John Norris, with a ſquadron under his command, was at Terragona, and that he was come to command in the Mediterranean, reſolved to join him as ſoon as poſſible, in order to execute any orders he brought with him from England, or to contribute, as far as in his power lay, to the ſupport of king Charles's affairs, which were now in a more flouriſhing condition than they had been for ſome years paſt. We will take notice next of admiral Norris's inſtructions, and of what, in purſuance of them, he performed during the time he commanded in theſe parts.

The grand fleet deſigned for this year's ſervice in the Mediterranean, ſailed from Plymouth on the 12th of January, under the command of Sir John Norris, who having ſeen the Virginia, and other merchant-men bound to the Weſt-Indies, ſafe into the ſea, arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th of March, where he was joined by Sir Edward Whitaker, and a Dutch rear-admiral. Immediately after his arrival, he detached three Engliſh, and two Dutch men of war, with the public money, recruits, and ammunition, to Barcelona, in order to receive his catholic majeſty's commands. While the admiral remained here, he had the mortification of hearing, that two of our men of war had been taken by the French; with this alleviating circumſtance, however, that both officers and men had behaved bravely, and that the misfortune was entirely owing to the enemy's having a ſuperior force.

Not long after, he received more welcome intelligence, *viz.* that two of our ſhips had taken a French man of war of ſixty guns, called the Moor, a very fine ſhip, and which was afterwards regiſtered in the liſt of our royal navy. After making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the many ſervices that were required from the fleet, Sir John ſailed on the 7th of April, from Port Mahon, and arrived on the 11th at Barcelona. There he was informed by the king of Spain, that the enemy had a deſign, either upon Sardinia or Naples, and that the duke de Turſis, a Genoeſe nobleman, who commanded a fleet of gallies for the ſervice of king Philip, was at ſea, in order to execute this enterpriſe. His majeſty likewiſe informed him, that he was in great want of the German ſuccours, that were promiſed him from Italy. The admiral reſolved to do his beſt towards anſwering both theſe demands of his catholic majeſty, and having firſt landed the viceroy in Sardinia, where he found all things quiet, he proceeded to the coaſt of Italy, in order to embark the ſuccours before-mentioned. On the 6th of May, Sir John Norris arrived

arrived at Leghorn, and having there provided for the ſecurity of our Levant trade, which was much diſturbed by monſieur de L'Aigle; he ſailed from thence to Vado Bay, where, while the Germans were embarking, he had intelligence, that the Italian gallies had actually taken on board a body of upwards of two thouſand men, in order to make a deſcent on the iſland of Sardinia.

Upon this, Sir John Norris called a council of war, and in purſuance of the reſolutions taken there, he, on the firſt of June, detached four men of war to convoy the tranſports to Barcelona; he likewiſe detached five Engliſh and four Dutch men of war, to cruize in the height of Toulon, for a convoy which the French expected from the Levant. The ſame day he ſailed with the reſt of the confederate fleet, with two imperial regiments, to go to the aſſiſtance of Sardinia, upon certain advice, that the duke de Turſis was ſailed with his gallies, and, as we obſerved before, ſome land forces on board, to invade that iſland. The 2d they came before La Baſtida, in Corſica, and ſaw a little French merchant-ſhip coming from the Archipelago, which, upon the approach of our fleet, retired under the cannon of that place; upon this, admiral Norris ſent ſome boats which brought away the ſhip, but the men made their eſcape on ſhore. A bark coming from the ſhore, brought the admiral advice, that the duke de Turſis, having continued ſome days at Porto Vecchio, was ſailed to Bonifacio, with a deſign to execute his intended enterpriſe againſt Sardinia; whereupon they ſailed again; on the 5th came into the bay of Terra Nova, in Sardinia, wherein they found four tartanes of the enemy, which had landed there four hundred men, and ſixty officers, under the command of the count de Caſtillo. They took, the ſame day in the evening, thoſe four ſhips, and underſtanding by the priſoners, that the count, with his forces, was but two miles off upon that ſhore, the admirals reſolved to land ſome forces to attack them, which was done the next day. They marched directly to Terra Nova, where the enemy were poſted; but the count de Caſtillo ſeeing it was in vain for him to offer any reſiſtance, ſurrendered at diſcretion; ſo that they took four hundred and fifty ſoldiers priſoners, with ſixty-three officers, and ſeveral perſons of quality, natives of Sardinia; who, being diſaffected to the German government, had joined the enemy, or had gone with the count de Caſtillo in this expedition, in hopes that their intereſt would occaſion an inſurrection in favour of king Philip V.

Their enterprize having ſucceeded beyond expectation, and there being no danger of any rebellion on that ſide, the troops returned on board the 7th, and the admirals reſolved to go in queſt of the duke de Turſis, who, according to the report of the priſoners, was ſailed to another bay, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland,

island, to land the rest of his forces. On the 8th, they came, by favour of a fresh gale, into the canal of Bonifacio, where they were informed, by a Neapolitan felucca, that the duke de Tursis was sailed the night before from thence, with intention to retire into the gulf of Ajazzio, in Corsica; whereupon they made all the sail they could, in hopes of coming up with him in that bay; but in the morning of the 9th, when they came into the same, they were informed that the duke de Tursis, foreseeing they would pursue him, was sailed thence the night before, with his gallies, having left in this gulf eight large barks, with five hundred soldiers on board, and the greatest part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, in hopes that they would not take them in a neutral place.

But Sir John Norris thought fit to seize them, and signified to the republic of Genoa, that the queen of Great-Britain, his mistress, could not but express on all occasions the highest resentment against them, for having permitted the duke de Tursis, one of their subjects, to make, in their dominions, such an armament designed against one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of Spain her ally; and that, looking upon their permission or connivance as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoese governor, to whom these representations were made, answered with as much submission as could be expected; promised that he would not supply the duke de Tursis, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested, that the admiral would not land any troops upon the island. The admiral having considered his request, and being sensible that it would be to very little purpose to attempt following the enemy into the mountains, thought proper to grant it, and thereupon proceeded immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the king of Spain desiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at Terragona, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for vice-admiral Baker to follow; which orders, as I have already shewn, he punctually obeyed.

The inhabitants of the Cevennes having given the king of France a great deal of disturbance, and having numbers of their countrymen in foreign service, it was proposed to the British ministry, that, notwithstanding the miscarriage of former attempts, something should be again undertaken in their favour; and to enforce this advice, it was observed, that the Camisars, then in arms, were within fifteen leagues of Montpelier, and that it was possible to land our troops at Port Cette, within a single league of this city. Upon this, the ministry themselves, conceiving such an expedition might disconcert the enemies designs in Spain, or at least facilitate king Charles's enterprizes in Catalonia,

Catalonia, resolved to send a gentleman to Spain, thoroughly instructed as to the whole of this affair, with orders to propose it to general Stanhope, and Sir John Norris, upon whose approbation, and the consent of the king of Spain, the design was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then on the coast of Catalonia. It must be allowed, that this project was very well formed, and, according to the best informations that I have been able to obtain, if our troops had actually fixed themselves for three days at Cette, we might, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, have given the French king more trouble than he had ever met with from any of our projects during the war. For his own subjects, then in arms against him, were a bold, daring, hardy people, and, with a very little encouragement from us, would have formed an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, to whom all the French exiles, in every part of Europe, would have resorted; and, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not easy to conceive, what consequences this affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have spread.

On the arrival of this gentleman from England, general Stanhope, who was a very enterprizing officer, eagerly embraced the scheme, and prevailed upon king Charles to permit a body of troops, though indeed it was but a very small one, to embark on board the fleet. This resolution being taken, was communicated to Sir John Norris, who, on the 6th of July, held a great council of war, in which it was resolved, to send an express to the duke of Savoy, and to embark the forces immediately, that an affair of such importance might not suffer by delay. The command of these troops, which consisted of no more than the regiment of colonel Stanhope, and three hundred men from Port Mahon, was given to major general Seissan, a native of Languedoc, and a very good officer. The fleet sailed from Barcelona on the ninth, and arrived before Cette on the 19th. The next morning, by break of day, the troops, which were but seven hundred men, and who had landed the evening before, without any opposition, marched directly towards the town. Sir John Norris appointed some ships to batter the fort at the mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and soon after both town and fort surrendered; as in the evening of the next day did the town of Agde; so that now we had firm footing in the enemy's country: and this expedition had a more promising appearance than any that had been hitherto undertaken against France; our only misfortune was, that there were so few men spared for so important a design.

On the 17th, major-general Seissan received advice, that the duke of Roquelaure was advancing with 400 dragoons, and 4000 militia, to ford the lake, and re-possess Cette; upon which the major-general thought proper to leave a hundred and forty men to

to ſecure the bridge of Agde, and marched with the reſt of the forces to oppoſe the enemy; writing at the ſame time to the admirals Norris and Sommelſdyke, to deſire them to ſend all the boats of the fleet, with as many men as they could ſpare, into the Etang or Lake, to attack the enemy in their paſſage through the ſame; which was done accordingly. The duke of Roquelaure, ſeeing his deſign prevented by theſe precautions, returned to Mezé, and the admirals and general detached a major, with a hundred and fifty men, to reinforce the detachment left to ſecure the bridge of Agde; but, at the ſame time advice came, that this important poſt had been abandoned upon a falſe alarm. Nevertheleſs, it was reſolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to Agde with ſhallops by ſea, in order to regain that poſt; but the very moment that this was to be executed, a ſtrong wind happened to riſe, which obliged them to abandon that deſign, and direct all their care to ſecure Cette.

In ſhort, the duke de Noailles arrived at Agde, the ſame day that they were to return thither. They began then to think of the defence of the mountain of Cette, and poſted there the few troops they had in the vineyards, ſurrounded with a ſlight wall; but with orders to retire, yet not before the arrival of the enemy. The officer, who commanded fifty men, did not rightly apprehend this order, or elſe he was ſurpriſed; for ſcarce had a few French dragoons fired upon our men, before they ſurrendered to them at diſcretion. The other troops retired in diſorder, though the neceſſary diſpoſitions had been made to ſupport them in their retreat, and the ſeveral officers did all that could be expected from their courage and experience to rally the troops. While theſe were re-imbarking on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort, with fifty men to cover the retreat. It was not acceſſible, but on the ſide of the mole, and was defended by two pieces of cannon in the place that leads to it; and beſides, the enemy had no boats. The ſhallops were juſt by the fort the whole morning; but admiral Norris had no ſooner put off to go on board his ſhip, but the enemy ſent word to the captain, that if he did not immediately ſurrender the fort, he muſt expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and ſurrendered at diſcretion, even before the troops were re-imbarked. The duke de Roquelaure ſent them back the captain who had ſo ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher who had been releaſed before; but the captain was ſet a-ſhore again, and told, that ſince he had been ſo complaiſant to M. de Roquelaure, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was but reaſonable he ſhould be near the duke's perſon, and treated according to his merit.

Thus ended an expedition, from which much was expected, and which had no other good effect, except obliging the enemy to recal a conſiderable body of their troops from Rouſſillon; in doing this the duke de Noailles made a very remarkable march,

of which the French have boasted excessively. Sir John Norris having re-imbarked the forces, sailed on the 19th, and shewed himself off Toulon and Marseilles; some days after, he stood into the road of Hieres, where he discovered a French fly-boat, carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of Port Croix; upon which he instantly detached some English and Dutch frigates, under the command of captain Stepney, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This was performed with great vigour, and in a short time the ship was abandoned, and the lowest of the three forts; upon this our boats rowed hastily to board the vessel, into which our men had scarce entered, before the ship, by a train laid for that purpose by the enemy, was blown up, and thirty-five of our people either killed or wounded. This misfortune was soon followed by another; for our ships that were cruizing off Toulon, being distressed for water, sailed to an adjacent island for a supply, and in the mean time a great corn fleet, for which they were waiting, took that opportunity to enter the port of Toulon.

On the 14th of August, Sir John Norris returned to Port Mahon, where he received the welcome news of the great victory of Sarragossa. He then expected to have sailed on an expedition for the service of his catholic majesty; but was disappointed, partly through some delay made by the troops in embarking, and partly by the haste the Dutch were in to return home; so that, finding it impracticable to do any further service for the present, he ordered most of his ships to be cleaned; which being performed, he sailed on the 30th of October from Port Mahon, and on the 6th of November he took three French ships from Newfoundland. After this, he secured the Turkey fleet, and then attempted to annoy the enemy in the bay of Roses, where he met with such a storm, as drove the Resolution on shore, on the coast of Catalonia, near to Barcelona, where she was lost, notwithstanding all imaginable care to prevent it, and the rest of the fleet was forced into the harbour of Port Mahon.

His catholic majesty's affairs had by this time taken a new and unfavourable turn, and therefore his majesty wrote in pressing terms to Sir John Norris, in order to engage him to sail over to the Italian coast, to bring, with the utmost expedition, such troops as could be spared from thence for his service. Sir John sailed from Barcelona, and arrived on the 19th of March in the bay of Vado; on the 22d following, the Severne, Lion, and Lime, made the signal of seeing four ships; upon which the admiral ordered the Nassau and Exeter to give them chace, and upon hearing a great firing of guns, detached the Dartmouth and Winchelsea to their assistance. On the 27th, the Severne and Lime came into the road, and captain Pudner, who commanded the former, gave Sir John Norris an account, that, in conjunction with the Lion and Lime, he had, the day before, engaged

engaged four French ſhips, from ſixty to forty guns, for above two hours, and then the French crowded all the ſail they could, and made away; the Severne, being diſabled, returned with the Lime into Vado road; but captain Galfridus Walpole, who commanded the Lion, continued the chace, though he had his right arm ſhot away, about forty men killed and wounded, and his ſhip much torn by the enemy's ſhot. The Exeter, commanded by captain Raymond, came up with one of the Frenchmen, and, after a briſk engagement of above two hours, took her; but he was ſo diſabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the Pembroke, which had been taken from us a year before, that was, while in our ſervice, a ſixty-gun ſhip; but at this time ſhe mounted no more than fifty.

Sir John having given the neceſſary directions for embarking the troops on board an hundred and twenty tranſports, in order to eſcort them to Barcelona, received advice, while he was waiting for a wind, that Sir John Jennings was arrived at Port Mahon, in order to command in the Mediterranean. We have already, contrary to our uſual method, carried this part of the hiſtory beyond the bounds of the year 1710, which was occaſioned by a deſire of preſerving perſpicuity, which otherwiſe could not have been ſo well done; and, for the ſame reaſon, we ſhall proceed with Sir John Norris's conduct, though it will carry us almoſt to the cloſe of the year 1711; which, however, is better than breaking the thread of the narration, to reſume it again at a great diſtance of time; and this too, when all that can be ſaid about it will fall within a very narrow compaſs.

He ſailed from Vado for Port Mahon, in April: but was forced by a ſtorm into the road of Araſio, where, with great difficulty, he procured forage for the horſes, and where he lay wind-bound till the 4th of May, and then proceeded to Barcelona, arrived there, and landed the troops on the eighth, where, having conſulted with the duke of Argyle, and taken care to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron to Genoa for the public money, he thought next of proceeding home with the Turkey trade; and, with that view, ordered captain Cornwall to eſcort them to Gibraltar or Liſbon, and there wait for his arrival. This being performed, he followed them as ſoon as the king of Spain's affairs would permit; and ſailing with them under his convoy from Liſbon on the 15th of September, he arrived with them off the Iſle of Wight the 8th of October, 1711, with four ſhips of the third rate, ſeven of the fourth, three of the fifth, two bomb veſſels, two ſtore ſhips, and an hoſpital ſhip; and from thence held on his courſe to the Downs, leaving the command of the fleet that continued in the Mediterranean to Sir John Jennings, of whoſe proceedings we ſhall ſpeak in their proper place; but, at preſent, it is requiſite that we ſhould give an account, as we promiſed, of the expedition ſet on foot for reſtoring our affairs in Newfoundland.

The check we had received the year before, had given the miniſtry great diſquiet. They found themſelves, at this juncture, in a very critical ſituation, and were therefore under a kind of neceſſity of providing againſt any new clamours, which they were ſenſible would be ſet up, in caſe the French were not effectually rooted out in a place which ſo nearly affected our merchants, and upon which their commerce with Spain, Portugal, and Italy, ſo much depended. In order, therefore, to provide in the beſt manner poſſible for ſo important an undertaking, they made choice of two officers of experience, one of them to command the ſquadron, the other the land forces that were to be put on board it. The former was captain George Martin, and the latter, colonel Francis Nicholſon, who was ſent to Boſton in New England, in order to provide every thing neceſſary for the expedition, and to draw together all the forces that could be ſpared from that colony, ſo that they might be able to embark as ſoon as the ſquadron ſhould arrive.

This ſquadron conſiſted of the Dragon, a fifty gun ſhip, commanded by captain George Martin; the Falmouth, of fifty guns, by captain Walter Rydel; the Leoſtoff, of thirty-two guns, by captain George Gordon; the Feverſham, of thirty-ſix guns, by captain Robert Paſton, and the Star bomb ketch, by captain Thomas Rochfort; to which was afterwards added, the Cheſter, a fifty gun ſhip, commanded by captain Thomas Matthews. Captain Martin arriving in New England, found all things properly adjuſted for the execution of this enterpriſe againſt the French ſettlement, without delay; in conſequence of which, he proceeded from Nantaſket road the 18th of September, with the Dragon, Falmouth, Leoſtoff, Feverſham, and Star bomb veſſel, the Provence galley, two hoſpital ſhips, thirty-one tranſports, and two thouſand land forces, having ſent the Cheſter before, to endeavour to intercept any ſupplies which the enemy might attempt to ſend to Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia; and on the 24th, in the afternoon, he anchored at the entrance of the harbour. A council of war was called, and, purſuant to what was agreed, the ſmall embarkations and boats were got ready to receive the men, and put them on ſhore.

Things being in this ſituation, on the 25th of September, about ſix in the morning, colonel Vetch, and colonel Reading, with fifty men each, together with Mr. Forbes, the engineer, went on ſhore to view the ground for landing the troops; and ſoon after colonel Nicholſon himſelf, with a body of men, actually landed; the enemy firing at the boats in which they were, from their batteries of cannon and mortars, but with no great ſucceſs. Colonel Vetch, with five hundred on the north ſide, ſo lined the ſhore, that he protected the landing of the cannon, ammunition, and ſtores, and the mortar being fixed on board the bomb veſſel, ſhe driving up with the tide of flood, within

within cannon ſhot of the fort, both that day and the next, bombarded the enemy therein, which did in a great meaſure induce them to capitulate, ſooner than otherwiſe they would have done: not but that they were very much galled in the attempts made on them, and the warm fire from the artillery on ſhore; but the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the bomb veſſel was not able to throw any ſhells, by reaſon of hard gales of wind.

At a council of war, held on the firſt of October, two letters, which were received from monſieur Subercaſe, directed to colonel Nicholſon, were taken into conſideration, together with the anſwers which he had made thereunto; and the preliminaries being agreed on, the governor marching out of the fort, with the garriſon, our troops took poſſeſſion of it ſoon after, with drums beating, and colours flying; where hoiſting the union flag, they, in honour of her majeſty, called the place Annapolis Royal; and a ſufficient number of men being left therein, the ſhips and troops proceeded to New-England as ſoon as all things neceſſary were ſettled; from whence captain Martin departed, not long after, in order to put in execution the remaining part of his inſtructions, and prepare for his return to England.

Theſe were not all the misfortunes that befel the French in this part of the world, for our men of war and privateers took this year near fifty of their ſhips. The Portland and the Valeur took, in their paſſage to Newfoundland, two very rich prizes, value thirty thouſand pounds. But not long after, the Valeur was ſurpriſed in harbour, and taken by the French, and in the month of Auguſt, captain John Aldred, in the Rocheſter; captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severn; and captain George Purvis, in the Portland, viſited all the French harbours on the north ſide of Newfoundland, and in a manner totally deſtroyed them.

We are now to return home, in order to take notice of what happened here, relating to the affairs of the navy; and as theſe are commonly influenced by a total change in the miniſtry, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, the earl of Godolphin was removed from being lord high admiral, and that high office was put into commiſſion. This great change was quickly followed by others of the ſame nature; for, about ſix weeks after, Edward earl of Orford having reſigned his place of firſt lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty, the queen appointed Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Eſq; Paul Methuen, Eſq; and John Aiſlabie, Eſq; lords commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great-Britain. But this commiſſion did not continue long in this ſituation, for in the month of December, Sir James Wiſhart, and George Clarke, Eſq; were appointed lords commiſſioners of the admiralty,

ralty, in the room of George Doddington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs.

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, and, on the 27th, the commons chose William Bromley, Esq; of Worcestershire, for their speaker: The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very pathetic terms; and the commons, in their address, promised her majesty to take proper care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted 40,000 men for the sea service, for the year 1711, and 120,000l. for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted, that the sum of 5,130,539l. 5s. 6d. be granted for payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land forces to Michaelmas 1710, exclusive of the register office; and, on the 20th of the said month, they resolved, that 103,303l. 11s. 4d. be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who were sufferers by the French invasion, and who have settled, or shall resettle their plantations in the said islands. While these regulations were making by the legislature, her majesty took care to provide for action; and in consequence thereof, appointed Sir John Leake, rear admiral of Great-Britain, to be admiral and commander in chief of her fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Esq; at the same time she appointed Sir Thomas Hardy rear admiral of the blue; and some time after Sir George Byng was made admiral of the white. These necessary circumstances premised, we may now proceed to the naval operations of the next year.

The grand fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake, had very little to do. It was intended for the defence of our coast, and for keeping the enemy in awe, which was very effectually performed; for the French king, from the many misfortunes he had met with, was utterly incapable of equipping any capital ships; and therefore, contenting himself with sending out, as he had done for some years past, small squadrons to annoy our trade, he seemed no longer to look on France as a maritime power. Sir Thomas Hardy, rear admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, two fifths, and two sixths, to block up the port of Dunkirk. On the 21st of May he arrived before that port, into which he forced two privateers of twenty guns each, and a dogger which carried eight; and this, notwithstanding the enemy's fire from the platform at the pier-head. While he was in this situation, he discovered in the bason four sixty gun ships, and two smaller vessels, all unrigged, and had certain information of a small squadron that was fitting out there for the sea; after which he cruised as carefully as he could, as well for that, as for the convoy from Bretagne; but both, notwithstanding all his vigilance, escaped him.

On

On the 27th of June, an Engliſh man of war, called the Advice, commanded by Kenneth, lord Duffus, was attacked in Yarmouth roads, by ſeveral French privateers. His lordſhip engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ſhip, which was a fourth rate of forty-ſix guns, till all his ſails were torn to pieces, not a brace or bowling left, the ſhrowds cut away, two-thirds of his men killed and wounded, and his lordſhip had five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ſhip with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they moſt inhumanly ſtripped both officers and private men of their wearing apparel, and, but for the kindneſs of the inhabitants, had left them in a manner naked. Such was the brutal behaviour of theſe barbarous plunderers, and to ſuch we muſt remain expoſed, if that infamous neſt of pirates, deſtroyed for the common ſafety of mankind, ſhall ever, through the weakneſs of our councils, be ſettled or fortified again.

On the 8th of Auguſt, Sir Thomas Hardy being in Yarmouth roads, with his ſquadron, received orders to proceed as far northwards as the iſlands of Orkney, in order to ſecure the Ruſſia trade, and to ſend ſome ſhips that were with him to the Downs; the admiralty having received certain intelligence, that M. de Saus, a French officer, had actually got to ſea from Dunkirk, with four large ſhips, *viz.* one of fifty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty-ſix, and one of twenty-four: in purſuance of theſe orders, Sir Thomas ſaw the Ruſſia fleet, which was remarkably rich that year, as far as Shetland; and then ſending them forward with a proper convoy, he returned to the Downs, where he received orders to proceed weſtward, in queſt of M. du Caſſe. While our ſhips were thus employed, a misfortune befel us upon our own coaſt; for M. de Saus, with his privateers, fell in with our Virginia fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-two ſail, two of which were forced aſhore, four eſcaped, and all the reſt were taken.

As ſoon as the news of this was carried to England, orders were ſent to purſue the French ſquadron, and to prevent, if poſſible, their getting back to Dunkirk; but the ſieur Saus found means to rid himſelf of theſe attendants, though they were once within ſight of him, and carried ſix of his prizes into Dunkirk, leaving the reſt at Bologne, Calais, and other ports on the coaſt. Our cruizers and privateers repaired, in ſome degree, this misfortune, by the depredations they committed on the coaſt of France, from whence they brought a great number of ſmall prizes, which, if they did not turn much to our benefit, were, however, a great prejudice to France, ſince moſt of them were laden with corn, and other proviſions, of which at that juncture, the people were in great need. But it is now time to return to the proceedings of our ſquadrons in the Mediterranean, where, as we have before ſhewn, Sir John Jennings commanded in chief, with a numerous fleet, of whoſe

designs we shall now speak particularly, as they were the last that were formed during the war in those parts.

The affairs of king Charles had suffered so severely since the battle lost at Villa Viciosa, that even his best friends almost despaired of retrieving them. It was, however, resolved to send thither a large naval force, to assist in whatever measures might be thought proper, either for restoring his hopes, or providing for the safety of his person. The duke of Argyle commanded the English troops, with circumstances equally honourable to himself, and shameful to those who suffered so many brave men to fall under such heavy misfortunes. The army was but thin; and well it might be so, since general Stanhope had been besieged, and taken, with eight battalions, and as many squadrons, a few months before, in the miserable hamlet of Brihuega. But this is not all; the regiments, thin as they were, were also ragged and starving, having no credit but what his grace procured for them, who soon brought things into better order, and his very little army under good discipline. In short, he appeared there, what he appeared every where, not only a brave man and an active officer; not barely a great general, or an able statesman, but a friend to mankind, and a lover of his country.

After performing some few necessary services, it was resolved, that the fleet should cruize off Toulon, in order to intercept the supplies which the enemy expected from Languedoc, and the corn fleet from the Levant. While he was in this station, he received orders from England, to return immediately to the coast of Catalonia, that he might be ready to carry the king of Spain to Genoa, or where else he should desire; his majesty, by the death of his brother, the emperor Joseph, being lately become sole heir of all the dominions of the house of Austria. He was likewise directed to afford all the assistance possible to the kingdom of Naples, in case any commotion should happen there at this juncture; and accordingly he repaired to Barcelona, to consult his majesty, and the duke of Argyle, as to the propereſt method of executing these orders, having first detached two men of war of the third, one of the fourth, and one of the fifth rate, to cruize on the coast of Naples, with orders to assist the subjects of the house of Austria, if any attempts should be made for reducing the garrisons of Orbitello, or Piombino.

On his arrival there, he found the king not at all inclined to quit Catalonia, till such time as he had advice of his being elected emperor, in which he was promised all the assistance that could be afforded him by the high allies; and, on the other hand, he found his majesty equally unwilling to part with this fleet, upon which all his hopes depended. Sir J. Jennings contented himself, therefore, with sailing from Barcelona, on the 13th of July, for Port Mahon, where he arrived on the 18th, having

having firſt of all promiſed the king of Spain, to return as ſoon as the ſhips were refitted, and he had taken in a proper ſupply of proviſions, which began to grow very ſcarce; and this promiſe he exactly performed by the 26th, when we find him again in the road for Barcelona, with one ſecond, five third, and one fourth rate, beſides ſeven Dutch men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Peterſon, having ten other ſhips, moſt of the line, abroad on neceſſary ſervice. When theſe had joined him, he took the king of Spain on board, having then a fleet of twenty-four ſhips of war, and landed him in ten days time at Genoa; from whence the admiral ſailed to Leghorn, being in great want of cables and other ſtores, in order to procure ſuch as the place would afford; and while he was there, two of our captains brought in two rich prizes from the Levant.

His excellency continued in that port to the 2d of Nov. when he ſailed for Vado Bay, and having embarked the forces that were ready to proceed for Catalonia, he ſent them, under the protection of five men of war and two fire-ſhips, to Barcelona, under the command of captain Swanton, with whoſe ſquadron, and three Dutch ſhips of war, the admiral ſailed as far weſtward as Cape Roſes; and was then to repair to Port Mahon, where captain Swanton was ordered to join him, as ſoon as he had ſeen the tranſports in ſafety, that the admiral might be able to make a detachment for protecting the coaſts of Portugal; as alſo ſome ſhips to cruize in the Streights mouth, for the ſecurity of our trade. When the admiral had made the iſland of Minorca, the wind blew exceſſively hard from the north-eaſt, which obliged him to come to an anchor on the north ſide of the iſland, where moſt of the ſhips ſails blew away from their yards; but he got, however, the next day into Port Mahon. On his arrival he was informed, by the captains of two ſhips he found there, that they had heard a great firing of guns all the night before; upon which he ſent the Chatham and Winchelſea, the next morning, to ſee what they could diſcover; who ſoon brought an account, that the Dutch vice admiral, with his ſquadron, was in the offing, together with four Britiſh ſhips.

Theſe ſhips of ours were the Hampton-court, commanded by captain Mighells; the Stirling-caſtle, the Nottingham, the Charles Galley, and the Lynn, which came from the coaſt of Catalonia, and in their paſſage had fallen in with two French men of war, the Thouloufe, and the Trident, each of fifty guns, and four hundred men. The Hampton-court came up with the firſt of them, and engaged her two hours, to whoſe commander, by the time the Sterling-caſtle was within muſquet ſhot (which was about ten at night) ſhe ſtruck; but by the advantage of little winds, the Trident got away with her oars. The Hampton-court's maſts being much wounded in the fight, they, by the violence of the weather, came next day all by the board, ſo that ſhe was towed into port by the Sterling-caſtle. The firſt captain

tain of the Thoulouſe, was M. Grand Pre, and the ſecond captain one Rigby, an Engliſhman, who had formerly boine command in our fleet. From the former of them the admiral accepted his parole of honour for ſix months; but the latter he detained, although M. Grand Pre aſſured him he was naturalized in France, and was become a Roman catholic; but ſome way or other he found means to eſcape, and it was believed he got on board a ſhip bound for Genoa, which lay in the harbour of Mahon. About the ſame time, the Reſtoration, a ſhip of ſeventy guns, was loſt on the back ſide of the Mallora, off Leghorn, but all her officers and men were ſaved; nor fell it out better with a ſettee, that had on board to the value of four thouſand crowns, which ſhe was bringing from one of the ports of Corſica.

The French having at preſent no fleet in the Mediterranean, the admiral was at liberty to employ his ſhips in ſuch a manner, as might beſt anſwer the purpoſe of protecting Catalonia, and incommoding the enemy; which he accordingly did, till towards the end of the year he received advice, that the French were buſy at Toulon, in fitting out a conſiderable force, which was to put to ſea in the ſpring, of which the admiral took all the care he could to be particularly informed, and at laſt received a certain account, that this ſquadron was to conſiſt of eleven or twelve ſhips, of which eight were of the line, and three or four were frigates; that they were to proceed firſt to Cadiz, and from thence to the Weſt-Indies. Upon this, the admiral, on the 21ſt of Feb. held a council of war, in which, upon a ſtrict examination, it was found, that the ſhips under his command, could not put to ſea till ſupplied with proviſions from Italy; and therefore a frigate was diſpatched to vice-admiral Baker, then at Liſbon, with this intelligence, that he might ſtrengthen the convoy of the ſtore-ſhips and victuallers ſent from thence, and at the ſame time it was reſolved, that as ſoon as the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips arrived from Italy, the admiral ſhould cruize between Port Mahon and Cape de Gatt, in order to intercept the enemy.

This neceſſary ſupply of proviſions, and naval ſtores, arriving ſafe at Port Mahon, and the admiral having intelligence from all ſides, of the great naval preparations of the enemy, was determined in a council of war, held on the 11th of March, to put to ſea with one ſecond, three third, two fifth rates, and two fire-ſhips of ours, and nine ſhips of the States-General, and to cruize ten or twelve leagues from Cape Toulon, until more certain advice of the enemy could be had. Captain Walpole, in the Lion, joining the fleet from Genoa, and informing them, that he had ſeen in his paſſage nine tall ſhips to the N. W. of the iſland of Minorca; it was reſolved in a council of war, held on the 23d of March, to proceed to the ſouthward of Majorca and Ivica, in order to intercept the enemy,

enemy, if it was poſſible, between that and the Cape of St. Martin, in their paſſage down the Streights. Obtaining, however, no further intelligence, he came to an anchor on the firſt of April off the iſland of Formentara, from whence he ſent two clean ſhips to look into the bay of Denea, Xabea, and Altea, as alſo into Alicant road; and, in caſe they brought him no advice, it was determined to ſail immediately to Barcelona. This was accordingly done, and on his arrival there, and hearing nothing of the French, he ſent a clean frigate to look into the harbour of Toulon, in order to diſcover what they were doing there, with a reſolution, upon the return of that ſhip, to proceed to Port Mahon, there to revictual, and then to ſtand over to the Italian coaſt, in order to bring from thence a new ſupply of troops to Catalonia.

We are now to proceed to an account of what was done this year in the Weſt-Indies, where, when we ſpoke laſt of affairs in thoſe parts, we left commodore Littleton with a ſtrong ſquadron under his command. This gentleman was extremely well qualified for this ſtation: he had all the abilities and experience that could be wiſhed for in a ſea-officer, and yet was as ready to aſk, and receive advice, as if he had neither. On his firſt arrival in thoſe parts, which was in the month of November, 1710, he took all the care that was poſſible to obtain proper intelligence of the motions of the galleons, which were ſtill at Carthagena; and at the ſame time he neglected nothing that the merchants thought requiſite, either for the ſecurity of their trade in thoſe parts, or for the ſafe convoy of ſuch ſhips as from time to time were ſent home; ſo that, during his ſtay at Jamaica, there were few or no complaints, but every body ſtudied to mind his own buſineſs, and to diſcharge, when called upon, his duty in the public ſervice.

The deſire of taking the galleons, was what principally occupied the thoughts of the commodore, and as he was frequently perplexed with falſe intelligence, he ſtationed the Nonſuch and the Roebuck, on the Spaniſh coaſt, giving orders to captain Hardy, who commanded the former, to diſpatch the Roebuck to Jamaica, with any certain intelligence he could obtain, either as to the time when it was propoſed the galleons ſhould ſail, or the ſtrength of the convoy that was to accompany them. Theſe orders were faithfully executed, though very little intelligence, except that the galleons had as yet no convoy, could, for many months, be procured.

In May, 1711, the commodore received an account from the maſters of ſome veſſels from Madeira, that M. du Caſſe, with a ſquadron under his command, had been ſeen from that iſland. Soon after, a Spaniſh ſloop was taken, in which was a letter from the governor of Carthagena, expreſſing his hopes, that M. du Caſſe would ſhortly arrive with ſeven ſail of ſtout ſhips, in order to convoy the galleons. Upon this the commodore immediately

mediately ſent an advice-boat to recal the Nonſuch, and, in the mean time, began to prepare for an expedition, reſolving not to loſe this opportunity of attacking the French ſquadron, and having a chance for making prize of ſome of the galleons.

The Jerſey, commanded by captain Vernon, was then cruizing to the Windward of Jamaica, and having taken a French ſhip belonging to the port of Breſt, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men, he carried her into Jamaica, on the 23d of May. The captain of this veſſel informed the commodore, that he had been trading on the coaſt of New Spain, from whence, proceeding to Port Lewis, in Hiſpaniola, where he put on ſhore the money he had taken, he was ſailing from thence to Petit Guavas, in order to take in there a cargo for France, when he fell into the hands of captain Vernon. He added, that he ſailed from Port Lewis on the 20th, in company with M. du Caſſe, who was gone for Carthagena, and that his ſquadron conſiſted of one ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, another of ſixty, one of fifty, one of twenty-four, and one of twenty; but captain Hardy arriving on the 27th, aſſured Mr. Littleton, that two ſhips of the French ſquadron, one of which was the Glouceſter of fifty guns, formerly taken from us, and another of forty-four, arrived at Carthagena, ten days before, and waited for M. du Caſſe, who deſigned, as ſoon as the galleons could be ready, to ſail with them for the Havannah, and from thence to Cadiz.

Upon this, captain Vernon was ſent over to the coaſt of New Spain; and returning on the 4th of July, reported, that on the 28th of June, he had looked into the port of Carthagena, where he ſaw twelve ſhips, ſix rigged, and ſix unrigged, and five ſloops; the ſix ſhips that were rigged, he informed the commodore, were the St. Michael, of ſeventy-four guns; the Hercules, of ſixty; the Griffin, of fifty; two ſmall frigates, and the vice-admiral of the galleons, which carried ſixty guns: and that, of the ſhips that were unrigged, there were two at the upper end of the harbour, preparing for ſea, one of which he believed to be the Minion of fifty guns, and another of forty, the reſt he took to be trading veſſels.

Upon the 15th of July, the commodore ſailed with one third rate, four fourth rates, and a ſloop for Carthagena; and arriving on the coaſt of New Spain on the 26th, he diſcovered five ſhips to the leeward, which he chaſed into Boca Chica, at the entrance of Carthagena harbour. Upon this, he ſtood off to ſea the greateſt part of the night; but ſtretching in to the ſhore the next morning, chaſed four ſhips, and about ſix came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spaniſh merchant ſhip; and as M. du Caſſe had taken moſt of the money out of the galleon, having ſome ſuſpicion of the commanding officer on board her; ſo was this very carrack the ſame which had eſcaped from Mr. Wager, as hath been before related; and coming from

from Carthagena, in company with ſome French ſhips of war, it happened ſhe was ſeparated from them, and believing our ſhips to be thoſe with M. du Caſſe, (as her commander ſaid), lay by the greateſt part of the day, and when Mr. Littleton came near, hoiſted Spaniſh colours, and a flag at the foretop-maſt-head, ſo that between five and ſix at night, the Saliſbury's prize, commanded by captain Robert Harland, engaged her; ſoon after which, the Saliſbury, commanded by captain Francis Hoſier, did the ſame.

The commodore being within piſtol ſhot, was juſt going to fire into her when they ſtruck their colours; and the Jerſey, going after one of the merchant ſhips, took her; the Nonſuch chaſing the other, ſhe eſcaped in the night. The vice-admiral of the galleons, being wounded by a ſmall ſhot, died ſoon after. M. du Caſſe had taken moſt of the money out of the galleon, except what was found in ſome boxes which belonged to private perſons. She had ſixty braſs guns mounted, and three hundred and twenty-five men; and the ſhip which the Jerſey took, was a veſſel belonging to the merchants, of about four hundred tons, and twenty-ſix guns, laden for the moſt part with cocoa and wool. The priſoners, by the deſcription given to them of the ſhips which were ſeen by the commodore, the day he came off of Carthagena, aſſured him, they were thoſe with M. du Caſſe, and that he had been out of Carthagena but two days, being ſeparated from the Spaniſh vice-admiral, and nine merchant ſhips, the day after he came out; and ſince Mr. Littleton was well aſſured that he intended to touch at the Havannah, it was determined to cruize a little to the leeward of Point Pedro ſhoals, as the moſt proper place for intercepting them, until ſuch time as further intelligence could be gained from captain Hook, of the Jamaica ſloop, who was ſent over to the coaſt with ſome Spaniſh priſoners.

About this time the French formed a very memorable deſign of attacking the Leeward Iſlands, and this, with the natural ſtrength of their own colonies; for which purpoſe they aſſembled, in the month of May and June, about two thouſand men in Martinico; theſe they embarked on board the following veſſels; *viz.* a large ſhip, of thirty-ſix guns, a hag-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant-ſhips, and nine privateer ſloops. They put to ſea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the iſland of Antigua; but they were ſcarce clear of their own iſland, before they met with her majeſty's ſhip the Newcaſtle, commanded by captain Bourn, who attacked them ſo briſkly, that, notwithſtanding it was a calm, and they lay in ſuch a manner, as that it was impoſſible for him to bring his broadſide to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French loſt ſixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquiſh their enterprize, and to take the opportunity of the firſt little

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breeze that ſprung up, to return into one of the ports of their own iſlands.

Unwilling, however, abſolutely to abandon their deſign, they refitted their veſſels, and beat up for volunteers, and, on the 16th, landed near fifteen hundred men on the iſland of Montſerrat; they debarked theſe troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the adjacent country; but being informed that captain Bourn ſailed from thence that very day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in ſuch a hurry, that they left fifteen or twenty of their men behind them, who were made priſoners by the inhabitants of the iſland, and thus ended this project, through the courage and conduct of this worthy commander. The French, however, did not eſcape totally unchaſtiſed for this miſchief, for captain Liſle, in her majeſty's ſhip the Diamond, having notice of their ſituation, and ſuſpecting that ſome of their tranſports would very ſoon put to ſea, he kept cruizing, together with the Panther, and another of her majeſty's ſhips, at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, and in a ſhort time, took three of them, beſides other prizes, ſo that the enemy were effectually cured of their inclinations to make deſcents for this year.

To return now to commodore Littleton, who having ſent away the homeward-bound trade in the month of Auguſt, under the convoy of the Nonſuch, returned again to his cruizing ſtation, in the latter end of the ſame month. He had not been long at ſea, before the captain of the Medway's prize, who he ſent to Bluefield's-bay in Jamaica, brought him advice, that the maſter of a trading veſſel had lately made oath before lord Archibald Hamilton, then governor of Jamaica, that eighteen French men of war, having a large number of tranſports with ſoldiers under their convoy, arrived lately at Martinico, from whence, it was believed, they would very ſpeedily ſail, to make an attempt upon Jamaica. This intelligence induced the commodore to ſail inſtantly back to the iſland, where the governor aſſured him, there was not a word of truth in the ſtory. This accident, however, had a very ill effect, ſince at that very inſtant M. du Caſſe, with his ſquadron, got ſafe into the Havannah, which he could not poſſibly have done, if the commodore had kept his ſtation. It may be believed this diſappointment gave him infinite diſturbance, but it did not, however, hinder his cruizing for ſome time off the Havannah, in hopes of repairing this diſaſter; in which he did not ſucceed.

Upon his return to Jamaica, he found the Thetis, a French man of war, lately taken, arrived from New-England; and ſoon after captain Leſtock, in the Weymouth, from the ſame place, with a ſmall privateer, which he had taken on the coaſt of Porto Rico, in his paſſage. There were at this time many merchant ſhips ready to ſail home, whith whom the commodore ſent the Angleſea, Fowey, and Scarborough; the laſt-mention-

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ed ſhip had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coaſt of Guinea, where, not long before, the French had taken her from us. Thus ended the operations of the naval campaign for this year in the Weſt-Indies.

But, before we leave America, it is neceſſary that we ſhould enter into an account of that famous expedition againſt the French ſettlements in Canada, which makes ſo great a figure in the French hiſtories, and on which we find ſo many reflections made in our own; the ſubject indeed is both intricate and unpleaſant, but, withal, it is extremely neceſſary to ſet it in a clear light; ſince, notwithſtanding its miſcarriage, through a concurrence of unforeſeen, as well as unlucky accidents, it was certainly one of the beſt intended, and very far from being one of the worſt contrived deſigns that was ſet on foot during this war, and, therefore, we hope the reader will not think an impartial relation of the whole affair unworthy of his attention.

Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to command in chief, and general Hill, who was brother to lady Maſham, was likewiſe appointed commander of about five thouſand land-forces, that were to be employed in this deſign. As it was the firſt, and indeed the only great undertaking of the new miniſtry, I cannot believe but that they were in earneſt, and really in hopes of raiſing their reputation by giving an extraordinary blow to the French power in thoſe parts; which I conceive muſt evidently appear, if we conſider the great force employed for this purpoſe. There were upwards of five thouſand men, and eight tranſports and tenders belonging to the train.

On the 29th of April, 1711, Sir Hovenden ſailed with the men of war and tranſports under his command; but coming off the Start the firſt of May, a weſterly wind obliged him to put into Plymouth; from whence he ſailed again in two days time, and continued his voyage very happily towards New-England, where he arrived on the 24th of June, without any other accident, than two of his captains diſobeying his orders, *viz.* captain Soans, of the Edgar, and captain Butler, in the Dunkirk; they had both chaſed without ſignal, and left the fleet, notwithſtanding the ſtrict injunctions of the admiral, grounded on his inſtructions to the contrary. As captain Soans had joined the fleet again the next day, he was only mulcted three months pay; but captain Butler having never been ſeen by the fleet, till their arrival at Nantaſket, near Boſton, was diſcharged and diſmiſſed from his command.

The admiral was far from meeting, in New-England, with that hearty zeal for the ſervice which he expected; for being obliged to take up a great quantity of proviſions for the uſe of the fleet and tranſports, he found the utmoſt difficulty therein, the perſon who was depended upon for that ſervice, not only refuſed

fused it, but endeavoured to serve his private interest, at the expence of the public, by buying up great quantities on his own account, in order to vend them again to whoever should undertake to supply the fleet; so that by the slowness of the colony, and the avarice of particular persons, the whole expedition was ruined.

The admiral and general did all that was in their power, by memorials and solicitations, to remedy this inconvenience; but to little or no purpose, since the inhabitants were extremely sensible of their own interest, and deaf to every thing else. General Nicholson came to Boston, and gave all the assistance that was in his power, and so did some other public-spirited persons, without which it had been impossible for the fleet and forces to have proceeded at all; and, as it was, they found it impracticable to leave Boston before the 30th of July, when, with a few pilots on board, who professed their own ignorance, and went against their will, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed for Quebec.

On the 14th of August he reached the Bird Islands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Anne, and having sent the Chester, Leopard, and Saphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, an island opposite to Newfoundland, expecting their joining him in his passage to Quebec; the former of which ships had taken, and sent into Boston before he sailed thence, a ship of one hundred and twenty tons, and ten guns, that had seventy men on board, whereof thirty were soldiers for that garrison. The Leostoff, Feversham, Enterprize, and Triton's prize, all small frigates which were stationed at New-York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off Cape Breton, being empowered by her majesty's orders so to do, if he should find it necessary; and this he the rather did, because of the use they might be to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation most of the people with whom he had spoken, represented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the Humber and Devonshire, which mounted 80 guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which reason he sent them home, and shifted his flag on board the Edgar, a ship of 70 guns, general Hill removing into the Windsor, which carried ten less; but since he had information that a ship of 60 guns, and another of 30, were expected from France very suddenly, he ordered the Humber and Devonshire to cruize on the opening of the bay of St. Lawrence, until the last of August, and then to pursue their voyage home. He had very fair weather until he got into the bay, when it became changeable; sometimes thick and foggy, and at others calm, with little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of August, when he was off Gaspe-bay, near the entrance of the river, it blew fresh at N. W. and for fear the transports should be separated, and blown to

to leeward, he anchored in the bay, where, ſtaying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French veſſel that was fiſhing, not being able to bring her off.

On the 20th of Auguſt, the wind veering weſterly, the admiral had hopes of gaining a paſſage; but the next day in the afternoon it proved foggy, and continued ſo all night, and the day following, with very little wind till towards evening, when there was an extreme thick fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impoſſible to ſteer any courſe with ſafety, having not either ſight of land, or soundings, or anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both Engliſh and French, who were the beſt in the fleet, made the ſignal for the ſhips to bring to, with their heads ſouthward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that poſture they ſhould not come near the north ſhore, but rather have driven with the ſtream in the mid channel; but, on the contrary, as they lay with their heads ſouthward, and the winds eaſterly, in two hours time he found himſelf on the north ſhore among the rocks and iſlands, at leaſt fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been loſt; the men of war eſcaping the danger with the utmoſt difficulty, but eight tranſport ſhips were caſt away, and almoſt nine hundred officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen periſhed.

The French pilot (who, it was ſaid, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command) informed him, that when it happens to be ſo foggy as to prevent the ſight of the land, it is impoſſible to judge of the currents, or to ſteer by any courſe; for that he himſelf had loſt two ſhips, and been another time caſt away upon the north ſhore, when he judged himſelf near the ſouth; inſomuch, that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France, to proceed on ſo dangerous a navigation, ſince almoſt every year they ſuffered ſhipwreck.

Sir Hovenden Walker plied two days after this with freſh gales at W. and S. in order to ſave what men and ſtores he could, and on the 25th of Auguſt, by the advice, and with the conſent of the general, he called a council of war, conſiſting of all the ſea officers, wherein great debates aroſe, moſt of the captains being rather inclined to cenſure the admiral's conduct, in not calling a council of war before he left Boſton, than to give him any reaſon to grow pleaſed with councils of war, by the advice they gave him in this. Sir Hovenden told them plainly, that if he had acted amiſs in what they mentioned, he was to anſwer for it in another place, and that the nature of the ſervice, and the circumſtances they were in, required them to confine their deliberations to another matter; and, therefore, in order to cut ſhort theſe unneceſſary debates, he would propoſe the ſingle queſtion, proper for their preſent con-

ſideration: which was, whether they thought it practicable to get up to Quebec or not? upon which they came unanimouſly to the following reſolution, *viz.* "That, by reaſon of the ignorance of the pilots, it was wholly impracticable to go up the river of St. Lawrence, with the men of war and tranſports, as far as Quebec; as alſo the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, as by fatal experience was found." Upon this, the Saphire was ſent to Boſton, with an account of the misfortune, and the Montague to find out the Humber and Devonſhire, and to ſtop all ſhips bound up to Quebec; and the Leopard being left with ſome ſloops and brigantines, to take any men from the ſhore that might be ſaved, and to endeavour to weigh ſome anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spaniſh River, in the iſland of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the ſtate of the army and fleet, and to ſettle matters for their further proceedings; but all the ſhips did not join till the 7th of September.

The admiral had now nothing more to do, than to provide the beſt he could for his ſafe return home, and for the due diſtribution of ſhips and forces to their reſpective ſtations and garriſons throughout North America, which he ſeems to have performed with all the care and diligence imaginable; and it appears, that in the whole courſe of his command, he preſerved a perfect underſtanding with the land officers, and gave all the aſſiſtance that was either deſired, or could be expected, to the ſeveral governors of our ſettlements in that part of the world. In his voyage home, he met with no accidents that either retarded his paſſage, or added to the misfortunes he had already met with; but arrived ſafely at St. Helen's, on the ninth of October, 1711, with the fleet and tranſports under his command.

On the 13th, the ſoldiers having all had their quarters aſſigned them, and the tranſports being directed to the ſeveral ports where the regiments were to debark, the admiral, having had leave for that purpoſe, ſet out for London. On the 15th, the admiral's ſhip, in which he had hoiſted his flag, the Edgar, a third rate, of 70 guns, blew up at Spithead, by which ſeveral hundred ſeamen were loſt, with all Sir Hovenden Walker's furniture, ſtores, and public papers, books, draughts, journals, charts, *&c.* the officers original demands, ſupplies, and receipts; which was certainly a very great misfortune to him, and ſuch a one as did by no means deſerve to be heightened by any groundleſs or malicious reflections; which, however, were not ſpared upon that melancholy occaſion. That every evening, Sir Hovenden waited upon ſecretary St. John, who expreſſed an extraordinary concern on the miſcarriage of the expedition. On the 19th, the admiral was introduced to the queen at Windſor, by the duke of Shrewſbury; when her majeſty received

ceived him very kindly, gave him her hand to kiſs, and told him ſhe was glad to ſee him.

On the 7th of December, the queen opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which ſhe ſpoke much of peace; of the improvement of commerce; of eaſing the people; of maintaining the poor; and, in ſhort, of every thing that was proper to conciliate the minds of moderate people, who were not ſo ſolicitous about parties, as deſirous of ſeeing their country happy. The houſe of lords entered, however, upon the meaſures that were expected; but the commons complied more readily with the inclinations of the court: and as ſoon as the eſtimates were laid before them, came to a reſolution, that 40,000 ſeamen, including 8000 marines, ſhould be employed for the ſea ſervice, and that 18,000 pounds ſhould be granted for the ordinary of the navy. They likewiſe granted all that was required for the ſervice of the war, and made proviſions for raiſing the mighty ſum given for the ſervices of that year, and which amounted to no leſs than 6,656,967 pounds, very early, and with a remarkable cheerfulneſs; ſo that it looked as if the miniſtry were determined to make a peace ſword in hand, and to take no ſtep that might poſſibly encourage the enemy to think we would lay down our arms, till all the ends of the grand alliance were effectually anſwered.

Sir John Leake was now at the head of the admiralty, and in that quality managed the buſineſs of the board in the houſe of commons; and as the ſeaſon for action advanced, he received a commiſſion to command again in the channel, as he had done the year before; and the command of the ſquadron in the Soundings was left to Sir Thomas Hardy, whoſe proceedings we ſhall next reſume, as a proper introduction to the operations of the year 1712. The rather, becauſe the grand fleet did little more this year than convoy a body of troops, commanded by lieutenant-general Hill, who were ſent to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; which ſervice ended, they returned into the Downs; but, as to Sir Thomas Hardy, he continued to act effectually, and to take all the care that was in his power to diſtreſs the enemy in their naval concerns, till his diligence, in this reſpect, was ſuperſeded by the concluſion of the peace.

Early in the ſpring, he had intelligence of the return of M. du Caſſe from America, for whom he cruized with the utmoſt diligence during the whole month of February; but with little or no ſucceſs, except picking up now and then ſome ſmall French veſſels. He watched with the ſame aſſiduity for M. du Guai Trouin; but was again diſappointed. In the beginning of Auguſt, Sir Thomas chaſed ſix ſhips, and a tartan. One of them immediately hoiſted a broad white pennant at the main-top-maſt-head, ſhortened ſail, and made a ſignal for the line of battle; and then tacked, and ſtood towards him, upon a ſuppoſition, as it was afterwards owned, that our ſhips were pri-

vateers from Flushing, with two prizes; but when they came nearer, and found their mistake, they kept their wind, and did all they could to make their escape, our ships pursuing them with the utmost diligence.

About five in the afternoon, the admiral came up with the biggest of them, which was the Griffin, a king's ship, but then in the service of the merchants. It was commanded by the chevalier d'Aire, knight of the order of St. Lewis, who shortened sail immediately, brought to, and sent some of his officers on board our flag, to inform him, that he was bound with bale goods for La Vera Cruz, and that before he sailed from Brest, he had received letters from Paris, importing, that in a few days he might have had the queen of England's pass; but that his friends advised him not to lose a wind, in order to wait for it; but Sir Thomas told the lieutenant, that if they had no pass, he should look on the ship as a good prize; and accordingly sent his own lieutenant to take possession of her, himself, with the other ships of his squadron, continuing the chase. About eleven at night, the Windsor engaged the St. Esprit, a ship of thirty-six guns, and one hundred seventy-five men, laden with bale goods for Cadiz, and about an hour after she blew up, just as the captain had given orders to strike; but the captain, with about thirty-five men, were saved by our boats. The Berwick took the Adventure, of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; but the master producing the queen's pass, she had leave to continue her voyage. The same ship took also the Incomparable, of sixteen guns, bound for Martinico; and the Ruby man of war, likewise took a small French ship of twelve guns, which was also called the Ruby, bound for St. Domingo; so that of this French squadron, only one ship of eight guns, and the tartan, escaped. The Griffin was certainly a good prize; but our ministers were so very desirous of obliging their new friends, that, after a long suit, in order to obtain the condemnation of the said vessel, Sir Thomas Hardy, and the rest of the captors, were obliged to accept of a sum of money, far short of the value of the ship and cargo, which has been justly considered as a hardship upon these brave men.

Vice-admiral Baker was, in the beginning of this year, at Lisbon, with a considerable squadron of our ships, from whence he sailed on the eighth of February, in order to cruize off Cape St. Mary's. He had not been long in that station, before he ran a large Spanish ship of sixty guns on shore, upon the Portuguese coast, the wind being at that time so high that they durst not venture near her. The inhabitants of the country, however, went on board and plundered her; the cargo, consisting of sugar, cocoa, snuff, hides, and twenty thousand pieces of eight. The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the king of Portugal, setting forth his right to her, and demanding,

manding, that the effects taken in this clandeſtine manner, ſhould be delivered up; but they were ſo effectually ſecreted, that it was not in the power of the court to give him any redreſs.

On his return to Liſbon, he found orders from England to cruize with five ſhips of war, for the ſecurity of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, on which ſervice the court of Portugal deſired he might proceed by the 9th of April, and that two frigates might be ſent with their outward-bound Eaſt-India fleet as far as the Madeiras. The vice-admiral was very willing to comply with this; but the difficulty was, how to do it without departing from his orders, ſince he had directions from the lords of the admiralty to ſend two ſhips to cruize in the Streights mouth; however, he had hopes, that the Dutch commander in chief would have taken care of this Eaſt-India fleet.

On the firſt of April, arrived a convoy with proviſions and ſtores from England, which determined him, ſince the Dutch had diſappointed the Portugueſe in their expectations, to ſend a fourth rate frigate with the Eaſt-India ſhips as far as the weſtern iſlands, and to cruize himſelf for the Brazil fleet, in ſuch a ſtation, as that he might be eaſily joined by the before-mentioned ſhip; and at the ſame time he diſpatched captain Maurice, with a ſmall ſquadron, to cruize in the Streights mouth. He continued cruizing about the weſtern iſlands for ſeveral months, under great apprehenſions, that the French ſquadron under the command of M. Caſſard, for bound were the Brazils; till, at laſt, the proviſions on board his ſquadron being reduced to five weeks at ſhort allowance, it was neceſſary for him to think of returning to Portugal; but being ſtill apprehenſive, that if the Brazil fleet ſailed before the French ſquadron, the latter would undoubtedly follow them to the Terceras, where they knew that fleet muſt refreſh; he reſolved to continue in his ſtation as long as it was poſſible, in order to which, he engaged the Portugueſe to furniſh him with three weeks freſh proviſions. On the 11th of September, being off the iſlands of Tercera, he met with a Portugueſe frigate, which informed him, that he had fleet the left but three days before, and that he believed they would that day be in the road of Angra, the chief town in the iſland of Tercera.

Soon after he had this advice, a violent ſtorm aroſe, which very much ſhattered the ſhips, and drove him ſo far, that he could not fetch the iſland again; and judging that it muſt alſo have the ſame effect on the Brazil fleet, he made an eaſy ſail towards Liſbon, in order to pick up ſuch as ſhould be ſtraggling from their convoys; but had no ſight or intelligence of them, till he came off the rock, when he found they arrived the very day before he made the land; and as the ceſſation of arms was

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ſoon after concluded, the ſquadron of ſhips under his command was called home.

Sir John Jennings at this time commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, and in the month of May joined the Dutch vice-admiral with the tranſports, having on board ſix thouſand five hundred men, which were put on ſhore in two days time; and his imperial majeſty and count Staremberg, preſſing the neceſſity of carrying the cavalry over from Italy, it was reſolved the admiral ſhould return to Vado, from whence he ſailed with the tranſports on the twenty-ſeventh of July, arrived at Barcelona on the ſeventh of Auguſt, where, ſoon after, he received the queen's orders for a ſuſpenſion of arms, both by ſea and land, and a letter from the lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, directing him to ſuffer a great French corn-fleet to paſs unmoleſted, every ſhip of which he muſt otherwiſe have taken; from this time, though the admiral was no longer concerned in military operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, ſince he tranſported the empreſs with her retinue, from Barcelona to Genoa, eſcorted thirty thouſand men at two embarkations, from Catalonia to Naples, and afterwards carried over the duke and dutcheſs of Savoy, from Villa Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily; which, though done in the ſucceeding year, I mention in this place, that I may not be obliged to return into the Mediterranean, merely to ſpeak of matters of parade.

We are next, according to the method hitherto purſued, to return to the Weſt-Indies, where we left commodore Littleton, with a ſmall ſquadron, protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy as much as his ſtrength would permit; but the government having certain intelligence, that the French were ſending a conſiderable force into that part of the world, in order to diſturb our trade, and perhaps to attack ſome of the Leeward Iſlands; the court thought it neceſſary to ſend an officer of rank, with a conſiderable ſquadron thither, for which ſervice they made choice of Sir Hovenden Walker; which ſhews, that the adminiſtration did not conceive he had brought any ſtain upon them by his conduct in the Canada expedition.

He received his commiſſion in the beginning of April, and on the 28th he ſailed from St. Helen's, with about an hundred merchant-ſhips under his convoy. He parted on the 4th of May, fourteen leagues from Cape Finiſterre, with the Litchfield and South-Sea-Caſtle, and the trade bound to Portugal; and arriving at the Madeiras with the Monmouth, a third rate, the Auguſt and Centurion, fourth rates, the Scarborough and Roebuck, fifth rates, and a frigate of twenty guns, it was determined to leave the Barbadoes trade there, under their proper convoy, conſiſting of the Woolwich, Swallow, and Lime; but that fleet, taking in their wine ſooner than uſual, ſailed with the

the ſquadron on the 28th of the ſame month for the Weſt-Indies.

On the 24th of June, admiral Walker arrived at Antigua; where the governor was more apprehenſive of an inſurrection amongſt the inhabitants, than of an invaſion from the French; and indeed things were at that time in a very unſettled condition in the Leeward Iſlands, where the governor, colonel Douglas, was upon almoſt as bad terms with the people as his predeceſſor, colonel Parke, whom they murdered for his tyrannical behaviour. Admiral Walker promiſed the governor, that if any thing like an inſurrection happened, he would ſend him any aſſiſtance he ſhould require from Jamaica; but adviſed him to treat the people with lenity, and to conſider, that though he was ſent over with inſtructions to proſecute ſuch as were concerned in deſtroying the late governor, yet this was to be done in a legal manner, and with due regard to the liberty of the ſubject, and the monſtrous provocations they had received, before they had proceeded to extremities, not juſtifiable indeed, but, at the ſame time, not altogether inexcuſeable. But this governor, who was ſo careful of his own ſafety, gave him not the leaſt intelligence that a French ſquadron was expected in thoſe parts; though, if he had taken any pains to be properly informed, he might have known that the French at Martinico expected, at this very time, the arrival of M. Caſſard, with nine men of war. Sir Hovenden Walker ſailing from thence, arrived ſafely at Jamaica on the 6th of July, where having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſending home the trade, and ſtationing properly the ſhips under his command, he received, when he leaſt expected it, the news by an advice-boat, of an attempt made by the French upon Antigua and Montſerrat.

This expedition of monſieur Caſſard deſerves to be particularly taken notice of. He ſailed from Toulon with a ſtout ſquadron of the king's ſhips, and is ſaid to have had general inſtructions to annoy their enemies. As there was, even at this time, a negociation carrying on between the Britiſh and French miniſters, it is ſurpriſing that the latter did not give him orders to forbear attacking our colonies, till ſuch time as he received intelligence from France, the neglect of which occaſioned great murmuring in England, and might have retarded the peace, if the news had arrived before it was ſo far advanced. M. Caſſard ſailed firſt to St. Jago, which is the principal of the iſlands of Cape de Verde, of which he made himſelf maſter without much difficulty, and having blown up the fort, and carried off whatever he could meet with, continued his voyage for the Weſt-Indies, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of July; and having drawn together in Martinico upwards of three thouſand men, he had thoughts of attacking Antigua; but finding it very difficult to land there, he fell upon Montſerrat,

ſerrat, where he met with a very feeble reſiſtance; the inhabitants retiring into the heart of the iſland, becauſe in the mountains they had a fortreſs almoſt inacceſſible. The French continued upon the place ſome days, doing all the miſchief poſſible; but having information that ſeveral of our ſhips were coming to the relief of the iſland, they abandoned it, though not till they had in a manner totally deſtroyed all the ſettlements in it.

Some miſchief they did to our trade on the coaſt of Antigua, but finding themſelves very much diſliked by ſuch as wiſhed well to peace, they reſolved to give over cruizing upon the Engliſh; upon which they prepared every thing neceſſary for a longer voyage, and then ſtood over to the continent, where they attacked the Dutch ſettlement of Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to pay them eight hundred thouſand pieces of eight by way of contribution; this was in the month of October; and, in the mean time, captain Archibald Hamilton, in her majeſty's ſhip the Woolwich, having received an account at Antigua of the ceſſation of arms; and that the French had, notwithſtanding, carried ſeveral prizes into Martinico; he ſent a ſhip thither to demand them of Mr. Phelypeaux, general of the French iſlands, who ordered all of them to be reſtored, and ſuch goods as had been taken out of them to be put on board again.

Sir Hovenden Walker, in the mean time, remained at Jamaica, where he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of the trade, for cruizing on the French coaſt, and for protecting the private commerce of the inhabitants with the Spaniards at Porto Bello, St. Domingo, and other places. While he was thus employed, there happened, in the night of the 29th of Auguſt, a hurricane much more violent than had been felt for many years in the iſland. It began about nine at night, and continued raging with the utmoſt vehemence till twelve. The lightning, in the mean time, covered the earth in continued gleams of ſulphureous fire; the wind blowing all the time, not only with prodigious force, but with a horrid noiſe. In the morning a moſt dreadful proſpect appeared, many houſes blown flat upon the ground, moſt of the reſt ſtripped and laid open; trees torn up by the roots; the weſt-end of the church ruined by the fall of its walls; the governor's houſe diſmantled, and ſcarce a dwelling in the iſland remained untouched. Several people were drowned on the ſhore, in the tempeſt, the ſea forcing the boats and canoes a great way upon land upon Spaniſh-town, and waſhing away the houſes; ſo that, what with the wind and the water, there were not above two ſtanding, and few or none of the ſhips of war, but were either driven aſhore, loſt their maſts, or were otherwiſe diſabled. The hoſpital was blown down to the ground, and ſeveral of the ſick people killed; and, on the firſt of September, a third are, the Monmouth, which

which had been on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, came in with jury-maſts, having loſt her proper maſts in the violence of the weather, and another, if her main-maſt had not given way, muſt have inſtantly overſet. It required ſome time to repair the damages which her majeſty's ſhips ſuſtained by this unfortunate accident; and, while this was doing, a very great deſertion happened among our ſailors, owing chiefly to the arts and intrigues of the captains of privateers, who made no ſcruple of preferring their private advantage to the ſecurity of commerce, and the welfare of their country. By that time the diſputes which theſe tranſactions occaſioned were tolerably compoſed, Sir Hovenden Walker received an order from the lords of the admiralty, to return home, after having firſt proclaimed the ceſſation of arms, which he accordingly did, and, after a proſperous voyage, arrived in Dover road on the 20th of May, 1713.

We are now arrived at the period of the naval operations in this war, and our next buſineſs will be to give an account of what advantages were gained, and of what might have been gained by the ſucceeding peace. It will however be proper, previous to this, to obſerve, that the adminiſtration had diſputes with their old friends, and their new ones, in relation to the affairs of commerce, before the peace was concluded. In the firſt place, it was thought a little hard that the Dutch, throughout the whole courſe of this long and expenſive war, ſhould not have furniſhed their quota of ſhips and men in any one year; and this notwithſtanding repeated expoſtulations with the States general upon this ſubject. With this grievance the nation was acquainted, and expreſſed no ſmall reſentment thereat, notwithſtanding the pains taken by the friends of the Dutch to perſuade them of the contrary.

To ſay the truth, the matter was carried very high on both ſides; for the houſe of commons, having repreſented theſe omiſſions in our allies, as indubitable matters of fact, in order to juſtify the meaſures that were taking towards a peace, it was but natural for the ſtates, who were averſe to that peace, to reply as they did to this accuſation; which, however, inſtead of ſatisfying, provoked the houſe of commons to ſuch a degree, that, upon the printing of the anſwer they gave here, they declared that this was a breach of privilege, and the paper itſelf a ſcandalous, infamous, and ſeditious libel; for which the printer was put in priſon, which prevented the publiſhing the remainder of the States repreſentation; this was looked upon as a very ſtrange procedure, and which ſeemed calculated rather to give credit to that repreſentation, than to refute it; which, however, might have been eaſily done; for that we really bore a greater proportion of expence in this reſpect during the war, than we ought to have done, is a thing very certain; but it is the fault of all adminiſtrations, to be rather inclined to ſuch ſhort anſwers as may be given by acts of power, than to thoſe

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that might be furnished by the exercise of reason; and for this they are deservedly punished, by being often thought tyrannical in those acts, the justice of which might be easily defended. In this case, however, the nation concurred in opinion with their representatives, and things went on, upon a supposition that this charge against the Dutch was fully made out; which encouraged the friends of the ministry to attack the rest of our allies, particularly the emperor, on the same subject: but, as these altercations have no immediate concern with the proper business of this work, I shall not insist upon them, but leave them with this remark, that in all future alliances, our ministers ought to be careful, not only in making the best terms they can for the nation, but also in seeing those terms punctually fulfilled, since it is impossible, especially under our present circumstances, for the nation to bear with patience such acts of indulgence towards foreigners, at their expence, when it is visible, that, with all their industry, the inhabitants of Great-Britain are scarce able to support the necessary charges of their government, joined to that vast expence which their generous concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the liberty of their neighbours hath brought upon them.

The difference with the French court was occasioned chiefly from M. Cassard's expedition in the West-Indies, as we have before hinted. The French ministry, who knew the importance of being well at that time with the people of Great-Britain, absolutely disclaimed that commander; insisting, that he had only general instructions, that he had misapplied them, and that proper satisfaction should be given. On the other hand, the British ministry were too far advanced in their pacific measures, to think of retreating, and so were content with these excuses, without insisting on the punishment of this officer; which, if what the French court said was true, he certainly deserved.

The first great step to the peace was getting Dunkirk put into our hands, which was represented as a thing impossible; and with the promise of which the French only amused us. On the 11th of July, however, arrived an express, with the news, that a few days before, the town, citadel, Rysbank, and all the fortifications of that important place, were delivered up to brigadier Hill, whom her majesty appointed governor and commander in chief. Her majesty, thenceforward, treated openly with the French court, though always under a promise that due care should be taken of the allies; and for this the ministry pleaded many things in their own justification. For, first, they alledged, that since the king of Spain was become emperor, it was no longer requisite to insist upon his having the whole dominions of the Spanish monarch: they insisted next, that if it had been ever so requisite, the thing was impracticable, the nation having found, by experience, that it was impossible to carry

carry on the war in Spain to any purpoſe. This had indeed been long a point out of diſpute, one of the warmeſt partiſans of the houſe of Auſtria having freely declared as much a good while before, in a debate in the houſe of lords; but added at the ſame time, though it was impracticable, a vote that no peace could be made, if Spain and the Indies were left to the houſe of Bourbon, was expedient at that juncture; and yet upon this expedient, and at the ſame impracticable vote, all the clamours were afterwards raiſed. The friends to the treaty ſaid farther, that the nation was unable to carry on the war longer, eſpecially in the manner in which it had been carried on; and that therefore, how much ſoever we might hate our enemies, it was neceſſary to make a peace, if we had any regard for ourſelves. They added, beſides, that they intended to make a peace on the plan of the general alliance, every article of which, they ſaid, had been broke through, by ſubſequent agreements during the courſe of the war; ſo that they would be thought to have the cauſe of liberty, and the balance of power more at heart, than even thoſe who were for carrying on the war.

On the 19th of Auguſt, 1712, an inſtrument for a ſuſpenſion of arms was ſigned at Paris, by the lord viſcount Bolingbroke, and the marquis de Torcy, for four months; and, in conſequence of this, the neceſſary meaſures were taken for completing the peace: king Philip of Spain ſummoned a cortez, or general aſſembly of the ſtates of his kingdom, before whom, and with whoſe conſent, he made a renunciation of the crown of France, the queen having before appointed lord Lexington to be preſent at that ceremony. The negotiations at Utrecht, however, went on very ſlowly, notwithſtanding the pains taken by the earl of Strafford, and doctor Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, her majeſty's plenipotentiaries; and the great activity of the French miniſters, who were the marſhal d'Uxelles, a very able ſtateſman, of whom prince Eugene ſaid, with great ſpirit, upon this occaſion, that he was the only French marſhal he feared; the famous Abbé de Polignac, afterwards cardinal by the ſame title, the ableſt head in France; and M. Meſnager, now raiſed to the title of count de St. John, who was entruſted with the firſt negotiations: and from this ſlowneſs it was found neceſſary to renew the ſuſpenſion of arms four months longer.

At laſt, when the great influence of the queen was diſcerned, by her procuring the kingdom of Sicily for her couſin the duke of Savoy, which was her majeſty's own act, the allies, moſt of them, thought fit to comply, and accept the terms ſhe had ſtipulated for them, though with a viſible reluctance. The emperor only remained firm to his reſolution, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for carrying on the war alone; conſenting, however, to evacuate Catalonia, and to accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic majeſty. On the

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19th of January, 1712-13, the new treaty of barrier and succeſſion was ſigned by the miniſters of Great-Britain, and of the States-General, whereby the latter obtained a mighty acceſſion of territories, and a very great increaſe of power. On the 1ſt of March, the inſtruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and on the 4th the dukes of Berry, and Orleans, renounced their right to the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris. Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, the great work advanced more briſkly, and by the end of the month, it was brought to its concluſion.

On the firſt of April, 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was ſigned, as ſome would have us believe, in a clandeſtine manner. The truth was, that, to prevent diſputes and proteſts, which might have furniſhed matter for dangerous purſuits in England, it was reſolved to ſign the treaty privately, at the houſe of the biſhop of Briſtol, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference; which being a thing frequent during that congreſs, rendered the matter leſs ſuſpected. The earl of Strafford, and the biſhop of Briſtol, ſigned firſt; then the miniſters of the duke of Savoy, declared king of Sicily by that treaty; thoſe of the king of Portugal after them; then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe of the States-General laſt of all. The whole was over about two in the morning, occaſioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were ſigned; and when the buſineſs was ended, the reſpective miniſters withdrew to their own places of reſidence, without any noiſe, or without directing any public rejoicings, as might have been expected upon ſuch an occaſion.

I have been the more particular in theſe circumſtances, becauſe ſome hiſtorians have repreſented them as matters of great importance. To ſpeak impartially, I think there is very little, if any thing, in them; for in moſt ſeparate peaces, the ſame thing has been done, particularly in that of Nimeguen; and I could name other, perhaps later, examples of a like conduct; ſo that, upon the whole, this ought to be conſidered rather as a misfortune than a fault. I ſhall not pretend to inſiſt, that all was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, that might have been obtained from France, after ſo long and ſo ſucceſsful a war; but undoubtedly there was much obtained, and more might have been obtained, if it had not been for the diſturbance given to the miniſters at home, ſince, whatever people may ſuggeſt, all parties are alike friends to France, who thwart public meaſures, from a pure ſpirit of oppoſition.

Before I part with this treaty, however, I muſt obſerve, that it was very extraordinary in one reſpect; it procured us much greater advantages, I mean the people of Great-Britain, as a trading nation, than any treaty with which I am acquainted either before or ſince; and upon theſe, I muſt particularly inſiſt, becauſe they are immediately within my province. We have

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ſeen that Dunkirk was long before put into our hands; let us now ſee what was to become of it.

The demolition of this place was of prodigious importance; it lies but thirteen leagues from the ſouth Foreland, and any eaſterly wind, which carries our ſhips down the channel, brings out thoſe at Dunkirk, to meet and intercept them; which, during the two wars preceding this treaty, made it often ſuſpected, that the French had intelligence, either from our admiralty, or ſecretary's office; though without foundation, ſince the very ſituation of the place furniſhed the enemy with advantages enough; for the eaſt end of the channel, which is ſo much expoſed to Dunkirk, is but ſeven leagues broad, and gives them an opportunity of ſeeing our ſhips from ſide to ſide. It clearly appears from hence, that ſix parts in nine of our trade from the port of London, were freed from moſt of the hazards felt in thoſe wars; and though part of this muſt be expoſed when it paſſes through the chops, or weſtern entrance of the channel, yet it muſt be conſidered, that it was liable alſo to this before, and beſides, this is only the ſouth trade; ſuch ſhips as go to Holland, Hamburgh, or the north, are abſolutely free. Beſides all this, the demolition of DUNKIRK was an inexpreſſible blow to the French naval power, and their trade, eſpecially to the Weſt-Indies; ſo that a clearer proof could not be of our ſuperior force, and of their diſtreſs, than the ſubmiſſion of France to this article. It is true, they endeavoured to mitigate the execution of it; but in vain. The queen inſiſted upon Dunkirk's being demoliſhed effectually, according to the letter, and it was demoliſhed as effectually as could be deſired; whether ever it ſhall be reſtored, or if in time of war reſtored, ſuffered to continue, ſo as to become as in times paſt, a terror to the Engliſh nation, depends upon ourſelves and future adminiſtrations.

By the 10th and 11th articles, the countries compriſed in the charter of the Hudſon's-bay company, of which the French had got poſſeſſion, partly in the time of peace, and partly in that of war, were to be reſtored; and not only reſtored, but his moſt chriſtian majeſty farther ſtipulated, that whatever had been taken in time of peace, or whatever injuries had been done to the Hudſon's-bay company, before the commencement of the war, ſhould be fairly examined, and full ſatisfaction made. The like is ſtipulated with reſpect to the depredations by M. Caſſard, in the Leeward Iſlands, after the negotiations for peace were begun.

By the 12th article, the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, and the whole country of Nova-Scotia, are yielded to the queen of Great-Britain, as by the 13th article, is the whole country of Newfoundland; but the iſland of Cape Breton, is by the ſame article given up to France, which has been repreſented as a monſtrous piece of complaiſance, though there is great reaſon to believe,

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it was much lefs owing to the inclination of the Englifh miniffers, than to their inability of ftanding out any longer againft the oppofition carried on at home; and for this reafon it is made one of the charges againft the earl of Oxford, in the 13th article of his impeachment, wherein it was affirmed, that Cape Breton was part of Nova-Scotia; and the earl in his anfwer to that article afferts, that he had gone no farther than king William had gone in the treaty of Ryfwick. But, however we might fail as to the point of Cape Breton, yet undoubtedly we acquired more by the treaty of Utrecht, than by any of our former treaties; I mean at the expence of the French, who at the time this treaty was figned, were actually in poffeffion of Placentia in Newfoundland.

But, befides thefe advantages, there were others ftill more confiderable (the demolition of Dunkirk only excepted) procured from the crown of Spain; for by the 10th article, the full and entire property of the town and caftle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great-Britain, in propriety, to be held and enjoyed abfolutely, with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatfoever. By the 11th article, his catholic majefty doth in like manner, for himfelf, his heirs, and fucceffors, yield to the crown of England, the whole ifland of Minorca, tranfferring to the faid crown for ever, all right, and the moft abfolute dominion over the faid ifland, and in particular over the town, caftle, and fortifications of Port-Mahon. All that Spain referves to itfelf, being no more than the right of preemption, in cafe the crown of Great-Britain fhall at any time think fit to alienate or difpofe of the faid fortrefs of Gibraltar, or ifland of Minorca. By the 13th and 15th articles, the Affiento treaty is confirmed as fully, effectually, and authentically, as if the fame had been repeated word for word in the faid treaty, which was figned at Utrecht, on the 2d of July, O. S. by the bifhop of Briftol, then lord privy-feal, and the earl of Strafford, her majefty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke de Offuna, and the marquis de Monteleon, plenipotentiaries from his catholic majefty.

The ASSIENTO has fince made fo great a figure in our hiftories, and there will be fuch frequent occafion to mention it in the fubfequent part of this work, (as that contract was the bafis of the South-Sea trade), that I find myfelf under a neceffity, as well for the fake of order and perfpicuity, as for the performance of what I promifed, to enter into a regular account of the fteps taken for erecting and eftablifhing this great company, which was one of the moft fignal performances of the Oxford miniftry.

The earl of Godolphin, and his friends, had been peculiarly happy in the conduct of public affairs, and the maintainance of public credit, fo long as the oppofition given them did not rife fo high,

high, as to hinder their carrying public points in the houſe of commons; but after they once found themſelves in that ſituation, their difficulties grew upon them daily, ſo that they were forced to contract debts in the public ſervice, excluſive of ſuch as were contracted, and provided for annually by parliament. At firſt theſe debts were ſeldom mentioned, ſome of them being pretty old, and others incurred by deficiencies, and the application of funds to other ſervices than thoſe for which they were originally deſigned. The drawing theſe debts out of obſcurity, and declaring them unprovided for, was one of the firſt acts of the new miniſtry.

Their next care was, to form the proprietors of theſe debts into a new company, which, they conceived, would be as much dependent upon, and as uſeful to them, as the bank, or Eaſt-India company had been to the former miniſtry. But the buſineſs was, to find out a proper pretence of erecting ſuch a new company; and this was very happily found, and very dextrouſly applied. It was always matter of wonder to the greateſt part of this nation, why the war was not puſhed in the Weſt-Indies; eſpecially, ſince there was a clauſe in the grand alliance, whereby we were entitled to hold whatever we could conquer in thoſe parts. Some political reaſons, however, reſtrained the vigour of our arms in that particular; and this, though the old miniſtry were very little to blame in it, made one great topic of public clamour.

When a thing is once made the theme of common diſcourſe, many lights come to be ſtruck out in relation to it, that were not thought of before; and this was the caſe here: ſome merchants of Briſtol taking this matter into conſideration, began to apprehend, that, however the miniſtry might be bound, private perſons were not obliged to let ſlip advantages of this nature; and therefore they reſolved to fit out two ſhips for the South Seas, upon their private account; which they did; and theſe ſhips returning in the year 1711, after having made many rich prizes, the wealth of the South Seas came to make a great noiſe.

The company was incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South Seas; and, by their charter, there was inveſted in them and their ſucceſſors, the ſole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the eaſt ſide of America, from the river Oroonoko, to the ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego, and on the weſt ſide thereof, from the ſaid ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego, through the South Sea, to the northermoſt part of America, and into, and from all the countries, iſlands, and places within the ſaid limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which ſhall hereafter be found out, or diſcovered within the limits aforeſaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the ſaid weſt ſide thereof, except the kingdom of Brazil, and ſuch other places on the eaſt ſide of America,

America, as are now in the poſſeſſion of the king of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the poſſeſſion of the States-General. And to give the thing ſtill the greater ſanction, the ſaid company, and none elſe, were to trade within the ſaid limits; and if any other perſon ſhould preſume to trade to the South Seas, they were to forfeit the ſhip and goods, and double the value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the proſecutor; and the remaining half to the uſe of the company. And it is alſo provided, that the company ſhall be the ſole owners of the iſlands, forts, *&c.* which they ſhall diſcover, and erect within the ſaid limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual-rent of one ounce of gold, and of all ſhips taken as prize, by the ſhips of the ſaid company, and the company may ſeize, by force of arms, all other Britiſh ſhips trading in thoſe ſeas.

The ſtock of this corporation was to ariſe from the ſubſcription of theſe public debts, and the ſum of 8,279l. was granted for the charges of management; and as trade could not be carried on without money, ſo the governor and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten per cent. for the proſecution of this trade.

The lord high-treaſurer Oxford, than whom no miniſter had cleaner hands, or a ſounder head, ſaw, with great ſatisfaction, the South Sea company's ſtock ſubſcribed, by the very people who, upon its firſt propoſal, had treated his project as a chimera. He knew, better than they, how far it was chimerical; he knew, that no advantageous trade could be carried on according to the ſcheme of the charter; but when the charter was granted, it was too early for him to diſcover what he really meant by trade to the South Seas. In the year 1713, the ASSIENTO treaty, or agreement between king Philip of Spain, and the Guinea company in France, for the furniſhing negroes to the Weſt-Indies, determined; and the lord-treaſurer had an agent of his in Spain, who took notice of it to the duke d'Oſſuna, hinting alſo, that the granting this to the Engliſh might prove a means towards bringing about a peace; inaſmuch, as this had been one of the principal points propoſed by the private treaty between Great-Britain and king Charles. The propoſal was early embraced, becauſe it not only had a tendency to anſwer the great end of ſettling king Philip's title; but it alſo gave a handle to the Spaniards to rid themſelves of the French, whoſe dealings in the South Seas had long given them, as it ought to have given us, great umbrage.

This ASSIENTO contract ſtipulates, in the firſt place, that from the firſt of May 1713, to the firſt of May 1734, the company ſhall tranſport into the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies 144,000 negroes of both ſexes, and of all ages, at the rate of 4800 negroes every year; that for each negroe the Aſſientiſts ſhall pay 33 one-third pieces of

of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the said Assientists shall advance his catholic majesty 200,000 pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a-year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of 4000 negroes, his catholic majesty giving them the duty on the other 800, to balance their risk, and extraordinary expences; that his catholic majesty, and the queen of Great-Britain shall each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and shall be allowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the Assientists, upon oath; that during the space, neither the French Guinea company, or the subjects of any other crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and in case they should import them, they shall be considered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them, with many other clauses for the security of this trade, which are not necessary for me here to mention. I shall content myself with observing, that the rights and privileges granted by this contract were all by direction from the queen, properly assigned to the South Sea company; and though it might be, as I believe it was, true, that a little jobbing was practised in making the assignments, yet the whole was most advantageous to this nation; and if we have not reaped such benefits from this contract as we might have done, we ought not to blame the treaty of Utrecht, but ourselves; for there is no serving any nation after it is come to a certain height of corruption.

We have now finished, not only the naval history, but the naval memoirs of this reign, by annexing the best accounts we could collect of those great men who served their country under the happy auspices of this illustrious princess; the few things that remain to be said, are of a miscellaneous nature, and are brought in here, because they relate to naval affairs, and so are connected with our history more than with any other, and are at the same time of too great importance to be suffered to sleep in oblivion, while it is in our power to preserve them.

Of all the reigns since the conquest, it may be truly said, that the British constitution never appeared with greater lustre, than under that of the queen; by which I mean, that the prerogative, or influence of the crown, was never less exerted than by queen Anne and her ministers.

Thus immediately after the peace of Utrecht, in order to shew the care and concern that was had for the trade of the nation, the commissioners appointed for taking and stating the public accounts, directed Dr. Charles D'Avenant, director-general of the exports and imports, to lay before them distinct annual accounts of the importations and exportations of all commodities into and out of this kingdom, which he accordingly did, with his own remarks and reflections; a thing of very great importance to the state, and a precedent worthy of imitation; because, without

ſuch authentic grounds, it is ſimply impoſſible that any probable conjecture ſhould be made as to the growth or decay of our commerce in general, or how far it is, or is not, affected by the encouragement or diſcouragement of particular branches; which, however, are points of great importance to every government, and without a competent knowledge of which, no miniſtry can ever make a figure, or any parliament be able to decide with certainty, as to thoſe points which are of greateſt conſequence to their conſtituents.

At the cloſe of that work Dr. D'Avenant enters largely into the advantages that might be made by a trade carried on directly into the South Seas, and that in terms which ſhew plainly, the commerce of this company was not, even in a commercial ſenſe, ſo viſionary a thing as the enemies of the lord high-treaſurer Oxford, its patron, pretended; for he there ſays plainly, that this company might extend the trade of the nation by vending its commodities and manufactures in unknown countries, and gives his reaſons why he ſo thought. I muſt confeſs, that I never underſtood the ſcope of this great man's reaſoning upon that ſubject till I read a book lately publiſhed by Mr. Dobbs, wherein he has ſhewn, with great public-ſpirit, how this may be done, either by diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage into thoſe ſeas, and fixing colonies in the countries beyond California, or by proſecuting thoſe diſcoveries that have been already made by the Dutch, and ſome of our own navigators, in reſpect to the Terra Auſtralis, through the Straits of Magellan, either of which would open to us a new commerce, infinitely more advantageous than that of Spain to her Indies, becauſe theſe new-diſcovered countries are ſo ſituated, as that their inhabitants muſt ſtand in want of our goods, at the ſame time that they ſtand poſſeſſed of gold, ſilver, ſpices, and other rich commodities, which muſt come to us in return; and therefore Dr. D'Avenant had great reaſon to ſuggeſt, that the new South Sea might prove as beneficial to Britain as her old Eaſt-India company. This very diſcourſe of his, being addreſſed to the commiſſioners for taking and ſtating accounts, is the cleareſt demonſtration, that, when the South Sea company was erected, there was a proſpect of theſe advantages, and that, with a view to theſe, the powers of the company were rendered ſo extenſive, and their capital made ſo large.

If this has not hitherto been done, ſtill however it may be done, ſince the ſame powers remain veſted in the company by their charter; and it is the more reaſonable, that ſomething of this ſort ſhould be attemped, becauſe the Aſſiento contract is now given up. Beſides, if we are able to ſettle any new colonies in that part of the globe, we ſhould be able to trade with the Spaniards without an Aſſiento, and ſecure to ourſelves ſuch a proportion of commerce as might perhaps equal all that we now poſſeſs. But, if it ſhould be found, that, notwithſtanding theſe ex-

extenſive powers, the company is either not inclined, or diſabled to carry on ſuch a new trade, then I humbly think it will be high time for the legiſlature to tranſfer thoſe powers to ſome other body-corporate, that may be able and willing to exert them, and this with ſuch clauſes of emendation or reſtriction, as the experience we have ſince had of the management of public companies ſhall ſuggeſt to be either neceſſary or expedient.

In the ſame report by Dr. D'Avenant there are ſeveral other curious remarks on almoſt all the branches of our commerce; and if ſuch a general ſtate of trade as this were to be laid before the parliament, once at leaſt in every reign, we ſhould then be able to judge both of the efficacy of the laws already made, and of the uſefulneſs and expediency of new ones. But it is now time to return from this digreſſion, into which I was led by the deſire of preſerving a hint which ſeems ſo very capable of improvement, to the laſt acts of the queen's government and life, with which I ſhall conclude this chapter.

The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our diſputes abroad, proved the cauſe of high debates and great diſtractions at home. The people were uneaſy, the miniſtry divided, and the heats and violence of party roſe to ſuch a height, that her majeſty found herſelf ſo embarraſſed, as not to be able either to depend upon thoſe in power, or venture to turn them out. The uneaſineſs of mind, that ſuch a perplexed ſituation of affairs occaſioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of prince George's death; and this weakneſs of her's ſerved to increaſe thoſe diſorders in her government, which were ſo grievous to herſelf, and ſo detrimental to her ſubjects: for her miniſters, forgetting their duty to her and their regard for their country, conſulted only their ambition and their private views; ſo that, whenever they met in council, they ſtudied rather to croſs each other's propoſals, than to ſettle or purſue any regular plan; and to ſuch a monſtrous extravagance theſe jealouſies roſe at laſt, that it is believed a quarrel between two of her principal miniſters, in her preſence, proved, in ſome meaſure, the cauſe of her death.

For being at Kenſington, to which ſhe had removed from Windſor, ſhe was ſeized on the 29th of July with a drowſineſs and ſinking of her ſpirits, and the next day, about ſeven in the morning, was ſtruck with an apoplexy, and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon ſhe was ſenſible, and, at the requeſt of the privy-council, declared the duke of Shrewſbury lord high-treaſurer of Great-Britain, though he was already lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This was the laſt act of her adminiſtration; for the council now took upon themſelves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkley to hoiſt

his flag on board the fleet, and ſending general Whitham to take the command in Scotland, and likewiſe diſpatched orders for the immediate embarkation of ſeven Britiſh battalions from Flanders. In the mean time the queen continued in the hands of her phyſicians and domeſtics, ſome of whom flattered themſelves with falſe hopes to the laſt; but the bliſters not riſing, her majeſty about ſeven in the morning, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1714, breathed her laſt. The following character I have taken from a hiſtory of her reign in MS. which now in all probability, will never be printed.

Anne Stuart, daughter to James II. king of England, *&c.* was born at St. James's, February 6, 1664-5, at 39 minutes paſt eleven at night. She was tenderly and carefully educated; and, having from nature the moſt valuable gifts, ſhe became a very accompliſhed princeſs. She was moderately tall, and well proportioned, her complexion and ſhape excellent, till her conſtitution was impaired by grief and ſickneſs. She appeared to beſt advantage ſpeaking; for ſhe had a clear harmonious voice, great good ſenſe, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected; her humility ſincere; her good-nature very conſpicuous, but would have been more ſo, had it not been inherent in her family. As a wife, ſhe was the pattern of conjugal fidelity, without any affectation of fondneſs. Her tenderneſs, as a mother, to her children was regulated by the rules of reaſon and religion; but her indulgence, as the mother of her ſubjects, knew no bounds. It was her only foible, that her uprightneſs of her own intentions left her without ſuſpicion. Her affection for the people was ſo apparent, that it was never doubted, and ſo firmly rooted, as to be diſcernible in her laſt words. With a juſt ſenſe of her own high dignity, ſhe had a true concern for the rights of her ſubjects, and a ſtrong paſſion for the glory of the nation; ſhe loved public-ſpirit, and encouraged it; and though ſhe was naturally magnificent and generous, yet ſhe was frugal in her private expences, not to hoard, but to beſtow on the neceſſities of the ſtate. She gave her tenths to the clergy, which will remain a laſting monument of her zeal for the church. The many good laws, and the numerous happy events which fell out in her reign, will ever preſerve her memory in eſteem with thoſe who wiſh well to the ſtate. In a word, ſhe was bleſſed with all the endowments that could make a woman admired, and exerted all the virtues neceſſary to make a monarch beloved. At her death her loſs was thought irretrievable, and few who remembered her have altered their opinions. It would be improper to ſay more, and ingratitude to have ſaid leſs.

Her majeſty had iſſue by the prince of Denmark, 1. A daughter, that was ſtill-born the 12th of May, 1684; 2. Lady Mary, a ſecond daughter, born the 2d of June, 1685, and died in February, 1690; 3. Anne Sophia, who was born the 12th of May,

May, 1686, and died the February following; 4. William, duke of Gloucester, born the 24th of July, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age; 5. The lady Mary, born October 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized; 6. George, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

Containing the Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the accession of king George I. to the time of his demise.

WE are now to enter upon a new period of time; and a great change in our government, brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the next protestant heirs: for the princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was styled the princess Elisabeth of Great-Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of these realms.

But the princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George-Lewis, elector of Hanover, her son, became heir of this crown on the demise of Queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by

by another ſtatute paſſed in the fourth year of her majeſty's reign.

For, by that law, the adminiſtration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on ſeven perſons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the ſucceſſor ſhould think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law.

The lords juſtices, the ſame day the queen died, iſſued a proclamation, declaring the acceſſion of king George I. and commanding him to be proclaimed through all parts of the kingdom; which was done accordingly. On the next day they ſent the earl of Dorſet to his majeſty, to invite him over; and on the 3d of Auguſt the lord high-chancellor, in the name of the lords juſtices, opened the ſeſſion of parliament by a ſpeech. On the 17th of the ſame month, the earl of Berkley ſailed with a ſquadron of ſixteen men of war, and ſix yachts, for Holland, in order to attend his majeſty, where he was joined by eight ſhips of the States-General, under rear-admiral Coperen; and, to ſecure the coaſts and the channel, admiral Wager, was ſent down to Portſmouth, and Sir Thomas Hardy to Plymouth, to equip ſuch ſhips as were fit for ſervice.

His majeſty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands; and very ſoon made ſome conſiderable alterations in the ſeveral boards; particularly in that of the admiralty, which was clean ſwept; for, inſtead of Thomas earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, John Aiſlabie, Eſq; Sir James Wiſhart, and Dr. John Clarke, who were there on the demiſe of the late queen, his majeſty appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Eſq; Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baillie, Eſqrs. In the month of November, Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; was declared admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's fleet; and, ſoon after, Sir Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the red, was ſent to relieve Sir James Wiſhart in the Mediterranean.

The ſubject of this work obliges me only to take notice of ſuch acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after obſerving that a new parliament was ſummoned, and met at Weſtminſter March the 17th, the next thing that occurs, is, that on the 1ſt of April, 1715, they came to a reſolution to allow ten thouſand ſeamen, at four pounds a-month; and, on the 9th of May following, granted 35,574 l. 3 s. 6 d. for the half-pay of ſea-officers; 197,896 l. 17 s. 6 d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 237,277 l. for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ſhips. Theſe large ſums were thought neceſſary, becauſe, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreſeen, that,

that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise, which might require fresh armaments.

Amongst these disputes, the most serious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the Swedish privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, were confiscated, under a pretence that we assisted and supplied the Czar and his subjects with ships, arms, ammunition, *&c.* contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackson, her majesty's minister at Stockholm, had presented several memorials upon this subject, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make use of more effectual means, *viz.* sending a strong squadron of men of war into the Baltic, the rather because their high-mightinesses the States-General, labouring under the same inconveniencies, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourse to the same measures; in order to protect the commerce of their subjects.

This once resolved, a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for this service, and the command given to Sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the same squadron, to assist him. The admiral hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland, a third rate, having ten ships of the line in his division. Sir Thomas Hardy was in the Norfolk, a third rate also, and had in his division eight ships of the line, the Mermaid frigate of twenty-two guns, and the Drake sloop, which carried sixteen. This fleet sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May, and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June following; where finding the Dutch squadron, a conference was held on board the Cumberland on the 14th, in which it was resolved, that the combined squadron should proceed together, with the English and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their respective ports; which they performed accordingly by the close of the month.

One of the first things Sir John Norris did, was, to dispatch an express to the court of Stockholm, in order to be satisfied whether the Swedes were resolved to go on in their practice of seizing and confiscating our ships; or whether, before it was too late, they would consent to enter into a negotiation for determining the disputes which had arisen between the two nations. The answer he received was so loose and uncertain, that he resolved to proceed according to his instructions. After Sir John's departure from Copenhagen, there arrived, under the convoy of two British men of war, forty-six merchant-ships, that were not ready to sail from England with Sir John Norris. These ships remained till the Danish fleet was ready to sail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of August, the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of

of the line, with the Ruſſian ſquadron, reſolved to ſail up the Baltic with the Engliſh and Dutch.

As the Czar of Muſcovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and deſigned to command his own ſhips, ſeveral conſultations were held to regulate the command of the ſeveral ſquadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the confederate fleet. It was at laſt reſolved to give the chief command of it to the Czar of Muſcovy, but ſo, that Sir John Norris ſhould command the vanguard of the united fleet, the Czar the body of the line of battle, the Daniſh admiral count Gueldenlew the rear, and that the Dutch commodore, with his ſquadron and five Britiſh men of war, ſhould proceed with the trade of both nations for their reſpective harbours in the Baltic. According to this reſolution, the 16th the Czar hoiſted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his fineſt ſhips, and was thereupon immediately ſaluted by Sir John Norris with a diſcharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Daniſh and Dutch; and, theſe compliments being paid, his Czarian majeſty gave the ſignal for ſailing; the 18th they came to an anchor in the Kieger-Bucht, from whence they ſailed towards Bornholm, where, being informed that the Swediſh fleet was returned to Carlſcroon, the Britiſh and Dutch merchant-ſhips, with their convoys, ſeparated, and proceeded on their reſpective voyages, and the Czar, with his ſquadron, ſailed for the coaſt of Mecklenburgh.

The Swedes had at this time a very numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wiſe to hazard it againſt ſuch an unequal force as that of the confederates, and therefore withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's abſolute orders. On the 28th of October Sir John Norris, with the Britiſh ſquadron under his command, and the Daniſh men of war commanded by count Gueldenlew, arrived at Bornholm, on which day the two cruizers, which Sir John Norris had ſent to Carlſcroon, returned to him with an account, that they had ſeen the Swediſh fleet, with two flags and ſeven broad pendants, in Carlſcroon, and all the ſhips they could diſcover lay rigged, as alſo that they had three cruizers under ſail off the port. That night Sir John Norris ſent theſe two cruizers, being the beſt ſailers of his ſquadron, to Dantzick, to haſten the trade down the Baltic, and, if they found the ſix Britiſh men of war and all the merchantmen had joined there, to order the commodore not to loſe a moment that could be made uſe of for ſailing, but to proceed. Theſe cruizers arrived at Dantzick on the 30th, where they joined the Britiſh men of war, and the trade, which on the 31ſt all ſailed from Dantzick.

On the 9th of November the Britiſh men of war, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's ſquadron at Bornholm, (having ſailed from the fleet off Dantzick on the 4th of this month), and the

the next day came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th arrived the Dutch trade with their convoy, which had been obliged to ſtay after ours at Dantzick for proviſions. A few days after, Sir John ſailed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithſtanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were ſurpriſed by a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed them, and in which the Auguſt of ſixty guns, and the Garland of twenty-four, were unfortunately loſt; yet the reſt, with all the trade, ſafely arrived at the Trow on the 29th of November in the morning. Sir John Norris left ſeven ſhips of war, under the command of commodore Cleland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the farther ſecurity of the Britiſh trade, if neceſſary.

While this ſquadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguiſhed in Scotland, but with ſo little aſſiſtance from our naval force, that it ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned. It is true, Sir George Byng was ſent to hoiſt his flag in the Downs in the middle of ſummer, and continued there as long as the ſeaſon would admit; but no enemy appeared, and Sir John Jennings was ſent to Edinburgh, from whence he went on board the Oxford in the Frith, and hoiſted his flag as commander in chief of the ſquadron then upon the coaſts, which would have been highly ſerviceable in caſe the pretender's adherents had either had any naval force, or had been ſuccoured from beyond the ſeas: but there was nothing of this kind. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was ſoon joined by the clans; and the duke of Argyll being ſent down againſt him, it quickly appeared how ill their meaſures had been taken. His grace had indeed but a ſmall number of regular troops under his command; but his intereſt was ſo extenſive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for king George, but, which perhaps was the greater ſervice of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwiſe had joined the rebels. The buſineſs was decided by the battle of Sheriff-muir, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715, the ſame day that general Foſter, and the Engliſh who were in arms, ſurrendered at Preſton. Yet, after this, the chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland, where finding his affairs deſperate, and his perſon in danger, he made his eſcape from the north with the utmoſt ſecrecy, which he effected by going on board a clean-tallowed French ſnow, which ſailed out of the harbour of Montroſe, February the third, in ſight of ſome Engliſh men of war, but kept ſo cloſe along ſhore, that they ſoon found it was impoſſible to follow her.

Theſe were the principal tranſactions of this year, at the cloſe of which things were ſtill in ſuch confuſion, that the parliament thought fit to grant very large ſupplies for the enſuing year, *viz.* 10,000 ſeamen at the rate of 4 l. *per* month, the ſums of 233,849l. 19s. 6d. for the ordinary of the navy, and 23,623l. for

for the extraordinary repairs of the navy. We have already taken notice of what paſſed under Sir John Norris in the Baltic, and have therefore only to obſerve, that this year ſome of the piratical republics in Barbary having broke the peace, admiral Baker, who had the command of the Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reaſon, which he did without any great difficulty. But the Sallee rovers ſtill did a great deal of miſchief, and it was the more difficult to ſuppreſs them, becauſe their ſhips were ſo ſmall, and drew ſo little water, that our men of war were very ſeldom able to come near enough to exchange ſhot with them. At laſt captain Delgarno, in his majeſty's ſhip the Hind of twenty guns only, came up with one of their beſt men of war of twenty-four guns, and, after an obſtinate engagement of two hours and a half, obliged her to ſtrike; but ſhe had not been in his poſſeſſion above a quarter of an hour before ſhe ſunk, and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, periſhed: this, with the loſs of another veſſel of eight guns, and two more of ſixteen guns each, which were forced on ſhore by his majeſty's ſhip the Bridgewater, delivered, in a great meaſure, the Engliſh commerce in the Mediterranean from the interruptions given by theſe pirates.

In July his majeſty went over to Holland, eſcorted by an Engliſh ſquadron, and from thence continued his journey by land to Hanover, where the diſturbances in the north made his preſence at that time particularly neceſſary, and where he continued the reſt of the year 1716, at the cloſe of which admiral Aylmer ſailed with his ſquadron for Holland to eſcort him home. In the mean time the government was employed in extinguiſhing the remains of the rebellion here and in Scotland, and providing, in the beſt manner they could, againſt the revival of ſuch diſturbances, of which they had the greater hopes from the conduct which the regent of France purſued, who ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to live upon good terms with Great-Britain, as was indeed his intereſt. But it very ſoon appeared, that, notwithſtanding the chevalier's adherents had loſt their hopes with reſpect to ſuccours from France, they had ſtill another power willing and ready to aſſiſt them.

Upon his majeſty's return a dangerous conſpiracy was ſaid to be diſcovered, in which many were engaged at home and abroad, and for defeating of which it was thought neceſſary to ſecure the perſon and papers of count Gyllenbourg, then his Swediſh majeſty's ambaſſador at this court, and who at the time of his death was prime miniſter of that kingdom; a fact which ſtruck the foreign miniſters here with the utmoſt ſurpriſe, from which, however, they quickly recovered themſelves, when they were informed, that it was not for any act of his miniſtry, but for his being concerned in the management of a plot againſt the government. About the ſame time the famous baron Goertz was, at his Britannic majeſty's requeſt, arreſted in Holland, where he

acted

acted as minister from the king of Sweden. In order to satisfy the world, the letters and papers relating to the invasion, which it was said his Swedish majesty intended to have made in Scotland, were rendered public, and the parliament soon after shewed the warmest resentment at the insolence of this attempt.

It was indeed amazing, that a prince, already overwhelmed by so many and so powerful enemies, should think of adding to their number by practices of this kind: but whoever considers the genius and spirit of the late Charles XII. will easily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous soever, which seemed to promise the dissolving that confederacy by which he was distressed. But his design was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected discovery, which put it absolutely out of his power to carry it into execution; but it likewise brought upon him new difficulties, in consequence of his Britannic majesty's resentment of such behaviour, which presently discovered itself by the vigorous resolutions taken here: for, on the 21st of February, it was resolved in the house of commons, "That a bill be brought in to authorise his majesty "to prohibit commerce with Sweden, during such a time as his "majesty shall think it necessary, for the safety and peace of his "kingdom," which afterwards passed both houses, and had the royal assent; and, on the 2d of March, a proclamation was published for this purpose.

As it was foreseen that this affair must necessarily occasion the sending another squadron to the Baltic, the necessary supplies were very early granted, *viz.* 10,000 seamen for the service of the year 1717; 226,799l. 5s. 3d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 20,761l. for the extraordinary repairs, and for the furnishing such sea stores as might be necessary. Immediately after, orders were issued for forming a grand squadron, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates, for the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two admirals under him, with an additional force; but, before those ships were ready, the ministry altered their design, and Sir George, in obedience to fresh orders, sailed on the 30th of March for Copenhagen.

On the 11th of April, Sir George arrived in the road of Copenhagen; the next day he had an audience of the king of Denmark, and assisted at several conferences, which were held in the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case it should be thought requisite for the several squadrons to join. Sir George next detached five ships of the line to cruize in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish privateers. The Danish cruizers being likewise employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ship could pass out of that port. Sir George himself waited only for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the British

British squadron into the Baltic, where the Swedes, however, had by this time absolutely laid aside whatever designs were formed, either to our prejudice or against the general peace of Europe.

On the 7th of May, however, our admiral sailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ships, bound for several parts of the Baltic, and in the Kiogerbucht was joined by the Danish fleet, commanded by vice-admiral Gabel: they sailed together towards Carlscroon; but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the season of the year began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of coming home with the fleet; and accordingly, on the 2d of November, passed the Sound with nine English men of war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burden, leaving behind him six men of war, to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet; and on the 15th of the same month arrived safe at the mouth of the Thames; there leaving his squadron, he came up to London, where he was graciously received by his majesty. So that here ended the naval expedition for this year, and with it, in a great measure, all the apprehensions the nation was under from the Swedes.

In the mean time his majesty had thought fit to appoint Sir John Norris envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Czar of Muscovy; and, as if things began to be so disposed as to admit of a peace in the north, a resolution was taken to discharge count Gyllenbourg, which was thus brought about. His royal highness the duke of Orleans ordered the French minister here to acquaint the king, that his royal highness was perfectly well informed as to the king of Sweden's disposition, and that he was thoroughly satisfied, that his Swedish majesty had not, or ever had, any intention to disturb the tranquility of his Britannic majesty's dominions; that if, therefore, his ministers had entered into any practices of that kind, it was entirely without his knowledge; and that, upon their return to Sweden, he would cause a strict enquiry to be made into their conduct, in order to punish them, if they should be proved guilty. Upon this proposition from the regent of France, it was agreed, that count Gyllenbourg should be exchanged against Mr. Jackson, the English minister at Stockholm, and that baron Goertz should be released from his confinement in Holland; which was accordingly performed. Yet the storm did not entirely blow over; but the Swedish quarrel still proved a source of new expence to the British nation.

The ministry, to shew that their thoughts were not wholly taken up by these disputes in the north, framed at this time a very just and valuable design of suppressing the pirates in the West-Indies, who, since the close of the late war, were become very numerous and highly insolent. By a proclamation, dated the fifth of September, 1717, his majesty promised his pardon

to

to any West-India pirates, who should surrender themselves on or before the 5th of September following, for all piracies committed before the 5th of January preceding: and after the said 5th of September any of his said majesty's officers by sea or land, who should take a pirate, upon his conviction, to have for a captain, a hundred pounds; for any other officer, from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer, thirty pounds; and for every private man, twenty pounds. Lastly, any pirate delivering up a captain, or commander, on or before the 6th of September following, (so that he should be convicted) was to have two hundred pounds reward, to be paid at the treasury. We shall, in treating the events of next year, give an account of the good effects which this proclamation produced, by giving an immediate check to the insolence of these sort of people, and opening a way to their total suppression. But it is now time to return to affairs of greater importance, and to say somewhat of the politics of the British ministry at this juncture; the rather, because all the naval transactions which follow, depend entirely upon them.

The ministry, did not change their sentiments, but persisted still in their resolution, to bring the king of Sweden to such terms as they thought reasonable by force. This was a method, which, of all princes, Charles XII. could least bear; and therefore instead of thinking of a peace upon such terms, he turned his thoughts entirely on the means of carrying on the war; and though his affairs were in a very low and distressed condition, yet his heroic spirit, joined to the indefatigable pains he took, put them at last into such a posture, that, if he had not been snatched away by a sudden death, it is highly probable he would have restored them, at least on the side of Germany.

But this was not the only affair of consequence that employed the thoughts of the administration. We were then in close confederacy with the emperor and France, and, in conjunction with those powers, had undertaken to settle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty at Utrecht left them. With this view the triple alliance was concluded on the 4th January, 1717; and that not answering the end expected from it, we next entered into the famous quadruple alliance, which was intended to remedy all these defects, and to fix the general tranquility for ever. Yet, by unforeseen accidents, to which human policy will be always liable, this alliance proved the cause of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its consequences was the source of the troubles that disturbed Europe, from the time of its conclusion to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By this quadruple treaty the contracting powers undertook to satisfy the emperor and the king of Spain: in order to which, his imperial majesty was to have Sicily given him; and the reversion

ſion of all the Italian dominions, which the queen of Spain pretended was to be ſecured to her poſterity. The crown of Spain was highly diſpleaſed with the proviſion made for its intereſt; and though the emperor ſeemed to be very well contented at this juncture; yet, as ſoon as Spain was compelled to accept what was now offered her, ſhe alſo grew diſpleaſed with this partition, and we were many years unable to keep them both in any temper, or preſerve ourſelves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the courſe of this work, will be ſufficiently informed. Theſe Spaniſh diſputes were another ground of oppoſition, which afforded room for the then patriots to complain, that we were more attentive to the intereſt of the emperor, than careful of the commerce of Great-Britain. In ſpite of this clamour, the miniſtry concerted with the emperor and France, the proper means for executing the project which gave birth to this treaty, by taking the iſland of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, who was now poſſeſſed of it, with the title of king, and giving it to his imperial majeſty; to which the firſt-mentioned prince was obliged to ſubmit, becauſe he ſaw plainly, that if he did not yield this kingdom to the emperor, he ſhould either have it taken from him by force, or loſe it to the Spaniards, from whom Sardinia was, by our plan, to be taken and beſtowed on the duke of Savoy, in exchange for Sicily.

In this critical ſituation things were, when the parliament met on the 21ſt of November, 1717; and, on the 2d of December following, they granted, as the cuſtom had been of late years, 10,000 ſeamen for the year 1718, and 224,837l. 14s. 11d. for the ordinary of the navy. But, as this would by no means anſwer the deſigns that had been formed by the adminiſtration, the king was prevailed upon to ſend a meſſage to the houſe of commons on the 17th of March, conceived in the following terms:

"GEORGE REX.

"His majeſty being at preſent engaged in ſeveral negotia-
"tions, of the utmoſt concern to the welfare of theſe king-
"doms, and the tranquility of Europe; and having lately re-
"ceived information from abroad, which makes him judge that
"it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be em-
"ployed where it ſhall be neceſſary, does think fit to ac-
"quaint this houſe therewith; not doubting, but that in caſe
"he ſhould be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed
"the number of men granted this year for the ſea-ſervice,
"the houſe will at their next meeting provide for ſuch ex-
"ceeding."

This meſſage was brought to the houſe by Mr. Boſcawen, and an addreſs, promiſing to make good ſuch exceedings as were mentioned, if they ſhould be found neceſſary, was moved for by Sir William Strickland, and agreed to, without a diviſion; which was extremely agreeable to the court. The next day

day the king thought fit to make ſome alterations at the navy-board; and, accordingly, James earl of Berkley, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Eſqrs. Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager, were declared commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, Ireland, *&c.* the right honourable James earl of Berkley appointed vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; rear-admiral of Great-Britain, who was ſoon after raiſed to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland.

While theſe ſteps were taking, a great number of large ſhips were put into commiſſion, and ſuch other meaſures purſued, as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out, would not prove a fleet of parade. The Spaniſh miniſter here, M. de Monteleone, who was a man of foreſight and intrigue, being alarmed at theſe appearances, repreſented in a memorial, dated the 18th of March, 1718, "That ſo powerful an armament, "in time of peace, could not but cauſe umbrage to the king "his maſter, and alter the good intelligence that reigned be-"tween the two crowns." The king anſwered, "That it was "not his intention to conceal the ſubject of that armament; "and that he deſigned ſoon to ſend admiral Byng, with a "powerful ſquadron, into the Mediterranean Sea, in order to "maintain the neutrality of Italy, againſt thoſe who ſhould "ſeek to diſturb it." The reaſon aſſigned for acting with ſo much vigour, was the diſpoſitions made in Spain for attacking the iſland of Sicily, and the hardſhips that were put upon the Britiſh merchants. Cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head of the Spaniſh affairs, defended himſelf, and the meaſures he had taken, with great ſpirit, endeavouring to make the world believe, that the Spaniſh expedition againſt the iſland of Sicily was not ſo much a matter of choice, as of neceſſity.

About the middle of the month of March, Sir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the ſquadron intended for the Mediterranean; and, on the 24th of May following he received his inſtructions, which were not of the clereſt kind; but, it ſeems, they were explained to him before-hand, by the great men who had then the direction of affairs.

The admiral ſailed the 15th of June, 1718, from Spithead, with twenty ſhips of the line of battle, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, an hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. Being got into the ocean, he ſent the Rupert to Liſbon for intelligence; and arriving the 30th off Cape St. Vincent, he diſpatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman, who carried a letter from him to colonel Stanhope, the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that miniſter to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

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The envoy ſhewed the letter to the cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with ſome warmth, "That his maſ-"ter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be "driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or conſent "to any ſuſpenſion of arms;" adding, "That the Spaniards "were not to be frighted, and he was ſo well convinced of "their fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral ſhould think "fit to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs." Mr. Stanhope having in his hand a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſired his eminence to peruſe it, and to compare its ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the cardinal took and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him "To conſider the ſincere attention "the king, his maſter, had to the honour and intereſt of his "catholic majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give "greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied en-"deavours through the whole courſe of the preſent negociation, "in promoting the intereſts of the king of Spain, and hoped "his catholic majeſty would not, by refuſing to recal his troops, "or conſent to a ceſſation of arms, put it out of his power to "give all the proofs of ſincere friendſhip he always deſigned to "cultivate with his catholic majeſty."

All that the cardinal could be brought to promiſe was, to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days: but it was nine before he could obtain and ſend it away; the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay taking vigorous meaſures in expectation of it, and perhaps put into ſome of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. The anſwer was wrote under the admiral's letter in theſe words, "His catholic majeſty "has done me the honour to tell me, that the chevalier "Byng may execute the orders which he has from the king his "maſter.

"The cardinal ALBERONI."

Eſcurial, July 15, 1718.

Mr. Stanhope ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh conſuls, and merchants ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-ports, adviſing them to ſecure their effects againſt the dangers that might ariſe from a breach between the two crowns. This ſhewed plainly enough, that our miniſter was perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition of the adminiſtration at home, who, notwithſtanding they ſteadily purſued theſe war-like meaſures, as conſtantly adhered to their firſt reſolution, of throwing the weight of this rupture, if poſſible, on the court of Spain. With this view, lord Stanhope ſet out himſelf for Madrid, in order to make new propoſitions to his catholic majeſty; which, if accepted, might prevent things from coming to extremities; in which negociation he actually

actually laboured till very near the time that hostilities were begun; but to no purpose, for cardinal Alberoni was as much bent on executing his own scheme, as the British ministry could be with regard to theirs; and therefore rejected all the proposals that were made him, with a firmness that was styled insolence by his enemies.

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of June to the eastward. In passing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out of that port and joined him, with the Argyle and Charles galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having compleated their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the soldiers there in the garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the squadron. On the 23d of July he anchored with the squadron off Port-Mahon: here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, steering S. E. upon which he dispatched away expresses to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and having shifted the garrisons of Minorca, he sailed from thence the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the first of August in the bay of Naples.

One need not wonder that the German government was extremely well pleased at the admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, since it is very certain, that his coming so luckily preserved that kingdom for the house of Austria, which had otherwise, in all probability, shared the fate of Sicily; that the marquis de Lede had conquered almost as soon as he landed, or rather his landing gave people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, though it had lost its sovereignty over them, had still preserved their affections.

This news alarmed the viceroy of Naples, who had now no hopes but from the defence that might be made by the citadel of Messina; and from that he could have no great confidence, since it was garrisoned by the duke of Savoy's troops, who could not be supposed to interest themselves much in preserving a place which their master was to part with so soon. The viceroy, therefore, wisely considered how he might make the best use of the British fleet and his own forces; upon which he came at last to this prudent resolution, which was, to embark 2000 German foot under the command of General Wetzel, who were to take possession of the citadel of Messina, and fort Salvador, in pursu-

ance of an agreement with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so, as that he might get something for it. These German forces were to be escorted by the British fleet, which sailed for that purpose from Naples on the 6th of August, and arrived on the 9th in view of the Faro of Messina.

The Spanish army, after having taken the city last-mentioned, were now encamped before the citadel, which the troops, under the protection of Sir George Byng, were going to relieve. It was therefore highly likely that an action would ensue; and for this reason it was thought requisite to put on still a peaceable appearance, in order to throw the blame upon the Spaniards; which, however, was pretty difficult to do, since, with respect to the treaty of Utrecht, the Germans were as much invaders as they, and consequently the escorting an invasion seemed to be an odd way of conserving a neutrality. This step, however, was necessary to be taken; and the admiral, who in point of good sense and good breeding was as able a man as any in his time, did it with a very good grace.

He sent for this purpose his first captain, who was captain Saunders, with a letter to the marquis de Lede, in which he proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace.

The next morning the captain returned with the general's answer, "That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person to "contribute to so laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no "powers to treat, he could not of consequence agree to any "suspension of arms, even at the expence of what the courage "of his master's arms might be put to, but should follow his "orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master "the king of Spain: that he had a true sense of his accom-"plished expressions; but his master's forces would always be "universally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the preserva-"tion of their credit, in which cases the success did not always "answer the ideas that were formed from it."

According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but as he stood in about the point of the Faro; towards Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca that came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and sending away general Wetzel with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after

after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for about noon he had a fair ſight of their whole fleet, lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the admiral don Antonio de Caſteneta, and under him by four rear-admirals: on the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron they ſtood away large, but in good order of battle.

The admiral followed them all the reſt of that day and the ſucceeding night, with ſmall gales N. E. and ſometimes calm, with fair weather; the next morning early (the 11th) the Engliſh being got pretty near them, the marquis de Mari, rear-admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which the admiral detached captain Walton in the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to, but ſhe not minding it, the Argyle fired a ſecond, and the Canterbury, being ſomething nearer, fired a third; upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began.

The admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet, the Orford, captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, captain Haddock, came up firſt with them, about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern-chace guns. The admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing, which, as ſoon as they did, the Orford attacked the Santa Roſa of ſixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos of ſixty guns ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Aſturias of ſeventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was rear-admiral Chacon; but the Breda and Captain coming up, captain Haddock left that ſhip, much ſhattered, for them to take, and ſtretched a-head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtarboard bow during his engagement with the Prince of Aſturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and ſoon after the Superbe, captain Maſter, came up with and engaged the Spaniſh admiral of ſeventy-four guns, who, with two ſhips more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three; and then the Kent bearing down under his ſtern, gave him her broadſide, and fell to leeward afterwards; the Superbe, putting forward to lay the admiral aboard, fell on his weather-quarter, upon which the Spaniſh admiral ſhifting his helm, the Superbe ranged under his lee quarter, on which he ſtruck to her. At the ſame time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being a-ſtern of the Spaniſh admiral, within ſhot, and inclining on his weather quarter, rear-admiral Guevara and another ſixty-gun ſhip, which were to windward,

bore down upon him, and gave him their broadſides, and then clapt upon a wind, ſtanding in for land. The admiral immediately tacked and ſtood after them, until it was almoſt night, but it being little wind, and the hauling away out of his reach, he left purſuing them and ſtood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night.

The Eſſex took the Juno of thirty-ſix guns, the Montague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and rear-admiral Delaval, in the Dorſetſhire, took the Iſabella of ſixty guns. The action happened off Cape Paſſaro, at about ſix leagues diſtance from the ſhore. The Engliſh received but little damage: the ſhip that ſuffered moſt was the Grafton, which being a good ſailer, her captain engaged ſeveral ſhips of the enemy, always purſuing the headmoſt, and leaving thoſe ſhips he had diſabled or damaged to be taken by thoſe that followed him. The admiral lay by ſome days at ſea, to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages which the prizes had ſuſtained; and the 18th received a letter from captain Walton, who had been ſent in purſuit of the Spaniſh ſhips that eſcaped. The latter is ſingular enough in its kind to deſerve notice, and therefore the hiſtorian of this expedition has, with great judgment, preſerved it. Thus it runs:

"SIR,

"WE have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips "and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as *per* "margin.

"I am, *&c.*

Canterbury, off Syracuſa, "G. WALTON."
Aug. 16, 1718.

Theſe ſhips that captain Walton thruſt into this margin would have furniſhed matter for ſome pages in a French retation; for from the account they referred to it appeared, that he had taken four Spaniſh men of war, one of ſixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel. Such is the account given of the famous action by our admiral: the Spaniards publiſhed likewiſe an account on their ſide, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great induſtry throughout all Europe, in order to make ſuch impreſſions as might ſerve their purpoſe, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly; but had been ſurprized and deſtroyed without that kind of notice which the laws of nature and nations require, to diſtinguiſh force of arms from piratical violence. It is but juſt in any cauſe to hear both parties, and the office of an hiſtorian obliges him to record whatever may give light to the events of that period he pretends to illuſtrate by his writings. For this reaſon I have thought

thought it requiſite to give place here to the Spaniſh account without curtailing or diſguiſing it.

" On the 9th of Auguſt, in the morning, the Engliſh ſqua-
" dron was diſcovered near the tower of Faro, which lay by
" towards night, off Cape Della Mettelle, over-againſt the ſaid
" tower. The Spaniſh ſquadron was then in the Streights, and
" ſome ſhips and frigates were ſent to other places; beſides the
" detachment commanded by admiral Guevara. And, as the
" intention of the Engliſh in coming ſo near was not known,
" the admirals of the Spaniſh ſquadron reſolved to go out of
" the Streight, to join together near Cape Spartivento, carry-
" ing along with them the tranſports laden with proviſions,
" that they might penetrate the better into the deſigns of the
" Engliſh; the rather, becauſe the officer whom Sir George
" Byng had ſent to the marquis de Lede was not yet returned.
" The ſaid officer had orders to propoſe to the ſaid marquis, a
" ſuſpenſion of arms for two months; upon which the ſaid
" marquis anſwered him, that he could not do it without or-
" ders from court. Nevertheleſs, though it was believed that
" the alternative was taken of ſending a courier to Madrid
" with the ſaid propoſals, the Engliſh ſquadron took the oppor-
" tunity of night to ſurprize the Spaniſh ſquadron, and to im-
" prove thoſe advantages which were owing to diſſimulation.

" The ſaid Engliſh ſquadron, on the 10th in the morning,
" advanced farther into the Faro, and was ſaluted by all the
" Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were there; and it is to be
" obſerved, that admiral Byng having convoyed ſome tranſport-
" veſſels as far as Rixoles, with the arch-duke's troops, the
" officer diſpatched to the marquis de Lede, affirmed, that it
" was not to commit any act of hoſtility, but only, that the
" ſaid tranſports might be ſecured from inſults under his pro-
" tection.

" The Spaniſh ſquadron ſent two light frigates to get intelli-
" gence of the Engliſh ſquadron; and, though they ſaw the
" Engliſh made all the ſail they could (their intention being
" not known) to approach the Spaniſh ſquadron, whoſe admi-
" ral knew not then whether the Engliſh came as friends or
" enemies; yet the Spaniards being two leagues from the Eng-
" liſh, reſolved to retire towards Cape Paſſaro, but without
" making much ſail, that it might not be thought they ſuſpected
" any hoſtilities. During this a calm happened, by which the
" ſhips of both ſquadrons fell in one among another; and the
" Spaniſh admiral perceiving this accident, cauſed the ſhips of
" the line to be towed, in order to ſeparate them from the
" Engliſh, and join them in one body, without permitting the
" gallies to begin any act of hoſtility; which they might have
" done to their advantage during the calm. The weather
" changed when the marquis de Mari was near land, and by
" conſequence ſeparated from the reſt, making the rear-guard,

" with

" with ſeveral frigates, and other tranſport-veſſels, which " made up his diviſion, and endeavoured, though in vain, to " join the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, while the Eng- " liſh held on their way, their diſſimulation, filling their ſails to " gain the wind, and cut off the ſaid diviſion of the ſaid mar- " quis de Mari; and having at laſt ſucceeded in it, they at- " tacked him with ſix ſhips, and obliged him to ſeparate from " the reſt of the ſquadron, and to make towards the coaſt, " where they ſtood it againſt ſeven ſhips of the line, as long " as the ſituation permitted; and being no longer able to reſiſt, " the marquis de Mari ſaved his men, by running his ſhips a- " ground, ſome of which were burnt by his own order, and " others taken by the enemy.

" Seventeen ſhips of the line, the remainder of the Engliſh " ſquadron, attacked the Royal St. Philip, the prince of " Aſturias, the St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, St. Iſabella, St. " Pedro, and the frigates St. Roſa, Pearl, Juno, and Volante, " which continued making towards Cape Paſſaro; and as they " retired in a line, becauſe of the inequality of their ſtrength, " the Engliſh attacked thoſe that compoſed the rear-guard, with " four or five ſhips, and took them; and this happened ſuc- " ceſſively to the others, which, notwithſtanding all the ſail " they made, could not avoid being beaten; inſomuch, that " every Spaniſh ſhip being attacked ſeparately by five, ſix, or " ſeven of theirs, after a bloody and obſtinate fight, they made " themſelves maſters at laſt of the Royal St. Philip, the Prince " of Aſturias, the St. Charles, the St. Iſabella, St. Roſa, the " Volante, and the Juno.

" While the Royal St. Philip was engaged with the Engliſh, " the rear-admiral of the ſquadron, don Balthazar de Guevara, " returned from Malta with two ſhips of the line, and turning " his prow towards the St. Philip, paſſed by the Engliſh ſhips " which were a-breaſt of him, firing upon each of them, and " then attacked admiral Byng's ſhips, which followed the St. " Philip, and retired in the night, being very much damaged; " for after the engagement, he ſtayed three or four days fifty " leagues at ſea, not only to repair the Spaniſh ſhips, which he " had taken, and were all ſhattered to pieces; but alſo to make " good the damages which himſelf had ſuffered; wherefore he " could not enter Syracuſa till the 16th or 17th of Auguſt, and " that with a great deal of difficulty.

" The particulars of the action are, that the whole diviſion " of the Engliſh admiral, which conſiſted of ſeven ſhips of the " line, and a fire ſhip, having attacked the Royal St. Philip, " at two in the afternoon the fight began, by a ſhip of ſeventy " guns, and another of ſixty, from which he received two " broadſides; and advancing towards the Royal St. Philip, " don Antonio de Caſtaneta defended himſelf ſo well, that the " ſaid two ſhips retired, and two others, *viz.* one of eighty " guns,

" guns, and the other of ſeventy, renewed the attack; and " the ſaid ſhip of eighty guns retired very much ſhattered, " without making into the line; but others making towards the " Spaniſh admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impoſ- " ſible for him to hurt them, and ſhot away all his rigging, " without leaving him one entire ſail, while two others, " one of thirty, and the other of ſixty guns, attacked the ſtar- " board of his ſhip, to oblige him to ſurrender; but defending " himſelf till the Engliſh admiral was reſolved to board him, " and carried a fire ſhip to reduce him by the flames, which " the Spaniſh commander prevented; but after having loſt 200 " men, and maintained the fight till towards night, don Anto- " nio de Caſtaneta received a ſhot which pierced his left leg, " and wounded his left heel. Yet, nevertheleſs he continued " to defend himſelf till a cannon-bullet having cut a man in " two, the pieces of which fell upon him, and left him half " dead, he was forced to ſurrender.

" The prince of Aſturias, commanded by don Fernando " Chacon, was at the ſame time attacked by three ſhips of " equal force, againſt which he defended himſelf valiantly, " avoiding being boarded, till, being wounded, and having loſt " moſt of his men, he was obliged to ſurrender his ſhip, " which was all ſhot through and through, after having ſhot " down the maſts of an Engliſh ſhip that retired out of the " fight.

" Captain don Antonio Gonſales, commander of the frigate " St. Roſa, defended himſelf above three hours againſt five " Engliſh ſhips, who did not take him till after they had broke " all his ſails and maſts.

" The Volante, commanded by captain don Antonio Eſcu- " dero, knight of the order of Malta, fought three hours and " a half againſt three Engliſh ſhips; and having loſt his ſails, " he put up others that were in ſtore, and was juſt going to " board one of the three ſhips that attacked him; but his own " being ſhot through and through by ſix cannon bullets, and " the water coming in, he was obliged to ſurrender, becauſe " the ſhip's crew forced him.

" The Juno was engaged alſo by three Engliſh ſhips; yet " maintained the fight above three hours, not ſurrendering till " after moſt of her men were killed, and the ſhip juſt falling " in pieces.

" Captain don Gabriel Alderete, alſo defended the frigate " called the Pearl, againſt three Engliſh ſhips for three hours; " and after having ſhot down the maſts of one, which immedi- " ately retired, he was relieved by admiral don Balthazar de " Guevara, and had the good fortune to eſcape to Malta.

" Captain don Andrea Reggio, knight of the order of Mal- " ta, who was farthest advanced with the ſhip the Iſabella, " was purſued all that night by ſeveral Engliſh ſhips; and, af-

" ter

" ter having defended himſelf for four hours, he ſurrendered " the next day.

" The frigate called the Surprize, which was of the marquis " de Mari's diviſion, and by conſequence farther advanced than " the others, was attacked by three Engliſh ſhips, and main- " tained a fight for three hours, till the captain don Michael " de Sada, knight of the order of St. John, being wounded, " moſt of her men killed, and all her rigging ſpoiled, ſhe was " forced to ſurrender.

" The other light ſhips and frigates of the Spaniſh ſqua- " dron, not already mentioned, retired to Malta, and Sardi- " nia; as did alſo the admiral don Balthazar de Guevara, with " his two ſhips St. Lewis and St. John, after having been en- " gaged with the Engliſh admiral, and having reſcued the fri- " gate called the Pearl.

" It muſt not be forgot, that the marines in every " ſhip ſignalized and diſtinguiſhed themſelves with a great " deal of valour, they being compoſed of the nobility of " Spain.

" The ſeven gallies which were under the command of ad- " miral don Franciſco de Grimao, having done all that was " poſſible to join the Spaniſh ſhips, ſeeing that there was ſtill " a freſh gale of wind, retired to Palermo.

" Beſides the above-mentioned ſhips, which the Engliſh took " out of the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, they alſo " made themſelves maſters of the Royal, and of two frigates, " St. Iſidore, and the Eagle; thoſe that were burnt by the or- " der of the marquis de Mari, are two bomb-gallies, a fire- " ſhip, and the Eſperança frigate, ſo that the ſhips which eſ- " caped out of the battle are the following: St. Lewis, St. " John, St. Ferdinand, and St. Peter; and the frigates Her- " mione, Pearl, Galera, Porcupine, Thouloufe, Lyon, Little " St. John, the Arrow, Little St. Ferdinand, a bomb-galley, " and a ſhip of Pintado.

" This is the account of the ſea-fight which was at the " height of Abola, or the Gulf of l'Ariga, in the canal of " Malta, between the Spaniſh and Engliſh ſquadrons, the laſt " of which, by ill faith, and the ſuperiority of their ſtrength, " had the advantage to beat the Spaniſh ſhips ſingly, one by " one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards " made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have " ended more happily for them.

" Immediately after the fight, a captain of the Engliſh ſqua- " dron came, in the name of admiral Byng, to make a com- " pliment of excuſe to the marquis de Lede, giving him to un- " derſtand, that the Spaniards had been the aggreſſors, and " that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture, " becauſe the Engliſh did not take it as ſuch. To which it was " anſwered, that Spain on the contrary will reckon it a formal " rupture;

"rupture; and that they would do the English all the damages "and hostilities imaginable, by giving orders to begin with re-"prisals; and, in consequence of this, several Spanish vessels, "and Guevara's squadron, have already taken some English "ships."

There is no question to be made, but that both these relations retain some tincture of the passions and prejudices of those who drew them up; and it is no less certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was indifferently founded. For the truth is, that their fleet, though strong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ships being old, their artillery none of the best, and their seamen most of them not to be depended upon. Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their admirals defended themselves gallantly; so that, upon the whole, their defeat may be charged upon their irresolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them.

I mean that of rear-admiral Cammock, an Irish gentleman, who had served long in our navy, and who was a much better seamen than any who bore command in the Spanish fleet. He knew perfectly well the strength of both parties, and saw plainly, that nothing could save the Spaniards but a wise disposition; and therefore, in the last council of war held before the battle, he proposed, that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the English admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coast there is so bold, that their biggest ships could ride with a cable ashore, and farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that it would be hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor; or lie by them in order of battle. Besides, they might have lain so near the shore, and could have received so great reinforcements of soldiers from the army to man and defend them, and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given, from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been an hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the English admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear. The Spanish admirals were too much persuaded of their own strength, and the courage of their seamen, or else they foolishly depended on their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they slighted this salutary counsel, and were thereby undone.

As soon as admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole transaction, he dispatched away his eldest son to England, who,

who, arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand. Mr. Byng met with a moſt gracious reception from his majeſty, who made him a handſome preſent, and ſent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the ſeveral princes and ſtates of Italy as there ſhould be occaſion, and with his royal grant, to the officers and ſeamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards.

The admiral in the mean time proſecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free acceſs into the fortreſſes that were ſtill held out in Sicily, ſailed afterward to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies under the command of the marquis de Rivaroles, and a ſhip belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by rear-admiral Cammock, with a few ſhips which he had ſaved after the late engagement, and then ſailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the 2d of November, and ſoon after received a gracious letter from the emperor Charles VI. written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of his imperial majeſty, ſet round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful ſenſe he had of the ſignal ſervices rendered by his excellency to the houſe of Auſtria.

As for the prizes that had been taken, they were ſent to Port Mahon, where by ſome accident the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with moſt of the crew on board; but the admiral had been before ſet aſhore in Sicily, with ſome other priſoners of diſtinction, where he died ſoon after of his wounds.

The Spaniſh court, exceſſively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally deſtroyed the naval force they had been at ſo much pains to raiſe, were not ſlow in expreſſing their reſentments. On the 1ſt of September rear-admiral Guevara, with ſome ſhips under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himſelf maſter of all the Engliſh ſhips that were there; and at the ſame time all the effects of the Engliſh merchants were ſeized in Malaga and other ports of Spain, which, as ſoon as it was known here, produced repriſals on our part. But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what paſſed in the northern ſeas.

A reſolution having been taken, as before obſerved, to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron to the Baltic, it was put under the command of Sir John Norris and rear-admiral Mighels, who, with ten ſail of the line of battle, left Solebay on the 1ſt of May, having eighteen merchant ſhips under their convoy, and on the 14th arrived ſafely at Copenhagen, where the ſame day Sir John Norris had an audience of his Danith majeſty, by whom he was very graciouſly received; and, ſoon after, he ſailed, in conjunction

tion with the Danish fleet, to the coast of Sweden, where the king found himself obliged to lay up his ships in his own harbours, and to take all possible precautions for their security. That monarch, however, was far from being idle, notwithstanding he was sensible of the great superiority of his enemies, but endeavoured to provide, in the best manner he was able, for his own security, by making a peace with the Czar, and in the mean time turning his arms against the king of Denmark in Norway, which kingdom he entered with an army of thirty thousand men, in two bodies, one commanded by general Arenfelt, and the other by himself in person.

He had all the success in this expedition that he could wish, especially the season of the year considered; for it was in the depth of winter that he penetrated into that frozen country, where, at the siege of Frederickshall, he was killed by a cannon bullet, about nine in the evening, on the 30th of November, 1718. The death of this enterprising monarch gave quite a new turn to the affairs in the north; and particularly freed us from all apprehensions on that side. Before this extraordinary event happened, Sir John Norris was returned with the fleet under his command to England, where he safely arrived in the latter-end of the month of October.

There remains only one transaction more of this year, which a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; and it is the account we promised to give of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Wood Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government, on the 11th of April, and after a short and easy passage, arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately. He proceeded soon after in forming a council, and settling the civil government of those islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees, he succeeded. Some of the pirates, 'tis true, rejected at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of Carolina; but when they saw that governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama Islands found themselves obliged through interest to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that by the 1st of July 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four vessels of those pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible.

Thus

Thus, in a ſhort time, and chiefly through the ſteady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this herd of villains was in ſome meaſure diſſolved, who for many years had frighted the Weſt-Indies, and the northern colonies; coming at laſt to be ſo ſtrong, that few merchant-men were ſafe, and withal ſo cruel and barbarous, that ſlavery among the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us, if the management of the Spaniſh guarda coſtas had been committed to the care of ſome man of like ſpirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and one of the firſt things they went upon, was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engroſſed all public converſation, from the time of the ſtroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, ſome looking upon that as one of the nobleſt exploits ſince the revolution; but others conſidered it in quite another light; and when an addreſs was moved for to juſtify that meaſure, it was warmly oppoſed in the houſe of peers and commons; but without effect. On the 19th of the ſame month, the houſe of commons voted 13,500 ſeamen for the ſervice of the year 1719, at 4l. a month; and at the ſame time granted 187,638l. 17s. 6d. for the ordinary of the navy; and that we may range all the ſums given under the ſame head, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, on the 19th of January, the houſe of commons granted 25,000l. for the half-pay of ſea-officers.

On the 17th of December 1718, a declaration of war in form was publiſhed againſt the crown of Spain; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were ſaid in the houſe of commons. The miniſtry, however, continued the purſuit of their own ſcheme, in ſpite of oppoſition, and took ſuch vigorous meaſures for obliging Spain to accept the terms aſſigned her by the quadruple alliance, that ſhe loſt all patience, and reſolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this neceſſity, or ſerve to expreſs her reſentments againſt ſuch as endeavoured to impoſe it upon her, and with this view ſhe drew together a great number of tranſports at Cadiz and Corunna.

The late earl of Stair, who was then our miniſter at the court of France, diſpatched the firſt certain intelligence of the deſigns of Spain; which were, to have ſent a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, into the weſt of England; upon this, the moſt effectual methods were taken here for defeating that ſcheme. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to ſea; a proclamation iſſued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promiſe of 5000l. to the perſon that ſhould ſeize him; and an embargo was laid on all ſhipping. Theſe precautions were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, and the fleet was fitted out with ſo much expedition, that on the 5th of April Sir John Norris

failed

failed from Spithead to the weſtward, with nine men of war, and on the 29th, the earl of Berkley failed from St. Helen's; with ſeven other men of war to join him, which he did the next day.

The government likewiſe took ſome other very ſalutary meaſures to oppoſe this intended invaſion of the Spaniards. The troops in the weſt of England, where it was conjectured they deſigned to land, were reinforced by ſeveral regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom, and four battalions were ſent for over from Ireland, and were landed at Minehead and Briſtol, while at the ſame time the allies of his majeſty were deſired to get in readineſs the ſuccours, which by ſeveral treaties they ſtood engaged to furniſh in caſe of a rebellion, or, if the Britiſh dominions ſhould be invaded by any foreign power. Accordingly, about the middle of April, two battalions of Switzers, in the ſervice of the States-General, arrived in the river Thames; and about the ſame time three battalions of Dutch troops, making together the full complement of men which Holland was obliged to furniſh, landed in the north of England. But by this time came certain advice, that the Spaniſh fleet deſigned for this expedition, conſiſting of five men of war, and about forty tranſports, having on board the late duke of Ormond, and upwards of 5000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, ſpare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which ſailed from Cadiz on the 23d of February, O. S. being on the 28th of that month about fifty leagues to the weſtward of cape Finiſterre, met with a violent ſtorm, which laſted forty-eight hours, and entirely diſperſed them. Thus, this deſign of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

What loſs they met with is uncertain; but ſeveral of their veſſels returned to the ports of Spain in a very ſhattered condition. A very ſmall part, however, of this embarkation, had ſomewhat a different fortune; for the earls of Marſhal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, with about four hundred men, moſt Spaniards, on board three frigates and five tranſports, landed in the ſhire of Roſs in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or ſixteen hundred Scots, and had inſtructions to wait the duke of Ormond's orders, and the account of his being landed in England. But the whole deſign being quaſhed by the diſperſion of the Spaniſh fleet, the Highland troops were defeated at Glenſhiel, and the auxiliary Spaniards ſurrendered at diſcretion. They had met with a check before at Donan Caſtle, which was ſecured by his majeſty's ſhips, the Worceſter, Enterprize, and Flamborough, the caſtle being blown up, and the greateſt part of their ammunition taken or deſtroyed.

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in ſuch cloſe conjunction with France, that the regent declared war againſt his couſin the king of Spain; and though marſhal Villars, and ſome other officers of great rank, refuſed, from

from a point of honour, to lead an army against a grandson of France, yet marshal Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, fixed that prince upon his throne, accepted the command of the army which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to such conditions as were thought requisite for establishing the general tranquillity of Europe. Many people here suspected that this war would produce no great effects; but it proved quite otherwise; for the marquis de Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Passage, where he found six men of war just finished, upon the stocks, all which, prompted thereto by colonel Stanhope, (afterwards earl of Harrington,) he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; which was a greater real loss to the Spaniards than that they sustained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick besieged Fontarabia, both which actions shewed, that the French were actually in earnest.

While the Spaniards were pleasing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions it was impossible to effect against us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was distressing them effectually; for, having early in the spring sailed from Port Mahon to Naples, he there adjusted every thing for the reduction of Sicily, in which he acted with such zeal, and what he did was attended with so great success, that not only the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary from our fleet, (which at the same time attended and disturbed all the motions of the enemy's army), that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral, as to the German general; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition, would take up much more room than I have to spare, and would, besides, oblige me to digress from my proper subject, since the motions of a fleet attending a land army, for the service of the emperor, cannot be, strictly speaking, thought a part of the British naval history; for which reasons I shall speak of it as concisely as may be.

There is, however, one circumstance that deserves to be made known to posterity, and which I will not therefore omit. The imperialists having taken the city of Messina, on the 8th of August 1719, the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free passage for the ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise road; and this being perceived by the officers of the Spanish men of war in the Mole, who began to despair of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate, which they knew must be the same with that of the citadel; and this gave great satisfaction to the admiral, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships

ſhips in other ſervices, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port.

But, while all things were in this proſperous condition, a diſpute aroſe among the allies about the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh ſhips before-mentioned, which, upon taking the citadel, would of courſe fall into their hands. Signior Scrampi, general of the king of Sardinia's gallies, firſt ſtarted the queſtion, and claimed the two beſt of ſixty, and the other of ſixty-four guns, new ſhips, which had belonged to his maſter, and were ſeized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the convention made at Vienna the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was ſaid, "That as to the ſhips belonging to the king "of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they ſhall be reſtored "him; but that this ſhall be referred to admiral Byng to an-"ſwer." To this the admiral replied, "That this convention "having been only a ground-work for another to be made at "Naples, he could be directed by none but that which had "been made in conſequence thereof, in April 1719, between "the viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Breille, miniſter of "Sardinia, and himſelf, in which no mention is made of thoſe "ſhips; and as for the reference to his opinion, he did freely "declare he could not think the king of Sardinia had any "ſhadow of title to them; that they had been taken by the "enemy, were now fitted out and armed at their expence, "and under their colours; that they would put out to ſea if he "did not hinder them, and attack all Engliſh ſhips they met "with, and, if ſtronger, take them; ſo that he could not con-"ſider them in any other light than as they were the ſhips of "an enemy." Count de Merci next put in his claim for the "emperor, alledging, "That as thoſe ſhips would be found "within the port of a town taken by his maſter's arms, accord-"ing to the right of nations they belonged to him." The "admiral replied, "That it was owing to his keeping two ſqua-"drons on purpoſe, and at a great hazard, to watch and obſerve "thoſe ſhips, that they were now confined within the port; "which if he was to withdraw, they would ſtill be able to go "to ſea, and he ſhould have a chance of meeting with and "taking them."

But reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the garriſon might capitulate for the ſafe return of thoſe ſhips into Spain, which he was determined never to ſuffer; that, on the other hand, the right of poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient diſpute at that critical juncture among the princes concerned; and, if it ſhould be at length determined that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to nobody; he propoſed to count de Merci to erect a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon; who urged, that he had no orders concerning thoſe ſhips, and muſt write to Vienna for inſtructions about it. The admiral replied with ſome warmth, that he could not want a power

a power to deſtroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and inſiſted on it with ſo much firmneſs, that the general, being concerned in intereſt not to carry matters to an open miſunderſtanding, cauſed a battery to be erected, notwithſtanding the proteſtations of Signior Scrampi, which, in a little time, ſunk and deſtroyed them, and thereby compleated the ruin of the naval power of Spain.

The imperial court had formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters again of Sardinia, out of which they had been driven, as is before obſerved, by the Spaniards: but our admiral judged it more for the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria, that this army ſhould be immediately tranſported into Sicily. In order to effect this, and at the ſame time to procure artillery for carrying on the ſiege of the citadel of Meſſina, he went over to Naples, where, finding that the government was abſolutely unable to furniſh the military ſtores that were wanting, he very generouſly granted to his imperial majeſty the cannon out of the Britiſh prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and ſoon after went thither himſelf, in order to haſten the embarkation of the troops, which was made ſooner than could have been expected, merely through the diligence of the admiral, and in ſpite of the delays affected by the then count, afterwards baſhaw Bonneval, who was appointed to command them.

After the citadel of Meſſina ſurrendered, Sir George Byng reembarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the iſland, by which ſpeedy and unexpected conveyance they diſtreſſed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that the marquis de Lede, who commanded the Spaniſh forces in chief, propoſed to evacuate the iſland, to which the Germans were very well inclined; but our admiral proteſted againſt it, and declared, that the Spaniſh troops ſhould never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded. In this Sir George certainly acted as became a Britiſh admiral, and after having done ſo many ſervices for the imperialiſts, inſiſted on their doing what was juſt with reſpect to us, and holding the Spaniſh troops in the uneaſy ſituation they now were, till they gave ample ſatisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. It muſt, however, be conſidered, that, in the firſt place, the admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, ſince the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and, on the other hand, our demands on the court of Spain were as much for the intereſt of the common cauſe as for our own, ſo that though the ſteadineſs of admiral Byng deſerved commendation, yet there ſeemed to be no great praiſes due to the German complaiſance.

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the ſame time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive but execute an invaſion, a ſecret deſign was formed for ſending a fleet and

and army to the coasts of Spain, which was very successfully performed; and, on the 21st of September, 1719, vice-admiral Mighels, with a strong squadron of his majesty's ships under his command, and the transports, having on board the forces commanded by the late lord viscount Cobham, consisting of about 6000 men, sailed from St. Helen's; and the first account we had of them is comprized in the following letter, which, indeed, contains the only good account that was ever published of this expedition; and therefore I presume the reader will not be displeased to see it.

"His excellency the lord-viscount Cobham, with the men of "war commanded by vice-admiral Mighels, and the transports "having the forces on board, arriving on the coast of Galicia, "kept cruising three days in the station appointed for captain "Johnson to join them; but having no news of him, and the "danger of lying on the coast at this season of the year with "transports, rendering it necessary to take some measures of "acting without him, and the wind offering fair for Vigo, his "lordship took the resolution of going thither.

"On the 29th of September, O. S. they entered the harbour "of Vigo, and the grenadiers, being immediately landed about "three miles from the town, drew up on the beach; some "peasants fired from the mountains at a great distance, but "without any execution. His lordship went a-shore with the "grenadiers, and the regiments followed as fast as the boats "could carry them. That night, and the following day and "night, the troops lay upon their arms. In the mean while "provisions for four days were brought a-shore, and guards "were posted in several avenues to the distance of above a mile "up the country.

"On the 1st of October his lordship moved, with the forces, "nearer the town, and encamped at a strong post, with the left "to the sea, near the village of Boas, and the right extended "towards the mountains. This motion of the army, and some "parties that were ordered to view the town and citadel, gave "the enemy some apprehensions, that preparations were making "to attack them: whereupon they set fire to the carriages of the "cannon of the town, nailed those cannon, and by all their "motions seemed to be determined to abandon the town to the "care of the magistrates and inhabitants, and to retire with the "regular troops into the citadel; whereupon the lord Cobham "sent to summon the town to surrender, which the magistrates "made no difficulty of doing; and the same night his lordship "ordered brigadier Honywood, with eight hundred men, to take "post in the town, and Fort St. Sebastian, which the enemy "had also abandoned.

"On the 3d a bomb-vessel began to bombard the citadel, but "with little execution by reason of the great distance. That "evening the large mortars and the cohorn-mortars were landed

" at the town; between forty and fifty of them, great and ſmall, " placed on a battery under cover of Fort St. Sebaſtian, began " in the night to play upon the citadel, and continued it four " days with great ſucceſs. The fourth day his lordſhip ordered " the battering cannon to be landed, and, with ſome others " found in the town, to be placed on the battery of Fort St. " Sebaſtian. At the ſame time his lordſhip ſent the governor " a ſummons to ſurrender, ſignifying, that, if he ſtaid till our " battery of cannon was ready, he ſhould have no quarter. " Colonel Ligonier was ſent with this meſſage, but found the " governor Don Joſeph de los Cereos had the day before been " carried out of the caſtle wounded; the lieutenant-colonel, " who commanded in his abſence, deſired leave and time to " ſend to the marquis de Riſburg at Tuy for his directions; " but, being told the hoſtilities ſhould be continued if they " did not ſend their capitulation without any delay, they ſoon " complied."

The capitulation conſiſted of ten articles, by which the garriſon were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and the place, with all its works, magazines, and whatever they contained either of ammunition or proviſions, were delivered up to his excellency the lord Cobham.

On the 10th of the ſame month, in the morning, the garriſon marched out, conſiſting of 469 men, (officers included,) having had above 300 killed or wounded by our bombs. The place, it is ſaid, coſt us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town about ſixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the enemy abandoned, and theſe they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were braſs, and two large mortars, beſides above two thouſand barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſts of arms, amounting in the whole to above 8000 muſquets; all which ſtores and braſs ordnance were lodged there from on board the ſhips that were to have viſited Great-Britain in the preceding ſpring, and the very troops that gave up Vigo were part alſo of thoſe corps which were to have been employed in that expedition; ſeven ſhips were ſeized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one of which was to carry twenty-four guns; the reſt were trading veſſels.

Vigo being thus taken, the lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thouſand men on bord four tranſports, and to ſail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did on the 14th, and, having landed his men, marched to Ponta Vedra, which place ſurrendered without oppoſition, the magiſtrates of the town meeting them with the keys.

In this place were taken two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, ſix eight pounders, and four mortars, all braſs, beſides ſeventy pieces of iron cannon, two thouſand ſmall arms, ſome bombs, &c. all which, except the twenty-four pounders,

ders, were embarked, and major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the 23d.

The next day the lord Cobham, finding it would be impoſſible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewiſe the cannon, *&c.* which being done by the 27th, he ſailed that day for England, where he arrived the 11th of November, having loſt in the whole expedition about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deſerted.

There is yet another expedition, of which we muſt take ſome notice before we ſhut up the tranſactions of this year, and it is that of Sir John Norris into the Baltic. Things had now changed their face in the north; the Swedes, ſince the death of their king, were become our friends, and the great deſign of ſending this fleet was to protect theſe new friends againſt our old allies the Ruſſians. The queen of Sweden was extremely well pleaſed on the receiving ſo ſeaſonable a ſuccour. In the beginning of September Sir John Norris, with his ſquadron, joined the Swediſh fleet, and on the 6th of the ſame month arrived at the Dahlen near Stockholm, where her majeſty's conſort, the late king of Sweden, did him the honour to dine on board his ſhips. This junction of the Engliſh and Swediſh fleets broke all the meaſures of the Czar Peter the Great, who had ruined the Swediſh coaſt in a cruel manner, but was now forced to retire with his fleet into the harbour of Revel.

The lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, was then ambaſſador at Stockholm, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, laboured aſſiduouſly to bring the conferences at the iſland of Ahland to a happy concluſion; but the Czar not being at that time diſpoſed to think of pacific meaſures, they could not prevail; ſo that, about the middle of September, the conferences broke up. All this time the fleet continued near Stockholm; but the winter ſeaſon coming on, there being no reaſon to fear any farther attacks on the Swedes, as the Danes had accepted his Britannic majeſty's mediation, Sir John Norris thought of returning home, and accordingly ſailed from Elſenap on the 27th of October, with a large fleet of merchantmen under his convoy, and ſafely arrived at Copenhagen on the 6th of November, where he was received by his Daniſh majeſty with all imaginable marks of diſtinction and eſteem. It muſt indeed be allowed, to the honour of this worthy admiral's memory, that, whatever views the miniſtry might have at home, he conſulted the nation's glory abroad, and, by preſerving the balance of power in the north, rendered the higheſt ſervice to his country. On the 12th of the ſame month the fleet ſailed from Copenhagen, and on the 17th met with a dreadful ſtorm, which damaged ſeveral ſhips, but deſtroyed none. Towards the cloſe of the month they arrived ſafe, and on the laſt day of November Sir John came to London, after having managed with great reputation, and finiſhed with much

expedition, an enterprize which, in less able hands, would either have brought discredit on our naval power, or involved the nation in a bloody war; but by his steady and prudent conduct they were both avoided, and a stop put to those troubles, which for many years had embroiled the north.

His majesty returned from Hanover about the middle of November, 1719, and the parliament met the latter end of the same month, when there were very warm debates upon the subject of the Sicilian expedition; where many great men, and good patriots, thought our fleet had done too much for the Germans, and too little for themselves. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry maintained, that their measures were right; that the giving Sicily to the emperor, and Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, would effectually fix the balance of power in Italy, and free us, and the rest of Europe, from the apprehensions created by the mighty naval power of Spain.

On the second of December, the naval supplies for the ensuing year were settled. 13,000 men were allowed for the service of 1720, and the sum of 4l. per month as usual, granted for that purpose; 217,918l. 10s. 8d. were given for the ordinary of the navy, and 79,723l. for the extraordinary repairs. Soon after a demand was made for a considerable sum, expended in the necessary service of the last year, beyond what was provided for by parliament; and after great debates, in which those then in opposition took great freedoms, a vote was obtained on the 15th of January, for 377,561l. 6s. 9½d. in discharge of those expences. In the beginning of the month of February, the king of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance; and, as a consequence thereof, a cessation of arms was soon after published, which was quickly followed by a convention in Sicily for the evacuation of that island, and also of the island of Sardinia; and thus the house of Austria got possession of the kingdom of Sicily by means of the British fleet. But, what return the imperial court made Great-Britain for these favours, we shall see in its proper place. About the same time, a messenger dispatched by the then lord Carteret, from Stockholm, brought the instrument of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded between his majesty and the crown of Sweden.

The Czar of Muscovy remaining still at war with that crown, and having entered into measures that, in the opinion of our court, were calculated to overturn the balance of power in the north, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris once more with a fleet of twenty men of war under his command, into those seas. The design of this was, to secure the Swedes from feeling the Czar's resentment, or from being forced to accept such hard and unequal conditions as he might endeavour to impose. The better to understand this, it will be requisite to observe, that the Swedes had made some great alterations in their government,

vernment, not only by afferting their crown to be elective, but by making choice of the prince of Heffe, confort to the queen their fovereign, for their king, on her motion and requeft; notwithftanding the claim of the duke of Holftein, her fifter's fon, to the fucceffion. This young prince the Czar was pleafed to take under his protection, and propofed to the Swedes, that if they would fettle the crown upon him, his Czarifh majefty would give him his daughter, with the provinces conquered from Sweden, by way of dowry; but, in cafe this was refufed, he threatened to purfue the war more vigoroufly than ever, and for that purpofe began to make very great naval preparations.

As our old league with Sweden was now renewed, the Britifh fleet, on the 16th of April, failed for the Baltic; in the beginning of the month of May they were joined, on the coaft of Sweden, by a fquadron of fhips belonging to that crown; and, on the 24th of the fame month, being near the coaft of Ahland, they were joined by feven Swedifh men of war more, under the command of admiral Wachmeifter; the 26th it was refolved, that the fleet fhould proceed towards the coaft of Revel; which faved the Swedes from feeling at that juncture any marks of the Czar's difpleafure. In the mean time, our minifter at the court of Denmark having prepared that monarch for an accommodation with Sweden, lord Carteret, who was our minifter at Stockholm, negotiated, and brought to a happy conclufion the treaty of peace between the two crowns, under our mediation, and went afterwards to Copenhagen to prefent it to the Danifh majefty, of whom he had an audience on the 29th of June 1720, for that purpofe.

His lordfhip continued for fome time after at the Danifh court, where he was treated with unufual marks of efteem and refpect, by a prince who was allowed to be one of the wifeft crowned heads in Europe, and who, as a fignal teftimony of his favour to that accomplifhed ftatefman, took a fword from his fide, richly fet with diamonds, to the value of five thoufand pounds, of which he made a prefent to his lordfhip.

The feafon for action being over, Sir John Norris, on the 8th of September, failed with the fquadron under his command to Stockholm. The new king of Sweden did him the honour to dine with him on board his fhip, accompanied by Mr. Finch, the Britifh envoy, and the Polifh minifter prince Lubomirfki, and other perfons of diftinction; and his excellency foon after returned with the fquadron under his command to England. The Czar bore this interpofition of ours very impatiently, and his minifters did not fail to impute it wholly to the intereft which his majefty, as a German prince, had to compromife affairs with Sweden, with relation to the acquifition he had made of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. However, thus much is very certain, that whatever benefit his majefty, as elec-

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tor of Hanover, might draw from the protection afforded to Sweden by the British fleet, this was a measure, as things then stood, entirely corresponding with the British interest; and we had often interposed in the very same manner under former reigns, to prevent such conquests in the north as might be fatal to a commerce, upon the proper carrying on of which, in a great measure, depend almost all the other branches of our trade. The insinuations, therefore, of the Czar had no great weight at the time, either with us, or with other powers, as appears by the conduct of Prussia and Denmark, both making separate treaties with Sweden, notwithstanding all the expostulations, remonstrances, and even threatenings of his Czarish majesty to prevent it.

His majesty having spent the summer in his German dominions, returned to Great-Britain in the month of November; and the parliament meeting on the 8th of December following, the proceedings of the whole year were laid before that august assembly; in which it was insisted upon, that the money issued for the sea-service had produced all the desired effects; and that, as peace had been settled by the force of our arms in the Mediterranean a few months before, so it was highly probable that the very terror of our arms would cause the troubles of the north to subside in a few months to come. Upon these suggestions a considerable naval force was asked for the next year; and though there was a good deal of opposition, and a great many bold speeches made, yet in the end the point was carried; and, on the 19th of December, the house of commons resolved, that 10,000 men be allowed for the sea-service for the year 1721, at 4l. a man per month for thirteen months: that 219,049l. 14s. be granted for the ordinary of the navy; and 50,000l. for extra-repairs for the same year. This provision being made, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris, and rear-admiral Hopson, with a squadron of thirteen men of war of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches, into the Baltic, to put an end to those disputes, which had already cost our allies so much blood, and ourselves so large a proportion of treasure, and which it was thought could not be soon settled any other away.

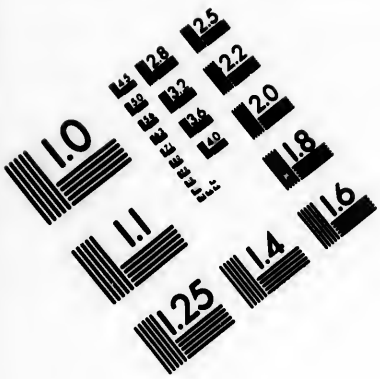
The Czar having still in view the reduction of the Swedes to his own terms, was very early at sea with a large fleet, and, designing to strike a terror into the whole Swedish nation, he ravaged their coasts with incredible fury, to give it the softest name, committing such cruelties as were scarce ever heard of amongst the most barbarous nations; yet the Swedes kept up their spirits, and depending on our protection, did not take any hasty measures, but insisted on certain mitigations, which by this firmness they at last obtained. In the middle of the month of April Sir John Norris sailed from the Nore, and towards the latter end of the same month arrived at Copenhagen, where he

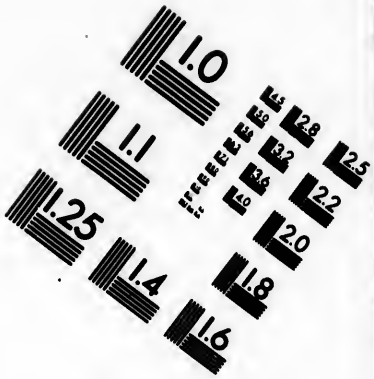
he was received with all imaginable marks of esteem; soon after he continued his voyage for the coast of Sweden, where he was joined by a few Swedish ships. His appearance in those seas, and with such a force, produced greater consequences than were expected from it; for the Czar doubting his own strength, and fearing, upon the loss of a battle, that his whole naval force would be destroyed, as he had seen of late to be the case of Spain, he began to be more inclinable to a peace, which was concluded at Neustadt, upon the thirty-first of August.

This treaty having settled the Czar's rights to the conquered provinces, and secured to the Swedes various immunities and privileges, in order to bring them more readily to consent to such terms as they would have otherwise thought hard, satisfied in some measure both crowns. Sir John Norris continued all this time with his fleet in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, in order to give weight to the negociations of Mr. Finch; and the peace being signed and ratified, he took leave of the Swedish court, and sailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of October; and on the 6th of the same month, returning home, arrived safely at the Nore on the 20th, leaving the north in perfect quiet, and all its powers under a just sense of the seasonable interposition of Great-Britain, in favour of that balance of power in those parts, which is of such high consequence to the tranquillity of Europe in general, as well as the particular advantage of each of the monarchs thus reconciled.

At home, the disputes and uneasiness which had been occasioned by the execution of the South-sea scheme, kept the nation in a high ferment, and put the court under a necessity of altering its measures, and making some changes in the administration; among which, we may reckon the great alteration of the board of admiralty, which took place in the month of September, when his majesty was pleased to order letters patent to pass the great seal, constituting the right honourable James earl of Berkley, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Daniel Pulteney, Esq; commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great-Britain, *&c.* This appointment gave the most general satisfaction at that time; and it must be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their characters, that the board was never better settled than by these gentlemen, four of whom were as great seamen as any in this age; and the other three as well acquainted with the business of the office, and the duties of their post, as any that ever filled them.

The parliament met on the 19th of October, and on the 27th of the same month, the house of commons granted 7000 men for the service of the sea, for the year 1722, at the usual rate of 4l. a man *per* month; and on the 2d of November, they resolved,





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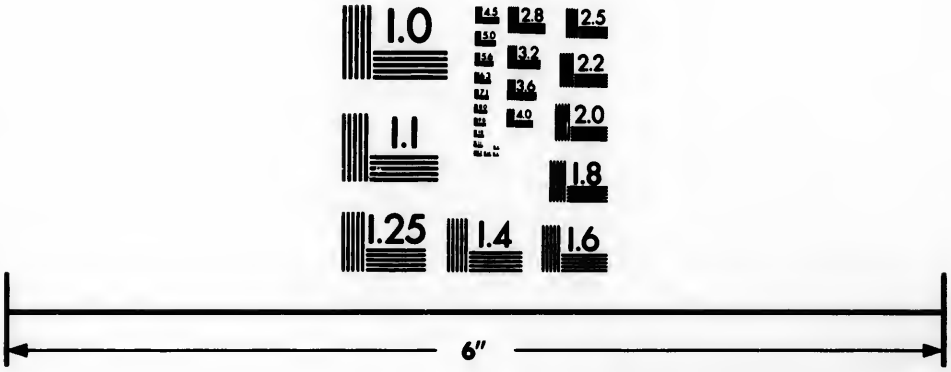

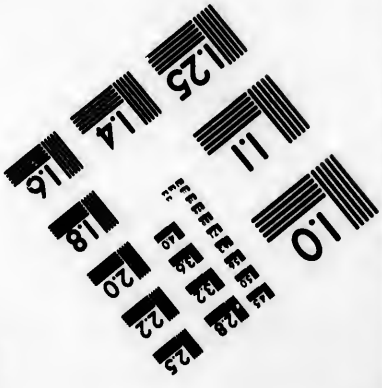

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ſolved, that the ſum of 218,799l. 4s. 7d. be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the ſame year. This was a very moderate expence, and very agreeable to the ſituation of our affairs at that time, which had not been a little diſordered by he large diſburſements into which we had been drawn for many years paſt. It was not long, however, after this grant was made, before a new ſquadron was ordered to be got ready, conſiſting of thirteen very large ſhips, which ſquadron was to be commanded by Sir Charles Wager, and rear-admiral Hoſier. The deſtination of this armament was never certainly known; but the moſt probable account that has been given, is, that it was intended to chaſtiſe the Portugueſe, for an inſult offered by them to Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Roberts, two gentlemen of the factory at Liſbon, whoſe goods they ſeized, impriſoned their perſons, and even went ſo far as to condemn them to be hanged, upon a very trifling pretence. They were, however, upon our remonſtrances ſoon after releaſed, their goods reſtored, and the whole affair was amicably adjuſted.

The pirates in the Weſt-Indies, which had received ſome check from the vigorous diſpoſitions of governor Rogers, and other commanders in thoſe parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew ſo bold as even to annoy our colonies more than ever. This was owing to ſeveral cauſes; particularly to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a ſufficient force in the North American ſeas. The merchants, finding themſelves extremely diſtreſſed, by a grievance that increaſed every day, made repeated repreſentations, upon this head, to the government; upon which, freſh orders were ſent to the officers of the navy cruiſing on the coaſt of Guinea, and in the Weſt-Indies, to exert themſelves, with the utmoſt diligence, in cruſhing theſe enemies to mankind; and theſe injunctions had at length the deſired effect. There was among theſe pirates, on the coaſt of Africa, one Roberts, a man whoſe parts deſerved a better employment; he was an able ſeaman and a good commander, and had with him two very ſtout ſhips, one commanded by himſelf, of forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; the other of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-two men; and to complete his ſquadron, he ſoon added a third, of twenty-four guns, and ninety men: with this force, Roberts had done a great deal of miſchief in the Weſt-Indies, before he ſailed for Africa, where he likewiſe took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April, 1722, he was taken by the then captain, afterwards Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the Swallow, and was cruiſing off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in conſequence of this he went immediately in ſearch of him, and ſoon after diſcovered the pirates in a very convenient bay, where the bigg ſt and the leaſt ſhip were upon the

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heel ſcrubbing. Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a diſtance, Roberts took him for a merchantman, and immediately ordered his conſort Skyrm to ſlip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crowded all the ſail he could to decoy the pirate to ſuch a diſtance, that his conſorts might not hear the guns, and then ſuddenly tacking, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broadſide, by which their captain was killed; which ſo diſcouraged the crew, that after a briſk engagement, which laſted about an hour and a half, they ſurrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to that bay, hoiſting the king's colours, under the pirates black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the pirates, ſeeing the black flag uppermoſt, concluded the king's ſhip had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their conſort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance; for captain Ogle gave them a very warm reception; and, though Roberts fought with the utmoſt bravery for near two hours, yet, being at laſt killed, the courage of his men immediately ſunk, and both ſhips yielded. Captain Ogle carried theſe three prizes, with about one hundred and ſixty men that were taken in them, to Cape Coaſt-caſtle, where they were inſtantly brought to their trials. Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-two were executed, and moſt of them hung in chains in ſeveral places, which ſtruck a terror in that part of the world, as the taking ſeveral pirates in the Weſt-Indies, towards the latter end of the year, did in thoſe ſeas. But theſe ſucceſſes were far from putting an end to the miſchief; ſo that it was found neceſſary ſoon after to ſend ſeveral ſhips of war to the northern colonies and Jamaica, where by degrees they extirpated entirely this dangerous crew of robbers.

The parliament having met on the 9th of October, the houſe of commons, on the 24th of the ſame month, granted 10,000 men for the ſea-ſervice, at four pounds *per* man *per* month, for the year 1723; and, on the 29th, they reſolved, that 216,388l. 14s. 8d. be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the ſame year; and ſoon after the king was pleaſed to promote Sir George Walton, knight, to the rank of rear admiral of the blue, in the room of admiral Mighels, who was appointed to ſucceed Thomas Swanton, Eſq; lately deceaſed, as comptroller of the navy; and admiral Littleton dying the fifth of February, rear-admiral Strickland ſucceeded him as vice-admiral of the white; the other admirals taking place according to their ſeniority.

The naval tranſactions of this year were very inconſiderable; for though ſome great ſhips were put into commiſſion, and there was once a deſign of fitting out a fleet, yet it was very ſoon after laid aſide.

The perplexed ſituation of affairs on the continent making it neceſſary for his majeſty to viſit his German dominions, he embarked

barked on board the Carolina yacht on the 3d of June, arrived safely in Holland on the 7th, and continued his journey by land to Hanover, where he remained during the rest of the year 1723; at the close of which Sir John Norris, with a small squadron of men of war, was sent to escort him from Holland; and he returned safely to St. James's on the 30th of December.

The parliament, which had been farther prorogued, on account of the king's stay abroad, was now summoned to meet on the 9th of January; and care was taken, in the mean time, to regulate whatever had relation to foreign affairs, in such a manner as that his majesty might assure both houses, in his speech from the throne, that, through his assiduous application to business while at Hanover, all affairs had been adjusted, so that most of the courts of Europe were, at that juncture, either in a favourable disposition towards us, or at least in no condition to create in us any apprehensions on account of their armaments or intrigues.

In this state they continued for about two years, that is to say, till a little before the treaty of Hanover, which was concluded there on the 3d of September, 1725. It is sufficiently known to every body, this alliance was concerted in order to prevent the bad effects that were apprehended from the treaty of Vienna; in which there were many things dangerous to the trade of England, and the succession of the royal family; but this, however, the late emperor Charles VI. absolutely denied, and took a very strange as well as extraordinary measure, which was to appeal from the judgment of the king and his ministry to that of the people of this nation, for whom he professed the warmest gratitude, and the highest esteem; however, there was no great sign of this in the proclamation, published some time after, for prohibiting any of the goods and manufactures of Great-Britain from being imported into the island of Sicily, of which we had so lately, and at such a mighty expence to ourselvs, put him in possession.

The year 1726 opened very inauspiciously: his majesty embarked on board the Carolina yacht, at Helvoetsluys, about one in the afternoon on new-year's-day, with a fair wind at north-east, and sailed immediately. But, about seven the same evening, a most violent storm arose, with hail and rain, which so separated the fleet, that only one man of war, commanded by captain Dansie, kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir John Norris. The tempest continued so high, and the sea so boisterous, for about thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger. The third, in the mornig, the yachts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yachts, with some of his majesty's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviseable that his majesty should land at Rye, where he arrived about noon; and on the 9th, in the evening,

evening, he came from thence to his palace at St. James's, in perfect health.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, and the king made a very remarkable ſpeech from the throne, in which he took notice of the critical ſituation of affairs in Europe, and of the meaſures he had taken for ſupporting the honour of his crown, and preſerving the juſt rights of his people. When this ſpeech came to be debated in the houſe of commons, very warm things were ſaid, by thoſe who were then in the oppoſition, againſt the plan of the Hanover alliance, which, though it was alſo diſliked by many of the miniſters here at home, yet was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by others, and even by them, in that debate.

On the 26th of January the houſe of commons reſolved, that ten thouſand men be employed for the ſea-ſervice, for the year 1726, at 4l. a man *per* month for thirteen months. The 23d of February they reſolved, that 212,381l. 5s. be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the ſame year. But this proviſion, as the affairs of Europe then ſtood, being not thought ſufficient, his majeſty held it requiſite, on the 24th of March, to ſend a meſſage to the houſe of commons, importing, that he found it abſolutely neceſſary to augment his maritime force, and hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted and granted for the ſervice of this year, that he might be thereby enabled not only to ſecure to his own ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, but in the beſt manner to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch deſigns as had been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this nation, and the general peace of Europe. Upon this meſſage there was a very warm debate, which iſſued in an addreſs from the houſe to his majeſty, deſiring, "That he would be pleaſed to make "ſuch an addition to the number of ſeamen already voted, and "to concert ſuch other meaſures as he in his great wiſdom "ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of the trade and "navigation of this kingdom, and to the preſervation of the "peace of Europe, aſſuring his majeſty, that they would effec-"tually provide for, and make good, all ſuch expences and en-"gagements as ſhould be entered into for obtaining thoſe great "and deſirable ends."

The Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the ſecuring that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into ſome degree of danger, and perhaps the ſame cauſe will hardly ever fail to produce the ſame effects; whence it is evident, that, the leſs ſhare we take in the affairs of the continent, the leſs the preſent royal family will be expoſed to ſuch attempts; and therefore a wiſe miniſtry will be ſure to inform their maſter, that purſuing the real and acknowledged intereſts of Great-Britain will conciliate all the powers of the continent except France, and that attempts to aggrandize his electoral dominions will always create him enemies,

enemies, disturb the peace of Germany, and affect the ballance of Europe.

I have already observed, that the ministry at home were by no means the authors of the Hanover alliance, though they looked on themselves as obliged to support it; and therefore, as soon as they were acquainted with the schemes formed by the allies of Vienna, they set about disappointing them with all their force. In order to this, they did not much trust to their good allies the French, or to the slow assistance of the Dutch, but chose the shortest and most expeditious method possible, of helping themselves, with which view it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Baltic to awe the Czarina, to bring round another power, and to keep steady a third. It was likewise thought requisite to have another strong squadron on the coast of Spain to intimidate his catholic majesty, and to render his efforts, if he should make any against Gibraltar, ineffectual; and, to sum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the sinews of war, but the great bond of friendship, at least among states and princes, they determined to send a considerable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the shortest means of dissolving the union between their imperial and catholic majesties, being satisfied, that, if the former could not receive his subsidies, the latter could never rely upon his assistance: such were the plans on both sides at this critical juncture!

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The squadron they were to command consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and one hospital-ship. His final instructions having been given to the commander in chief, he on the 13th of April, 1726, hoisted his flag on board the Torbay, a third rate man of war, at the Nore. He was saluted thereupon by all the ships lying there, and returned their salutes with one and twenty guns. About an hour after, Sir George Walton hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland at her mizen-topmast head, and saluted the admiral with nineteen guns, and was answered with seventeen The 14th, Sir Charles delivered out a line of battle, and a rendezvous for Copenhagen road, or the Dahlen, near Stockholm, with sailing instructions. The 17th in the morning, the fleet weighed, and set sail from the Nore. On the 23d of the same month, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and on the 25th, Sir Charles presented his majesty's letter to the king of Denmark in cabinet-council, dined with his Danish majesty the same day, and entertained the then prince royal of Denmark on board his own ship the next. On the 6th of May, the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager anchored near Stockholm.

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The very next day Stephen Pointz, Esq; his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, accompanied by Mr. Jackson, his majesty's resident, came on board the admiral. The 8th, Sir Charles went up to that city with them; and on the 10th, had an audience of the king of Sweden, in the presence of several of the senators, to which he was introduced by Mr. Pointz. Sir Charles delivered a letter from the king his master to his Swedish majesty, by whom he was very graciously received. The 14th of the same month the squadron of Danish men of war sailed from Copenhagen for the island of Bornholm, in order to join the British squadron. These ceremonies over, Sir Charles Wager sailed with his squadron to the island of Narignan, within three leagues of Revel. There, on the 25th of May, captain Deane, who had been on board the Port-Mahon, nearer in with the shore, returned on board the Torbay, and brought the admiral an account, that he had spoken with a Lubecker that came five days before from Petersburgh, whose master informed him, that there were sixteen Russian men of war in the road at Cronslot, with three flags flying, *viz.* lord-admiral Apraxin, vice-admiral Gordon, and rear-admiral Saunders; that a great number of gallies were in readiness, of which but twelve were at Cronslot, and the rest at Petersburgh, or Wyburgh.

The admiral took the first opportunity of sending his majesty's letter to the Czarina, inclosed in a letter to her admiral Apraxin, in which letter his majesty expostulated very freely with her on the subject of her armaments by sea and land, and on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into with the agents of the pretender. It is said, that the Russian court was very much nettled at this appearance of a British fleet upon their coasts, and was inclined to have come to extremities, rather than endure it. But vice-admiral Gordon very wisely represented to the council, that the Russian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great-Britain; upon which orders were given for laying it up, and for securing, in the best manner possible, both it and the gallies from being insulted. In the month of July prince Menzikoff, who was then prime minister, coming to Revel, mutual civilities passed between him and Sir Charles Wager; and his highness, to shew his regard to the English officers, frequently invited them to his own table.

The British fleet, while in this station, was joined by a Danish squadron, commanded by rear-admiral Bille, and remained before Revel till the 28th of September, when, having received certain intelligence that the Russians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, he sailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving safely at the Gunfleet on the first of November. It must be allowed that Sir Charles Wager performed, on this occasion, all that could be expected from the wisdom and skill of an English admiral; so that this expedition effectually

effectually anſwered its end, which ought to be conſidered as an honour to his memory, whether that end ſhall be thought right or wrong; for that is a mere political diſpute, which neither can, or ought to affect the character of the admiral in the leaſt.

The fleet that was ſent to the coaſt of Spain, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, and conſiſted of nine large men of war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by ſeveral ſhips that were cruizing there. The admiral ſailed on the 20th of July from St. Helen's; and, on the 3d of Auguſt, entered the bay of St. Antonio, which alarmed the Spaniards exceſſively, who immediately drew down a great body of regular troops towards the coaſt. When the fleet firſt entered the bay, ſome pieces of cannon were fired at the foremoſt ſhips; but the governor of St. Antonio preſently ſent an officer to Sir John Jennings to excuſe it, and to aſſure him it was an act of indiſcretion committed by the governor of the fort, without orders. On the 25th of the ſame month the fleet arrived at Liſbon, and was received there with all poſſible marks of reſpect; and Sir John Jennings, having received a meſſage from the king of Portugal, intimating that he would be glad to ſee him, the admiral landed, paid his compliments to his majeſty, and then returning on board his ſquadron, ſailed from the river of Liſbon for the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, where he was treated with great diſtinction, and had all the refreſhments he deſired ſent him, by order of the Spaniſh governor.

He cruized for ſome time after off Cape St. Mary's, in order to wait for the ſhips that were to join him. On the 7th of the ſame month rear-admiral Hopſon, with four Britiſh men of war, came into the river of Liſbon, and one of the ſhips having loſt her main-yard, and another having her fore-maſt damaged, the rear-admiral applied to our miniſter, brigadier Dormer, who immediately obtained an order from his Portugueſe majeſty, for furniſhing every thing that was neceſſary out of his naval ſtores. The 9th, his majeſty's ſhips the Winchelſea and Swallow, which ſailed ſome time before from the Downs, came into the entrance of the river Tagus, and the next day proceeded to join Sir John Jennings.

It would be needleſs for me to enter into a farther or more particular detail of the motions of this ſquadron, which ſoon after returned to Spithead. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that it anſwered perfectly the ends propoſed by it; alarmed the Spaniſh court to the higheſt degree, obliged it to abandon the meaſures then taking to the prejudice of Great-Britain, and gave ſuch ſpirits to the party in Spain which oppoſed thoſe dangerous councils, as enabled them to triumph over all oppoſition. The duke de Ripperda, who had been lately prime miniſter, the very man who had negociated the treaty of Vienna, by whoſe intrigues the two courts had been embroiled, took ſhelter, at the

time

time of his disgrace, in the house of the earl of Harrington, then colonel Stanhope, and our minister at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a British squadron upon the coast prevailed upon the Spanish court to lay aside all thoughts of proceeding against him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the British ministry those very designs that occasioned the sending of this fleet; and he soon after made his escape from the castle of Segovia, and retired hither as to the only place of safety, from the resentment of his catholic majesty. Such were the events that attended the expedition of Sir John Jennings on the coast of Spain: let us proceed to the transactions in the West-Indies.

As the execution of all the great designs formed by the Vienna allies, depended entirely on the supplies that were expected from the Spanish West-Indies, our ministry thought they could not take either a wiser or bolder measure, than sending a squadron into those parts to block up the galleons, and so prevent them from receiving those supplies. A squadron was accordingly ordered to be equipped for that purpose, the command of which was given to Francis Hosier, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue, an excellent officer; but what his instructions were, I am not able to say, as having no better authority to proceed upon than bare conjectures. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1726; and though he had a very quick passage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his design; by an advice-boat from Cadiz, so that before he reached the Bastimentos, the treasure which had been on board the galleons, and which that year consisted of about six millions and a half sterling, was fairly carried back to Panama, on the other side the Isthmus. On the 6th of June vice-admiral Hosier anchored within sight of Porto Bello; upon which the governor sent to know his demands. The vice-admiral answered, with great prudence and temper, that he waited for the Royal George, a large South sea ship, then in the harbour, which had disposed of all her cargo, and had a very large sum of money on board. The Spaniards, in hopes of getting rid of so troublesome a guest, hastened her way; which, I think, was the greatest service this squadron performed. With respect to the blocking up of the galleons, that was so much magnified here at home, it was really a dream, for his remaining there three weeks, was time sufficient to put it out of their power to return for that season; and, therefore, his continuing there six months, as he did, till his squadron, that had been the terror, became the jest of the Spaniards, was altogether needless. A little before Christmas he weighed, and sailed for Jamaica, after such a loss of men, and in so wretched a condition, that I cannot prevail upon myself to enter into the particulars of a disaster, which I heartily wish could be blotted out of the annals, and out of the remembrance of this nation.

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It happened very luckily for him, that there were at that time in the island of Jamaica, a great number of seamen out of employment, so that in two months time his squadron was once more manned, and in a condition to put to sea; which he did, and stood over to Carthagena, where he was able to do little or nothing; for the Spaniards had by this time recovered their spirits, and began to make reprisals, seizing the Prince Frederic, a South-sea ship, then at La Vera Cruz, with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company, which admiral Hosier did indeed demand, but to no purpose. He continued cruizing in those seas, and some of his ships took several Spanish prizes, most of which were afterwards restored; and in this situation things continued till the vice-admiral breathed his last, on the 23d of August, 1727. But that, and what followed, being without the limits of this work, I have nothing farther to say of this expedition, which, whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great courage and conduct by this unfortunate commander, who lost his seamen twice over, and whose ships were totally ruined by the worms in those seas, which created a mighty clamour at home, and was, without doubt, a prodigious loss to the nation.

The Spaniards, intending to shew that they were not intimidated by these mighty naval armaments, proceeded in the scheme they had formed, of attacking the important fortress of Gibraltar; and towards the close of the year 1726, their army, under the count de las Torres, actually came before the place. Our ministry at home having had previous intelligence of this design, ordered a small squadron to be got ready at Portsmouth in the month of December; and on the 24th, Sir Charles Wager, having hoisted his flag on board the Kent, as soon as the wind would permit, sailed, in order to join rear-admiral Hopson, for the relief of that garrison, which he performed very effectually the succeeding year.

The parliament met on the 17th of January, 1727, and on the 23d of the same month the house of commons came to a resolution, that 20,000 men should be allowed for the sea-service, at the usual rate of 4l. a month *per* man; and on the first of the next month, they voted 199,071l. for the ordinary of the navy. The first use made of these extraordinary supplies was, to send once more a fleet into the Baltic, where, it was said, the Czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes; and afterwards to proceed to the execution of designs which have been formerly mentioned. On the 21st of April, captain Maurice commander of the Nassau, was appointed rear-admiral of the white squadron, and captain Robert Hughes, commander of the Hampton-Court, rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet; and captain Rogers was appointed to command the Nassau in the room of admiral Maurice. They were all three

to

to ſerve under Sir John Norris, who ſailed the latter end of that month, and arrived on the coaſt of Jutland the 8th of May, anchored in ſight of Elſineur the 11th; the next day in the road of Copenhagen; the king of Denmark being at his palace at Frederickſburgh, Sir John, with the lord Glenorchy, his majeſty's miniſter at that court, waited on his Daniſh majeſty, and was extremely well received.

Soon after this the nation ſuſtained a moſt heavy loſs the death of King GEORGE I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Oſnaburgh, June the 11th, 1727, about one in the morning, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the ſixty-eighth of his life. To ſpeak without flattery, his majeſty was a prince of great virtues, and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general intereſt of all the princes of Europe, and particularly well verſed in whatever related to German affairs, with reſpect to which he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the conſtitution of the empire. As to his conduct after his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne, his miniſters were entirely accountable for it; for he conſtantly declared to them, that his intention was to govern according to the laws, and with no other view than the general good of his people. He was allowed, by the beſt judges of military ſkill, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and underſtood buſineſs as well as any prince of his time. In his deportment he was eaſy and familiar, of a temper very ſenſible of the ſervices that were rendered him; firm in his friendſhips, naturally averſe to violent meaſures, and as compaſſionate as any prince that ever ſat upon a throne.

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN from the accession of king George II. to the end of the war in the year 1763.

KING GEORGE II. ascended the throne of Great-Britain in the year 1727, and in the forty-fourth year of his age. All the European powers were now at peace; nevertheless, some of them were so little satisfied with the terms to which necessity had compelled them to accede, that a future war was easily foreseen. The late king had engaged in an unnatural alliance with France, and, under a pretence of adjusting the balance of power, had burdened the nation with subsidies to Sweden and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The emperor Charles VI. for whom we had so lately wrested Sicily from the Spaniards, was now leagued with the court of Madrid, and the court of Madrid, and the political scheme of our ministry, some time before the death of George I. was to humble this very emperor, in whose cause we had so lately expended such sums of British treasure.

Before I proceed to the occurrences which are the immediate objects of a naval history, it seems necessary to bring the reader acquainted with the men in power at the beginning of this reign. Lord Townsend and the duke of Newcastle were generally supposed to conduct the important concern of foreign negotiations. The first of these is allowed to have possessed knowledge and talents

lents equal to the task. As to the latter, he was certainly not a man of great abilities; but he had distinguished himself as a steady and indefatigable friend to the house of Hanover, and his parliamentary interest was very inconsiderable. Lord Carteret, though not ostensibly in the administration, was frequently consulted, and his advice generally followed. He was a man of some genius and learning, and, having been much abroad, was supposed to be well acquainted with the general system of Europe. The interior government of the kingdom was principally conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, who was at the head of the treasury, and leader of the Whigs in the house of commons. He was well versed in the mystery of financing, funding, and in the effectual application of money, as a powerful engine of government. He spoke in parliament, though not elegantly, yet with ease, fluency, and persuasion. He knew mankind, and on that knowledge he is said to have laid the foundation of that uniform plan of influence, so very agreeable to subsequent parliaments, and so indispensably useful to future ministers.

Our chief naval commanders were Sir Charles Wager, Sir John Norris, and admiral Hosier: the first commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, the second in the Baltic, and the third in the West-Indies, where he died, about two months after the king's accession. Sir Charles Wager had been sent to secure Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards. He afterwards continued upon the coast of Spain, in order to persuade that nation, by the *ultima ratio regum*, if necessary, to acquiesce in the general plan of peace to which the other considerable powers had already acceded. Sir John Norris had been sent with a fleet into the Baltic, with a design to protect Sweden from the Czarina, who threatened that country with an invasion. And admiral Hosier had sailed, in April 1726, to the West-Indies, in order to block up the Spanish galleons, and thereby prevent that treasure from being brought to Europe, without which, it was imagined, the courts of Vienna and Madrid could not prosecute the war.

Such was the situation of the British navy at the accession of George II. who, as I have before observed, found his kingdom at peace with all the world. No immediate change was made, eitheir of ministers or measures; but, before the expiration of the year, lord Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty, and the earl of Westmoreland made first lord of trade.

A new parliament was called. The two houses met on the twenty-third day of January, 1728. The commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow, Esq; member for the county of Surry, a man whose abilities and integrity rendered him singularly qualified for that important office. The king,

in his ſpeech from the throne, informed his parliament, that the difficulties, which had hitherto prevented the execution of the preliminaries to the eſtabliſhment of a general peace, were now removed, and that a congreſs would ſoon be opened for that purpoſe, in which he hoped the peace of Europe would be effectually ſecured; but that nevertheleſs, in order to prevent the poſſibility of an open rupture, it was neceſſary to continue the preparations for war. He wiſhed that ſome ſcheme might be formed for the increaſe and ſecurity of ſeamen, that they might rather be invited than compelled into the ſervice. He promiſed œconomy as ſoon as the public ſafety would permit, and concluded his ſpeech, as uſual, with recommending unanimity and diſpatch. The two houſes preſented moſt dutiful addreſſes on the occaſion. They voted 22,955 men for guards and garriſons, and 15,000 ſeamen, for the ſervice of the year. They granted 231,000l. for the maintenance of 12,000 Heſſians; a ſubſidy of 50,000l. to the king of Sweden, and 25,000l. to the duke of Brunſwick.

The congreſs, which met at Soiſſons to eſtabliſh peace, having yet determined nothing, the fate of Europe remained ſuſpended. Spain had ſecretly ſhaken hands with France, and was now allied to Portugal by means of a double marriage; ſhe therefore grew indifferent as to peace with England. She continued her depredations on our commerce in the Weſt-Indies, where our fleet remained inactive and rotting, and our ſailors periſhed miſerably, inſulted and unrevenged.

The parliament of England met, according to their prorogation, on the 21ſt of January. They voted 15,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the year: the number of land-forces was alſo continued, as were likewiſe the ſubſidies to foreign princes. The merchants of London, Briſtol, and Liverpool preſented petitions to the houſe of commons, complaining of the repeated injuries they had ſuſtained by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies; upon which the houſe ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce every ſimilar memorial which they had received; and they addreſſed the king, praying, that the inſtructions and letters ſent to admiral Hoſier and his ſucceſſors in command, might be laid before them. A committee of the whole houſe took this important affair into conſideration, and after examining evidence, and amply debating the matter, reſolved, that the Spaniards had violated the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns; that they had treated the crews of ſeveral Engliſh ſhips with inhumanity; that the inſtructions given to admiral Hoſier, to ſeize and detain the Spaniſh galleons, were juſt and neceſſary. The houſe of commons then addreſſed the king, requeſting his majeſty to require ſatisfaction of Spain; and he anſwered them by a promiſe to comply with their requeſt

Meanwile

Meanwhile the houſe of lords deliberated on the poſitive demand made by the catholic king, of the reſtitution of Gibraltar, founded on the contents of a letter written by king George I. to the king of Spain. From an authentic copy of this letter, it appeared, that his late majeſty had actually conſented to this reſtitution. Their lordſhips then reſolved, that the houſe did firmly rely, that his majeſty would, in ſupport of the honour and trade of this kingdom, take effectual care to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca.

The year 1730 produced nothing worthy the attention of a naval hiſtorian. The king, in his ſpeech to parliament, which met on the 13th of January, informed them, that the peace of Europe was now eſtabliſhed by a treaty concluded at Seville; that the uninterrupted commerce of Great-Britain was reſtored; and that the nation was to be amply indemnified for the Spaniſh depredations in the Weſt-Indies. Nevertheleſs I find, that on the 2d of March, 1731, ſeveral maſters and ſailors of merchant-ſhips, who had been taken by the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas, came to London to give an account to parliament of the cruel treatment they had received from the Spaniards. In 1733 the houſe of commons addreſſed the king, to know what ſatisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations above-mentioned; and by his majeſty's anſwer it appeared, that the commiſſioners had not yet made their report. In the ſpeech from the throne, which put an end to the preceding ſeſſion of parliament, the nation was told, that all diſputes with foreign powers were ſettled, and the public tranquillity eſtabliſhed. However, twelve ſhips of the line were put into commiſſion, and preſs-warrants were iſſued for manning the fleet. Meanwhile rear-admiral Stewart demanded of the governor of Campeachy and the Havanna, reſtitution for three ſhips plundered by Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas. In conſequence of this peremptory demand, one of the Guarda Coſtas was ſold at St. Jago de Cuba, and the money paid to the South-Sea factors. One of the Spaniſh governors was ſent home, and another confined in the caſtle of Cuba.

In 1734 the navy of England conſiſted of ninety-two men of war, ſixty of which were of the line. In the following year a miſunderſtanding, on a frivolous occaſion, happening between the courts of Spain and Portugal, the latter applied to Great-Britain for protection; in conſequence of which, Sir John Norris ſailed with a powerful fleet, and arrived at Liſbon on the ninth of June, where he was joyfully received as their deliverer.

Regardleſs of the frequent complaints and remonſtrances delivered to the court of Spain by the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid, the Spaniards in America continued audaciouſly to inſult and moleſt our commerce. They pretended that we had no right either to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, or to gather ſalt on the iſland of Tortugas. Their Guarda Coſtas boarded and plundered every Engliſh ſhip they met, under a pretence of ſearching for

for contraband goods. They even ſeized ſeveral Engliſh veſſels, confiſcated their cargoes, and threw the ſailors into priſon. Fired by ſuch reiterated provocation, the people of England began now to loſe all patience. Petitions to the houſe of commons were tranſmitted from various parts of the kingdom. The houſe again addreſſed the king, and the king again returned a promiſſory anſwer. It is difficult, even at this diſtance of time, to reflect with patience on the puſillanimity of the Britiſh miniſtry at this period; nor is it poſſible to imagine the Spaniards would have carried their inſolence ſo far, if they had not depended on the pacific diſpoſition of Sir Robert Walpole. He had other uſes for the treaſure which fleets and armies would conſume; and therefore he left nothing unattempted to avert, or, at leaſt, to procraſtinate the ſtorm. For this purpoſe, he patched up a convention with the court of Spain, importing, that the diſputes between the two crowns ſhould be ſettled by two plenipotentiaries. This convention was ſeverely cenſured by the oppoſition in both houſes of parliament. The city of London, the Weſt-India merchants, and the merchants of Briſtol, preſented petitions, juſtly complaining, that their indiſputable right to paſs unmoleſted to and from the Britiſh colonies, was, in this convention, left, as a dubitable privilege, to be determined by plenipotentiaries.

The convention above-mentioned ſtipulated, that 95,000l. being a balance due from Spain to the crown and ſubjects of Great-Britain, ſhould be paid in London before the expiration of four months after the ratification. The time was now expired, and the money not yet paid. The houſe of lords appointed a day for taking the ſtate of the nation into conſideration, and when the day arrived, Lord Carteret moved for a reſolution, that this failure of payment was a high indignity to the king, and an injuſtice to the nation. The previous queſtion was put, and the motion loſt. But though the miniſter yet retained a ſufficient majority in both houſes, the nation in general was too much exaſperated to afford any hopes of preventing a war with Spain. Letters of marque and repriſal were granted; the army was augmented; an embargo was laid on all outward-bound veſſels; a fleet was aſſembled at Spithead, and a reinforcement was ſent to admiral Haddock, who at this time commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean. Our whole fleet in commiſſion conſiſted of eighty-four men of war, beſides thirty-two ready to put into commiſſion. The entire navy of Spain amounted to thirty-three ſhips of war, thoſe of the flota, which are properly merchant-ſhips, included.

Both nations began to make vigorous preparations for war. The court of Spain at this juncture revived its alliance by a marriage between the Infant Don Philip and Madam de France, and the French miniſtry did not ſcruple to declare, that if Spain were oppreſſed by any power whatſoever, they ſhould not remain idle ſpectators. The States General, on the other hand, did

did not ſcruple to ſignify by their miniſters at the courts of France and Spain, that they were under certain mutual engagements to England, which, if required, they thought themſelves in honour obliged to fulfil.

Vice-admiral Vernon ſailed on the 20th of July for the Weſt-Indies with nine men of war. This gentleman had rendered himſelf conſpicuous in the houſe of commons by his blunt oppoſition to the miniſtry. In the debate concerning the Spaniſh depredations in the Weſt-Indies, he had affirmed, that he could take Porto-Bello with ſix men of war. He had formerly commanded a fleet on the Jamaica ſtation, and was therefore ſuppoſed to be well acquainted with thoſe ſeas. His offer was echoed by the members in the oppoſition, and the whole nation reſounded his praiſe. The miniſter embraced this opportunity of acquiring ſome popularity, and, at the ſame time, of removing a troubleſome opponent in the houſe of commons. Beſides, it was generally imagined that he was not without hopes that the admiral might diſgrace himſelf and his party by not ſucceeding in the adventure. Vernon ſailed for the Weſt-Indies.

The Engliſh fleet cruiſing on the coaſt of Spain was particularly intended to intercept the Aſſogues ſhip from Vera Cruz. Theſe ſhips, however, arrived ſafe at St. Andero. Having received information of the ſituation of affairs in Europe, inſtead of coming by the Madeiras for Calais, as uſual, they ſailed by the Bahamas, and went north about; then ſteering weſtward, and doubling the Lizard, they made Uſhant, and thence creeping along ſhore, croſſed the bay of Biſcay, and ſo to St. Andero.

On the 23d day of October, Great-Britain declared war againſt Spain, and in the ſame month intelligence was received that admiral Haddock had taken two rich ſhips from the Caracas, having on board 2,000,000 pieces of eight. He was ſoon after joined by admiral Balchen, with ſix ſhips of the line.

Vice-admiral Vernon arrived at Jamaica the 23d of October, the day on which war was proclaimed in England. On his arrival off Port-Royal in that iſland, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the Diamond man of war ſtanding into the harbour with two Spaniſh veſſels in tow, one of which was a regiſter ſhip with 120,000 pieces of eight, and clothing for 6000 men, on board. The admiral ſailed from Jamaica on the 5th of November, with ſix ſhips of war. Having met with contrary winds, he did not come in ſight of Porto-Bello till the 20th in the evening. He was apprehenſive of driving to the eaſtward during the night; he therefore anchored about ſix leagues from ſhore.

On the 21ſt, in the morning, the adimiral weighed and plied to windward in line of battle. The ſhips entered the bay in the following order, *viz.* The Hampton-Court, Norwich, Worceſter, Burford, Strafford, Louiſa. Orders had been given for a general attack; but the wind coming to the eaſtward, the admiral

was

was obliged to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, close to which the squadron was piloted by captain Rentone. When the Hampton-Court came within about a cable's length, of the fort, she was suddenly becalmed by the high land to windward, and, before she could bring her guns to bear, was exposed to a smart fire from the enemy. But as soon as she was in a situation to return the salute, after having dropped her anchor, she seemed, in a moment, a cloud of perpetual thunder. She appeared to the rest of the fleet to be all on fire. In the space of twenty-five minutes she is said to have fired 400 balls. The Norwich and the Worcester were not long before they came up, and fired upon the fort with vast alacrity. These were followed by the Burford, on board of which was the admiral, who perceiving that the Spaniards began to fly from several parts of the fort, made a signal for landing. Meanwhile he luffed up as near the fort as possible, and, by means of his small arms, drove the garrison from the lower battery. As the boats full of sailors and marines passed the admiral, he called to them to land immediately under the walls of the fort, though there was no breach made. The sailors were no sooner on shore than they scaled the wall, and, pulling up the soldiers after them, struck the Spanish colours in the lower battery, and hoisted an English ensign. This was no sooner perceived by the garrison in the upper part of the fort, than they hoisted a white flag, a signal for capitulation, and surrendered at discretion. The garrison of this fort consisted of 300 men, out of which, at the time of surrender, there remained only thirty-five privates and five officers.

The ships which sailed in before the admiral, were now fallen to leeward; but the Burford being exposed to the Gloria-castle, it continued firing at her till night, without however doing her any other damage than wounding her fore-top-mast a little above the rigging. The admiral then pointed some of the lower deck guns at this castle, and sent several shot over it into the town, one of which went through the governor's house.

On the morning of the 22d the admiral called a council of war, and, it being thought not adviseable to attack the Gloria-castle by day, orders were issued for warping the ships up the following night. This circumspection proved unnecessary. The Spaniards hoisted a white flag, and immediately sent a boat with a flag of truce, with terms on which they wished to capitulate: in answer to these the admiral returned other articles, and allowed them a few hours for deliberation. They accepted his terms, and the British troops took immediate possession of the Gloria and St. Jeronimo forts.

There were in the harbour of Porto-Bello two Spanish guarda-coastas of twenty guns each, and an armed snow. The crews of these vessels, chusing to anticipate the British sailors, plundered the town in the night, and committed great outrages on the inhabitants. The English seamen and soldiers, on the contrary, beha-

behaved with great decency and humanity, after they became possessed of the town; and, as a reward for their moderation and gallantry, the admiral distributed among them 10,000 dollars, which were just arrived in order to pay the Spanish troops. The admiral, having taken on board his fleet all the brass cannon and ammunition found in the several forts, he proceeded to demolish the fortifications; which was completely effected in three weeks, at the expence of 122 barrels of Spanish gun-powder. On the 27th of November the Diamond, captain Knowles, and on the 29th the Windsor, captain Berkley, and the Anglesea, captain Reddish, arrived at Porto-Bello, in consequence of orders, left by the admiral at the Leeward islands, for these ships to follow him. On the 13th of December the admiral, with his squadron, sailed for Jamaica, and on the 28th, being then off Carthagena, he dispatched captain Rentone, in the Spanish Snow, with the news to England.

The taking of Porto-Bello, whilst it did honour to the British navy, reflected at the same time no inconsiderable degree of praise on the English ministry. There was an evident propriety in punishing the insolence of the Spaniards in the offending part. Porto-Bello was an asylum for the guarda-costas, two of which were found in the harbour, and carried off by the admiral. But this was not the only service he rendered to his country in the destruction of Porto-Bello. His success enabled him to extend his influence to Panama, where some of the factors and servants of the South-sea company were confined. He wrote to the president of that place in the language of a conqueror, and the factors and servants were immediately sent to Porto-Bello.

Captain Rentone, in the Triumph sloop, arrived in England on the 12th of March, 1740, with the news of this expedition. The whole nation became frantic with joy. Congratulatory addresses were presented by parliament, by the cities of London, Bristol, &c. The commons granted every demand of the crown. They voted 28,000 land forces, besides 6000 marines; they provided for a powerful navy, and several men of war were added to those already in commission.

There were at this time two considerable squadrons of English men of war in the Mediterranean; one at Gibraltar, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, consisting of twelve sail, and the other on the Minorca station, commanded by rear-admiral Haddock. But these fleets were only employed in cruising on the coast of Spain and Italy, without any attempt to attack or annoy the enemy, except by now and then seizing a few unarmed trading vessels by ships of war.

We now return to admiral Vernon, the hero of this period. I have related above, that in the last month of the year 1739, he sailed with his squadron from Porto-Bello to Jamaica. He continued at Port Royal, in that island, till the 25th of February (1740) following, on which day he sailed for Carthagena, which

which he bombarded at intervals during three days, with no other effect than that of terrifying the inhabitants, and injuring some of their churches and convents. What was intended by this bombardment is not very evident. On the 10th of March the squadron weighed anchor, and sailed in line of battle westward along the coast. In passing by Boca Chica, they were saluted with a few shot from three small forts near the mouth of the harbour; but they fell short of the ships. The admiral, having ordered the Windsor and the Greenwich to cruize off Carthagena, proceeded with the rest of his fleet to Porto-Bello, in order to repair the damages sustained by the small craft in the late bombardment. This business being compleated, and the fleet watered in about eight days, he sailed on the 22d, and steering south-west along shore, entered the river Chegre, which is but a few leagues distant from Porto-Bello. At the mouth of this river there was a castle, or fort, called St. Lorenzo, under whose protection the guarda-costas used to ride secure. The only two of these Spanish pirates (for they were little better) which now remained on this coast, were at this time in the river. The admiral, in going in, had the misfortune to be retarded by an accident which happened to his fore-topsail-yard. He was on board the Strafford. This accident obliged him to make a signal for the Norwich to sail in before him, with the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders. The Norwich was then commanded by captain Herbert, and the bomb-ketches, *&c.* were conducted by captain Knowles, who came to an anchor at three in the afternoon, and began to bombard the fort that evening. The admiral's ship did not come to an anchor till ten o'clock at night. Far be it from me to insinuate that there was any want of personal courage in admiral Vernon. But I beg leave to advise all future admirals, to whom such an accident in the fore-topsail-yard may happen, immediately to hoist their flag on board the leading ship. This, however, does not appear to have been a service of much danger. The castle mounted only eleven brass cannon, and as many pattereroes. Nevertheless it sustained a furious bombardment, and a continued cannonade from three of the largest ships in the fleet, till the morning of the 24th, when the garrison surrendered, and the fort was immediately possessed by the British troops.

There were found in the custom-house, on the opposite side of the river, 4,300 bags of Peruvian bark, and other merchandize, which were shipped on board the fleet, together with the brass ordnance above-mentioned. The custom-house was then set on fire, the two guarda costas destroyed, and the fort entirely demolished; after which the admiral returned to Porto-Bello, where he arrived on the first of April.

Whilst Vernon was thus employed in the West-Indies, our fleets in Europe were unemployed. I mean to say, that they achieved nothing against the enemy; for as to employment, they had

had enough of ſailing and counter ſailing, and of fighting too, with adverſe winds. On the 23d of July a fleet of 21 ſhips of the line, commanded by Sir John Norris, with two other admirals, *viz.* Sir Chaloner Ogle, and Philip Cavendiſh, ſailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, the duke of Cumberland ſerving on board as a volunteer. But the wind ſhifting, they were obliged, after being three days at ſea, to put back into Torbay. On the 4th of Auguſt they ſailed again, with the wind at north-eaſt, on the following day were within a few leagues of the Lizard; but on the 6th it blew ſo violently from the weſt, that they were obliged once more to return to Torbay. On the 22d they made a third attempt, and after five days obſtinate contention with tempeſtuous contrary winds, were a third time obliged to return to the ſame place. What was the deſtination of this fleet remains a matter of doubt. Probably the Spaniſh ſquadron, at this time at Ferrol, was the object. But, be the deſign whatſoever it might, it was now relinquiſhed, and the admiral, with the duke of Cumberland, returned to London. Thus began, and thus ended the naval hiſtory of his royal highneſs, who probably concluded, from this inauſpicious eſſay, that he had miſtaken his element.

In this year the celebrated commodore Anſon began his voyage to the South-Seas. He ſailed from St. Helen's with five men of war on the 18th of September. About two months after, Sir Chaloner Ogle ſailed for the Weſt-Indies with twenty-one ſhips of the line, and a conſiderable body of land forces, commanded by lord Cathcart. This formidable fleet, which conſiſted of a hundred and ſeventy ſail, had ſcarce taken its departure from the Land's-end, before it was ſcattered and diſperſed by a violent tempeſt. The admiral nevertheleſs purſued his voyage, and came to an anchor in the neutral iſland of Dominica, in order to take in wood and water. In this iſland the expedition ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of Lord Cathcart, a brave and experienced officer, who died of a dyſentery. The command of the land forces now devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer of no experience, and of very moderate abilities. The admiral, in his voyage from Dominica to Jamaica, ſailing near the iſland of Hiſpaniola, diſcovered four large ſhips of war. He made ſignal for an equal number of his ſquadron to give them chace. The chace refuſed to bring to, and Lord Auguſtus Fitzroy, who commanded the Engliſh detachment, gave one of them a broad-ſide, and an engagement enſued, which continued during part of the night. In the morning they hoiſted French colours, and conſequently the firing ceaſed, there being at this time no declaration of war between the two nations. The commanders apologized to each other for the miſtake, and parted, but with loſs of men on both ſides.

Sir

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived off Jamaica on the 9th of January, 1741, where he joined admiral Vernon, who now commanded a fleet of thirty ſhips of the line, with a conſiderable number of frigates, bomb-ketches, fire ſhips, *&c.* The number of ſeamen was about 15,000, and that of the land forces at leaſt 12,000, including four battalions raiſed in America, and 500 negroes from Jamaica. This very formidable armament, doubtleſs the moſt tremendous that ever appeared in thoſe ſeas, was certainly equal to any attempt againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements. Their treaſure might have been intercepted, and their colonies eaſily reduced. But the compleat humiliation of Spain was prevented by the concurrence of a variety of circumſtances. The Britiſh miniſtry, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, detained the fleet at Spithead much too long. For the credit of human nature, I am willing to believe, that the prime miniſter was not ſo exceedingly wicked as to endeavour, by retarding the fleet, to fruſtrate the expedition: and yet, to the diſgrace of human nature, I fear there have been inſtances of miniſters ſo diabolical as to be influenced by very ignoble paſſions, in oppoſition to the intereſt and dignity of the nation, with whoſe weal they were entruſted. It ſeems however a ſafe maxim in politics, not to commit the management of a war to a miniſter who ſhall have repeatedly declared his diſapprobation of the meaſure. But be the deſigns of the miniſter what they might, it is ſcarce poſſible to ſuppoſe that the admiral was not hearty in the cauſe; and yet it was near the end of January before he ſailed from Jamaica, though he certainly was not ignorant that the ſeaſon was already too far advanced, in a climate where the rains, which begin about the end of April, render it impoſſible for troops to keep the field.

The admiral's orders were diſcretionary: he might therefore have made his attack on any of the Spaniſh ſettlements. The Havannah, which was certainly an object of the greateſt importance, lay to leeward, and might eaſily have been reached in leſs than three days. Nevertheleſs, Mr. Vernon thought fit to beat the wind to Hiſpaniola, with an intention, as it was ſaid, to obſerve the French fleet. On the 15th of February he learnt, that this fleet had ſailed for Europe, having previouſly ſent an advice boat to Carthagena, to inform the Spaniards of Vernon's being in thoſe ſeas. The admiral called a council of war, and it was determined to land on the continent of New Spain. Accordingly, after ſpending ſome days in taking in wood and water at Hiſpaniola, the fleet ſailed, and, on the 4th of March, came to an anchor in a bay called Playa Granda, to windward of Carthagena. This fleet conſiſted of one hundred and twenty-four ſail, the ſight of which muſt have ſtruck ſuch terror into the Spaniards, that nothing but want of reſolution and diſpatch could have prevented its ſucceſs. There cannot be a truer maxim in the art of war, than, that heſitation in the aſſailant

inſpires

inſpires the defendant with courage, which augments progreſſively in proportion to the delay. But the commanders of this fleet and army, as if determined to give the enemy time to recover from their ſurprize, remained inactive in the bay till the 9th. On that day the firſt diviſion of the fleet, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, followed by admiral Vernon with all the tranſports, moved forward towards the entrance of the harbour called Boca Chica, which was defended by ſeveral formidable batteries. The third diviſion, commanded by Mr. Leſtock, remained at anchor. The Norfolk, the Ruſſel, and the Shrewſbury, anchored very near two forts called St. Jago and St. Philip, which being ſilenced in leſs than an hour, were immediately poſſeſſed by a detachment of Britiſh grenadiers.

On the 10th, the two regiments of Harriſon and Wentworth, with ſix regiments of marines, landed on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, where, having pitched their tents, they began to erect a battery againſt the caſtle of Boca Chica. Five days more were employed in landing the artillery and neceſſary ſtores. But general Wentworth's want of knowledge in the art of war, ſoon diſcovered itſelf in the choice of his ground; for the tents were no ſooner pitched than the ſoldiers found themſelves expoſed to the fire of a faſcine battery from the oppoſite ſide of the harbour, on the iſland of Varu. To remedy this evil, the admiral immediately detached a conſiderable number of ſailors under the command of captain Boſcawen, who landed about a mile to leeward of the battery, which mounted fifteen twenty-four pounders, under a raiſed battery of five guns. Theſe intrepid ſons of Neptune ſoon gained poſſeſſion of both batteries, and, having ſpiked the cannon, returned to their ſhips.

On the 22d, general Wentworth opened a battery of twenty twenty-four pounders againſt the caſtle of Boca Chica, and the next day commodore Leſtock with five ſhips was ordered to attack it by ſea. He renewed his attack on the 24th, and on that day fell Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, captain of the Prince Frederic, a very brave and experienced officer. Mean while the Spaniards had remounted their faſcine battery, which was a ſecond time deſtroyed by a detachment of ſailors. A ſmall breach being now made on the land-ſide of Boca-Chica caſtle, the general acquainted the admiral with his reſolution to ſtorm it, who, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, manned his boats under the command of captain Knowles. The ſailors landed near the caſtle, and there waited for the general aſſault. The grenadiers, on the other ſide, marched up in good order; but they no ſooner began to mount the breach, than the garriſon fled without firing a ſingle muſket. The garriſon of another fort, called St. Joſeph, followed their example, and our ſailors took immediate poſſeſſion of it. Emboldened by this ſucceſs, and perceiving the enemy preparing to ſink their ſhips, they boarded the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, the Galicia, on board of which

which they found the captain and sixty men. There were in the harbour, when the attack of Boca Chica began, six Spanish men of war, two of which were now sunk, and one burnt by the Spaniards themselves. The sailors then proceeded to cut the boom, and thus opened a free passage for our ships into the lake. Next morning the fleet entered without molestation, but the wind blowing fresh and contrary, it was several days before they reached the narrow entrance into the harbour near the town. This entrance was defended by a considerable fortress, called Castillo Grande, mounting fifty-nine guns, which the enemy abandoned as soon as the ships approached.

Thus far all went well. The castles, forts, and batteries, which commanded the lake, were now in possession of the English. The entrance into this lake was doubtless an enterprize of no small danger and difficulty, the channel being commanded by two hundred cannon, those from the enemy's ships included. So far the admiral seems to have done every thing necessary on his part, by removing all the obstacles in the way to conquest; and he was so confident of succeeding, that, on the *first of April*, he sent an express to the duke of Newcastle, with an account of his progress; on the receipt of which his grace, with the rest of the people of England, became frantic with joy and exultation. But with pain I proceed to record, that here our success ended. The next express brought a tale as humble as the former was triumphant. On this luckless *first of April*, the sailors having opened a channel through the sunken wrecks of the enemy, the bomb-ketches, covered by two frigates, entered the harbour, and were, on the succeeding day, followed by the three fire ships, which were so posted as to cover the intended landing of the troops. The Weymouth, captain Knowles, got into the harbour on the third, and on the fifth, early in the morning, the troops began to land at a place called la Quinta, from whence general Wentworth, at the head of 1500 men, pushed forward, through a narrow defile, to an open ground about a mile from fort St. Lazar, which commanded the town of Carthagena. He met with some interruption on his march from a body of six or seven hundred Spaniards, and lost a few of his men; but the enemy soon retired, and, in the evening of the sixth, the remainder of the English army were disembarked, and, having joined their general, the whole encamped on the plain abovementioned.

Fort St. Lazar was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. The general was of opinon, that any attempt to take it without regular approaches would be attended with much danger and difficulty. The admiral, on the contrary, was positive that it was practicable by escalade. From this time the demon of discord presided in their councils, and they began to entertain a sovereign contempt for each other's opinions. The general upbraided the admiral for not cannonading the town, and

and the latter reproached the former for not ſtorming the fort. It was at length reſolved in a council of war to attack St. Lazar by ſtorm, the ſeaſon being now too far advanced to allow time for erecting a battery of cannon in order to open a breach. In conſequence of this reſolution, on the ninth, before break of day, brigadier-general Guiſe, with 1200 men, marched to the attack. Unfortunately his guides were ſlain before he reached the walls. His ſcaling-ladders, being applied at random, proved too ſhort. The officers were diſconcerted for want of orders. A general confuſion enſued, and the troops were obliged to retire with the loſs of 600 men killed or wounded. By this time the rains began to fall very heavily, and diſeaſe became ſo univerſal in the camp, that it was determined in a general council of war to relinquiſh every idea of a farther attempt. The remnant of the army retired to their ſhips, and were re-embarked on the 16th. The admiral, in order to clear himſelf from any imputation of neglect, and to demonſtrate the impracticability of taking the place with ſhips after the ſucceſsful attack on St. Lazar, having previouſly converted the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, into a floating battery, warped her into the harbour as near the town as poſſible. In this ſtation ſhe fired upon the town for ſome hours; but it appearing that ſhe was at too great a diſtance to injure the walls, ſhe was ſuffered to drive, and ſoon ſtruck upon the ſand. This experiment, how plauſible ſoever it might ſeem, was by no means allowed to be ſatisfactory. An hiſtorian, who was preſent, affirms, that in another part of the harbour there was ſpace and water ſufficient for four or five men of war to lye within piſtol-ſhot of the walls of Carthagena. If this be true, the admiral was certainly inexcuſeable for not bringing his ſhips to bear upon the town during the attack upon St. Lazar.

The ſhattered remnant of this ill-fated army having returned to their ſhips, diſeaſes, peculiar to the climate, raged with inconceivable malignity, and many brave men who had eſcaped the enemy died in their hammocks. The jarring chieftains were unanimous as to the expediency of retiring from this ſcene of deſtruction and diſgrace. A few days were ſpent in deſtroying the forts already taken, and then the fleet ſailed for Jamaica.

This fleet arrived at Jamaica on the 19th of May. The climate of this iſland did not contribute much towards the recovery of the ſick, many of whom died after their arrival: among the reſt Lord Auguſtus Fitzroy, captain of the Orford. Vernon, on his arrival at Jamaica, having received orders from England to retain in the Weſt-Indies no more ſhips than were neceſſary, ſent home ſeveral men of war under the command of commodore Leſtock. The remainder of his fleet were deemed quite ſufficient; there being, at this time, but one Spaniſh ſquadron at the Havannah, and a ſmall French fleet at Hiſpaniola. It is very certain that the admiral was ſo exceedingly diſſatisfied

with

with his colleague Wentworth, that he ardently wiſhed to return to England; but the king had conceived ſo high an opinion of his abilities, and the letters which the admiral received from the duke of Newcaſtle were ſo extremely flattering, that he determined to continue in his ſtation. On the 26th of May, he called a general council of war, the members of which were himſelf, Sir Chaloner Ogle, general Wentworth, general Guiſe, and governor Trelawny. The four firſt of theſe gentlemen were unanimous in opinion, that St. Jago on the iſland of Cuba was the proper object of attack. Governor Trelawny, on the contrary, thought Cuba of little importance, and ſtrenuo u advised an expedition againſt Panama on the iſthmus of Darien. The governor, however, acquieſced, and raiſed a corps of a thouſand negroes, which were put on board the fleet with all poſſible expedition.

This armament, which ſailed from Jamaica on the firſt of July, conſiſted of eight ſhips of the line, one of 50 guns, 12 frigates, *&c.* and about 40 tranſports, on board of which, including blacks, were 3400 land forces. The fleet came to an anchor, on the 18th, in Walthentham harbour, on the ſouth ſide of the iſle of Cuba. The admiral, fully determining to annex for ever this fine iſland to the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, began by changing the name of *Walthenham* into that of *Cumberland* harbour, in compliment to his royal highneſs the duke. This harbour was a very capacious and ſecure aſylum againſt the hurricanes ſo frequent in the Weſt-Indies at this ſeaſon of the year: it was therefore a deſirable poſſeſſion, particularly as it was acquired without moleſtation. The iſland of Cuba is not only the largeſt of the Antilles, but it is alſo ſaid to be the moſt fruitful and healthy of any in the Weſt-Indies.

There were, at this time, twelve Spaniſh ſhips of the line at the Havannah, a populous city on the weſt ſide of the iſland, where the governor reſides, and where there were ſtrong fortifications, and a numerous garriſon. For theſe reaſons it was thought adviſeable to begin with St. Jago, a leſs conſiderable city on the eaſtern coaſt. Walthenham harbour lies about eleven leagues ſouth-weſt from St. Jago, and diſtant by land about ſixty miles, on which ſide the city is almoſt entirely defenceleſs. Its fortifications to the ſea were not formidable, but the entrance into the harbour is ſo extremely narrow, and the navigation ſo dangerous, that nature has ſufficiently ſecured it from a naval attack. On theſe conſiderations it was reſolved, in a general council of war, held on board the admiral, on the 20th of July, to land the troops immediately, and take the city of St. Jago by ſurpriſe.

The troops were accordingly diſembarked, and meeting with no oppoſition, marched ſome miles up the country, and encamped on the banks of a navigable river. From this encampment general

general Wentworth detached ſeveral reconnoitring parties, which falling in with ſmall bodies of the enemy, repulſed them with very little loſs on either ſide. One of theſe reconnoitring parties, conſiſting of 150 Americans and negroes, commanded by major Dunſter, penetrated as far as the village of Elleguava, where he continued ſome time; but not being ſupported by the main army, he returned to the camp. Mean while admiral Vernon diſpatched part of his fleet to block up the port of St. Jago, and to watch the motions of the Spaniſh admiral at the Havannah, expecting with the utmoſt impatience the progreſs of the army. But, on the 5th of October, he had the mortification to receive a letter from general Wentworth, expreſſing his doubts of being able either to advance farther, or even to ſubſiſt his army much longer in the part which they then poſſeſſed. On the 9th the general called a council of war, the members of which were unanimouſly of opinion, that it was impoſſible to march farther into the country, without expoſing the troops to certain ruin. The army nevertheleſs continued in its encampment till the 7th of November, when another council of war, conſiſting of the land forces only, reſolved, that the troops ought to be re-embarked with all poſſible expedition; and they were accordingly put on board their tranſports on the 20th, without the leaſt moleſtation from the enemy.

On the 25th it was reſolved in a general council of war, that the general, with the troops under his command, ſhould return to Jamaica, and that the fleet ſhould continue to cruize off Hiſpaniola in ſearch of the expected reinforcement from England. The tranſports ſailed on the 28th, and the admiral on the 6th of December, with the remaining ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line, a fire ſhip, an hoſpital ſhip, and two tenders. But before we take an entire leave of Cuba, it is neceſſary, in juſtice to the navy, to inform the reader, that, whilſt the troops were on ſhore, the fleet was not quite inactive. The Worceſter took a Spaniſh man of war of 24 guns; the Defiance took a regiſter ſhip laden with proviſions for Carthagena, and the Shoreham took another veſſel with 70,000 pieces of eight on board.

Having cloſed the naval tranſactions of the year 1741, in the Weſt-Indies, I muſt recal the reader's attention to the progreſs of Mr. Anſon, who, I before mentioned, had ſailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of September, 1740, with a ſquadron of five men of war, a ſmall ſloop, and two victuallers. This expedition was originally planned prior to the declaration of war with Spain, and was rationally founded on a deſign of ſeizing the wealth of that kingdom at its ſource, and thereby depriving the enemy of the means of executing their hoſtile intentions. On the 10th of January Mr. Anſon received his commiſſion as commodore. The king's inſtructions were dated the 31ſt of the ſame month, which, nevertheleſs, Mr. Anſon did not receive before the 28th of June following. He then went

 down

down to Portſmouth, where his ſquadron lay, in full expectation of ſailing with the firſt fair wind; for though he knew that he was at leaſt 300 men ſhort of his complement, he had been aſſured that the deficiency would be ſupplied from Sir John Norris's fleet then at Spithead. But Sir John did not chuſe to part with any of his ſailors. This diſappointment was another cauſe of delay, and all that Mr. Anſon could at laſt obtain was 170 men, ninety-eight of which were marines, and thirty-two from the hoſpitals. On the 18th of September he ſet ſail, and in four days got clear of the channel.

Mr. Anſon ſteered for the iſland of Madeira; but, as if all nature as well as art had conſpired to retard his progreſs, he was forty days on a paſſage which is frequently made in ten. However, at laſt, after this tedious contention with adverſe winds, he arrived at Madeira on the 25th of October. He immediately viſited the governor, who informed him, that for ſeveral days paſt there had appeared to the weſtward of the iſland ſeven or eight men of war, which he ſuppoſed to be Spaniſh. Mr. Anſon diſpatched a ſloop to reconnoitre this ſquadron, and the ſloop returned without any intelligence. This was in truth a Spaniſh ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of the line and a Patache, which were ſent for the ſole purpoſe of counteracting Mr. Anſon's operations in the South Seas. They had on board a regiment of foot, intended to ſtrengthen ſome of their garriſons, and two of their ſhips were deſtined for the Weſt-Indies. Their commodore was Don Joſeph Pizarro. Of the five ſhips that ſailed for the South Seas, but one returned to Europe, the reſt having either foundered at ſea, or were wrecked or broken up in the courſe of the voyage.

On the 3d of November Mr. Anſon left Madeira, and croſſed the line on the 28th. He arrived at the iſland of St. Catherine, on the coaſt of Brazil, on the 21ſt of December, where he repaired ſuch of his ſhips as had ſuffered in the voyage, took in wood and water, regaled his people with freſh proviſions, and recovered ſome of his ſick. But he neither found the climate ſo healthy, nor the Portugueſe ſo hoſpitable, as repreſented by former voyagers. The governor of the iſland perfidiouſly diſpatched a veſſel to the Spaniſh admiral, then at Buenos Ayres, with an account of Mr. Anſon's ſtrength and condition, during his continuance in this neutral port.

The ſquadron ſailed from St. Catherine's on the 18th of January, ſteering ſouthward along the coaſt of America, towards Cape Horn. In ſo hazardous a voyage, at this ſeaſon of the year, it was more than probable that the fleet would be ſeparated, the commodore therefore appointed three ſeveral places of rendezvous: the firſt at St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia, the ſecond at the iſland of Socoro in the South Seas, and the third at Juan Fernandez. Soon after their departure from St. Catherine's

Catherine's the Pearl was ſeparated, and did not rejoin the ſquadron till near a month after. On her return, lieutenant Salt informed Mr. Anſon, that captain Kidd died on the 31ſt of January; that he had fallen in with the Spaniſh fleet above mentioned, and that miſtaking one of their ſhips for the Centurion, he very narrowly eſcaped being taken. The Engliſh ſquadron anchored in the harbour of St. Julian on the 18th of February, principally with a deſign to repair the Tryal ſloop, which had loſt her main-maſt in a ſquall. This buſineſs being finiſhed, they ſailed again on the 27th, and paſſed the Streights Le Maire on the 7th of March.

At this time their ſhips were in good condition, and their crews in tolerable health and ſpirits. They flattered themſelves that as they were now entering into the Pacific Ocean, their dangers and difficulties would gradually vaniſh, and that Spaniſh treaſures would ſoon reward their labour. But deluſive were theſe expectations. They did not even clear the Streights without great danger, and they no ſooner quitted the land than they found themſelves expoſed to all the horrors of impetuous winds, and waves turbulent and mountainous beyond all conception. They now began emphatically to execrate the cauſes of their late departure from Europe. This formidable ſquadron ſoon ſeparated never more to unite! After ſtruggling with infinite variety of diſtreſs during two long months, the Centurion, Mr. Anſon's ſhip, on the laſt day of April, found herſelf to the northward of the Streights of Magellan, and therefore concluded that ſhe had ſecured her paſſage round Cape Horn. On the 8th of May ſhe arrived off Socoro, the firſt rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She cruized there, in extreme bad weather, above a fortnight, in hopes of rejoining ſome of the ſquadron; but being diſappointed in this expectation, ſtood for the iſland of Juan Fernandez, where ſhe arrived on the 9th of June; but in ſo feeble a condition, that at this time not above twenty hands, officers included, were left capable of aſſiſting in working the ſhip. The ſcurvy had made ſuch terrible havock among the crew, that out of 450, their complement when they paſſed Streight Le Maire, ſcarce half that number were now living, and moſt of theſe were ſick in their hammocks. The Tryal ſloop reached the iſland about the ſame time, in the ſame diſtreſsful ſituation, and they were joined by the Glouceſter on the 23d of July, which ſhip had loſt three fourths of her crew, and would certainly never have been able to reach the iſland, but for the aſſiſtance ſent her by the commodore after ſhe was in ſight. The Anna Pink, their victualler, came in about the middle of Auguſt, and this was the laſt ſhip of the ſquadron they ever ſaw.

The miſſing ſhips were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager ſtore-ſhip. The two firſt parted company off Cape Noir, and put back to the Brazils. The latter purſued her voyage towards

the island of Socoro, the first rendezvous in the Pacific Ocean. She made the land on the western coast of South America, on the 14th of May, in latitude 47, and the next morning struck upon a sunken rock, and soon after bulged. Most of the crew were landed on this desolate island, where they remained five months, and then about eighty of the sailors, in a schooner built by lengthening the long-boat, sailed back for the Brazils, leaving captain Cheap and nineteen other persons on shore. These were by various accidents at last reduced to four, who were landed by an Indian on the coast of Chiloe, thence conveyed to St. Jago, where they continued a year, and three of them were finally sent to Europe on board a French ship, *viz.* captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton.

We now return to Mr. Anson's squadron at Juan Fernandez, consisting of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Tryal sloop, and the Anna Pink. The last of these being found totally unfit for service, was broken up. By the beginning of September the crews were pretty well recovered, though the whole number was, by this time, reduced to 335, boys included.

On the 19th of September, Mr. Anson with his small squadron sailed from the island of Juan Fernandez, with a design to cruize near the continent of Spanish America. On this cruize he took three trading vessels of no great value; but from the passengers on board he had received such intelligence as determined him to surprize the town of Paita, in latitude 50° 12′ south. It consisted of about 200 houses, and was defended by a small fort mounting eight guns. Fearful of alarming the inhabitants by the approach of his ships, he resolved to make the attempt by means of his boats only. Whilst the squadron was yet at too great a distance to be perceived by the enemy, about ten at night he detached fifty-eight men, commanded by lieutenant Brett, and conducted by two Spanish pilots. They landed without opposition, and soon took entire possession of the place. The governor, with most of the inhabitants, having had some previous notice from the ships in the harbour, fled into the country at their approach, and continued parading on the hills. The English remained three days on shore; during which time they sent all the treasure they could find, on board their ships. They then set fire to the town and re-embarked, having lost only two men in the enterprize. The booty they carried off amounted to about 30,000l. The loss sustained by the Spaniards was estimated at a million and a half of dollars.

Whilst Mr. Anson was thus engaged, the Gloucester, which had been sent on a cruize, took two Spanish prizes with specie on board amounting to 19,000l. sterling. She joined the squadron two days after their departure from Paita, and they stood to the northward with a design to water at the island of Quibo, near the bay of Panama. At this island they arrived on the 4th of December. The commodore had indeed entertained some hopes

hopes of being reinforced from admiral Vernon's ſquadron acroſs the iſthmus of Darien; but he learnt, from the papers found on board one of his prizes, that the attack upon Carthagena had failed. Theſe hopes therefore immediately vaniſhed, and he now determined to ſteer for the coaſt of Mexico, in expectation of falling in with the galleon which he ſuppoſed to be on her paſſage from Manilla to Acapulco. The ſquadron ſailed from Quibo on the 12th of December, and did not make the coaſt of Mexico till the 29th of January. But as this brings us to the tranſactions of the year 1742, we muſt now return to Europe, in order to take a view of the Britiſh navy nearer home to the end of the year 1741.

Whilſt Vernon and Anſon were thus employed in America, the admirals Sir John Norris and Haddock commanded two formidable fleets in Europe. The firſt of theſe commanders ſailed from Spithead on the 27th of July with ſixteen ſhips of the line, and, ſteering for the bay of Biſcay, began to cruize upon the coaſt of Spain. With this formidable fleet he might with the utmoſt facility have injured the enemy moſt eſſentially, by ravaging their coaſt and deſtroying their maritime towns, which were almoſt totally defenceleſs. Not only the Britiſh nation in general, but the Spaniards themſelves, and every perſon on board, except the admiral, were confident that ſo powerful a fleet had ſome capital object in view. But, to the aſtoniſhment of all the world, except thoſe who were admitted behind the curtain, in leſs than a month, Sir John Norris returned to Spithead with half his fleet, without having executed, or even attempted, any thing worth relating. Part of the ſquadron continued cruizing on the Spaniſh coaſt, and the Naſſau and Lenox were ſent to join admiral Haddock, who, with thirteen men of war, ſpent the whole ſummer cruizing in the Mediterranean, without achieving any thing ſufficient to furniſh a tolerable Gazette. The cauſes aſſigned for his being ſtationed in that ſea were, to prevent the junction of the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz with that of France at Toulon, and to intercept the troops which were intended to be tranſported from Barcelona to Italy in order to act againſt the queen of Hungary. But unfortunately neither of theſe purpoſes were anſwered.

On the 12th of October Sir John Norris ſailed again for the coaſt of Spain with a fleet of ten men of war. The inhabitants of the towns along the ſhore were at firſt a little alarmed at his re-appearance; but finding him now no leſs harmleſs than before, they beheld the Engliſh fleet as an agreeable ſpectacle, and were at length fully perſuaded that he was ſent to parade along their coaſt merely for their amuſement.

Sir Robert Walpole, though extremely unpopular, had hitherto ſtood ſecure under the ſhelter of the throne. But the people of England were now ſo diſſatisfied with this unſucceſſful war with Spain, and particularly with his total neglect of the

the queen of Hungary in her diſtreſs, that, at the general election of a new parliament, a conſiderable majority of the independent voters, throughout the kingdom oppoſed the court; many of Sir Robert's members were thrown out, and when the parliament met, the complexion of the houſe of commons was ſuch, that a change of miniſtry became unavoidable. Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford; he reſigned all his employments, and found an aſylum in the houſe of lords. The leading patriots of both houſes were either taken into the new adminiſtration, or ſilenced by titles, ſo that all inquiry into the conduct of the late miniſter fell to the ground. Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Newcaſtle and lord Carteret ſecretaries of ſtate, and Mr. Pultney was created earl of Bath.

Theſe incidental matters being premiſed, we now return to the proper object of our hiſtory. Forty thouſand ſeamen were voted for the ſervice of the current year. The fleet in the Mediterranean, under admiral Haddock, conſiſted of twenty-nine men of war. He reſigned to Leſtock on account of his declining health; but the new miniſtry gave the command to admiral Mathews, who ſailed from Spithead on the 16th of April, with the Namur, Caroline, Ruſſel, and Norfolk. This admiral was alſo inveſted with the character of miniſter plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the ſtates of Italy. As ſoon as he had aſſumed the command, being informed that five Spaniſh gallies lay at anchor in the bay of St. Tropez, he ordered captain Norris to attack and deſtroy them, which ſervice was immediately and effectually performed. The united fleet of France and Spain was at this time in the harbour of Toulon: it conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſhips of the line. The Britiſh fleet, being joined by rear-admiral Rowley, was ſomewhat ſuperior in number of ſhips. Mr. Mathews's inſtructions were to block up the Toulon fleet, and by cruizing on the coaſt to prevent any ſupplies being ſent to the army in Provence. For this purpoſe, on the 2d of June, he ſtationed his two rear-admirals, Leſtock and Rowley, with twenty-four ſhips, off the iſlands of Hieres, with orders to cruize for ſix weeks. Whilſt Mathews continued at Villa Franca, a French man of war, paſſing by that port, in ſight of the fleet, neglected to pay a proper compliment to the Britiſh flag. The admiral fired a gun as a ſignal for her to bring to. The Frenchman continued obſtinate. Upon which Mr. Mathews ordered one of his ſhips to purſue and ſink him; which was immediately executed by the firſt broad-ſide. Mean while a part of the Britiſh fleet, cruizing on the coaſt of Catalonia, bombarded the towns of Mataro and Palamos, in both which they deſtroyed many houſes and many of their inhabitants. What had theſe wretched inhabitants done to offend the king of England? But ſuch are the laws of war. If Chriſtian princes believed in the religion they profeſs, ſurely they would not wantonly

tonly involve their innocent ſubjects in ſuch calamities. But if they muſt needs quarrel and fight, it were devoutly to be wiſhed, that, by ſome general law of nations, the inoffenſive part of their ſubjects might be ſecured from inſult and devaſtation.

In the beginning of Auguſt, admiral Mathews detached commodore Martin with a ſquadron to the bay of Naples, with orders to compel his Sicilian majeſty to recal his troops from the Spaniſh army in Italy. The Neapolitans were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at the appearance of the Engliſh fleet; expecting every moment a more dreadful thunder than that of Veſuvius. The king, however, to ſave his capital, ſigned a paper delivered to him by Mr. Martin, by which he engaged immediately to recal his troops, and to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war. Having performed this ſervice, the commodore rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which was now the general rendezvous of the Britiſh fleet. Towards the end of Auguſt Mr. Mathews, being informed that the Spaniards had collected a conſiderable magazine at St. Remo, in the Genoeſe territories, cauſed a party of ſoldiers to be landed near that town in order to deſtroy it; and they executed their commiſſion without any danger or difficulty. He likewiſe ſent two ſhips with orders to take or deſtroy a Spaniſh man of war, of the line, which lay at anchor at Ajaccio in the iſland of Corſica; but the Spaniard ſaved them the trouble, by firſt ſetting his men on ſhore and then blowing up the ſhip.

Let us now take a temporary leave of Europe, in order to review the Britiſh fleet and army in the Weſt Indies. We are to recollect, that, after the retreat from Carthagena, the troops under general Wentworth returned to Jamaica, and admiral Vernon with his ſquadron continued cruizing off Hiſpaniola in expectation of a reinforcement from England. But not meeting with the convoy, he returned to Jamaica on the 5th of January, where on the 15th, arrived alſo the Greenwich, St. Albans, and the Fox, with the expected reinforcements from England of 2000 marines. The principal officers, both of the army and navy, ruminating, with regret, on their two laſt ſuccesſleſs expeditions, were unanimouſly of opinion, that they could not, with any degree of credit return to England without ſome farther attempt againſt the enemy. General councils of war were frequently held, and it was at laſt determined to land at Porto-Bello, march acroſs the iſthmus of Darien, and take the rich town of Panama. But, though this reſolution was taken early in January, it was upwards of two months before the troops and tranſports were ready for embarkation. However, they embarked at laſt, and the whole fleet came to an anchor in the harbour of Porto-Bello in the evening of the 28th of March. This fleet conſiſted of eight ſail of the line, three fire-ſhips, and two hoſpital ſhips, with forty tranſports, on board of which were

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3000 land forces, and 500 negroes raised by governor Trelawney, who himself attended the expedition. As soon as the fleet came to an anchor, the governor of Porto Bello marched directly to Panama with three companies of Spaniards and two companies of Mulattoes. There being nothing to oppose the landing of the troops, the admiral imagined that they would proceed without delay; but, to his great surprize, a council of the land officers resolved that the scheme was impracticable, and that it was therefore necessary to return to Jamaica. The reasons assigned for this resolution were, the season being too far advanced, their numbers being diminished by sickness and the separation of some of the transports, and their having received intelligence that the garrison of Panama had been lately reinforced. These reasons did not appear quite satisfactory to Mr. Vernon; nevertheless, as, in their general councils of war, there was a majority of land officers, his opinion was of no importance. That their number was somewhat reduced is most certain; but there remained yet 2000 effective men; an army more than sufficient under a general of spirit and abilities, to have secured the treasure of Panama. Nothing can be more contemptible than this prudent timidity, when we consider that the attempt might have been made without the least risk, as there was no army in the whole country capable of meeting them in the field, and consequently, in case of a repulse, they might have returned without the least danger of being harrassed in their retreat. Possibly these land officers would have had more resolution in a colder climate. The animal mercury in the human barometer seems to fall in proportion to its approximation to the sun. Be this as it may, the whole fleet sailed from Porto-Bello in the beginning of April, and arrived at Jamaica on the 15th of May. On the 23d of September the Gibraltar man of war arrived at Port Royal in that island, with a letter from the duke of Newcastle, ordering vice-admiral Vernon and general Wentworth to return immediately to England, and they returned accordingly.

Thus ended this vast enterprize against the Spanish settlements in America! in which enormous sums were expended, and ten thousand lives sacrificed, without the least benefit to the nation, or glory to the commanders. To inquire into the cause, or causes, of such a series of disappointments cannot, at this distance of time, be attributed to partiality or malevolence; and to neglect such inquiry were to frustrate the only rational design of history. The death of Lord Cathcart was the first misfortune, and probably the foundation of all that followed. Though this could neither be foreseen nor prevented, yet it may teach future ministers of state, that it is not sufficient to attend solely to the abilities of the commander in chief; the second, and even the third in command, should also be men equal to the command of an army. That general Wentworth wanted that determined

termined intrepid alacrity so necessary in the execution of such enterprizes is self-evident. As to Vernon, he certainly did not want resolution, but it is pretty certain that his contempt for Wentworth prevented him from acting so cordially and vigorously as he ought to have done. He wished to have had the sole direction of every operation, and I must do him the justice to believe, that, if that had been the case, he would generally have succeeded.

I must now recal the reader's attention to Mr. Anson, whom we left in the Pacific Ocean, cruizing on the coast of Mexico, in hourly expectation of falling in with the annual Spanish galleon in her passage from Manilla and Acapulco. In these hopes he was disappointed; for he was informed by three negroes whom he surprized in a canoe, off the harbour of Acapulco, that the galleon arrived on the 9th of January, about twenty days before the squadron fell in with the coast. But he had the satisfaction to learn also, that her return was fixed for the 3d of March. This information was joyfully received, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo would render her a much more valuable prize than she would have been before her arrival at Acapulco.

All hands were now employed in preparing for the reception of the galleon, not doubting but this immense reward of their former sufferings would soon be in their possession; for though the crews of five ships amounted in all to no more than 330, boys included, and the hands on board the galleon were generally almost double the number; yet there was not a person on board the squadron who had any other doubt, or fear, than that of her not sailing at the time appointed. Mr. Anson's fleet consisted of the Centurion, the Gloucester, the Carmelo, the Carmin, the Tryal's prize, and two cutters. With these five ships he formed a chain, commanding an extent of about twenty leagues, at such a distance from the harbour of Acapulco as not to be seen from the shore, and sent the two cutters every night nearer to the shore, with orders to stand off again at the approach of day. In this disposition they expected the appointed day with the utmost impatience. The important day dawned at last, and every eye in the fleet gazed perpetually towards the land. The sun sunk beneath the horizon, and no ship appeared. Another day passed, and then a third, in fruitless expectation. In short, after waiting to no purpose till the 23d, the commodore rationally concluded, that the galleon was detained till the year following; and this was really the case, in consequence of his barge having been seen by the enemy when she was sent to discover the harbour of Acapulco.

Having now remained on this station as long as his stores of wood and water would allow, Mr. Anson thought it expedient to prepare for his voyage to China, and it being determined to recruit his stores at Chequetan, about 30 leagues west of Acapulco,

pulco, he steered directly for that harbour, where he arrived on the 7th of April. The first business here, after a vain attempt to open an intercourse with the natives, was to unload and destroy the Carmelo, the Carmin, and the Tryal's prize, in order to strengthen the crews of the men of war, so as to enable them to undertake, with any degree of safety, the voyage across the Pacific Ocean. The business of watering, &c. being now finished, the Centurion and the Gloucester weighed anchor on the 28th of April, and proceeded on their voyage to China. They lost sight of the American mountains on the 8th of May. After contending with repeated gales of contrary winds, the Gloucester, having lost most of her masts, became so leaky that, on the 15th of August, it was found impossible to keep her any longer above water. The crew was therefore removed to the Centurion, and the Gloucester was set on fire. On the 28th the Centurion arrived at Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, in latitude 15° north, and 115° west of Acapulco. At this time, so many of their people had perished, or were sick of the scurvy, that not quite a hundred men remained fit for duty. The number of the sick amounted to 128, most of which recovered soon after landing on this fertile, healthy, and beautiful island. Here they remained till the 21st of October, on which day, the crew being now in good health, the Centurion stood out to sea, steering directly for the island of Macao, a Portuguese settlement near the mouth of the river Canton in China. She made the land on the 5th of November, and came to an anchor, on the 12th, in the road near the city of Macao.

After many provoking delays and difficulties, Mr. Anson at last obtained permission from the Chinese government to repair his ship and replenish his store of provisions. This business being at length effected to his satisfaction, he put to sea on the 19th of April, 1743, and, though he had given out that he was bound for Batavia, he had resolved once more to try to intercept the Acapulco ship in her passage to Manilla. With this intention he returned to the Philippine islands, and cruized off Cape Espiritu Santo on the island of Samuel, that being the first land generally made by the galleons. He continued cruizing on this station till the 20th of June, when, early in the morning, to the inexpressible joy of the whole crew, they discovered the long-expected galleon. The engagement soon began, and continued about two hours; after which the Spaniard struck, having sixty-seven killed and eighty-four wounded. The Centurion had only two killed and seventeen wounded, who all recovered except one man. The treasure on board this galleon consisted of 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, besides some cochineal and other merchandise, amounting in the whole to 313,000l. sterling.

The commodore being now in possession of the reward of his toil, dangers, perseverance and resolution, with a crew on board whose

whose felicity cannot be easily imagined, returned to the river of Canton, where he came to anchor on the 14th of July. His sole intention being to lay in the stores necessary for his voyage to England, he applied immediately to the Chinese government for leave to victual his ship; but such is the suspicious folly and absurd policy of that people, that after five months delay he was at last obliged to insist on an audience of the viceroy of Canton, before he could be supplied. Immediately after this audience his stores were sent on board, and on the 7th of December the Centurion and her prize unmoored and fell down the river. On the 12th they anchored before the town of Macao, where Mr. Anson sold the Spanish galleon for 6000 dollars, and on the 15th proceeded on his voyage. He arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 11th of March, and sailing from thence on the 3d of April, came to an anchor at Spithead on the 15th of June, 1744.

Having thus brought the fortunate Centurion safe to England, let us inquire into the exploits of our fleet in the West-Indies. When admiral Vernon returned home, the command of the fleet devolved on Sir Chaloner Ogle, who in the month of February detached Captain Knowles with eight men of war, having 400 land forces on board, with orders to make an attack on the town of La Guira on the coast of Caraccas. Mr. Knowles accordingly proceeded; he began his attack on the 18th about noon, and continued firing upon the town till night, without any other effect than that of destroying some houses and churches. His ships were so shattered that he was obliged to desist, and to sail for Curacoa in order to refit. It was said that the Spaniards lost 700 men on this occasion; it is however certain that the English squadron had near a hundred men killed, and three times that number wounded.

Mr. Knowles having miscarried in this attack, was unwilling to return without a farther attempt to revive the faded laurels of his country. His ships being repaired, he resolved to make an attack upon Porto Cavallo. The Spaniards were apprized of his design, and had taken effectual measures for their defence. The garrison, consisting of sailors, Indians, Mulattoes and Blacks, amounted to about 2000 men; and the entrance into the harbour was secured by sunken vessels, and commanded by several fascine batteries. The squadron sailed from Curacoa on the 20th of March, but did not arrive off Porto Cavallo before the 15th of April. It was resolved to send in two men of war to cannonade the batteries, and the Lively and Eltham being immediately ordered upon this service, silenced the guns of the enemy before night. As soon as it was dark, the firing on both sides having ceased, Major Lucas with 1200 men, sailors and soldiers, landed on the beach, and, marching along shore, took possession of one of the fascine batteries. The Spaniards being now alarmed, two guns were fired from another battery upon the assailants,

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which throwing them into confusion, they began to fire upon each other, and with great precipitation retired to their ships. The British spirit being not yet quite subdued by this miscarriage, it was resolved in a council of war to make a general attack upon the castle and batteries at the same time: accordingly, on the 24th this general attack was begun by seven men of war; the Assistance, Burford, Suffolk and Norwich battered the castle; and the Scarborough, Lively and Eltham fired upon the fascine batteries. The cannonading continued with great fury till nine at night, at which time the commodore made a signal to cut. It was indeed high time, for he had now lost 200 men, and most of his ships had sustained considerable damage. His disgrace being now complete, commodore Knowles made the best of his way to Jamaica, where he remained inactive during the remainder of the year.

Such were the achievements of the British navy in the West-Indies during the year 1743. We were indeed peculiarly unsuccessful in that part of the world, every attempt against the enemy, since the taking of Porto-Bello, having miscarried. Our commanders probably were not deficient in point of personal courage; but personal courage without abilities is frequently productive of disappointment and disgrace. In the Mediterranean the fleet under the command of admiral Mathews continued still on its station at Hieres, without performing any signal service, except preventing the French and Spanish fleets from sailing out of the harbour of Toulon.

The Spaniards in the course of this year took 262 British prizes, valued at 567,000l. sterling; and we took from them 146 ships, worth about 754,000l. including the Acapulco ship taken by Mr. Anson.

The naval promotions in this year were these: Sir John Norris made admiral of the red; John Balchen, Esq; admiral of the white; Thomas Mathews, Esq; vice-admiral of the red; Nicholas Haddock, Esq; vice admiral of the white; Sir Chaloner Ogle, vice-admiral of the blue; James Steuart, Esq; rear-admiral of the red; Richard Lestock, Esq; rear-admiral of the white; Sir Charles Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue.

Though, in the preceding year, the French army was defeated by the king of Great-Britain in person; though the French and Spanish fleets were united in the Mediterranean, yet between England and France there was no war. However, in the beginning of the year 1744, both nations threw off the mask. The dissentions in the British parliament at this time ran high, and the people in general were discontented. The Popish emissaries and Jacobites, in different parts of the kingdom, persuaded the French ministry, that a revolution in favour of the Pretender might easily be effected, and cardinal Tencin gave ear to their project, fully persuaded that the attempt would, at least, cause a considerable diversion from the continent. Charles, the second

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ſon of the chevalier de St. George, was accordingly invited to Paris, where he arrived ſome time in the month of January. In the ſame month a fleet of twenty French men of war ſailed up the Engliſh channel, and 7000 men were actually embarked at Dunkirk with a deſign to invade England. Theſe proceedings being immediately known in this kingdom, Sir John Norris was ordered to take the command of the fleet at Spithead, which being joined by ſeveral ſhips from Chatham, became ſuperior to that of France. The fleets of the two nations came within ſight of each other; but the French admiral, conſcious of his inferiority, thought fit to decline an engagement, and taking the advantage of a hard gale of wind, returned to the port from whence he ſailed.

The French and Spaniſh fleet, in the harbour of Toulon, conſiſted of twenty-eight ſail of the line, and ſix frigates; that of England of twenty-eight ſhips of the line, ten frigates and two fire-ſhips, all moored in the bay of Hieres. The number of guns in the conjunct fleet was 1820, and of men 16,500; the guns on board the Britiſh fleet were 2490, and the number of men 15,000. But the number of ſhips of the line was equal, and theſe were equally manned. However, on a comparative view of the whole force of each ſquadon, there was an evident ſuperiority in favour of the Engliſh, in juſtice to whom we muſt nevertheleſs remember, that, having been long at ſea, their ſhips were foul, while thoſe of the enemy were clean, and in fine ſailing condition.

The courts of France and Spain, no longer able to ſupport the diſgrace of having their fleets blocked up in the harbour of Toulon, ſent poſitive orders for them to proceed to ſea at all events. On the 8th of February they were perceived to be under ſail, the French admiral, De Court, having hoiſted his flag on board the *Terrible*. Admiral Mathews immediately made a ſignal for unmooring, and the Britiſh fleet got under way on the 9th, with all poſſible expedition. During this and the following day, theſe two tremendous fleets continued manœuvring in ſight of each other, apparently endeavouring, like two land armies, to gain the advantage of ſituation. It was very evident that the French admiral had no great inclination to fight, and his ſhips ſailed ſo well that he might eaſily have eſcaped; but the Spaniards, either from want of ſkill or want of hands, proceeded ſo tardily, that it was impoſſible to bring them off.

On the 11th, at break of day, the two fleets were at a greater diſtance than on the preceding day, and admiral Mathews had the mortification to find Mr. Leſtock's diviſion conſiderably aſtern. He now imagined that De Court's intention was to draw him towards the Streights, in expectation of a reinforcement from Breſt; he therefore determined to engage the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, notwithſtanding the irregularity of his line, his van and rear being at too great a diſtance from the centre.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, at half paſt eleven, admiral Mathews made the ſignal to engage; which ſignal Leſtock did not think proper to repeat. Indeed he was, at this time, ſo far aſtern, that he had no enemy to engage. Admiral Mathews, with the centre of the Engliſh, was oppoſite to the enemy's rear, conſiſting of the Spaniſh ſquadron; and rear-admiral Rowley, who cammanded the van, was abreaſt of the enemy's centre. Thus were the two fleets ſituated when admiral Mathews hoiſted the ſignal for engaging. Himſelf in the Namur, and captain Cornwall in the Marlborough, bore down upon the Spaniſh admiral and the Iſabella, and began the attack about half paſt one o'clock. At the ſame time captain Forbes in the Norfolk engaged the Conſtant, and the Princeſſa, Somerſet, Bedford, Dragon and Kingſton fired at the Poder. About two o'clock, rear-admiral Rowley in the Barfleur, and captain Oſborne in the Caroline, came up with the French admiral and the Ferme, and engaged them ſome time. The brave captain Cornwall loſt both his legs by one ſhot, and was afterwards killed by the fall of a maſt which was ſhot by the board. The Norfolk obliged the Conſtant to quit the line. Meanwhile the Princeſſa and Somerſet were diſabled by the Poder; but ſhe being afterwards engaged by captain Hawke, in the Berwick, was diſmaſted and obliged to ſtrike.

This irregular and partial conflict continued till night, when the French admiral, having collected his ſcattered fleet, bore away. The Britiſh fleet purſued them all the next day; but on the 13th, though they were yet in ſight, admiral Mathews, being apprehenſive that they intended to decoy him from the coaſt of Italy, made a ſignal to diſcontinue the chaſe. The French ſquadron put into Alicant on the 16th, and the Spaniards into Carthagena on the day following. The Britiſh fleet, having ſpent ſome days, to no purpoſe, in looking out for the enemy, and afterwards in vainly attempting to regain their former ſtation off Toulon, were at length obliged, by contrary winds, to bear away for the iſland of Minorca.

Thus ended, chiefly in ſmoke, this memorable battle, which ſeemed to threaten a moſt tremendous conflict, and which, from the ſuperiority of the Britiſh fleet, ought to have annihilated the naval power of France and Spain. How it happened that ſo many of our captains were on that day *faſcinated*, I know not; it is however very certain, that few of them were fairly engaged. Admiral Mathews was ſo diſſatisfied with Leſtock's conduct, that he ſuſpended him from his command and ſent him to England. That Leſtock did not fight is moſt certain. He ſaid in his defence, that he could not have engaged without breaking the line, which he was not authoriſed to do, becauſe, though the ſignal for engaging was made, yet that for the line of battle was ſtill aboard. That Mathews might be guilty of inattention in this particular without any impeachment of his abilities as a naval commander

commander may ſurely be admitted, when we conſider him bearing down upon the enemy and preparing to engage; but it was an excuſe for declining an attack which an honeſt and brave man would never have pleaded. The misfortunte originated in a continued miſunderſtanding between Mathews and Leſtock; the latter of whom ſacrificed his own reputation to the hope of ruining the former. In that hope he was but too ſucceſsful; for, by the ſentence of a court-martial in England, admiral Mathews was diſmiſſed, and rendered incapable of ſerving the king; Leſtock was honourably acquitted. The people of England were however of a very different opinion from the court, and poſterity will do juſtice to both commanders. Mathews was doubtleſs a brave and an honeſt man; Leſtock was an artful, vindictive diſciplinarian. Whether he was really a coward, cannot be poſitively determined; but if he was not deficient in courage, he apparently wanted both honour and honeſty.

The few naval commanders who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this ſkirmiſh were, the admirals Mathews and Rowley, the captains Cornwall, Forbes, Oſborne and Hawke. Few of the reſt were much engaged. The Spaniards loſt but one ſhip, the Poder, and about a thouſand men killed and wounded. The Britiſh fleet loſt a fire-ſhip, and in killed and wounded about four hundred.

Notwithſtanding this naval engagement in the Mediterranean with the combined fleets of France and Spain, there was yet no declaration of war between Great-Britain and France. This ceremony, however, was at laſt performed. On the 20th of March, war was declared at Paris, and on the 31ſt of the ſame month, at London. The navy of France conſiſted, at this time, of forty-five ſhips of the line, ſixty-ſeven frigates and fifty-five gallies: that of England of ninety ſhips of the line, eighty-four frigates and fifty other veſſels; in all two hundred and twenty-four ſhips of war. On the 23d of June the following promotions were made in the navy: Nicholas Haddock, Eſq; and Sir Chaloner Ogle, appointed admirals of the blue; James Stuart, Eſq; and Sir Charles Hardy, vice-admirals of the red; Thomas Davers, Eſq; and the honourable George Clinton, vice-admirals of the white; William Rowley and William Martin, Eſqrs. vice-admirals of the blue; Iſaac Townſend, Eſq; rear-admiral of the red; Henry Medley, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white; George Anſon, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue.

The firſt fleet which ſailed from England after the declaration of war with France, was commanded by Sir Charles Hardy; it conſiſted of eleven ſhips of the line. He ſailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of April, with a number of ſtore-ſhips under his convoy for the relief of the Mediterranean fleet, which was in great want of ſtores and proviſions. Having put into the port of Liſbon, and being there detained by contrary winds, the French miniſtry, acquainted with his deſtination, ſent immediate orders

orders for the Brest squadron, of fourteen sail of the line, to block him up. This service was effectually performed, and Sir Charles remained in the Tagus.

On the 6th of July the British navy was reinforced by the arrival of twenty Dutch men of war at Portsmouth, under the command of admiral Balchereſt. On the 15th they were joined by admiral Balchen with fourteen sail of the line. This united fleet sailed from Spithead on the 7th of August, to the relief of Sir Charles Hardy, and on the 9th of September came to an anchor off the rock of Lisbon. The French admiral having had previous intelligence of Balchen's approach, quitted his station. Sir Charles Hardy, with his convoy, joined the fleet, which immediately proceeded to Gibraltar, and, having reinforced the garrison, returned in search of the Brest squadron. But Mr. Rochambault, the French admiral, was, by this time, safe in the harbour of Cadiz. Sir John Balchen entered the bay of Biscay, in his return to England, on the 30th of September, and, on the 3d of October, his whole fleet was dispersed by a violent storm. Several of the ships suffered considerably, particularly the Exeter and the Duke, the first of which lost her main and mizen masts, and was under the necessity of throwing twelve of her guns overboard; and the latter had all her sails torn to pieces, and ten feet water in her hold. The whole fleet, however, except the admiral, arrived at St. Helen's on the 10th of October. The Victory was separated from the rest of the fleet on the 4th, after which she was never seen or heard of more. It is generally supposed that she struck upon a ridge of rocks, called the Caskets, near Alderney, as repeated signals of distress were heard by the inhabitants of that island; but it blew so violently that it was impossible to give her any assistance.

Having now concluded the naval transactions in Europe during the year 1744, we direct our inquiries towards America, where were left Sir Chaloner Ogle with the British fleet in the harbour of Port Royal in Jamaica, and admiral de Torres, with that of Spain, at the Havannah. In these respective situations they both remained, not otherwise employed than in sending out cruizers to interrupt the trade of each nation; till, on the fourth of November, de Torres, with five men of war and as many galleons, richly laden, sailed for Europe, and arrived safe at Corunna on the 29th of December. These galleons brought a treasure of fifteen millions of piasters.

During this year the navy of England sustained some considerable losses. I have before mentioned the fate of the unfortunate Victory. On the 4th of June the Northumberland, a new ship of 70 guns, and 480 men, commanded by captain Watson, cruizing in the channel, fell in with three French men of war, *viz.* the Mars of 68 guns, and 550 men, commanded by Mons. de Perrier; the Constant of 60 guns, and 580 men, commanded

commanded by Monſ. Conflans; and the Venus of 26 guns, and 250 men, commanded by Monſ. de Dacher. The Northumberland ſuſtained this very unequal conflict for three hours, with amazing activity and reſolution; till, unfortunately, captain Watſon was mortally wounded: ſhe then ſtruck her colours by order of the maſter, who was therefore afterwards ſentenced by a court martial, to ſpend the remainder of his life in the Marſhalſea priſon. The French ſhips loſt 130 men in the engagement, and their rigging was ſo ſhattered, that they intended to ſheer off as ſoon as it was dark. They carried the Northumberland in great triumph into Breſt, where captain Watſon died. The Seaford, captain Pie, the Solebay, captain Bury, both of 50 guns, and the Grampus ſloop, were likewiſe taken by part of the Breſt ſquadron in the courſe of this year.

Before I conclude the naval hiſtory of the year 1744, it is neceſſary to turn our eyes, for a moment, towards the Eaſt-Indies. In conſequence of an application to the lords of the admiralty, from the Eaſt-India company, commodore Barnet, with four men of war, ſailed from Portſmouth on the 5th of May, and, after his arrival in the Eaſt-Indies, took a French fifty gun ſhip, and three rich prizes.

At the cloſe of this year it appeared, that, ſince the commencement of the war, the Spaniards had taken 786 Britiſh veſſels, which were valued at 2,751,000 l; and the Britiſh effects ſeized in Spain on the declaration of war, were eſtimated at 50,000 l. On the other hand, the number of Spaniſh ſhips taken by our men of war and privateers amounted to 850, ſuppoſed to be worth 2,550,000 l. To this if we add 2,181,000 l. the ſuppoſed amount of the prizes taken, fortifications deſtroyed, *&c.* by admiral Vernon and Mr. Anſon, the loſs ſuſtained by Spain will exceed that of Great-Britain 1,930,000 l. By a ſimilar eſtimate of the account with France, there appeared above half a million ſterling in our favour.

Notwithſtanding this balance, the reader has doubtleſs been diſappointed to find our naval hiſtory of 1734 ſo unimportant, and in the only engagement of conſequence, ſo diſgraceful. The fatal diſagreement between Mathews and Leſtock cannot be remembered without indignation; but the miniſtry, who knew their enmity, muſt have foreſeen, and were therefore anſwerable for the conſequence. The miniſtry was now changed. Lord Carteret reſigned his place of ſecretary of ſtate to the earl of Harrington, and the duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty. Orders were immediately iſſued for every man of war in the ſeveral ports to be fitted for ſervice. Admiral Davers was ſent to protect Jamaica, the Mediterranean fleet was reinforced by admiral Medley, and the coaſt of Great-Britain was ſecured by cruizers properly ſtationed.

Mean while a project was formed in the general aſſembly of

Maſſachuſet in New-England, to ſurprize the city of Louiſbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, and to drive the French entirely from that iſland. The miniſtry being made ſenſible of the importance of the enterprize, ordered commodore Warren to quit his ſtation at the Leeward Iſlands, and join the American expedition. This armament was raiſed with ſo much ſecrecy and diſpatch, that an army of 3850 volunteers, under the command of William Pepperel, Eſq; was ready to embark at Boſton before the French government were apprized of their intention. They arrived at Canſo in Nova Scotia, under the convoy of ten American privateers, on the 2d of April, and on the 25th were joined by commodore Warren in the Superbe of 60 guns, attended by the Lanceſton, the Eltham, and the Mermaid, of 40 guns each. Canſo is within ſight of Cape Breton, and yet the inhabitants of that iſland were hitherto totally ignorant of their danger, till, on the 30th of April, they beheld this hoſtile fleet come to an anchor in Gabarus bay, about a league from Louiſbourg. The governor immediately ſent a detachment of a hundred men to oppoſe the landing of the American troops; but the French were ſoon obliged to retire in confuſion, and the invaders diſembarked without the loſs of a ſingle man. General Pepperel immediately inveſted Louiſbourg, whilſt Mr. Warren blocked up the harbour, convoyed ſeveral veſſels with ſtores and proviſions for Boſton, and intercepted a French man of war of 44 guns, and other ſhips intended to relieve the city. Mean while he was joined by the Canterbury, the Sunderland, and the Cheſter; the two firſt of ſixty guns, and the laſt a fifty gun ſhip, and on the 11th of June the Princeſs Mary, the Hector, and the Lark, were alſo added to his fleet. On the 15th of June Monſ. Chambon, the governor of Louiſbourg, ſent a flag of truce to the Britiſh camp, and the iſland of Cape Breton was ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty.

After the departure of commodore Warren for North-America, the Weſt-India iſlands were left in a great meaſure defenceleſs, Sir Chaloner Ogle having returned to England with ſix men of war. For this reaſon, vice-admiral Townſend was ordered from the Mediterranean to the Weſt-Indies, with a ſquadron of eight ſhips. He ſailed from Gibraltar on the 2d of Auguſt, and arrived off Martinico on the 3d of October, when he was joined by the Pembroke of 60 guns, and the Woolwich of 50. Admiral Townſend having had information that the inhabitants of Martinico were in great diſtreſs for proviſions, determined to remain upon this ſtation in order to prevent their receiving any ſupplies from France: for though it be a maxim of honourable war, among Chriſtian princes, not to murder ſuch of each other's ſubjects as do not bear arms, it is nevertheleſs univerſally allowable to deſtroy by hunger as many peaceable men, women and children as they can. Goſpel and Chriſtianity are very different religions.

On

On the 31ſt of October admiral Townſend diſcovered a fleet of forty ſail of French ſhips turning the ſouthern extremity of Martinico. It proved to be a fleet of merchantmen and ſtore ſhips ſent to the relief of the French Weſt-India iſlands, under convoy of four men of war, commanded by commodore M'Namarra; who, perceiving the ſuperiority of his enemy, ſaved himſelf by running under the guns of Fort Royal. The other three men of war alſo eſcaped; but near thirty of the other veſſels were either taken, burnt, ſunk, or drove on ſhore. The admiral likewiſe took a large privateer and three Dutch veſſels bound from St. Euſtatia to Martinico with proviſions, by which he had the *happineſs* of compleating the famine on that iſland ſo entirely, that many thouſand negroes and other inhabitants periſhed of hunger. Exploits of this nature muſt afford infinite ſatisfaction on reflection; eſpecially when they contribute nothing either to the glory or emolument of the ſtate!

Such were our naval exploits in the Weſt-Indies in the year 1745, excluſive of ſome valuable prizes taken by our men of war and privateers; the moſt conſiderable of which were, the Marquis d'Antin and the Lewis Eraſmus, worth 70,000l. taken by the Prince Frederic and the Duke privateers. In the courſe of this year the Britiſh navy ſuffered the loſs of one ſloop only, which was taken and carried into Martinico; whilſt the Britiſh cruizers, in that part of the world, made captures of five French and two Spaniſh men of war.

In Europe nothing material happened to grace our annals. Admiral Martin commanded a ſquadron in the Channel, attending the motions of the French fleet. Rear-admiral Medley ſailed from Spithead, with ſeven men of war, in order to reinforce admiral Rowley, who now commanded in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Minorca on the 10th of April. Thus ſtrengthened, the vice-admiral proceeded, with twenty-four ſhips of the line, to block up the Spaniſh fleet at Carthagena, which he thereby prevented either from tranſporting troops to Italy or from joining the French ſquadron at Breſt. The republic of Genoa having declared againſt the queen of Hungary, admiral Rowley detached a part of his fleet, under the command of commodore Cooper, to bombard the towns upon their coaſt; ſeveral of theſe towns ſuffered conſiderably, particularly St. Remo, which he reduced almoſt to aſhes.

The year 1746 affords not a ſingle example of the naval ſuperiority of Great-Britain. It is nevertheleſs neceſſary, in order to preſerve the thread of our hiſtory, to inform the reader where and how our ſeveral fleets were employed. Commodore Barnet, who died in the Eaſt-Indies, was ſucceeded in the command of the ſquadron by captain Peyton. This ſquadron conſiſted of ſix men of war, which were now ſtationed at Fort St. David. At Pondicherry the French had eight ſhips of force, under the command of Monſ. Bourdonnais. Commo-

dore Peyton, cruizing between the coaſt of Coromandel and the iſland of Ceylon, on the 25th of June, fell in with Bourdonnais, whoſe ſquadron was ſomewhat reduced by the loſs of the Inſulaire. Both ſquadrons prepared to engage, and about four in the afternoon they began to fire upon each other. The battle laſted till ſeven, it being then almoſt dark. The Engliſh had 14 men killed, and 46 wounded; the French 27 killed, and 53 wounded. Next morning the two fleets appeared at no great diſtance from each other; but neither of the commanders choſe to renew the engagement. At four in the evening Mr. Peyton called a council of war, which determined, as councils of war generally do, not to fight. When a commander in chief, inveſted with full power to act by his ſole authority, calls a council of war, it creates a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that he wants to divide the blame of an unjuſtifiable action. The hiſtory of mankind affords innumerable examples of cowardice in collective bodies, of which every individual would have been horribly aſhamed. The Engliſh ſquadron proceeded to the iſland of Ceylon, and the French to Pondicherry.

Our principal hiſtorian of theſe times aſſerts, that the Britiſh ſquadron was ſuperior to that of the enemy. This, however, was not evidently the caſe: therefore the imputation of cowardice ſeems to fall more particularly on the French commodore. But Monſ. Bourdonnais had a greater object in view. The reduction of Madraſs promiſed a better harveſt than diſabling a few men of war. He appeared before that ſettlement on the 18th of Auguſt, and fired upon one of the ſhips belonging to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, chiefly with a deſign to try whether Mr. Peyton meant to defend the place. Our *brave* commodore, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, as ſoon as he was informed of this inſult, and conſequently of the danger of Madraſs, immediately diſappeared, and ſailed the Lord knows whither. Monſ. Bourdonnais, with his whole ſquadron, returned to Madraſs on the 3d of September, and in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of that important place. He would probably have ſucceeded in the reduction of every other Britiſh ſettlement on that coaſt, if he had not been prevented by a violent ſtorm, which diſabled a conſiderable part of his fleet.

In Europe, great deſigns were formed in the reſpective cabinets of England and France againſt each other's ſettlements in North-America. The French determined to retake Louiſbourg, and alſo to ſurprize Annapolis-Royal in Nova-Scotia. The Engliſh, on the other hand, planned the reduction of Quebec. Both kingdoms were diſappointed in their expectations. The French fleet, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line, three frigates, three fire-ſhips, and two bombs, came out of Breſt on the 7th of May, but was prevented, by contrary winds, from proceeding on the voyage till the 22d of June. This fleet, which, with privateers and tranſports, made in all ninety-ſeven ſail,

ſail, was commanded by the Duke d'Anville. He had on board 3500 land forces, under the command of brigadier-general Jonquiere. They did not make the coaſt of Acadia till the 10th of September, and on the 13th a ſtorm aroſe, which, continuing ſome days, diſperſed the fleet, and deſtroyed ſeveral of the tranſports; ſo that, on the 27th, they muſtered at Chiboctou, their place of rendezvous, no more than ſeven ſhips of the line, two frigates, one fire ſhip, one bomb veſſel, twelve privateers, and eighteen tranſports; in all fifty-ſix ſail. Whilſt they lay in the harbour of Chiboctou, the mortality was ſo great, that, in a ſhort ſpace of time, they buried their commander in chief, their ſecond in command, 1500 of the land forces, and 800 ſailors. The number of their ſhips and of their men being thus reduced, they gave up every idea of conqueſt, and ſailed for Europe on the 12th of October, where they arrived without farther accident.

Mean while the Britiſh miniſtry, as I have ſaid above, had planned an expedition for the reduction of Quebec. For this purpoſe a conſiderable fleet was aſſembled at Portſmouth, in the month of April, and ſeveral regiments were actually embarked under the command of general Sinclair. The duke of Newcaſtle having previouſly communicated his intention of invading Canada to the northern provinces of America, requiring their aſſiſtance; ten thouſand men were immediately raiſed, and waited impatiently for the arrival of the Britiſh fleet. But ſuch was the irreſolution of the miniſtry at this period of our hiſtory, that the French were not only informed of their deſign, but had time to equip a ſquadron ſufficient to counteract the entire project. This ſquadron, as we have ſeen above, ſailed from France on the 22d of June.

The Britiſh miniſtry, having now relinquiſhed their deſign againſt Canada, reſolved to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Britany, in France, and particularly to deſtroy *Port l'Orient*, in order to ruin the French Eaſt-India company. Lieutenant-general Sinclair commanded the land forces, and the command of the fleet was given to admiral Leſtock, that very Leſtock with whoſe conduct in the Mediterranean the reader is ſufficiently acquainted. This armament conſiſted of ſixteen ſhips of the line, eight frigates, and two bomb veſſels, beſides ſtore-ſhips and tranſports, on board of which were 5800 regular troops, including matroſſes and bombardiers. After various unaccountable delays, during which the French were perfectly acquainted with their deſtination, they ſailed at laſt from Plymouth on the 14th of September, and ſteering directly for the coaſt of Britany, came to an anchor in Quimperlay-bay on the 18th. General Sinclair, with the troops under his command, landed on the 20th in the evening, without the leaſt moleſtation, and the next morning took poſſeſſion of a ſmall town called Plemure, about half a league from l'Orient, and there fixed his head-

head-quarters. On the 22d, the British army having advanced to a rising ground about half a league from the city, general Sinclair summoned it to surrender; but the governor, not liking the conditions, determined to defend it. On the 25th the besiegers opened a battery of twelve cannon and a mortar, and the next day began to throw red hot balls into the town, which took fire in several parts. During this time the besieged continued to fire from the ramparts with great alacrity: nevertheless, their fortifications were in such bad condition, that on the 27th they had resolved to beat a parley; when, to their infinite surprize and joy, the firing of the besiegers ceased. General Sinclair and his army retreated to their camp, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon, the mortar, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, and on the 28th reimbarked without molestation. Their loss during the siege amounted, in killed and wounded, to eighty men. Why the British general fled, with so much precipitation, from the arms of victory, is difficult to imagine, unless he was discouraged on finding the enterprize not seconded by the admiral, who, according to the original plan, was to have brought his ships to bear upon the town. Mr. Lestock said, in his defence, that the enemy had rendered his entrance into the harbour of Port l'Orient impracticable. Probably, the signals for advancing, as with Mathews in the Mediterranean, were not made in due form. But the cause of their miscarriage seems to have originated in not landing the troops immediately, and storming the town without the loss of a moment. When the British fleet came to an anchor, the garrison of Port l'Orient was very weak, and few of their guns were mounted on the ramparts. Some of our subsequent attempts on the coast of France have been frustrated by the same cause. The principal damage done to the enemy in this expedition was the destruction of the Ardent, a sixty-four gun ship, by the Exeter, who, after an obstinate engagement, ran her on shore, and afterwards set her on fire. Admiral Lestock, with his entire squadron, left the coast of France on the 8th of October, and returned to England, without having in any degree fulfilled the intentions of the ministry, which were, to ruin the French East-India company, by destroying l'Orient, and, by dividing of the French troops, to facilitate the invasion of Provence by the Austrian army.

In the West-Indies nothing of importance was attempted by any of the belligerent powers. We find however upon record one naval transaction, which though it will not add much to our national renown, ought nevertheless to be remembered *in terrorem*. Vice-admiral Davers, who commanded on the Jamaica station, having received intelligence that Monf. Conflans, with four men of war and ninety merchantmen, from France, was hourly expected at Martinico, detached commodore Mitchel with five men of war and a sloop to intercept him. He fell

fell in with the French fleet on the 3d of Auguſt, and at ſeven in the evening was about a league to windward of them, when, inſtead of engaging the enemy, he made a ſignal to ſpeak with the captains of his ſquadron, a majority of whom were of opinion, that it were beſt to defer the battle till next morning. Theſe councils of war, as I have before obſerved, ſeldom forebode much heroiſm. When a man calls his friends about him, to aſk them whether he ſhall fight to-day or to-morrow, there is great reaſon to believe that he had rather not fight at all. However, general orders were given to keep the enemy in ſight, and to engage as ſoon as day-light ſhould appear. But the French merchant veſſels, being ſo unpolite as not to wait to be taken by the Engliſh, all eſcaped; and Monſ. Conflans, after exchanging a few ſhot with the Britiſh ſquadron, followed his convoy. Mr. Mitchel's caution was ſo great, that when night came on he ordered his ſhips to carry no lights, leſt the French ſhould be ſo rude as to give him chaſe. Monſ. Conflans, in his return to Europe, fell in with an Engliſh fleet from the Leeward Iſlands, under the convoy of the Woolwich and Severn, of 50 guns each, the latter of which, after two hours engagement, he took and carried into Breſt. Mitchel, being afterwards tried by a court-martial, was fined five years pay, and rendered incapable of future ſervice.

The Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean was this year commanded by vice admiral Medley, whoſe principal tranſaction was the aſſiſtance which he gave to the Auſtrian general at the ſiege of Antibes. Admiral Martin, who commanded in the Channel, was in the month of July ſucceeded by admiral Anſon, who was appointed vice admiral of the blue.

The French, in the courſe of this year, took from the Engliſh one man of war of 60 guns, two ſloops, nine privateers, one Eaſt-Indiaman, and 466 merchant veſſels. The Spaniards took 183 Britiſh ſhips. The Britiſh men of war and privateers took from the Spaniards twenty-two privateers, ten regiſter ſhips, and eighty-eight merchantmen. From the French we took ſeven men of war, ninety-one privateers, and 312 merchant veſſels.

The French miniſtry, notwithſtanding their late diſappointment in North-America, were determined to increaſe their force in Canada, and, with the aſſiſtance of Canadians and Indians, to extend their territories by incroachments on the neighbouring provinces belonging to Great-Britain. At the ſame time they formed a deſign againſt ſome of our ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies. For theſe purpoſes, in the beginning of the year 1747, a conſiderable armament was prepared at Breſt; the ſquadron deſtined for America, under the command of Monſ. Jonquiere, and that for the Eaſt-Indies commanded by Monſ. de St. George. For greater ſecurity, theſe two fleets were to ſail at the ſame time.

The Britiſh miniſtry being informed of the ſtrength and deſtination of this ſquadron, ſent a ſuperior fleet to the coaſt of France,

France, commanded by vice admiral Anſon. He ſailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, and, cruizing off Finiſterre, on the 3d of May, fell in with the French fleet, conſiſting of thirty-eight ſail, nine of which ſhortened ſail and prepared to engage, whilſt the reſt bore away with all the ſail they could make. Admiral Anſon firſt formed his ſquadron in line of battle; but perceiving the enemy begin to ſheer off, he made a ſignal for his whole fleet to give chace, and engage promiſcuouſly. The Centurion came up with the ſternmoſt ſhip of the enemy about four in the afternoon. She was followed by the Namur, Defiance, and Windſor, who were ſoon warmly engaged with five of the French ſquadron. The Centurion had her main-top-maſt ſhot away early in the action, which obliged her to drop aſtern; but ſhe was ſoon repaired. The battle now became general, and the French maintained this very unequal conflict with great ſpirit and gallantry, till about ſeven in the evening, when the whole fleet ſtruck their colours. The *Diamant* was the laſt French ſhip that ſubmitted, after fighting the Briſtol near three hours. In juſtice to our enemy it is neceſſary to remember, that the ſquadron commanded by admiral Anſon conſiſted of fourteen ſhips of the line, a frigate, a ſloop, and a fire ſhip, with 922 guns, and 9260 men on board; and that Monſ. de la Jonquiere had no more than five line of battle ſhips, and as many frigates, 442 guns, and 3171 men. Admiral Anſon in the mean time detached the Monmouth, the Yarmouth, and the Nottingham in purſuit of the convoy, and they returned with the Vigilant and Modeſte, both of twenty-two guns, the reſt having made their eſcape. But though we acknowledge the great ſuperiority of the Britiſh ſquadron, it is neceſſary to inform the reader, that no more than eight Engliſh ſhips were engaged. Captain Grenville of the Defiance, a very gallant officer, loſt his life in this engagement. Our number of killed and wounded amounted to 520; that of the enemy to 700. Captain Boſcawen was wounded in the ſhoulder by a muſket-ball. Monſ. de la Jonquiere was alſo wounded in the ſame part; one French captain was killed, and another loſt a leg.

Admiral Anſon returned to England, and brought the captive ſquadron ſafe to an anchor at Spithead. He ſet out immediately for London, where he was graciouſly received by the king, and afterwards created a peer. Rear admiral Warren was made knight of the Bath. The money taken on board of the French fleet, was brought through the city of London in twenty waggons, and lodged in the bank.

About the middle of April, Captain Fox in the Kent, with the Hampton-Court, the Eagle, the Lion, the Cheſter and the Hector, with two fire ſhips, ſailed on a cruize, deſigning to intercept a fleet of St. Domingo-men under the convoy of four French men of war. After cruizing a month betwen Uſhant and Cape Finiſterre, captain Fox fell in with this French fleet of

170

170 ſail. They were immediately deſerted by their men of war, and forty-ſix of them were taken.

The Britiſh miniſtry having received intelligence, that nine French men of war of the line had ſailed from Breſt, in order to convoy a large fleet of merchantmen to the Weſt-Indies, ordered rear admiral Hawke, with fourteen men of war, to ſail immediately in queſt of them. The admiral, with the fleet under his command, left Plymouth on the 9th of Auguſt. The French fleet, conſiſting of the above-mentioned men of war, and 252 merchant veſſels, ſailed from the iſle of Aix on the 6th of October, and on the 14th they had the misfortune to fall in with the Britiſh ſquadron. As ſoon as the French admiral became ſenſible of his ſituation, he made a ſignal for the trade to make the beſt of their way, with the *Content* and frigates, and for the reſt of his ſquadron to prepare for battle. Admiral Hawke firſt made a ſignal to form the line; but finding the French begin to ſheer off, he ordered his whole fleet to give chaſe, and engage as they came up with the enemy. The Lion and the Louiſa began the conflict about noon, and were ſoon followed by the Tilbury, the Eagle, the Yarmouth, the Windſor, and the Devonſhire, which ſhips particularly ſhared the danger, and conſequently the glory of the day.

About four o'clock four of the French ſquadron ſtruck, *viz. le Neptune*, *le Monarque*, *le Fougeux*, and the Severn; at five *le Trident* followed their example, and *le Terrible* ſurrendered about ſeven. Be it however remembered, to the credit of their ſeveral commanders, that they maintained this unequal conflict with great ſpirit and reſolution, and that they did not ſubmit until they were entirely diſabled. Their number of killed and wounded was about 800, and of priſoners 3300 men. *M. Fromentierre*, who commanded *le Neptune*, was among the ſlain, and their commander in chief was wounded in the leg and in the ſhoulder. The Engliſh had 154 killed, and 558 wounded. Capt. Saumarez, of the Nottingham, was among the former. We loſt no other officer of diſtinction. On the laſt day of October admiral Hawke brought theſe ſix French men of war to Portſmouth in triumph, and, in reward for his ſervices, was ſoon after honoured with the order of the Bath. He was diſſatisfied with the behaviour of captain Fox in the engagement, who was tried by a court-martial and deprived of his command; but he was reſtored about two years after.

Vice admiral Medley, who commanded a fleet of fifteen ſhips of the line in the Mediterranean, died there on the 5th of Auguſt, and was ſucceeded by rear admiral Byng, who continued to block up the Spaniſh ſquadron in Carthagena, and to act in concert with the Auſtrian general on the coaſt of Italy. Rear-admiral Chambers commanded nine men of war in the channel, and on the 1ſt of November rear admiral Boſcawen ſailed for the Eaſt-Indies with ſix ſhips of the line.

During

During this year the Engliſh took from the French and Spaniards 644 prizes, among which were ſeventeen French and one Spaniſh men of war. The Engliſh veſſels, including one man of war and a fire ſhip, taken by the French and Spaniards, amounted to 551. The royal navy of Spain was now reduced to twenty-two ſhips of the line, and that of France to thirty-one; whilſt the navy of Britain amounted to 126 ſail of the line, beſides ſeventy-five frigates.

Being arrived at the laſt year of this general war, I ſhall begin with the hiſtory of our naval tranſactions in the Weſt-Indies, where the Britiſh fleet was now commanded by rear-admiral Knowles. He ſailed from Jamaica, on the 13th of February, with eight ſhips of the line, on an expedition againſt St. Jago de Cuba; but being prevented by contrary winds from approaching that iſland, Port Louis, in Hiſpaniola, became the object of his hoſtile intentions, before which place he arrived on the 8th of March. Port Louis was defended by a ſtrong fort, mounting ſeventy-eight guns, with a garriſon of 600 men, commanded by M. de Chaleaunoye. The admiral began his attack immediately on his arrival, and after three hours violent cannonading ſilenced the fort, which ſurrendered on the following terms, *viz.* The garriſon not to ſerve againſt the king of Great-Britain, or his allies during a year; that they ſhould march out with their arms, but without cannon, mortars, or ammunition; that the officers ſhould retain their private baggage and ſervants; that the town ſhould be ſpared on certain conditions to be ſettled next morning. The garriſon loſt 160 men killed and wounded, and the fleet ſeventy. Among the ſlain were the captains Ratone and Cuſt, the laſt of whom was a volunteer in the expedition.

Admiral Knowles having entirely deſtroyed the fort, reſumed his former deſign againſt St. Jago de Cuba, where he arrived on the 5th of April. The Plymouth and the Cornwall were ordered to enter the harbour; but finding a boom acroſs, and four veſſels filled with combuſtibles, after firing a few broadſides at the caſtle, they judged it prudent to deſiſt, and the ſquadron returned to Jamaica. Captain Dent of the Plymouth was afterwards, at the requeſt of the admiral, tried by a court-martial for not forcing the boom, and was honourably acquitted.

From this time the Britiſh and Spaniſh fleets were ſolely employed in cruizing in detachments againſt the trade of each nation. Towards the latter end of Auguſt admiral Knowles, having received intelligence that the annual fleet from Vera Cruz was daily expected at the Havanna, began to cruize off the banks of Tortuga. The Spaniſh admiral Reggio, being informed of the vicinity of the Engliſh ſquadron, and of the conſequent danger of the expected fleet, ſailed from the Havannah, determined to give admiral Knowles battle. On the 29th of September,

tember, admiral Reggio saw, at a distance, fourteen sail of English merchant-men, under convoy of two men of war; he gave them chase, but they had the good fortune to escape, and the Lenox, having made a signal for his convoy to save themselves by flight, joined admiral Knowles, who, on the first of October, fell in with the Spanish squadron near the Havanna.

By a comparison of the two squadrons, it appears that in number of ships they were equal; that in number of guns the Spaniards were somewhat superior, and that in number of men they exceeded us by 1250. The English admiral, though he had the advantage of the wind, did not at first seem over anxious to engage. About two o'clock the Spaniards began to fire at a distance. Admiral Knowles then made a signal for his squadron to bear down upon the enemy, and in less than half an hour most of the ships were engaged. The two admirals fought each other about half an hour, when admiral Knowles, having received some damage, fell astern and quitted the line. The Conquestadore, being likewise injured in her rigging, was also obliged to quit the line of battle, and before she had time to repair the damage she had sustained, she had the misfortune to be attacked by the British admiral, who had now replaced the yard and main-top-mast which he had lost in his engagement with the Africa. They fought for some time with great obstinacy. The Spanish captain was killed, and the Conquestadore finally struck to the Cornwall. The general action continued till eight in the evening, when the Spaniards began to edge away towards the Havanna, and got safe into port, except the Conquestadore and the Africa, which last, being entirely dismasted, was run on shore and blown up by the Spanish admiral. The Spaniards had in this action three captains and eighty-six men killed, and 197 wounded; among the latter were admiral Reggio and fourteen other officers. The English, though they had fifty-nine killed and 120 wounded, were so fortunate as not to lose a single officer.

After this action the English captains were by no means satisfied with each other's conduct. The admiral himself was accused by some of them, and he was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and reprimanded for not hoisting his flag on board another ship after his own was disabled. It seems indeed very probable, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, that if the English fleet had been commanded by a Hawke, not a single Spaniard would have escaped.

This was the last naval action of importance previous to the general peace, which was finally concluded in the month of October, 1748. The English, during this year, took three French and one Spanish men of war. The whole number of vessels taken from the Spaniards since the commencement of the war amounted to 1249; from the French to 2185: in all 3434. The entire loss of the English amounted to 3248 ships.

When

When we consider the immense value of these captures; when we reflect that most of this wealth was private property; when we count the number of lives that have been sacrificed during the war, and recollect that all the people sacrificed were neither consulted nor concerned in the contest: when we farther reflect, that all the princes who caused this horrible destruction of life and property, professed the religion of peace, charity, philanthropy and concord, we are disgusted with human nature, and laugh at the pretension of kings to Christianity. But what will the reader think of these mighty potentates, when he is told, that, after all this waste of blood and treasure, the war ended just where it began? None of the contending powers retained any part of their acquisitions, the 5th article of the treaty of peace having stipulated, that all conquests whatsoever should be restored: consequently Cape Breton was restored to the French, and Madrass to the English. Great Britain had now increased her national debt to eighty millions, and her sole consolation was her having reduced the navy of France to a state of contemptible insignificance. As to that nation, the terms of peace were easily settled, because we fought with her without any previous cause of quarrel or dispute; she began the war merely in consequence of her alliance with Spain: but against that nation we commenced hostilities, solely with a design to secure an uninterrupted navigation to our own settlements; nevertheless, strange as it may seem, this important article was entirely neglected, forgotten, by our plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle. Our right to cut logwood in Campeachy and Honduras, an article of equal consequence to this nation, was also left undetermined. But these were not the only examples of inattention (I cannot suppose it ignorance) in the British ministry at this very important period. The French, in consequence of possessing Canada, had, for many years past, been gradually extending the limits of that province, and, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht, their incroachments were now flagrant and oppressive to our North-American colonies: yet the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded without this notorious cause of complaint being mentioned by the British plenipotentiaries. The limits of Nova Scotia, another doubtful point, were also left undetermined.

From this precarious state of affairs it was easy to foresee, that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would be of no long duration; and, from the conduct of the French immediately after, their latent intentions were obvious. But before we proceed to develope the *principia* of the succeeding war, it is necessary to record certain transactions in the British parliament, which are immediately connected with our naval history.

The ministry, for very wise reasons no doubt, brought a bill into parliament, under the title of, "A bill for reducing into "one act the laws relating to the navy;" by which the half-pay officers were to be rendered subject to martial law. The sea-officers

officers took the alarm: they assembled, and presented a petition to the house, requesting to be heard by their counsel, and though the minister mustered sufficient strength to reject the petition, he thought proper to relinquish his unconstitutional attempt. Another plan, relative to the navy, was also offered to the consideration of parliament, *viz.* to register a certain number of seamen, who, for an annual stipend, should be liable to serve when called upon. This project, being calculated to supersede the illegal necessity of pressing, appeared rational; nevertheless Mr. Pelham found it to be an unpopular measure, and therefore gave it up.

In the course of this year, 1748, the Earl of Halifax, who presided at the board of trade, formed a design of establishing a colony in Nova Scotia. His project was approved, and four thousand adventurers, under the protection of colonel Cornwallis, sailed from England, and landed in the harbour of Chebuctou, in the neighbourhood of which they built a town and called it Halifax. The French were displeased with this exertion of our right, and, by way of counterbalance, attempted to make a settlement on the island of Tobago in the West-Indies; but, in consequence of a spirited remonstrance to the court of Versailles, they thought proper to desist. They continued nevertheless to assert their title to St. Lucia, Tobago, and other neutral islands; and in North America their daily encroachments were so daring, that the subjects of Great-Britain bordering on the French settlements, became very loud in their complaints to our ministry. The French ministry, according to custom, endeavoured to exculpate themselves by throwing the blame on the governor of Canada. After several ineffectual memorials and remonstrances delivered by our ambassador at Paris, commissaries, of each nation, were appointed, in the year 1750, to settle the limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia. These commissaries met at Paris, and proceeded with all that deliberate circumspection which is generally observed by servants of the public whose stipends must end with their commission. The French commissaries, in order to gain time by evading the main question, drew their antagonists into a discussion concerning the island of St. Lucia. Meanwhile the Indians bordering on the British dominions in North America, were instigated by the French to commence their barbarous hostilities against the defenceless inhabitants of our back-settlements. The Spaniards, in 1752, began again their former practice, of insolently interrupting our navigation in the West-Indies by their Guarda Costas, and in Europe the navy both of France and Spain were daily augmenting. In 1753 the conference at Paris, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, ended without effect; and the French continued to extend their dominions in North America, by erecting a chain of forts along the lakes of Erie and Ontario, so as to connect their settlements on the Mississippi with Canada. At length, presuming on the amazing supineness of the British ministry,

niſtry, they croſſed Lake Champlain, and built a fort at Crown-Point, in the province of New-York.

The French miniſtry, notwithſtanding ſuch flagrant acts of hoſtility in America, continued to amuſe the court of London with repeated aſſurances of friendſhip. But early in the year 1755, certain intelligence was received, that a conſiderable fleet of men of war was preparing to ſail from different ports in France, to America, with a formidable number of land forces on board. The Britiſh miniſtry, rouzed at this intelligence, gave immediate orders to equip a ſquadron of men of war, and, towards the latter end of April, admiral Boſcawen, with eleven ſhips of the line, ſailed for America. He was ſoon after followed by admiral Holbourne with ſix line of battle ſhips and one frigate, the miniſtry having received ſubſequent intelligence that the French fleet, intended for America, conſiſted of twenty-five ſhips of the line, &c. This fleet ſailed from Breſt in the beginning of May; but, after ſailing a few leagues beyond the mouth of the Engliſh channel, Monſ. Macnamara, the commander in chief, returned to Breſt, with nine of the capital ſhips, and the reſt proceeded to North America under the command of Monſ. Bois de la Mothe. Admiral Boſcawen's orders were, to attack the French fleet wherefoever he ſhould meet with it. Being joined by admiral Holbourne, he continued cruizing off the banks of Newfoundland, in hopes of intercepting the French ſquadron in their attempt to enter the gulf of St. Laurence. But the thick fog, ſo frequent on that coaſt, favoured their enterprize, and Monſ. de la Mothe arrived ſafe at Quebec with his whole ſquadron, except the Alcide and the Lys, the firſt of ſixty-four guns and 480 men; the ſecond of twenty-two, though pierced for ſixty-four, with eight companies of land forces on board. Theſe two unfortunate ſhips fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, both ſixty-gun ſhips. After a reſolute engagement of five hours, the French ſhips ſtruck. On board the Lys were ſeveral officers of diſtinction, and about 80000l. ſterling.

From the capture of theſe two ſhips the commencement of the war may properly be dated. As ſoon as it was known in Europe, the French ambaſſador left London, and the Britiſh miniſtry iſſued general orders for making repriſals in every part of the globe. In conſequence of this reſolution, three hundred French merchantmen were taken and brought into England before the expiration of this year. On the 21ſt of July, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed on a cruize to the weſtward, with eighteen ſhips of the line, and, on the 14th of October, admiral Byng proceeded to ſea with twenty-two ſhips. Both theſe fleets returned without meeting with any thing worth their attention. The French nevertheleſs bore theſe inſults with a degree of patience which aſtoniſhed all Europe. But they were not yet prepared for war: their alliances were yet unformed, and their fleet was inferior to that of Great-

Great-Britain, which, at this time, consisted of 213 men of war; that of France, including ships upon the stocks, amounted to no more than 113.

In the beginning of this year major-general Braddock sailed from Corke, with two regiments of foot, for Virginia, with orders to dispossess the French of the lands they had unjustly usurped. That general was totally defeated, and slain, by an ambuscade of Indians. I have before observed, that three hundred French merchantmen were brought into the ports of England; and all this without a declaration of war. The British ministry intended, by this extraordinary conduct, to validate their defensive alliances, and that the private property of the subjects of France might not suffer, the several cargoes of the ships taken were ordered not to be touched. But this appearance of strict justice was a mere chimera, because many of these cargoes consisted of perishable commodities, and consequently proved a loss to the owners, without producing any profit to those by whom they were taken. The French had evidently, and flagrantly, broken the bonds of peace by their audacious incroachments in America, so palpably contradictory to the tenour of treaties between the two nations. For the credit of England, I wish that a formal declaration of war had preceded the first act of hostility on our part. Previous to such declaration, every act of hostility is a piracy against the subjects of either nation.

About the close of the preceding year, overtures of accommodation were made on the part of France by Monf. Rouille, secretary of state, in a private letter to Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic majesty. But as this application was calculated only to amuse the English ministry, in order to gain time, it produced no other effect. The French, having now augmented their navy very considerably, ordered all the British subjects in France to depart the kingdom, published an edict for the encouragement of privateers, seized every English in their ports, and sent their crews to prison. They then began to threaten us with an invasion, and, in order to give this project an air of probability, were extremely busy in their military preparations on the coast of the British Channel. But the design of these preparations was merely to divert our attention from their armaments in the Mediterranean, where the blow was really intended. The king, the ministry, and their adherents in parliament, were, however, so completely duped by this French manœuvre, that Hessian and Hanoverian troops were sent for to protect us, and the repeated authentic information concerning the equipment and destination of the Toulon fleet totally disregarded. There never was a more flagrant example of obstinate infatuation.

At length the destination of the armament at Toulon was so certainly and universally known, that the British ministry started suddenly

ſuddenly from their apathy, and, like men juſt awoke from a ſound ſlumber, began to act before they had recovered their ſenſes. It was known to all Europe, that the French ſquadron at Toulon conſiſted of thirteen ſhips of the line, and that 15,000 land forces were there ready for embarkation: nevertheleſs, only ten Britiſh ſhips were ordered for the Mediterranean, and the command was given to admiral Byng, a man whoſe courage and abilities were yet untried. With this ſquadron, not completely manned, without either hoſpital or fire-ſhip, he ſailed from Spithead on the 7th of April. He had on board major-general Stuart, lord Effingham, colonel Cornwallis, and about forty inferior officers, whoſe regiments were in garriſon at Minorca; alſo a regiment of ſoldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, and about a hundred recruits.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, where he found the Louiſa, captain Edgecombe, who informed him, that he had been driven from Minorca by a French ſquadron of thirteen ſhips of the line, commanded by Monſ. Galiſſoniere, who had landed 15,000 men on that iſland. Admiral Byng gave immediate orders for the ſhips to complete their proviſions and water with all poſſible expedition. On the third day after his arrival he went on ſhore to confer with general Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, concerning a battalion to be tranſported to Minorca. When the admiral demanded this battalion, the governor produced three ſeveral letters of inſtruction from the war-office, which he could neither reconcile with each other, nor with the order given by the admiralty to admiral Byng. Theſe ſeveral orders, were then compared and conſidered by a council of war at Gibraltar.

Who, after mature deliberation, determined not to part with the battalion required; firſt, becauſe it appeared by lord Barrington's firſt letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar; and, ſecondly, becauſe it was the opinion of the engineers who were well acquainted with Minorca, that to throw ſuccours into St. Philip's would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible. But this reſolution of the council of war was certainly wrong: for though it appeared by lord Barrington's firſt letter, that the Fuzileers were to remain at Gibraltar, that order was evidently contradicted by admiral Byng's inſtructions of a later date, and the order for ſending a battalion to Minorca was repeated and confirmed. However, the council of war conſented that one captain, ſix ſubalterns, five drums, and 235 private, ſhould be embarked, to ſupply the deficiency of thoſe left at Minorca by captain Edgecombe, and without which his ſhips would have been of little ſervice in caſe of an engagement. With regard to admiral Byng's orders, though they were in many reſpects conditional, his orders to ſave Minorca, at all events, were poſitive and explicit, and that he ought to have effected, even at the riſk of ſacrificing his whole fleet. Be this as it may, he ſailed from

Gibraltar

Gibraltar on the 8th of May, and on the 16th arrived at Majorca, where he was joined by the Phœnix, captain Harvey, who confirmed the intelligence relative to the French fleet and the ſiege of St. Philip's. He then ſteered for Minorca, but having contrary winds, did not make that iſland until the morning of the 19th, when he ſaw the Engliſh flag ſtill flying at the caſtle of St. Philip's, and ſeveral bomb-batteries playing upon it from the enemy's works. There have been Britiſh admirals who, at ſuch a proſpect, would have ſworn to relieve the garriſon, or periſh in the attempt! Early in the morning the admiral diſpatched captain Harvey, in the Phœnix, with the Cheſterfield and Dolphin, with orders to reconnoitre the entrance into the harbour, and, if poſſible, to convey a letter to general Blakeney. Captain Hervey got round the Laire before nine o'clock in the morning: he made ſignals to the garriſon for a boat to come off; but without effect, and the admiral, about this time, diſcovering the French fleet, ordered him to return.

Admiral Byng now ſtood towards the enemy, and about two in the afternoon made a ſignal for the line of battle a-head. He then diſtributed as many ſeamen as could be ſpared from the frigates, on board ſuch ſhips as were moſt in want of hands, and converted the Phœnix into a fire-ſhip. At ſeven in the evening the French ſquadron, being then about two leagues diſtant, tacked, in order to gain the weather-gage; and the Engliſh admiral, not chuſing to relinquiſh that advantage, alſo put his ſhips about.

On the 20th, in the morning, the weather being hazy, the French fleet could not be diſcovered; but it became viſible before noon, and at two o'clock admiral Byng made a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Rear-admiral Weſt was then at too great a diſtance to comply with both theſe orders; he therefore bore away ſeven points from the wind, and with his whole diviſion attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that ſeveral of their ſhips were ſoon obliged to quit the line. Had admiral Byng been equally alert and eager to engage, it is moſt probable that the French fleet would have been defeated and Minorca ſaved; but the enemy's centre keeping their ſtation, and Byng's diviſion not advancing, admiral Weſt was prevented from purſuing his advantage, by the apprehenſion of being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet.

After engaging about a quarter of an hour, the Intrepid, the ſternmoſt ſhip of the van, loſt her fore-top-maſt, which, according to Byng's account of the action, obliged his whole diviſion to back their ſails, to prevent their falling foul of each other. But when this matter came to be examined by the court-martial, it appeared, that immediately after the ſignal for engaging, whilſt the van were down upon the enemy, admiral Byng, in the Ramillies, edged away ſome points, by which means the Trident and Louiſa got to windward of him, and that, in order

to bring them again into their ſtations, he backed his mizen-topſails, and endeavoured to back his main-topſail. This manœuvre neceſſarily retarded all the ſhips in his diviſion, and gave the enemy time to eſcape. M. Galiſſoniere ſeized the opportunity, and, his ſhips being clean, was ſoon out of danger. But admiral Byng, before the engagement, ordered the Deptford to quit the line, in order to reduce his line of battle to the ſame number of ſhips as that of the enemy. For this apparent generoſity he was cenſured by the court-martial: nevertheleſs, there does not appear to have been any great impropriety in reſerving one or more ſupernumerary ſhips in readineſs to ſupply the place of thoſe which might happen to be diſabled.

The Engliſh had in this engagement 42 men killed, and 168 wounded; the French 145 wounded, and 26 killed. Captain Andrews, of the Defiance, was the only officer of diſtinction, on board the Engliſh fleet, who loſt his life on this occaſion. The French fleet ſoon diſappeared, and at eight in the evening admiral Byng made a ſignal for his ſquadron to bring to, at which time the Intrepid and the Cheſterfield were miſſing; the former, being diſabled, had been left to the care of the latter. They joined the fleet next morning, and the admiral then finding that three of his ſquadron were damaged in their maſts, called a council of war, at which general Stuart, lord Effingham, lord Robert Bertie, and colonel Cornwallis were requeſted to aſſiſt.

The council of war being aſſembled on board the Ramillies, the following queſtions were propoſed by admiral Byng:

1. Whether an attack upon the French fleet gives any proſpect of relieving Minorca? *Anſwer.* It would not.

2. If there was no French fleet cruizing off Minorca, whether the Engliſh fleet could raiſe the ſiege? *Anſwer.* It could not.

3 Whether Gibraltar would not be in danger by any accident that may befal this fleet? *Anſwer.* It would be in danger.

4. Whether an attack with our fleet, in the preſent ſtate of it, upon that of the French, will not endanger the ſafety of Gibraltar, and expoſe the trade of the Mediterranean to great hazard? *Anſwer.* It would.

5. Whether it is not for his Majeſty's ſervice that the fleet ſhould immediately proceed for Gibraltar? *Anſwer.* It ſhould proceed for Gibraltar.

Here I muſt beg leave to retard the progreſs of our hiſtory a few moments, for the ſake of the naval reader, to whom the conſideration of theſe five reſolutions may prove of infinite importance; theſe volumes being written with an intention, not only to record the heroic virtues of our naval commanders in times paſt; not only to amuſe the gentlemen who in the preſent age have the honour to ſerve on board the Britiſh fleet;

fleet; but to animate, to inform, to warn them, by example. I have, more than once, obſerved, and the truth of my obſervation hath been frequently confirmed, that councils of war ſeldom forebode much heroiſm. When a commander in chief, whoſe power is abſolute, condeſcends to aſk advice of his inferiors, it is a tacit acknowledgment, that his abilities are inadequate to his power; or, that he is inclined to do that for which he dares not to be reſponſible. I do not believe there was one member of this council of war, who, if the five reſolutions had depended upon his ſingle voice, would not have anſwered them all in the negative. I am alſo of opinion, that if admiral Byng had been poſitively ordered to call no councils of war, but to relieve Minorca at all events, he would have returned triumphant to Britain; unleſs we are to ſuppoſe him conſtitutionally a coward; for, on ſuch beings, the *preſent*, though *leaſt*, danger always acts moſt powerfully.

How this council of war could determine, that it was impoſſible to relieve Minorca, without ever making the leaſt attempt for that purpoſe, is incredibly aſtoniſhing; and indeed it afterwards appeared that the troops on board might have been landed at the ſally-port with little danger; for Mr. Boyd, commiſſary of the ſtores, actually went out to ſea in a ſmall boat in ſearch of the Engliſh fleet, and returned ſafe to the garriſon. As to their concern for the ſafety of Gibraltar, their apprehenſions were in the higheſt degree ridiculous. According, however, to the fifth reſolution of the council, admiral Byng returned with his fleet to Gibraltar, and Galiſſoniere to his former ſtation off Cape Mola. How the garriſon of St. Philip's muſt have been affected, when they beheld the French ſquadron returned triumphant, and afterwards heard a *feu de joye* in the enemy's camp, may be eaſily conceived. The beſiegers had doubtleſs cauſe to rejoice at the ſafe return of their fleet, though not on account of any victory obtained by their admiral; for the two admirals evidently ran from each other. But though the garriſon were not a little diſappointed at Byng's diſappearance, they nevertheleſs defended the caſtle till the 28th of June, when, deſpairing of relief from England, and rationally ſuppoſing that, in the greater ſyſtem of politics, they were intended to be ſacrificed, after a gallant defence of ten weeks, the venerable Blakeney, on very honourable terms, ſurrendered Minorca to the *Duc de Richlieu*.

Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 19th of June, where commodore Broderick had come to an anchor four days before, with a reinforcement of five ſhips of the line, which were ſent from England in conſequence of certain intelligence that the French were fitting out more ſhips at Toulon. Thus enforced, admiral Byng determined to return to Minorca, in hopes of being yet in time to relieve the garriſon; but whilſt he was with great activity preparing for his ſecond enterprize,

the *Antelope* of 50 guns arrived at Gibraltar. On board of this ship were admiral Hawke, admiral Saunders, and lord Tyrawley, who were commissioned to supersede and arrest admiral Byng, admiral West, and governor Fowke. The three delinquents were accordingly sent on board the Antelope, and returned prisoners to England. Sir Edward Hawke, with the fleet under his command, sailed immediately up the Mediterranean; but, upon his arrival off Minorca, he had the mortification to see the French flag flying on St. Philip's castle. As soon as the garrison surrendered, Galissoniere prudently retired to Toulon, where he remained in security, whilst Sir Edward Hawke asserted the naval empire of Great Britain, in sight of an enemy elated with the conquest of a small island, which they were afterwards obliged to relinquish. This conquest, though really insignificant, caused such extravagant exultation in France, such an universal *Te Deum laudamus*, that one might rationally have supposed the British empire totally annihilated.

The people of England, on the contrary, received the intelligence of Byng's retreat with general dissatisfaction, and, without the least inquiry into the conduct of the ministry, pointed all their resentment against that unfortunate admiral. The ministry joined in the cry, doing every thing in their power to divert the resentment of the people from themselves. That Mr. Byng's conduct was, in many respects, extremely reprehensible, is most certain; but it is not less certain, that the ministry were equally inexcuseable, for not sending troops to Minorca much sooner, and for not giving Byng a superior fleet. If the five ships, which afterwards sailed to his assistance, had made part of his squadron, Galissoniere must have fled at his approach, and Minorca would infallibly have been saved. But these reflections, whilst they fix eternal obloquy on the administration, do not exculpate the admiral. The exigency and importance of the service on which he was sent, required a sacrifice of prudence to necessity. Our history affords many examples of English fleets obtaining a complete victory over an enemy far superior in number of guns and men; but these victories were gained by admirals who disdained to calculate the exact weight of metal in each squadron.

Admiral Byng, admiral West, and General Fowke, arrived at Portsmouth on the 3d of July. The two latter were ordered to London, where admiral West was graciously received by the king. The general was tried for disobedience of orders in not sending a battalion to the relief of Minorca, and sentenced to be suspended for a year. The king confirmed the sentence, and afterwards dismissed him his service. Admiral Byng, after continuing some time in arrest at Portsmouth, was escorted to Greenwich-hospital, where he remained close prisoner till December, the time appointed for his trial, which began on the 28th of that month, on board the St. George in Portsmouth-harbour.

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The Hon.ble JOHN BYNG Esq.r

Admiral of the Blue.

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The court-martial consisted of four admirals, and nine captains of the navy. They sat a month, daily examining evidence for and against the prisoner. Admiral West deposed, that he saw no reason why the rear-division might not have engaged the enemy as close as did the van, and that there was no signal made for giving chace when the French sheered off. General Blakeney deposed, that, on the 20th of May, boats might have passed between the fleet and the garrison with great security, and that if the troops ordered for his relief had been landed, he could have held out till the arrival of Sir Edward Hawke. Captain Young, of the *Intrepid*, declared, that the loss of his fore-topmast did not appear to prevent the rear division from bearing down upon the enemy. Captain Gardiner deposed, that he advised the admiral to bear down, but without effect, and that, on the day of the action, the admiral took the command of the Ramillies entirely upon himself.——These cogent depositions were corroborated by other witnesses, and not in the least degree invalidated by any counter-evidence in favour of the delinquent. But some of the officers who were on board his ship, and near him during the engagement, deposed, that he discovered no signs of confusion, or want of personal courage, but that he gave his orders distinctly and with apparent coolness. The admiral's speech, in his defence, was inadequate to the great purpose of effacing the impression which the powerful evidence against him had made upon the court; they therefore found him guilty of a breach of that part of the 12th article of war, which says,—" or shall not " do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be " his duty to engage; and to assist and relieve all and every of " his Majesty's ships which it shall be his duty to assist and re- " lieve." He was therefore sentenced to be shot, that being the punishment positively ordained for a breach of that article. The court, however, being of opinion, that admiral Byng's misconduct did not proceed from want of courage or disaffection, added to their report of their proceedings to the lords of the admiralty, a petition, requesting their lordships most earnestly to recommend him to his majesty's clemency.

The lords of the admiralty, having compared the sentence of the court-martial with the words of the twelfth article of war, which are, " Every person in the fleet, who through *cowardice*, " *negligence*, or *disaffection*, shall," *&c.* and not finding the crime of *negligence* (he being acquitted of the other two) imputed by the court; were in doubt concerning the legality of the sentence; they therefore presented a memorial to the king, requesting that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken. This was accordingly done, and the judges pronounced it a legal sentence. After the lords of the admiralty had signed a warrant for Admiral Byng's execution, some of the members of the court-martial expressed a wish to be released, by act of parliament, from their oath of secrecy. A bill for this purpose accordingly

cordingly passed the house of commons; but when it came to a second reading in the house of lords, each member of the court-martial was separately asked, whether he had any thing to reveal which might incline the king to pardon the delinquent. Strange as it may seem, they all answered in the negative! and, on the 14th of March, admiral John Byng was shot on board the *Monarque*, in the harbour of Portsmouth.

The pursuit of this tragedy to its catastrophe having carried us somewhat beyond the limits of the year 1756, it is necessary that we should now resume the thread of our relation of such public transactions as were connected with the naval history of this kingdom. Hitherto we have seen Great-Britain and France actually at war, without the ceremony of an open declaration. Why this formality was so long deferred, must be ascribed to political considerations, by which the ministers of both countries were influenced; but how cogent soever these considerations might seem to a cabinet-council, a piratical war between two polished nations is unjust to the subjects of both: the reason is obvious. However, in the beginning of May, the British ministry being no longer in doubt concerning the invasion of Minorca by the French, determined to throw off the mask; accordingly a declaration of war with that nation was published in London on the 18th, and on the 9th of June war with England was proclaimed at Paris.

One principal design of this history being to perpetuate the names of such naval commanders, as, by their gallant actions, deserve to be recorded in the annals of Britain, I cannot omit an engagement which happened on the 17th of May off Rochfort, between the Colchester of 50 guns, commanded by captain Obrien, and the Lime of 20 guns, with the Aquilon of 48 guns, M. de Maurville, and the Fidelle of 36 guns, M. de Litardais. They were within gun-shot about six in the evening, and soon came to so close an engagement, that the foresail of the Lime was set on fire by the wads of the Fidelle, against whom, notwithstanding the great inequality of strength, she maintained a glorious contest upwards of five hours; when the Fidelle retreated firing signals of distress, and the Lime was so shattered as to be totally incapable of making any-sail a-head. The Colchester and the Aquilon fought with equal intrepidity till past midnight, and then parted with mutual honour and satisfaction. Previous to this action, the Warwick of sixty guns, Captain Shuldham, off Martinico, falling in with three French men of war, was taken after an obstinate running fight, in which she lost her captain and a considerable number of men.

Our fleet in North America was, during this year, not totally inactive. A French man of war of 50 guns, called *L'Arc-en-ciel*, with troops and military stores for Louisbourgh, was taken off that port by the Norwich and Litchfield, both 50 gun ships, belonging

belonging to admiral Spry's ſquadron. On the 26th of July, off the harbour of Louiſbourgh, commodore Holmes on board the Grafton, with the Nottingham, and the Hornet and Jamaica ſloops, fell in with two French men of war, *Le Hero*, *L'Illuſtre*, and two frigates, which were returning from Canada. The enemy being to windward, commodore Holmes ſtood towards them, as near the wind as he could lye. The French ſquadron bore down upon him till within about two leagues diſtance, when the Engliſh tacked with a deſign to cut the enemy off from the port of Louiſbourg; but they hauled in for it, and came to an anchor about noon. Commodore Holmes purſued them to within a league of the harbour, where he laid to till four in the afternoon, and then made ſail to the eaſtward. As ſoon as it was dark, he diſpatched the Hornet ſloop to Halifax, to requeſt a reinforcement, being much inferior to the enemy. At eight next morning, the four French ſhips, above mentioned, weighed anchor, ſailed out of the harbour, and gave him chace. The Engliſh ſhips ſtood from the enemy at firſt, and fought them for ſome time with their ſtern chaſe only; but the Grafton at length hauled up her courſers, bunted her main-ſail, and bore down upon the French commodore, who was alſo attacked by the Nottingham. *L'Illuſtre* was prevented from aſſiſting his partner, by a ſudden calm; but a breeze ſpringing up ſoon after, the French were again united about ſeven in the evening. At duſk the battle ended, and the two ſquadrons ſeparated. According to the French accounts of this engagement, the two Engliſh ſhips ſheered off when they ſaw the *L'Illuſtre* coming up; and next morning Monſ. Beauſier, the commodore, finding the Engliſh at too great a diſtance, returned to Louiſbourg, with the loſs of eighteen men killed and forty-eight wounded. The Engliſh account, on the contrary, aſſures us, that, before it grew dark, the French ſheered off, and next morning prevented a renewal of the action, by bearing away right before the wind for Louiſbourg. The *Hero* was conſiderably injured. The Grafton had ſix men killed and twenty-one wounded.

Spain, at this time, affected to entertain ſentiments of ſincere friendſhip towards England, and declared herſelf determined to maintain the ſtricteſt neutrality: nevertheleſs, ſhe had ſo continued to augment her navy, that ſhe had now forty-ſix ſhips of the line and twenty-two frigates almoſt fit for ſervice. Notwithſtanding the pacific declarations of the Spaniſh miniſtry, they were certainly determined, as ſoon as they were ready, if not to break with England, at leaſt to try her patience to the utmoſt. Their guarda coſtas began again to inſult our trade in the Weſt Indies, and private orders were ſent to prevent our cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. But theſe inſults being inſufficient to provoke the Britiſh miniſtry, the haughty Spaniards reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of inſulting us

nearer

nearer home. A French privateer, having taken an Engliſh veſſel on the coaſt of France, brought her to an anchor under the guns of Algezire, a Spaniſh fort in the bay of Gibraltar. Sir Edward Hawke, whoſe ſquadron was at this time riding in the bay, and lord Tyrawley governor of Gibraltar, immediately ſent to demand the reſtitution of the prize, which the governor of Algezire poſitively refuſed. The Engliſh officer who carried this demand, being attended with a number of armed boats, with orders to cut the ſhip out and to bring her off at all events, proceeded to execute his orders, and carried his point; but the caſtle gave him ſo warm a reception, that above a hundred of his men were either killed or wounded. The court of Spain approved of the governor's conduct, and pretended to be violently offended with that of Sir Edward Hawke. England bore this outrage with Chriſtian patience; and the impreſſion it made was ſoon obliterated by a greater.

Human nature, collected into ſtates and kingdoms, is influenced by the follies, paſſions, and vices, by which individuals are generally governed. The man who wants ſpirit to reſent the firſt affront, muſt ſoon expect a ſecond: ſo it is with nations. The Antigallican, an Engliſh private ſhip of war, of thirty carriage and ſixteen ſwivel guns, commanded by captain William Foſter, cruizing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with *Le Duc de Penthievre*, a French Eaſt-Indiaman, on the 26th of December, about ſeven leagues from Ferrol. The Indiaman, mounting fifty guns, being to windward, bore down upon the Antigallican, and fired a gun to bring her to. She then hoiſted her colours. The Frenchman fired a broad-ſide, and half another, with conſiderable effect, before the Antigallican returned the compliment. A cloſe engagement enſued, and continued three hours, when the Indiaman ſtruck, her captain and twelve men being killed, and her ſecond captain and twenty-ſeven men wounded. They were, at this time, five leagues and a half diſtant from the light-houſe at Corunna. Captain Foſter attempted to carry his prize into Liſbon; but, finding it impoſſible to make that port, he bore away for Cadiz, where, as ſoon as he came to an anchor, the officers of the Indiaman depoſed upon oath, that their ſhip was in all reſpects a legal prize. Nevertheleſs, incredible as it may ſeem, it was not long before orders were ſent from Madrid, to the governor of Cadiz, to detain both the ſhips, under pretence that the Indiaman was taken ſo near a Spaniſh fort, as to be within the diſtance preſcribed by the law of nations: a palpable falſehood! The Spaniards pretended to inſtitute a legal inquiry; but their proceedings were a diſgrace to all law and equity. Sir Benjamin Keene at Madrid, and Mr. Goldſworth, the Engliſh conſul at Cadiz, in vain remonſtrated. The court of Spain ſent a poſitive order for the prize to be delivered to the French conſul, and the governor of Cadiz,

Cadiz, on captain Foſter's refuſing to ſtrike the Engliſh colours, ſent a ſixty-gun ſhip and a thirty-gun frigate to reduce the Penthievre to obedience by force. They continued firing upon her near two hours without a ſingle ſhot being returned. They ſhot away his enſign, killed the ſailor who was ſent to ſtrike his pendant, and wounded ſeven of his men. When the Spaniſh commodore had thus amuſed himſelf as long as he thought fit, captain Foſter was told that he was not a priſoner, and ſuffered to go on ſhore, and was afterwards told by the governor, that he had no farther commands for him: neverthelefs, he was next morning dragged to priſon, and his crew, after being robbed and abuſed by the Spaniſh ſoldiers, were thrown into a loathſome dungeon, where they muſt inevitably have periſhed of hunger, but for the humanity of the Britiſh conſul. Theſe unhappy men were not releaſed till the 5th of March.

It is as painful to the Britiſh hiſtorian as to the Britiſh reader to contemplate the inſolent cruelty and injuſtice of Spain, in this and the preceding example. In ſome periods of our hiſtory, not a nation under heaven would have dared thus to provoke the growling lion. If this had happened in the reign of Eliſabeth, or during Cromwell's uſurpation, Cadiz would have been laid in aſhes in leſs than a month. But the political ſyſtem of the Britiſh miniſtry prompted them rather to ſubmit to any inſult, than riſk a Spaniſh war. The people of England grew diſſatisfied, Braddock's defeat, the reduction of Oſwego and other forts in America; the loſs of Minorca, and the abſurd diſpoſition and employment of the navy, convinced them, that the miniſtry were unequal to the importance of their ſeveral offices. The nation became clamorous, and the king at laſt conſented to a partial change in the adminiſtration. Mr. Pitt was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, and Mr. Legge nominated chancellor of the Exchequer.

The people in general were extremely delighted with this change of men, in full confidence that a change of meaſures would follow; but too much of the old leaven ſtill remained, to ſuffer the full exertion of heroic patriotiſm. Theſe new miniſters began to act upon principles ſo diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of their colleagues in adminiſtration, that they were hardly ſeated in their places before it was determined to remove them. They were repreſented to the king as too obſtinate, wayward ſervants of the people, rather than of the crown, and totally ignorant of that political ſyſtem by which Hanover could poſſibly be preſerved. This artful appeal to his majeſty's natural affections produced the deſired effect. On the 5th of April Mr. Pitt, by the king's command, was diſmiſſed the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Legge, having alſo reſigned, was ſucceeded by Lord Mansfield in the office of chancellor of the exchequer. This ſudden diſmiſſion of the two popular miniſters ſurprized and alarmed the nation, and, inſtead of diſgracing them with the

the people, added infinitely to their popularity. Many of the principal cities in England complimented them with their freedom in gold boxes, and the whole nation became at last so clamorous, that it was soon thought adviseable to solicit their re-acceptance of the places from which they had been so lately dismissed. Mr. Pitt resumed his office of secretary of state for the southern department on the 29th of June, and Mr. Legge that of chancellor of the exchequer a few days after. From this time Mr. Pitt became prime minister, though the principal persons who composed the late administration remained in office. The duke of Newcastle was appointed first lord of the treasury, Mr. Fox paymaster-general of the army, and lord Anson first lord of the admiralty.

The first expedition in which the navy bore a part, after Mr. Pitt's restoration, was that against Rochfort on the coast of France. This minister conceived, that the most effectual means of stopping the progress of the French armies in Germany, was, by ravaging their coasts, to call their attention to the security of their own dominions. Rochfort became the first object of his attention in consequence of certain intelligence which he had received from a captain Clerk, who informed him, that, returning from Gibraltar in the year 1744, he visited Rochfort with a design to make himself acquainted with its strength, in case of a war with France, and that he found its fortifications in so ruinous a state, that the town might be easily taken by a *coup-de-main*; presuming that it remained in the same situation, because the fortifications had not been repaired during the two last wars with England. Captain Clerk's information was afterwards laid before the cabinet, and Tierry, a French pilot, was closely examined, concerning the practicability of landing and protecting the troops.

The ministry being now perfectly satisfied, as to the feasibility and importance of the enterprize, a formidable fleet was immediately ordered to Spithead, and ten regiments of foot encamped on the Isle of Wight. Sir John Mordaunt, knight of the Bath, commanded the troops, and Sir Edward Hawke the fleet of men of war ordered for this service. The destination of this formidable armament remained a profound secret for some time; it was, however, at last, generally understood to be intended against some part of the coast of France. Mr. Pitt, perfectly sensible of the necessity of proceeding with all possible expedition, repeatedly urged the departure of the fleet; but, either by some unaccountable fatality, or by the malignant influence of men who would damn their country to thwart the measures of an envied minister, the transports did not arrive at St. Helen's till the 4th of September. The troops were embarked with all possible expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the 8th. This entire armament consisted of sixteen ships of the line, seven frigates, two bomb-ketches, two fire-ships, two busses,

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one horſe-ſhip, and fifty-five tranſports, beſides the Jaſon, a forty-gun ſhip, in the capacity of a tranſport, and the Cheſterfield man of war for the purpoſe of repeating ſignals. On board of this fleet were ten regiments of foot, two regiments of marines, ſixty light-horſe, and a formidable train of artillery. The admirals under Sir Edward Hawke were Knowles and Broderick, and under Sir John Mordaunt were the generals Conway and Cornwallis.

This fleet ſailed from St. Helen's with a fair wind, and bore away to the weſtward. The troops on board were totally ignorant of their deſtination till the 15th, when the orders iſſued by Sir John Mordaunt relative to the nature of the ſervice on which they were ſent, put the matter out of doubt. They ſtood into the bay of Biſcay, and on the 20th made the iſle of Oleron. Sir Edward Hawke ſent immediate orders for admiral Knowles to proceed with his diviſion to Baſque road, and to attack the fort on the iſle of Aix; but the execution of this order, though poſitive, was ſuſpended by a very extraordinary accident. Admiral Knowles, as ſoon as he received theſe orders, made ſail with his diviſion, and prepared his ſhips for action; but he had ſcarce taken leave of Sir Edward Hawke, before a French man of war was obſerved ſtanding in towards the centre of the Engliſh fleet. When this ſingular phenomenon appeared, admiral Knowles was ſo deeply engaged in the important occupation of exhibiting the entertaining ſpectacle of a clear ſhip between decks to general Conway, that he could not poſſibly attend to the firſt information brought by his lieutenant. However, in conſequence of a ſecond meſſage, the admiral came upon deck, and, with his ſpy-glaſs, diſcovered this ſtrange ſail to be a two-decked ſhip. Admiral Knowles recollecting that he was ſent on a different ſervice, but not recollecting the comparative importance of that ſervice, was in doubt whether he ſhould make a ſignal for any of his diviſion to chaſe. During this heſitation the French ſhip diſcovered her miſtake, tacked and bore away with all the ſail ſhe could crowd. The admiral continued ſtill to doubt, and doubted ſo long, that all poſſibility of coming up with her before night vaniſhed. At laſt, however, admiral Knowles ordered the Magnanime and the Torbay to give chace. They chaſed as long as they could ſee their object, and next morning rejoined the fleet.

On the 21ſt admiral Knowles, with the diviſion under his command, made ſail towards the land; but the weather proving hazy, the pilots refuſed to carry the fleet in. The evening the troops were in full expectation of landing; but about ſeven o'clock the ſhips tacked, and came to an anchor near the Iſle of Rhèe. On the 22d the fleet entered the bay called the Road of Baſque, between the iſlands of Rhèe and Oleron, and there remained at anchor during the night. About eight next morning, admiral Knowles in the Neptune, with the Magnanime, the

the Barfleur, America, Alcide, Burford, and Royal William, made ſail towards Aix, a ſmall iſland in the mouth of the river leading up to Rochfort. Captain Howe in the Magnanime led the van. At half paſt twelve, the fort upon the iſland began to fire upon him, and his people ſoon grew impatient to return the compliment. But he continued to advance with the utmoſt compoſure, without firing a ſingle ſhot, continually urging his pilot to lay the ſhip as cloſe to the fort as poſſible. The moment he came abreaſt of the battery, he let go his anchors, and fired a broadſide, which drove moſt of the Frenchmen from their guns. From this time the fire from the battery gradually ceaſed. It was, however, near an hour before ſhe ſtruck her colours. That this iſland ſhould prove ſo eaſy a conqueſt will not appear ſurpriſing, when the reader is informed, that the battery ſo furiouſly attacked by the Magnanime conſiſted of no more than ſix iron cannons, mounted *en barbet:* ſo that the gunners were ſo entirely expoſed, that captain (now lord) Howe might have taken the fort in his long-boat. There were indeed near thirty pieces of cannon upon the iſland; but the ſix above-mentioned were all that were brought to bear upon the ſhips. The fortifications of Aix were planned by the great Vauban; but the execution of that plan had been ſo totally neglected, that the iſland was, at this time, entirely defenceleſs.

As ſoon as the French colours were ſtruck, an Engliſh regiment landed and took poſſeſſion of the *important* conqueſt. Aix is an iſland about five or ſix miles in circumference, entirely covered with vines, which yield a meagre wine, the common beverage of the country. The garriſon conſiſted of about five hundred men, part ſoldiers and part ſailors, moſt of which had been landed from the continent on the day preceding the attack, and were now made priſoners of war.

The conqueſt of the iſle of Aix, though of little importance, conſidered as an omen of ſucceſs, gave vaſt ſpirits to the whole fleet, and inſpired the troops with ſuch ardour, that, if they had been immediately landed on the continent, they would probably have ſucceeded in any poſſible attempt. Five days from this period were ſpent in ſounding the depth of water, in prudential deliberations and ſage councils of war; ſo that eight days were now elapſed ſince the firſt appearance of the fleet on the coaſt of France, during which time, we may rationally ſuppoſe, that the enemy had made no inconſiderable progreſs in preparing for a vigorous defence. But before we proceed to the concluſion of this grand expedition, it is neceſſary to relate, more particularly, the tranſactions of the five days from the taking of the iſle of Aix.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, immediately after the *glorious* conqueſt of that *important* fortreſs, Sir Edward Hawke ſent admiral Broderick, with captains Dennis, Douglas, and Buckle, to

to reconnoitre and ſound the coaſt, in order to find a proper place for landing the troops which were intended to deſtroy the ſhipping, docks, and naval ſtores at Rochfort. Theſe gentlemen, having ſpent the remainder of that day, and the following night, in the laborious execution of their commiſſion, returned to the fleet about four in the afternoon of the 24th, and reported, that from Angolin to Chataillon there was a hard ſandy beach; alſo a ſmall bay farther to the eaſtward, at either of which places troops might be conveniently landed, and that there was ſufficient depth of water and clear ground for the tranſports to anchor at the diſtance of a mile and a half from the ſhore. They alſo reported, that on the ſouth ſide of the bay there was a ſquare fort, on the north-weſt ſide of which were nine embrazures, and two on the north-eaſt. This fort had been previouſly reconnoitred by colonel Wolfe, who was of opinion, that it might be eaſily ſilenced by a ſingle ſhip, or, at leaſt, ſo engaged, that the troops might land on each ſide of it with very little interruption. The pilot of the Magnanime made no doubt of carrying his ſhip near enough to batter the fort. From theſe ſeveral reports Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt ſeemed determined to proceed to the execution of colonel Wolfe's plan. But this reſolution was afterwards ſtaggered by general Conway, who, after a tedious examination of ſeveral priſoners from the iſle of Aix, reported that, according to the information of theſe priſoners, the attempt againſt Rochfort would be attended with danger and difficulty. This ſuſpicious information determined the two commanders to have recourſe to that bane of our national glory, a council of war. If Wolfe had commanded theſe brave troops, would he, on this occaſion, have called a council of war? The report of priſoners ought not to be entirely diſregarded; but a wiſe general, or admiral, will liſten to their information with the utmoſt ſuſpicion. Be this as it may, if theſe priſoners produced the council of war, they ought to have been amply rewarded by the king of France as the ſaviours of Rochfort.

The members of this memorable council were, Sir Edward Hawke, Sir John Mordaunt, admiral Knowles, general Conway, admiral Broderick, general Cornwallis, captain Rodney, colonel Howard. They met on the 25th, on board the Neptune, and, after mature deliberation, determined, unanimouſly, that an attempt upon Rochfort was neither *adviſable* or *practicable*. That it was unadviſable, if impracticable, no body will preſume to doubt. Nevertheleſs, admiral Knowles was ſent next morning with two bomb-ketches and other ſmall veſſels to bombard the fort, and to ſound the entrance into the river Charante; who on his return reported, that one of the bombs ran a-ground, and that the Coventry touched five times in attempting to protect her from two French row-gallies. This report by admiral Knowles can no otherwiſe be reconciled with that of the officers

firſt

first employed in founding, and with the evidence of the pilot of the *Magnanime*, than by supposing that the French pilots now employed, chose to sacrifice their reputation as pilots to the safety of their country. But notwithstanding this report, orders were issued that night for the troops to hold themselves in readiness to land next morning; yet that day passed in perfect inactivity. However, another council of war consisting of the same members, being called, it was now unanimously resolved, that it *was* advisable to land the troops.

In consequence of this resolution, on the 28th in the afternoon, the *Ramillies* hoisted a signal for the commanders of regiments to come on board, and at eight the same evening orders were issued for the troops to prepare for landing in the night. Twelve hundred men were accordingly crowded into boats, in full expectation of a signal at midnight to put off. Indeed such was the alacrity of the troops on this occasion, and such their eagerness to land, that the boats were filled an hour before the time. In this situation they remained, the boats beating against each other, for it blew rather fresh, till about three in the morning; when, instead of a signal to put off, a laconic order came for the troops to return to their respective transports. This order was obeyed, but not without a general murmur of dissatisfaction.

Sir Edward Hawke, at length disgusted with the irresolute proceedings of the army, on the 29th of September, informed Sir John Mordaunt, by letter, that if he had nothing farther to propose, he intended to proceed with the fleet to England. The land officers approved his resolution, and, on the first of October, the fleet sailed with a fair wind for England, and came to an anchor at Spithead on the sixth of the same month.

The people of England were exceedingly disappointed and dissatisfied at this inglorious return of such a fleet and such an army. But no man in the kingdom had so much reason to be displeased as the minister himself. He now plainly perceived that he had mistaken his generals, and, to satisfy the people, consented to an inquiry into their conduct. Accordingly, a board of inquiry was appointed, consisting of the duke of Marlborough, lord George Sackville, and general Waldegrave. These gentlemen, after much examination, deliberation, and reflection, presented to the king so vague, so unsatisfactory, so silly a report, that it was afterwards thought necessary to bring Sir John Mordaunt to a formal trial by a court-martial, where he was honourably acquitted. The minister and the admiral were also acquitted by the general voice of the people; so that this grand expedition miscarried without a cause.

Having, I hope, satisfied the reader concerning the employment of the British navy in Europe, let us now follow our fleets and armies to other parts of the world. In the East-Indies we behold a scene extremely different from that which we have just quitted;

quitted; unanimity, resolution, and the genuine spirit of enterprize in our commanders; intuitive military genius, and victory its natural attendant. Admiral Watson sailed from Bombay on the 30th of April, 1756. He arrived at St. David's on the 29th of May; sailed from thence on the 20th of June, and anchored in Madrass road the day following. Here he first learnt the dreadful fate of Calcutta. Having taken colonel Clive and his small army on board his squadron, he sailed on the 6th of October, determined to revenge the horrid murder of his countrymen. They anchored in Balasore road on the 5th of December, reached Fulta on the 15th, and on the 28th proceeded to Calcutta, with the Kent, Tyger, Salisbury, Bridgewater, and King-fisher sloop. Next day colonel Clive, with a small body of men, landed, in order to attack a fort called Busbudgia, which, being at the same time cannonaded by the ships, was soon abandoned by the garrison. Other forts and batteries were likewise deserted as the ships proceeded up the river, and, on the 2d of January, 1757, after a smart cannonade from the Kent and Tyger, the enemy were driven from their guns, and the town of Calcutta restored to the East-India Company. No more than nine seamen and three soldiers were killed, and about thirty men wounded. Ninety-one pieces of cannon were found in the place, with a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores.

This important conquest being finished, the British commanders resolved to attempt Hughly, a city of great trade, higher up the Ganges. The Bridgewater of twenty guns, and a sloop, with a detachment of troops under the command of captain Kirkpatrick, were destined for this service. This armament proceeded up the river on the 5th of January, and reduced the place without much difficulty. Twenty pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts, besides a considerable quantity of saltpetre and magazines of grain, which were immediately destroyed by the conquerors. The nabob of Bengal, enraged at being thus rapidly driven from his most important possessions, assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, and, on the 2d of February, encamped about a mile from Calcutta. Colonel Clive, though very inferior in number, resolved to attack the nabob in his camp, and requested the admiral to assist him with all the sailors he could spare. Six hundred seamen were landed, under the command of captain Warwick, on the 5th, at one in the morning; at three colonel Clive marched his little army, and about five the attack began. The nabob, after a feeble resistance, retreated, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded and taken. This action, though not decisive, obliged the nabob to sign articles of capitulation, very advantageous to the East-India company.

Having thus humbled this insolent nabob, the conquerors turned their attention towards Chandenagore, a capital French set-

ſettlement above Calcutta, on the ſame river. Colonel Clive with ſeven hundred Europeans, and about ſixteen hundred Indians, marched towards the place, and, after gaining poſſeſſion of the principal outpoſts, waited for the arrival of the fleet. On the 18th of March, the admirals Watſon and Pocock, with the Kent, Tyger, and Saliſbury men of war, came to an anchor two miles below Chandenagore. They found their paſſage obſtructed by booms and chains acroſs the river. Theſe obſtacles being removed, on the 24th in the morning they began to batter the fort, whilſt colonel Clive continued his approaches by land, and after three hours cannonading the enemy hoiſted a flag of truce, and ſurrendered by capitulation. The garriſon conſiſted of five hundred Europeans and twelve hundred Indians, well provided with ammunition and ſubſiſtence, and a hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts. This important conqueſt coſt the victors no more than forty men. Colonel Clive's ſubſequent atchievements are foreign to the purpoſe of this hiſtory. It is ſufficient to ſay, that he totally defeated the nabob Sulajud Dowla at the head of twenty thouſand men, cauſed him to be ſolemnly depoſed, and his prime miniſter Ali Khan to be proclaimed in his ſtead.

We now take our leave of the Eaſt in order to inquire how our fleets in the Weſt-Indies and in North-America were employed. We are to remember that Mr. Pitt's firſt adminiſtration, which commenced with the year 1757, was of ſhort duration. It continued however long enough to convince the nation of his ſpirit and political ſagacity. Aſtoniſhed at the negligence of his predeceſſors in adminiſtration, he immediately conceived, and in part executed, a plan of operation wiſely calculated to revive the faded laurels of Britain. He ſent a ſquadron of men of war under the command of commodore Stevens to the Eaſt Indies, another to Jamaica under admiral Cotes, and a third was ordered to be equipped for North-America, the command of which was to be given to Sir Edward Hawke. This third ſquadron was deſtined, with a body of troops under lord Loudoun then in America, for the reduction of Louiſbourg; but the deſign was ſcarce revealed to the privy-council, before it was known in the French cabinet, and the preparations at Portſmouth ſo flagrantly retarded, that the enemy had ſufficient time to render the expedition abortive. One French fleet of nine ſhips ſailed from Breſt in January, a ſecond, of five men of war, ſailed from Toulon in April, and a third, of fourteen ſail, left France on the third of May. The laſt of theſe ſquadrons arrived at Louiſbourg in June. The Engliſh fleet, intended for Sir Edward Hawke, was given to admiral Holbourne, who ſailed from Corke a week after the departure of the laſt French ſquadron from Breſt, and arrived at Halifax in North America on the 9th of July. Admiral Holbourne being joined by lord Loudoun with the troops from New-York, councils of war were frequently

frequently held, and, according to the general iſſue of ſuch councils, it was reſolved to poſtpone the attack upon Louiſbourg to a more favourable opportunity. Thus ended the naval expedition of admiral Holbourne. The troops under the command of lord Loudoun were 12,000 effective men, and the fleet conſiſted of fifteen ſhips of the line, and eighteen frigates, *&c.*

We have ſeen above, that early in this year a ſquadron ſailed to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of admiral Cotes. Soon after his arrival on the Jamaica ſtation, he detached captain Foreſt with three frigates to cruize off Cape François, in order to intercept the trade from the French iſlands. Captain Foreſt had ſcarce made his appearance on that coaſt before he fell in with four French men of war commanded by Monſ. Kerſaint. An engagement immediately enſued, which was ſuſtained with mutual courage and obſtinate reſolution for two hours and a half; after which the enemy retreated to Cape François, and the Engliſh frigates to Jamaica. Thus ends our naval hiſtory of the year 1757. Let us now haſten to the year 1758, where we may expect to find the patriotic zeal, political abilities, and heroic ſpirit of enterprize, ſo conſpicuous in the character of the new miniſter, in full exertion of their influence. This intrepid miniſter was ſo extremely diſguſted at the behaviour of ſome of our commanders, that, in one of his ſpeeches in the houſe of commons, he did not ſcruple to declare, that, though the king would readily embrace any rational meaſure for the honour of his crown, he doubted whether a man could be found, who might ſafely be truſted with the execution of any enterprize of danger or difficulty.

The parliament voted, for the ſervice of the year 1758, ſixty thouſand ſeamen, fifteen thouſand marines included; and for the land ſervice, near fifty-four thouſand men. Our fleet, at this period, conſiſted of three hundred and twenty ſhips of war, one hundred and fifty-ſix of which were of the line. Beſides theſe, there were on the ſtocks, four ſhips of 74, two of 70, four of 64, ſix of 36, and ten of 28 guns. The ſupplies were raiſed with the utmoſt facility, and at a moderate intereſt. The languid, latent ſpirit of the nation, inflamed by that of the new miniſter, was ſuddenly rouſed from the diſgraceful apathy which, except in the Eaſt-Indies, characteriſed the operations of the preceding year. The navy of France, at this time, conſiſted of ſeventy-ſeven ſhips of the line and thirty-nine frigates; that of Spain of fifty-two line of battle ſhips, twenty-ſix frigates from 30 to 16 guns, thirteen xebeques of 24, and four packet boats of 16 guns.

The reduction of Louiſbourg being a principal object in Mr. Pitt's plan of military operations, a naval armament, adequate to the purpoſe, was prepared with all poſſible expedition, and the command given to admiral Boſcawen, an officer of approved abilities. The formidable French fleet which had protected

Louiſbourg the preceding year, had returned to France in a ſhattered condition. Theſe ſhips being repaired, were intended to return to their former ſtation in North America; but their intentions were effectually anticipated and prevented by the vigilant alacrity of the Britiſh miniſter. Admiral Boſcawen ſailed from St. Helen's on the 19th February, with forty-one men of war. Mean while, a fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hawke blocked up the French ports in the bay of Biſcay, and another ſquadron, commanded by admiral Oſborne, was ſent to cruize between Cape de Gatte and Carthagena on the coaſt of Spain. There were, at this time, three ſmall ſquadrons of French ſhips of war in the different ports of Toulon, Carthagena and Breſt, which ſquadrons, under the command of Monſ. de Queſne and Monſ. de la Clue, had orders to ſteal away for Louiſbourg, jointly or ſeparately. The former of theſe commanders, in order to join the latter at Cartnagena, ſailed from Toulon on the 25th of April, on board the Foudroyant of 80 guns, attended by the Orphèe of 64, he Oriflamme of 50, and Pleiade of 24 guns. Admiral Oſborne, expecting the departure of this ſquadron from Toulon, had ſtationed the Gibraltar frigate in the offing of that harbour to watch their motions. As ſoon as du Queſne's ſquadron appeared, the Gibraltar ſheered off, and gradually decoyed the enemy ſo effectually, that on the 27th, about two in the morning, du Queſne found himſelf in the midſt of Oſborne's fleet. In this critical ſituation, the French admiral made a ſignal for his ſquadron to diſperſe: each ſhip immediately ſteered a different courſe, and were as immediately purſued by detachments from Oſborne's fleet, who, with the remainder of his fleet, continued to block up the harbour of Carthagena. The Pleiade, being a prime ſailer, eſcaped. The Oriflamme was chaſed by the Monarque and Montague, and eſcaped deſtruction by running under the guns of a ſmall Spaniſh fort. The Orphèe was purſued by the Revenge and Berwick, and was taken by the firſt of theſe ſhips, in ſight of Carthagena. The Foudroyant was chaſed by the Monmouth, Swiftſure and Hampton-Court. About ſeven in the morning the Monmouth and Foudroyant began to fire at each other, the reſt of the fleet being then totally out of ſight. The diſproportion between the two ſhips was very great. The Foudroyant had a thouſand men on board, and mounted eighty guns, 42 and 22 pounders; the Monmouth mounted only ſixty-four 12 and 24 pounders, and her complement of men was no more than four hundred and ſeventy. This remarkable diſparity notwithſtanding, captain Gardiner, who commanded the Monmouth, reſolved, at all events, to vanquiſh his enemy. Thus determined he brought his ſhip within piſtol-ſhot of his antagoniſt, and now the battle raged with infernal fury. About nine o'clock captain Gardiner was ſhot through the head by a muſket-ball. He lingered till the day following, and then died,

died, univerſally regretted and lamented, particularly by the officers and crew of his own ſhip. The death of ſuch a man was a very great loſs to his country. Soon after the captain fell, the Monmouth's mizen-maſt came by the board; on which the enemy gave three cheers. The crew of the Monmouth returned the compliment a few minutes after, the mizen-maſt of the Foudroyant being alſo ſhot away. This diſaſter was ſoon followed by the fall of her main-maſt, which giving freſh ſpirits to the Engliſh, their fire became ſo inceſſant and intolerable, that the French ſailors could no longer be kept to their guns, and the mighty Foudroyant ſtruck a little after one o'clock. This action, which is one of the moſt glorious in the naval hiſtory of Britain, and which muſt ever remain an inconteſtable proof of our naval ſuperiority, I beg leave to recommend to the conſtant recollection of ſuch of our ſea-officers as may be inclined to calculate their comparative weight of metal before they venture to engage.

The Orphèe and Foudroyant being taken, and the commander in chief being a priſoner, Monſ. de la Clue gave up all thoughts of paſſing the Straits of Gibraltar, and returned from Carthagena to Toulon, where his ſquadron was laid up. But the French miniſtry, not depending entirely on their Mediterranean fleet for the protection of Louiſbourg and the reinforcement of their army in North America, had prepared a conſiderable fleet of tranſports and ſtore-ſhips at Rochfort, Bourdeaux, and other ports in that neighbourhood. Theſe tranſports, with three thouſand troops on board, were ordered to rendezvous in April, and to ſail under convoy of ſix ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates. Such however was the intelligence and alacrity of the Engliſh miniſtry, that effectual meaſures were taken to fruſtrate the deſign. Sir Edward Hawke, with ſeven ſhips of the line and three frigates, ſailed down the bay of Biſcay, and on the third of April brought up in Baſque-road, where he diſcovered five French ſhips of the line and ſeven frigates at anchor near the iſle of Aix. They no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh fleet than they began with the utmoſt precipitation to ſlip their cables, and fly in great confuſion. Some of them eſcaped to ſea; but far the greater number threw their guns and ſtores overboard, and, running into ſhoal water, ſtuck in the mud. Next morning ſeveral of their men of war and tranſports were ſeen lying on their broad ſides; but being out of the reach of his guns, Sir Edward Hawke left them to their fate, perfectly ſatisfied with having fruſtrated their intention of ſailing to America.

I have before obſerved, that ſome of the ſtore ſhips and tranſports deſtined for North America were to ſail from Bourdeaux. Theſe tranſports were twelve in number. They ſailed under convoy of the Galathèe, a frigate of twenty-two guns, and a letter of marque of twenty guns. In the bay of Biſcay they

had the misfortune to fall in with the Essex of sixty-four guns, and the Pluto and Proserpine fire ships, which were on their passage to join Sir Edward Hawke. After a short, but smart conflict, the French frigate, the letter of marque, and one of the transports were taken. But this advantage was dearly purchased with the death of captain James Hume, who commanded the Pluto. Two more of these transports were afterwards taken by the Antelope and Speedwell sloops.

Having seen every attempt of France for the protection of Louisbourg entirely frustrated, we now proceed to projects more directly offensive, planned and executed by Mr. Pitt. But a melancholy event intervenes. On the 13th of April the Prince George of eighty guns, commanded by rear admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Medtierranean, took fire between one and two in the afternoon, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of human skill and labour, aided by despair, burnt with such rapidity, that in the space of a few hours she burnt down to the water edge. A little before six in the evening she sunk entirely, and more than two thirds of her crew perished in the ocean. The admiral, after buffetting the waves near an hour, was at length taken up by a boat belonging to one of the merchantmen under his convoy. Captain Peyton and the chaplain were also among the few that were saved.

We now proceed to the circumstantial relation of an expedition to the coast of Africa; an expedition which, extraordinary as it may seem, was planned and executed by a Quaker. Thomas Cuming, the projector of this enterprize, having made a voyage, as a merchant-adventurer, to Portenderrick, on the coast of Africa, became personally acquainted with Amir the Moorish king of Legibelli. This prince, being prejudiced in favour of the English nation, and extremely dissatisfied with the French, wished eagerly for an opportunity to drive them from their settlements on the river Senegal, and promised all the assistance in his power to the arms of Britain. Mr. Cuming, during his residence on the Gum-coast, became perfectly acquainted with the nature, extent, and importance of the trade, and was very assiduous in his inquiry concerning the situation and strength of the French forts. On his return to England he communicated his observations and ideas to the board of trade, by whom his project was approved, and finally adopted by the ministry. This was in the year 1757. A force which was deemed adequate to this expedition, was ordered to be prepared; but before the ships were ready to sail, the season was so far advanced, that it was thought adviseable to postpone the design. In the beginning of the following year, Mr. Cuming revived his application; the minister approved his plan, and a small squadron was equipped with all possible expedition. The ships ordered for this expedition were the Nassau of sixty-four, the Harwich of fifty, and the Rye of twenty guns, attended by the Swan sloop and

and two buſſes. They had on board two hundred marines, commanded by major Maſon, and a detachment of matroſſes, under captain Walker; ten pieces of cannon and eight mortars.

This ſmall ſquadron, commanded by captain Marſh, and conducted by friend Cuming, ſailed from Plymouth on the 9th of March, and on the 24th of April came to an anchor in the mouth of the river Senegal, and in ſight of fort Louis, which is ſituated on the iſland of Senegal, about four leagues within the bar. The French governor of this fort, as ſoon as he diſcovered the Engliſh ſquadron, ſent down an armed brig and ſix ſloops to diſpute the paſſage of the bar. A briſk but ineffectual cannonading enſued. Mean while the channel being diſcovered, and the wind blowing up the river, captain Millar of the London buſs paſſed the bar and came to an anchor, where he remained all night expoſed to the fire of the enemy. He was followed next morning by the other ſmall veſſels, ſome of which ran aground and bulged. The troops on board theſe veſſels immediately took to their boats, and landed on the eaſt ſhore of the river. Apprehenſive of being attacked by the natives, they threw up an intrenchment and diſembarked their ſtores. Next morning they were reinforced by a detachment of 350 ſeamen, and now began to meditate an attack upon fort Louis. But the governor, not chuſing to wait the event, ſent two deputies with offers of ſurrender. His propoſals, after a little deliberation, were accepted by captain Marſh and major Maſon. By the articles of capitulation, the natives of France were to be ſent home with all their private effects. On the firſt of May the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of fort Louis, and all the ſettlements belonging to France on the river Senegal, were at the ſame time ceded to the king of Great-Britain. Thus this important conqueſt, which was planned and conducted by a Quaker, was achieved in a manner perfectly conſonant with the principles of his religion, namely, without ſpilling a ſingle drop of human blood. It is alſo worthy of remark, that it was our firſt ſucceſsful expedition ſince the commencement of the war. There were found in the fort ninety-two pieces of cannon, ſome treaſure, and a conſiderable quantity of goods. This buſineſs being accompliſhed, and fort Louis garriſoned by Engliſh troops, the men of war proceeded to attack the iſland of Goree, about thirty leagues diſtant from Senegal; but their force being inſufficient, the attempt miſcarried.

On the 29th day of May, the Dorſetſhire, captain Dennis, of 70 guns, cruizing in the bay of Biſcay, fell in with *Raiſonable*, a French man of war of 64 guns, and 530 men, commanded by *le Prince de Mombazon*, who defended his ſhip with great reſolution till one hundred and ſixty of his men were killed or wounded, and his hull and rigging conſiderably damaged.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt's comprehenſive plan of operation was too rational to be diſconcerted by ſuch miſcarriages as were juſtly to be attributed to a want of ſpirit in the execution. The expedition to the coaſt of France, of the preceding year, having failed, made no alteration in the miniſter's opinion, that a diverſion of the like nature was a proper meaſure. For this purpoſe, in the month of May, near fourteen thouſand men were encamped on the iſle of Wight. This army, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, conſiſted of ſixteen battalions of infantry, four hundred artillery men, and five hundred and forty light horſe. One of the regiments of infantry, being deſtined for another ſervice, did not embark; ſo that the number employed in this expedition amounted to about thirteen thouſand. The ſubordinate general officers were lord George Sackville, the earl of Ancram, major-generals Waldegrave, Moſtyn, Drury, Boſcawen and Elliott. Two diſtinct fleets were aſſembled at Spithead: the firſt commanded by lord Anſon, of twenty-two ſail of the line; the ſecond under commodore Howe, conſiſting of ſeveral frigates, ſloops, fire ſhips, bomb-veſſels, tenders, cutters, and tranſports.

This tremendous fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of June. Lord Anſon with the line of battle ſhips ſtood away to the weſt, and proceeded to block up the French fleet at Breſt; whilſt commodore Howe ſteered athwart the channel with the wind at ſouth-eaſt. The night proved ſo tempeſtuous, notwithſtanding the ſeaſon of the year, that one of the ſtore-ſhips rolled away her maſts. About eight next morning they made Cape la Hogue, and that night anchored in the race of Alderney. On the third, about noon, one of the tranſports ſtruck upon a rock, near the iſland of Sark, and was loſt, but the troops on board were ſaved. On the fourth, Mr. Howe came to an anchor within three leagues of St. Malo. Next morning he weighed before break of day, and ſtood into the bay of Cancalle, ſo called from a village of that name, where the troops were intended to land. At four in the evening the whole fleet brought up, and in a ſhort time after ten companies of grenadiers landed near the village above mentioned. The only oppoſition was from a battery of two guns fired by a brave old Frenchman and his ſon, who maintained their poſt till the poor old man was wounded by a ſhot from one of our frigates. If others of his countrymen had behaved with equal reſolution, the diſembarkation would have been more difficult; for there were at this time ſeven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons at Cancalle: but theſe troops retired to St. Malo. The Britiſh grenadiers landed a little before ſunſet, attended by five volunteers of diſtinction, whoſe names ſhould be recorded and remembered with gratitude. Such ſpirit in young men of rank and fortune raiſes the military character of a nation more effectually than a victory over the enemy. Lord Down, Sir John Armitage,

Amitage, Sir James Lowther, Mr. Francis Blake Delaval, and Mr. Berkley, were the men. The entire diſembarkation was compleated on the ſixth, and the whole army encamped near Cancalle; the grenadiers and the light horſe being advanced about a mile in the front of the line.

The duke of Marlborough, ſenſible of the ravages which are generally committed by the common ſoldiers on their landing in an enemy's country, iſſued ſtrict orders to prevent marauding. Nevertheleſs, ſome irregularities were committed. The offenders were brought to immediate trial, and two or three of them executed. This rigorous exertion of military law ſaved the inoffenſive peaſantry from many acts of brutal licentiouſneſs which they would otherwiſe have experienced.

On the 7th, at break of day, the army marched towards St. Malo in two columns. The left column, commanded by lord George Sackville, fell into the great road; but the lanes through which lord Ancram's column marched were ſo narrow, and the country ſo incloſed and woody, that notwithſtanding the previous labour of two hundred pioneers, the men were frequently obliged to paſs in ſingle files; ſo that a ſmall number of the enemy might eaſily have deſtroyed this column, or at leaſt have made it impoſſible for them to advance. But, ſo far from meeting with any oppoſition, they found the villages and hamlets through which they paſſed entirely deſerted. The army proceeded in order without beat of drum, and, after a march of ſix miles, encamped at the diſtance of little more than a mile from the town of St. Malo. Whilſt they were employed in pitching their tents, the light horſe, with the piquets of the whole army, marched towards the town, and were ſaluted by a few ſhot from the cannon on the ramparts. As ſoon as it was dark, the piquets marched down to the harbour, where they found a conſiderable number of privateers and other ſmall veſſels, moſt of which, it being low water, were laid dry. Having ſet fire to all the ſhipping they proceeded to communicate the flames to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which were entirely deſtroyed, except one ſmall ſtore-houſe, which, if it had been ſet on fire, muſt from its ſituation have deſtroyed moſt of the houſes in the ſuburbs. This building was ſpared from a noble principle of humanity, worthy the imitation of all future invaders. The number of ſhips deſtroyed was about one hundred and twenty. The piquets now rejoined the army, which continued unmoleſted in its encampment till the 10th, when the tents were ſtruck, and the army in one column marched back to Cancalle. Whilſt the main body of the troops were employed as I have related, a battalion of the guards, under the command of colonel Ceſar, marched twelve miles up the country, to a town called Dolle, where they were politely entertained by the magiſtrates. As their deſign was merely to reconnoitre, they continued one night in the town without committing the leaſt act of hoſtility, and

then

then returned. A party of the English light-horse penetrating a few miles farther, fell in with the *videts* of a French camp, two of which they took, and brought prisoners to Cancalle.

The purpose of this invasion being fully accomplished, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet sailed on the 16th early in the morning, and, after beating against the wind during that whole day, came to an anchor off the harbour of St. Malo. The night proved so tempestuous, that many of the ships drove, and some parted their cables. Next morning, the wind continuing contrary, the fleet returned to Cancalle bay, and there remained till the 22d, when they sailed again, and next day passed the islands Jersey and Guernsey. On the 25th they made the isle of Wight, and on the 16th, the wind veering to the northward, they steered again for the coast of France, and ran in with the land near Havre; but towards evening it blew so fresh, that, to avoid the danger of a lee-shore, they stood out to sea. On the 27th, the weather becoming more moderate, they ran in with the land a second time, and the duke of Marlborough and Mr. Howe went out in a cutter to reconnoitre the coast. At their return, orders were given for the troops to prepare for immediate disembarkation: nevertheless, the 28th passed without any attempt to land, and on the 29th the fleet bore away before the wind, and anchored within a league of Cherbourg. Some of the transports which brought up nearer in shore, were fired at from several batteries, but received no damage. A few troops were seen parading on the strand, most of which appeared to be militia.

Soon after the fleet came to an anchor, the duke of Marlborough signified his intention of making an attack upon the town that night, and ordered the first battalion of guards to be in their boats at eleven o'clock. The rest of the troops received orders in what manner, and at what time, they were to proceed, and every necessary preparation was made for immediate disembarkation. But as night approached, the wind off shore gradually increased, and, before the appointed hour, became so violent as to render the attempt impracticable. Next morning, the duke of Marlborough, upon inquiry into the stock of provisions, hay, and water, found these several articles so near exhausted, that it would be dangerous, in so variable a climate, to remain any longer on an hostile coast. He therefore resolved to return to England. The fleet accordingly weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and arrived at St. Helen's the next day in the evening. The troops were encamped on the isle of Wight, that they might recover the effects of so long a confinement, on board of transports by no means sufficient for the accommodation of so numerous an army. These troops were destined for more expeditions of the like nature, the success of which will be seen in due time: but a regular attention to a chronological series of naval events now calls us to North America.

I am

I am to remind the reader, that admiral Boſcawen ſailed from England, with a conſiderable fleet, on the 19th of April. He arrived at Halifax in Nova Scotia on the 9th of May; from whence he ſailed on the 28th, with an army of fourteen thouſand men, under the command of major-general Amherſt. This fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail, anchored, on the ſecond of June, in the bay of Gabarus, about two leagues weſtward of Louiſbourg. The French governor, *le chevalier Drucour*, had taken every poſſible precaution to prevent a ſurprize. He had thrown up ſeveral intrenchments, erected batteries, and formed a chain of redoubts for two leagues and a half along the coaſt. There were in the harbour ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates, three of which were, during the ſiege, ſunk at the entrance. The fortifications of the town were not in good repair; the garriſon conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred regular troops, beſides ſix hundred burghers and Canadians. When the fleet firſt came to an anchor, and during ſeveral ſucceeding days, the ſurf ran ſo high, that it was impoſſible for the boats to come near the ſhore. Theſe ſeveral obſtacles appeared ſo tremendous to many of the officers, that they adviſed the admiral to call a general council of war. Fortunately for the ſervice, and for his own reputation, he diſregarded ſuch advice, and determined to land the troops at all events.

On the 8th of June, the weather being more moderate, the grenadiers and light-infantry were in the boats before break of day. The frigates and armed ſloops began to ſcour the coaſt, by an inceſſant fire upon the enemy; and now the boats rowed briſkly towards the ſhore in three diviſions, commanded by the generals Wolfe, Whitmore, and Laurence. When they approached the land they met with a warm reception from the enemy, and the ſurf ran ſo high that many of the boats were ſtaved, and ſome of the ſoldiers drowned. General Wolfe leapt into the ſea, and, being followed by his whole diviſion, formed his people on the beach, and marched intrepidly to the neareſt battery. The other two diviſions followed his example, and the enemy ſoon fled in confuſion. The remainder of the army, cannon, and ſtores were landed with all poſſible ſpeed, and the town was regularly inveſted. General Amherſt having ſecured his camp by proper redoubts and epaulments, now began his approaches in form. In landing the troops, three officers, four ſerjeants, one corporal, and thirty-eight private men, were killed or drowned; five lieutenants, two ſerjeants, one corporal, fifty-one men wounded; and about ſeventy boats loſt. The enemy, when they fled from their entrenchments, left behind them ſeventeen pieces of cannon, fourteen large ſwivels, two mortars, a furnace for red-hot balls, ſmall arms, ammunition, ſtores, tools and proviſions in conſiderable quantity.

The chevalier Drucour, having received his detachments into the town, deſtroyed his out-poſts, and all buildings within two miles

miles of the ramparts, prepared for a vigorous defence. The approaches of the British general were at first slow, owing to the difficulty of landing his stores, the labour of dragging his cannon through a marshy country, and the necessity of fortifying his camp. Meanwhile general Amherst, being not a little incommoded by the fire from the enemy's ships in the harbour, and also from the island battery, detached general Wolfe, with a considerable body of troops, with orders to march round the north-east harbour and take possession of the light-house point. This order was executed with great alacrity and dispatch, and a powerful battery erected, which on the 25th silenced that of the enemy on the island. On the 29th the besieged sunk four ships at the entrance of the harbour. They made several sallies from the town, and were repulsed with loss. The British army continued to approach the town in a regular and scientific manner, and the enemy displayed no less resolution and skill in the science of defence. On the 13th of July the besiegers were about six hundred yards from the covert way.

On the 21st, a shell from our battery on the light-house point set fire to one of the enemy's ships in the harbour. She immediately blew up, and two other men of war having caught the flame were also destroyed. These were the *Entreprenant*, the *Capricieux*, and the *Celebre*: so that the *Prudent* and the *Bienfaisant* were the only ships of force remaining. In the night of the 25th the first of these two was set on fire, and the other towed triumphantly out, by a detachment of seamen under the command of captains Laforey and Balfour. This gallant exploit merits a circumstantial relation. The naval reader will peruse it with pleasure; probably with advantage—By the admiral's orders, a barge and pinnace from every ship in the fleet assembled, about noon, under the stern of the Namur. These boats were manned only by their proper crews, armed chiefly with pistols and cutlasses, and each boat commanded by a lieutenant and midshipman. From thence they proceeded, by two or three at a time, to join Sir Charles Hardy's squadron near the mouth of the harbour. Being there reassembled in two divisions, under the two captains above mentioned, about midnight they paddled into the harbour of Louisbourg unperceived. The night was extremely dark, and the seamen were profoundly silent. They passed very near the island battery undiscovered, the darkness of the night, and a thick fog, preventing their being seen, whilst the perpetual din of bombs, cannon, and musquetry, both of the besieged and besiegers, effectually covered the noise of their oars. As soon as each division came near enough to perceive the devoted object, the two men of war were immediately surrounded by the boats, and were first alarmed by the firing of their own centinels. All the boats fell a-board at the same instant, and the several crews, following the example of their officers, scrambled up every part of the ships, and, in a few minutes, took possession

ſion of their reſpective prizes. The reſiſtance was very feeble, and conſequently the loſs of men on either ſide inconſiderable.

Day-light and the ſhouts of our ſailors, having at length diſcovered to the enemy on ſhore, that their ſhips were in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, they immediately pointed every gun that could be brought to bear upon the boats and prizes, and a furious diſcharge of cannon enſued. Thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the *Prudent*, finding her a-ground, ſet her on fire, and then joined the boats which were now employed in towing off the *Bienfaiſant*, which, with the aſſiſtance of a favourable breeze, was triumphantly carried away and ſecured.

On the 26th, whilſt admiral Boſcawen was preparing to ſend ſix ſhips into the harbour, he received a letter from the chevalier Drucour, offering to capitulate on the ſame terms that were granted to the Engliſh at Minorca. The admiral inſiſted on the garriſon remaining priſoners of war, and with theſe terms the governor finally complied. He could not do otherwiſe. He yielded to the irreſiſtible neceſſity. His ſhips were all deſtroyed or taken; his cannon were diſmounted; his garriſon diminiſhed, and the remainder harraſſed and diſpirited; all his hopes of relief from Europe or from Canada were vaniſhed, and his ramparts in many places battered to pieces. This capitulation being ſigned, the Britiſh troops took poſſeſſion of Louiſbourg on the 27th, and the two iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John were ceded to his Britannic majeſty. The ſhips of war loſt by the French on this occaſion were the *Prudent* of 74 guns, *Entreprenant* 74, *Capricieux* 64, *Celebre* 64, *Bienfaiſant* 64, *Apollo* 50; *Chevre*, *Biche* and *Fidelle* frigates ſunk at the harbour's mouth; *Diana* of 36 taken by the Boreas; *Echo* of 26 taken by the Juno.

We now return to Europe. The ſpirited miniſter who, at this time, held the reins of government; whoſe ſucceſſive expeditions were diſtinct gradations in a regular plan of operation; whoſe invaſions on the coaſt of France were principally intended to divide the forces of the enemy: this active miniſter, I ſay, determined once more to invade the coaſt of Normandy. Part of the troops which, ſince the laſt expedition, had been encamped on the iſle of Wight, were ſent to Germany. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville were likewiſe ordered upon the ſervice. The remainder of the troops, now commanded by lieutenant-general Bligh, embarked on board the fleet under commodore Howe, and ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt day of Auguſt. On the 6th, in the evening, the fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Cherburg, and a few ſhells were thrown into the town that night. Next morning, about ſeven o'clock, the fleet got under way, and at nine brought up in the bay of Maris, two leagues weſt of the town, where the general reſolved to land his troops. The governor of Cherburg, ſince

ſince his late alarm, had thrown up ſeveral intrenchments, and planted ſome batteries along the coaſt. Behind theſe works there appeared about two thouſand regular troops. On the 7th, at two in the afternoon, the grenadiers and guards, commanded by general Drury, in flat-bottom boats, landed, without oppoſition, under cover of an inceſſant fire from the fleet. Having formed his troops on the beach, he marched immediately towards a party of the enemy, received their fire, and then attacked them with ſuch reſolution, that they ſoon fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and with conſiderable loſs. They left behind them two pieces of braſs cannon. Of the Engliſh, about twenty were killed or wounded.

The remainder of the infantry being diſembarked, general Bligh marched to the village of Erville, and there pitched his tents for the night. The ground which he had choſen for his encampment was ſo inadequate, in point of extent, to the number of troops, that the tents were crowded together as cloſe as they could ſtand, without order or regularity. If the French commander had not been as ignorant in his profeſſion as his enemy, the Britiſh army would, in this ſituation, have been ſurrounded and deſtroyed, or taken: two or three thouſand men, judiciouſly commanded, were ſufficient. But, either for want of ſkill, or ſtrength, or reſolution, the Engliſh army was ſuffered to ſleep in perfect ſecurity, and the ſucceeding dawn did not diſcover a ſingle French ſoldier in ſight of the camp. On reconnoitring the neareſt fort, called Quirqueville, it was found deſolate; ſo that the light-horſe was now diſembarked without the leaſt interruption, and the army proceeded, in two columns, towards Cherburg, which they entered without firing or receiving a ſingle ſhot, the town and all the forts being entirely abandoned by the troops. The inhabitants, in confidence of a promiſe of protection, contained in a manifeſto publiſhed by general Bligh, remained in the town, and received their hoſtile viſitors with politeneſs and hoſpitality. I am ſorry to record, to the diſgrace of Engliſh diſcipline, that their confidence was abuſed. The proper means of reſtraining the licentious brutality of the common ſoldiers were neglected, till the juſt complaints of the ſufferers reminded the general of his duty.

General Bligh now proceeded, according to his inſtructions, to demoliſh the harbour and baſon, which had been conſtructed by Lewis XV. at a vaſt expence, and were intended as an aſylum for men of war. It appeared, however, from the unfiniſhed ſtate of the fortifications, that the importance of Cherburg had of late dwindled in the eſtimation of the French miniſtry. Whilſt the engineers were thus employed, the light-horſe were ſent to ſcour the country, and to reconnoitre a French camp at Walloign, about twelve miles from Cherburg. In theſe excurſions they frequently ſkirmiſhed with the enemy, and in one of theſe rencounters Lindſay, a captain of the Britiſh light-horſe, was

was unfortunately killed. He was a very active and gallant officer. The great bufinefs of demolition being finifhed, on the 16th of Auguft, at three in the morning, the army evacuated Cherburg, marched down to fort Galet, and there embarked without moleftation.

In our eftimate of the utility of this enterprize, we are to remember, that the primary object was, by keeping the French coaft in perpetual alarm, to oblige them to retain an army for their own fecurity, which would otherwife have marched to Germany. Exclufive of this confideration, the expedition to Cherburg was, by no means, unimportant. Twenty-feven fhips were burnt in the harbour. A hundred and feventy-three pieces of iron ordnance and three mortars were rendered ufelefs; and twenty-two brafs cannon and two mortars were fent to England. Thefe cannon were afterwards expofed, for fome time, in Hyde Park, and then drawn through the city in pompous proceffion, amidft the joyful acclamations of the people, the oldeft of whom had never beheld a fimilar triumph.

Thus far the operations of this terrific, itinerant army were fucceefsful. But the general's commiffion did not end with the deftruction of the forts and harbour of Cherburg. By his fecret inftructions he was ordered to keep the coaft of France in continual alarm; to make defcents, and attack any place that might be found practicable, between the eaft point of Normandy and Morlaix. In compliance with thefe inftructions, the fleet weighed anchor on the 18th of Auguft, and fteered towards St. Malo, with a defign to make a fecond attack upon that neft of privateers. But they were obliged, by contrary winds, to run for the Englifh coaft. They came to anchor in Weymouth road on the 23d; they failed from thence on the 25th, but were obliged to put back the fame evening. The next attempt proved more fucceefsful. The fleet, though not without difficulty, kept the fea, and, ftanding to the fouthward, foon made the coaft of France, but it was the 4th of September before they came to an anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues weft of St. Malo. Whilft the fleet was bringing up, the commodore, with prince Edward, (afterwards duke of York,) who attended Mr. Howe in the capacity of midfhipman, went off in their barge to reconnoitre the fhore. Seeing no appearance of an enemy, the troops were difembarked, without oppofition; but not entirely without misfortune. One of the flat-bottom boats being run down by the Brilliant, was overfet, and five foldiers drowned. As foon as the troops were landed, Sir William Boothby, with 300 grenadiers, was detached with orders to deftroy a hundred and fifty veffels in the harbour of Briac, near St. Malo. He executed his commiffion effectually; but the number of veffels in that harbour did not exceed fifteen.

The Britifh army continued in their encampment near St. Lunaire four days, which were fpent in deliberations concerning the

the practicability of an attack upon St. Malo. It was finally determined to be impracticable, and Mr. Howe having declared that it was impossible to re-embark the troops from the place where they had landed, it was resolved that the troops should march over land, and that the fleet should, in the mean time, proceed to the bay of St. Cas, and there remain ready to receive them. The commodore weighed anchor, and stood to the westward. On Friday, the 8th, in the morning, general Bligh struck his tents, and began his march towards the village of Gildau, where he was told the river, which he must necessarily pass, was fordable at low water. The day's march, though short, proved fatiguing to the troops, on account of the heavy rain and bad roads; and, as the army marched in a single column, it was night before the rear came to their ground. When colonel Clark, who marched at the head of the advanced guard, arrived at the village of Gildau, he saw a body of about three hundred peasants on the opposite bank of the river, apparently forming with an intention to oppose his passage. A few shot from two or three field-pieces immediately dispersed them. Orders were issued to prepare for passing the river at six o'clock next morning, and the army went to rest. Next morning, at six o'clock, the troops were ready to plunge into the river, when it appeared that the general had been so totally misinformed as to the time of fording, that it was now *high* instead of *low* water, and that it would be three in the afternoon before the troops could pass. Such a mistake, though apparently of no great importance, as it discovered the fallibility of the general's intelligence, was a bad omen.

The army forded the river in two columns, without any other molestation than a volley or two of musket-shot from the opposite village, by which Lord Frederic Cavendish, and a few grenadiers were slightly wounded. They passed the river, and pitched their tents immediately. Why they marched no farther that night, is difficult to imagine. On Sunday morning the army again decamped, and marched towards Mattignon. When the advanced guard approached the town, they saw a party of French dragoons, and observed that the hedges were lined by foot which seemed to be regulars. This being reported to the general, all the grenadiers were ordered to advance, and they pressed forward with great eagerness; but the enemy did not think fit to wait for them. Having marched about four miles, the army encamped to the southward of Mattignon, after parading through the town by beat of drum. From this circumstance, it is evident that general Bligh had not the least idea that a superior army was this time within a few hours march of his camp.

This evening a French soldier was brought into the camp, who informed the general, that nine battalions of foot, two squadrons of dragoons, with five thousand *gardes de cotes*, were

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on their march from Brest, and that they were not above two leagues distant. He named the general officers, and the regiments. His intelligence, however, produced no other effect than an order to the piquets of the English army to be particularly vigilant. During the night, the advanced guard of the enemy came so near, as to exchange some shot with the outposts. Nevertheless, general Bligh continued so totally unapprehensive, that he ordered the usual drums, preparatory to a march, to beat next morning at three o'clock. The drums beat accordingly, and the army marched, in a single column, towards St. Cas, which is about a league from Mattignon. If the troops had marched in two columns, they would have reached their ships in half the time. When the head of the column reached the eminence, about half a mile from the sea, they had orders to halt; and the regiments formed the line as they advanced in succession; but before the grenadiers in the rear reached the ground, the youngest brigade was ordered to march down to the beach. Meanwhile the frigates which were intended to cover the embarkation, and the boats, were approaching the land. Before the grenadiers quitted the height, they saw the enemy advancing in four columns. The grenadiers marched deliberately down to the beach, and there rested on their arms, whilst the battalions were conveyed to their transports in the flat-bottom boats.

The rear of the English army had scarce quitted the height before it was possessed by the enemy. As soon as they began to descend, Mr. Howe made a signal for his frigates to fire; which order was executed with so much skill and dexterity, that many of the French were killed, and their whole army thrown into confusion. The British troops were now all embarked, except the grenadiers and four companies of the first regiment of guards; in all about fourteen hundred men. The enemy continued to advance, and their cannon destroyed some of our boats. General Drury, who was now the senior officer on shore, formed his little army, and most imprudently advanced up the hill to meet his enemy. By this manœuvre he quitted a parapet of sand banks, and effectually silenced the frigates, which could not now fire without destroying their friends. This inconsiderable body of English troops, with every disadvantage of situation, and commanded by a man of no experience or abilities, maintained their ground against ten times their number, till most of them had entirely spent their ammunition. Thus circumstanced, after making terrible havock in the enemies ranks, they yielded to necessity, and retreated to their boats. Unhappily, the boats then in shore were insufficient to receive half the number of men which now crowded to the beach, and the boats were consequently in an instant so overloaded, that most of them were a-ground. In this horrible situation, exposed to the continual fire of a numerous army, they remained for some time; till

till, at laſt, the commodore himſelf leapt into his boat, and, rowing to the ſhore, took one of the flat-boats in tow. The reſt of the fleet followed his example, and about ſeven hundred men were brought on board. The other half were either ſhot, taken priſoners, or drowned. Among the killed were major-general Drury, lieutenant-colonel Wilkinſon, and Sir John Armitage, a volunteer. Lord Frederic Cavendiſh, lieutenant-colonels Pearſon and Lambert, and ſixteen officers of inferior rank, were taken priſoners. Four captains of men of war, who went on ſhore in order to expedite the embarkation of the troops, were alſo obliged to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy. Eight ſeamen were killed and ſeventeen wounded.

We are now to recollect, that, after the reduction of Senegal, an attempt was made upon the iſland of Goree; but without ſucceſs, owing to the want of ſufficient naval force. The Britiſh miniſter, ſenſible that his conqueſt on the coaſt of Africa was incomplete without the reduction of this iſland, ſent out a ſmall ſquadron of four ſhips of the line, two frigates, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by commodore Keppel, with ſix hundred land forces under colonel Worge. This armament ſailed from Cork on the 11th of November, and after a tempeſtuous voyage, anchored in the road of Goree, about a league from the iſland, on the 24th of December. Goree is a barren iſland, not a mile in length, ſituated near Cape Verde. The Dutch took poſſeſſion of it in the beginning of the laſt century. The French took it in 1677, and ſince that period it has remained in poſſeſſion of their Eaſt-India company. On the ſouth-weſt ſide there was a ſmall fort called St. Michael, and another, leſs conſiderable, called St. Francis, near the oppoſite extremity. Beſides theſe forts, there were ſeveral ſlight batteries along the ſhore, mounting in the whole a hundred cannon. The garriſon, commanded by Monſ. St. Jean, conſiſted of three hundred regulars, and about the ſame number of negro inhabitants.

On the 28th, in the morning, the troops were ordered into the boats, ready for landing, if neceſſary, and the ſhips being properly ſtationed on the weſt ſide of the iſland, a general cannonading began, which was anſwered by the enemy with great ſpirit, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that above a hundred of the Engliſh were killed or wounded. Nevertheleſs, the French garriſon, though not one of them was killed, were ſo terrified by the fire from the ſhips, that the governor was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. A detachment of marines were landed, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland, and the Britiſh flag was hoiſted on the caſtle of St. Michael.

Mr. Kepple having taken his priſoners on board, and left a ſufficient garriſon under the command of Major Newton, touched at Senegal, and then returned to England. But this expedition, though ſucceſsful, was not unattended by misfortunes.

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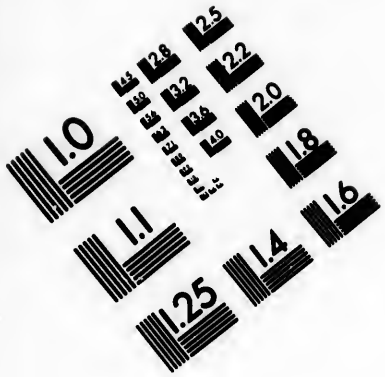
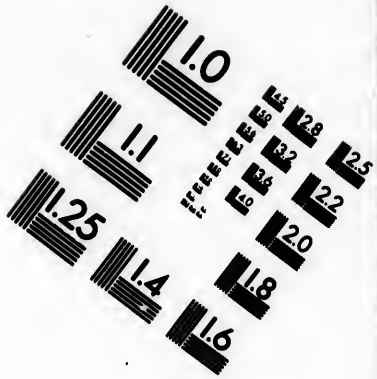
Capt ARTHUR FORREST.

tunes. The Litchfield, of 50 guns, a transport, and a bomb-ketch, were on their outward passage separated from the fleet, and wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy. A hundred and thirty people, among which were several officers, were drowned. Captain Barton, with about two hundred and twenty, reached the inhospitable shore. They suffered great hardships, and were enslaved by the emperor of Morocco, our worthy ally, who held them in captivity till they were ransomed by the king of Great Britain. Such is the faith of barbarian princes!

Our naval exploits in the West Indies, in the course of this year, were not attended with any important consequences. There were performed, however, several gallant actions, which ought not to pass unnoticed. Captain Forrest of the Augusta, having sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, cruised off Cape Francis, a harbour in the island of St. Domingo; he was accompanied by the captains Suckling and Langdon, commanding the Dreadnought and Edinburgh. There lay at that time, at the Cape, a French squadron of four ships of the line and three stout frigates, which the French commodore, piqued at seeing the coast insulted by Forrest's little squadron, reinforced with several store-ships, which he mounted with cannon, and supplied with seamen from the merchant-vessels, and with soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out for sea. When Forrest perceived the approach of the French ships, he called his two captains. "Gentlemen," said he, "you "know our own strength, and see that of the enemy. Shall we "give them battle?" Being answered in the affirmative, he bore down on the French fleet, and between three and four in the afternoon came to action. The French attacked with great impetuosity, and displayed uncommon spirit in the sight of their own coast. But, after an engagement of more than two hours, their commodore found his ship so much shattered, that he was obliged to make a signal for his frigates to tow him out of the line. The rest of the squadron followed his example, and availed themselves of the land breeze to escape in the night from the three British ships, which were too much damaged in their sails and rigging to pursue their victory.

Captain Forrest signalized his courage in this engagement; but he displayed equal courage, and still more uncommon conduct and sagacity in the subsequent adventure near the western coast of Hispaniola. Having received intelligence, that there was a considerable French fleet at *Port au Prince*, a harbour on that coast, ready to sail for Europe, he proceeded from Jamaica to cruise between Hispaniola and the little island *Goavé*. He disguised his ship with *tarpaulins*, hoisted Dutch colours, and, in order to avoid discovery, allowed several small vessels to pass, without giving them chace. The second day after his arrival in those parts, he perceived a fleet of seven sail steering to the westward.





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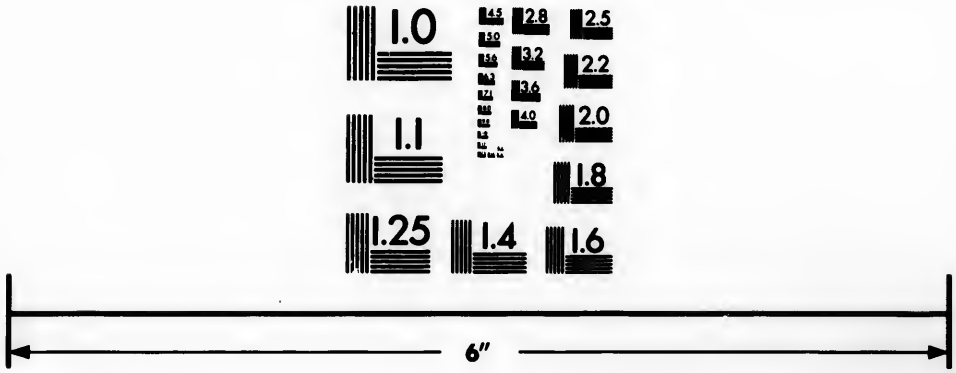

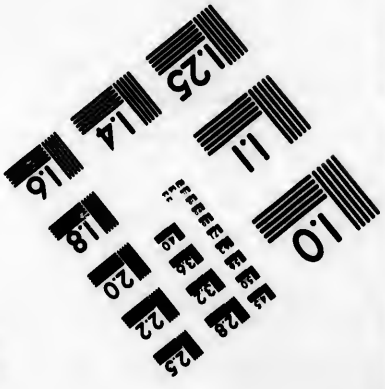

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He kept from them to prevent ſuſpicion, but, at the approach of night, purſued them with all the ſail he could crowd. About ten at night he came up with two veſſels of the chace, one of which fired a gun, and the other ſheered off. The ſhip which had fired no ſooner diſcovered her enemy, than ſhe ſubmitted. Forreſt manned her with thirty-five of his own crew, and now perceiving eight ſail to leeward, near the harbour of *Petit Goave*, ordered them to ſtand for that place, and intercept any veſſel that attempted to reach it. He himſelf, in the Auguſta, ſailed directly for the French fleet, and, coming up with them by day-break, engaged them all by turns as he could bring his guns to bear. The Solide, the Theodore, and the Marguerite, returned his fire; but, having ſoon ſtruck their colours, they were immediately ſecured, and then employed in taking other veſſels, of which none had the fortune to eſcape. The nine ſail, which, by this well-conducted ſtratagem, had fallen into the power of one ſhip, and that even in the ſight of their own harbours, were ſafely conducted to Jamaica, where the ſale of their rich cargoes rewarded the merit of the captors.

While Forreſt acquired wealth and glory by protecting the trade of Jamaica, the vigilance of captain Tyrrel ſecured the Engliſh navigation to Antigua. In the month of March, this enterpriſing and judicious commander demoliſhed a fort on the iſland of Martinico, and deſtroyed four privateers riding under its protection. In November of the ſame year, he, in his own ſhip the Buckingham of ſixty-four guns, accompanied by the Weazle ſloop commanded by captain Boles, diſcovered, between the iſlands of Guadaloupe and Montſerrat, a fleet of nineteen ſail under convoy of the *Floriſſant*, a French man of war of ſeventy-four guns, and two frigates, of which the largeſt carried thirty-eight, and the other twenty-ſix guns. Captain Tyrrel, regardleſs of the great inequality of force, immediately gave chace in the Buckingham; and the Weazle, running cloſe to the enemy, received a whole broadſide from the Floriſſant. Though ſhe ſuſtained it without conſiderable damage, Mr. Tyrrel ordered captain Boles to keep aloof, as his veſſel could not be ſuppoſed to bear the ſhock of heavy metal; and he alone prepared for the engagement. The Floriſſant, inſtead of lying to for him up, made a running fight with her ſtern chace, while the two frigates annoyed the Buckingham in her purſuit. At length, however, ſhe came within piſtol-ſhot of the Floriſſant, and poured in a broadſide, which did great execution. The ſalutation was returned with ſpirit, and the battle became cloſe and obſtinate. Mr. Tyrrel, being wounded, was obliged to leave the deck, the command devolved on the brave Mr. Marſhall, his firſt lieutenant, who fell in the arms of victory. The ſecond lieutenant took the command, and finally ſilenced the enemy's fire. On board the Floriſſant 180 men were ſlain, and 300 wounded. She was ſo much diſabled in her hull, that ſhe could

hardly

ADMIRAL TYRRELL.

Sir GEORGE POCOCK, Kn:
Admiral of the Blue Squadron.

hardly be kept afloat. The largeſt frigate received equal damage. The Buckingham had only ſeven men killed, and ſeventeen wounded: ſhe had ſuffered much, however, in her maſts and rigging, which was the only circumſtance that prevented her from adding profit to glory, by making prizes of the French fleet under ſo powerful a convoy.

In the Eaſt Indies the French ſquadron was commanded by M. d'Aché, and the Engliſh by admiral Pocock, who had ſucceeded admiral Watſon. The former was reinforced by a conſiderable armament under the command of general Lally, an adventurer of Iriſh extraction in the French ſervice. The Engliſh admiral was alſo reinforced on the 24th of March by four ſhips of the line; and, being ſoon after apprized of Lally's arrival, he hoiſted his flag aboard the Yarmouth, a ſhip of ſixty-four guns, and ſailed in queſt of the enemy. He made the height of Negapatam the 28th of March, and the day following diſcovered the enemy's fleet in the road of Fort St. David. It conſiſted of eight ſhips of the line, and a frigate, which immediately ſtood out to ſea, and formed the line of battle. Pocock's ſquadron conſiſted only of ſeven ſhips; with which he formed the line, and, bearing down upon Mr. d'Aché, began the engagement. The French commodore, having ſuſtained a warm action for about two hours, in which one of his largeſt ſhips was diſabled, ſheered off with his whole fleet. Being afterwards joined with two more ſhips of war, he again formed the line of battle to leeward. Admiral Pocock, though his own ſhip and ſeveral others were conſiderably damaged, and, though three of his captains had miſbehaved in the engagement, prepared again for the attack. But the manœuvres of the French fleet ſeem to have been intended merely to amuſe him; for they neither ſhowed lights, nor gave any ſignal in the night, and next morning the ſmalleſt trace of them could not be obſerved.

Admiral Pocock made various attempts to bring the French ſquadron to a ſecond engagement. Theſe, however, proved ineffectual till the third of Auguſt, when he perceived the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line and a frigate, ſtanding at ſea off the road of Pondicherry. They would have gladly eluded his purſuit, but he obtained the weather gage, and ſailed down upon them in order of battle. As it was now impoſſible to eſcape without coming to action, the French prepared for the engagement, and fired on the Eliſabeth, which happened to be within muſket-ſhot of the ſhip in the van. But this ſpirited attack was not ſeconded with equal perſeverance. In little more than ten minutes after Admiral Pocock had diſplayed the ſignal for battle, Mr. d'Aché ſet his foreſail, and bore away, maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line for near an hour. The whole ſquadron immediately followed his example; and at two o'clock they cut away their boats, crowded ſail, and put before the wind. They eſcaped by favour of the

night into the road of Pondicherry; but their fleet was so much damaged, that, in the beginning of September, their commodore sailed for the isle of Bourbon in order to refit, thus leaving the English admiral sovereign of the Indian seas.

Having examined the naval successes of Great Britain in the different quarters of the world, we shall, for the reader's satisfaction, exhibit in one view the consequences of these glorious exploits. During the course of this year the French lost sixteen men of war, while the English lost no more than three: the French lost forty-nine privateers and armed merchantmen, carrying 619 guns and 3824 men. The diminution of their commerce, and the dread of falling into the hands of the English, prevented many of their trading vessels from venturing to sea. Of these, however, they lost 104; and not less than 176 neutral vessels, laden with the rich produce of the French colonies, or with military and naval stores, to enable them to continue the war, rewarded the vigilance of the English navy. The loss of ships, on the part of Great Britain, amounted to three hundred and thirteen, a considerable number, but consisting chiefly of empty transports, and coasting or disarmed vessels, of little value or importance.

The capture of so many of the enemy's vessels, though it added much wealth and glory to those concerned in maritime affairs, was not the only, or even the principal, advantage which Great Britain derived from the spirited efforts of her seamen. The conquests acquired to the nation were still more important. Not to mention the taking of fort Du Quesne, on the river Ohio, a place of the utmost consequence, on account both of its strength and situation; the acquisition of the strong fortress of Louisbourgh, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal, were events not more destructive to the commerce and colonies of France, than advantageous to those of Great Britain: even the British expeditions to the coast of France, though conducted with little prudence, brought glory and renown to the invaders, and taught an ambitious people, that, while they were intent on ravaging the territory of their neighbours, their own dominions were still within the reach of the British thunder.

The operations of the year 1759 began in the West Indies. In the end of the preceding year, a squadron of nine ships of the line, with one frigate and four bomb-ketches, as well as sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, commanded by general Hopson, sailed thither, with orders to attack and reduce the French Caribbee islands. The fleet was to be under the orders of commodore Moore, who was already in those parts. Martinico, as the seat of government, and the centre of commerce, is the most considerable of these islands. The principal towns are St. Pierre and Port-Royal, places strong by nature and art, and at that time defended by a numerous and well-disciplin-

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ed militia, as well as by a considerable body of regular troops. Port-Royal was the first object of English ambition. The ships of war easily drove the enemy from their batteries and entrenchments, and the troops landed without meeting any considerable opposition: but after they had effected their landing, they found it impossible to convey the cannon to a sufficient vicinity for attacking the town. General Hopson judged the difficulties on the land side unsurmountable. Commodore Moore thought it impossible to land the cannon nearer the town; and, in consequence of these opinions, the forces were re embarked, in order to proceed to St. Pierre. When they had arrived before that place, and examined its situation, new difficulties arose, which occasioned a council of war. The commodore had no doubt of being able to reduce the town, but, as the troops had suffered greatly by diseases, and the ships might be so much disabled in the attack, as to prevent them from availing themselves of their success, and from undertaking any other expedition during that season, he advised, that the armament should be brought before Gaudaloupe, the reduction of which would tend greatly to the benefit of the English sugar islands. Gaudaloupe falls little short of Martinico in the quantity and richness of its productions. It long continued, however, in a languishing condition, the French having treated Martinico with the predilection of a partial mother for a favourite child, to the great prejudice of all her other colonies. But the situation and natural advantages of Guadaloupe abundantly justified the opinion of commodore Moore; and if our ministers had understood the value of such a conquest, this island might have still continued a bright gem in the British crown. The fleet arrived, on the 23d of January, before the town of Basseterre, the capital of Guadaloupe, a place of considerable extent, defended by a strong battery, which, in the opinion of the chief engineer, could not be reduced by the shipping. But commodore Moore entertained very different sentiments, and brought his ships to bear on the town and citadel. The Lyon, a ship of 60 guns, commanded by captain Trelawney, began the engagement, against a battery of ninety guns: the rest of the fleet took their stations a-breast of the other batteries, and the action, in a little time, became general. The commodore, meanwhile, shifted his flag into the Woolwich frigate, and kept aloof without gun-shot, that he might have a more distinct view of the state of the battle; an expedient seldom practised, though the propriety of it cannot admit of the smallest doubt. All the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution in the attack; particularly captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney and Shuldham. The action had lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, when the fire of the citadel was silenced. The Burford and Berwick being driven to sea, captain Shuldham in the Panther, was unsupported, and two batteries played on the Rippon cap-

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tain Jekyl, who ſilenced one of them, but could not prevent his veſſel from running a-ground. The enemy, perceiving her diſaſter, aſſembled on the kill, lined the trenches, and poured in a ſevere fire of muſquetry: they afterwards brought an eighteen pounder to bear, and, for two hours, raked her fore and aft with great effect: a box, containing nine hundred cartridges, blew up on the poop, and ſet the ſhip on fire. The captain hoiſted a ſignal of diſtreſs, which brought captain Leſlie, in the Briſtol, who ran in between the Rippon and the battery, and engaged with ſuch impetuoſity, as ſaved Captain Jekyl from deſtruction, which otherwiſe was unavoidable. At ſeven in the evening, the large ſhips having ſilenced the batteries to which they were oppoſed, the four bombs began to play on the town, with ſhells and carcaſſes. In a ſhort time the houſes were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with a terrible exploſion, and the ſugar, rum, and other combuſtible materials compoſing a continued and permanent line of fire, formed a ſuitable back-ground to this terrible picture.

Notwithſtanding the vivacity of the engagement, the loſs, on the part of the Britiſh was not very conſiderable. Next day our fleet came to anchor in the road, off Baſſeterre, having intercepted ſeveral ſhips, which had turned out and endeavoured to eſcape. They found the hulls of ſeveral more veſſels, which the enemy had ſet on fire, to prevent them from falling into their hands. The troops landed in the afternoon, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, and diſplayed the Britiſh colours on the walls. The country, however, was ſtill far from being reduced: it abounded in mountains and narrow defiles, of difficult and dangerous acceſs; and although the governor, Monſieur D'Etreuil, poſſeſſed neither bravery nor conduct, the inhabitants of Guadaloupe were determined to defend their poſſeſſions to the laſt extremities. It is foreign to our deſign to enter into any detail of the operations by land, which were drawn out to an extraordinary length. The French were too prudent to hazard a general engagement with regular troops: they determined to weary them out, if poſſible, by maintaining a kind of petty war, in detached parties, in which the Britiſh were harraſſed by hard duty, and ſuffered greatly by diſeaſes in an unhealthy climate, ill-ſupplied with thoſe conveniencies to which they were accuſtomed. In this manner the war continued from the 24th of January till the firſt of May, when the inhabitants of Guadaloupe thought proper to capitulate. Their example was followed, a few days afterwards, by thoſe of Deſirade, Santos, and Petite-terre, three ſmall iſlands in that neighbourhood; and, on the 26th of May, the iſland of Marie-Galante likewiſe ſurrendered, which left the French no footing in the Leeward Iſlands.

Theſe conqueſts being happily finiſhed part of the troops were ſent in the tranſports to England. They ſailed the 3d of

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July from the harbour of Baſſeterre; and next day commodore Moore's ſquadron was joined by two ſhips of the line, which rendered him greatly ſuperior to Mr. de Bompart, the French commodore, who lay in the harbour of Martinico. At this time vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica ſtation; but neither he nor Moore could bring Mr. de Bompart to an engagement: ſo that the naval tranſactions in the Weſt Indies, during the remainder of the year, conſiſted ſolely in the taking of ſeveral rich prizes and armed ſhips of the enemy, by cruiſers detached from the Engliſh ſquadrons.

The reduction of Guadaloupe and the neighbouring iſlands, afforded an auſpicious omen for the ſucceſs of the Britiſh operations in North America. Theſe were carried on in the year 1759, on the moſt extenſive ſcale. The ſplendor of military triumph, and the diſplay of extraordinary genius in the art of war, eclipſed, in ſome meaſure, the glory of the navy. But if we conſider the conduct of the war with attention, we ſhall find, that our admirals had a principal ſhare in the happy conſequences which reſulted even from our military expeditions. The hearty and powerful co-operation of the navy facilitated every enterpriſe; but the nation, fond of novelty, and tranſported with their ſucceſſes by land, to which they were leſs accuſtomed, conferred the moſt exalted honours on their generals, while they hardly beſtowed due praiſe on their naval commanders. About the middle of February, a ſquadron of twenty-one ſail of the line ſailed from England, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of approved honour and bravery. By the 21ſt of April they were in ſight of Louiſbourg; but, the harbour being blocked up with ice, they were obliged to bear away for Halifax. From hence they detached rear-admiral Durel, with a ſmall ſquadron, to the iſle of Courdres, in the river St. Laurence, in hopes that he might intercept a fleet of French tranſports and victuallers deſtined for Quebec. He accordingly took two ſtore-ſhips; but, before he reached his ſtation, ſeventeen ſail of tranſports had already got to the capital of Canada. Mean while admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſbourg, and took on board eight thouſand troops, under the command of general Wolfe, whoſe name is ſo illuſtrious in the memoirs of the preſent year. With this armament it was intended, that the general ſhould proceed up the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the ſiege of Quebec. The reduction of this wealthy and populous city, which gave an opening to the poſſeſſion of all Canada, was the object to which all other operations of the Engliſh in North America were ſubſervient, and which they were deſigned to aſſiſt. For this purpoſe general Amherſt, who commanded an army of regulars and provincials, amounting to twelve thouſand men, was ordered to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, croſs the lake Champlain, and

and proceed along the river Richelieu, to the banks of the St. Lawrence, to effect a junction with the armament under Wolfe and Saunders. For the same purpose, general Prideaux, who commanded the provincials of New-York, with a large body of the Indians of the five nations, collected by the influence of Sir William Johnson, was commissioned to invest the French fort erected near the fall of Niagara, and, having seized that important pass, to embark on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, and co-operate with the united armies. This scheme, however, was too refined and complicated to be put in execution. The operations began by the taking of Crown-point and Ticonderoga; the English standard was also displayed at Nigara. But these events were not of the smallest importance in effecting the conquest of Quebec; nor did the troops engaged in them afford any assistance to the northern armament. This, of itself, under such commanders as Wolfe and Saunders, seconded by the happy star of Britain, which every where prevailed in the present year, was sufficient to perform far more than had been expected, and to overcome obstacles of art and nature, that, at first sight, appeared unsurmountable.

Admiral Saunders arrived the latter end of June, with his whole embarkation, at the isle of Orleans, a few leagues from Quebec. As he had discovered some excellent charts of the river St. Lawrence in vessels taken from the enemy, he experienced none of those difficulties with which the navigation of this immense stream is said to be attended. The island of Orleans extends quite up the bason of Quebec, and its most westerly point advances to a high promontory on the continent, called Point Levi. Both these were at present occupied by the French, but not with such powerful guards as their importance required. The first operation of general Wolfe's troops was to dislodge the enemy, and to secure these posts, without the command of which the fleet could not have lain in safety in the harbour of Quebec. This city now appeared full to view, at once a tempting and discouraging sight: no place is more favoured by nature, and there is none of which nature seems more to have consulted the defence: it consists of an upper and lower town, the former built on a lofty rock, which runs with a bold and steep front along the western banks of the river St. Lawrence: at the termination of this ridge, the River St. Charles, from the north-west, and the St. Lawrence join their waves, which renders the ground on which Quebec stands a sort of peninsula. On the side of St. Lawrence is a bank of sand, which prevents the approach of large vessels to the town; an enemy, therefore, who attacks it, must either traverse the precipice which I have mentioned, or cross the river St. Charles. If he attempts the former, he must overcome a dangerous rock, defended by the whole force of the besieged, which the importance of the post would draw thither.

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The difficulty of approaching the place, by Charles river, is not less considerable, as all the country to the northward, for more than five miles, is rough, broken, and unequal, full of rivulets and gullies, and so continues to the river of Montmorenci, which flows by the foot of a steep and woody hill. Between the two rivers the French army was posted, their camp strongly fortified, and their forces amounting to twelve thousand men, commanded by Mr. Montcalm, a general of tried bravery and conduct. General Wolfe, having seized the west point of the isle of Orleans, and that of Levi, erected batteries on the high grounds, which fired continually on the town. Admiral Saunders was stationed in the north channel of the isle of Orleans, opposite the falls of Montmorenci, while admiral Holmes proceeded up the river St. Lawrence, beyond Quebec, which not only diverted the enemy's attention from the quarter on which the attack was intended, but prevented their attempts against the batteries already erected by the English. But notwithstanding this advantageous position, to undertake the siege of a city skilfully fortified, well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and defended by an army far superior to that of the besiegers, was a design so bold and adventurous, that even the sanguine temper of general Wolfe began to despair of its success; yet, whatever it was possible to perform, he was determined to attempt. He caused the troops, therefore, to be transported over the north channel of the river St. Lawrence to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view, after he had crossed the latter, of moving towards the enemy's flanks, and enticing them to an engagement. But his endeavours in this way proved ineffectual, Mr. Montcalm having chosen his situation with too much judgment to abandon it imprudently. Mean while the fleet had been exposed to the most imminent danger. A violent storm had caused several transports to run foul of each other; many boats foundered, and some large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, taking advantage of the confusion produced by this disaster, sent down seven fireships from Quebec at midnight, which must have been attended with the most fatal consequences to the whole expedition, had not the English sailors resolutely boarded these instruments of destruction, run them fast a-ground, and prevented them from doing the smallest damage to the British squadron.

The general, despairing of being able to decoy the enemy to an engagement, and sensible that the approach of winter would put an end to all military operations in that northern climate, came at last to the resolution of forcing the French entrenchments. The best dispositions were made for this purpose both by sea and land; but the design was disappointed by an accident which could neither be foreseen nor prevented: The English grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders to form themselves on the beach; but, instead of attending to this necessary injunction, they rushed with an impetuous ardour towards the enemy's entrenchments

trenchments in the moſt tumultuous confuſion: they were met by a violent and ſteady fire, which prevented them from being able to form, and obliged them to take ſhelter behind a redoubt, which the French had abandoned on their approach. There they were forced to continue till night came on, when it was neceſſary to make a retreat, which could not be effected without conſiderable loſs.

This check is ſaid to have had a ſtrong effect on the mind and health of general Wolfe, who ſaw all his own meaſures miſcarry, while thoſe of other commanders in North America, during the ſame year, had been attended with extraordinary ſucceſs. About this time he ſent home a letter, couched in terms of deſpondency, but which diſplayed a ſpirit that would continue the campaign to the laſt poſſible moment. As it ſeemed neceſſary to abandon all farther proſpects of gaining any advantage on the ſide of Montmorenci, admiral Holmes's ſquadron, which had returned to aſſiſt in the late unſucceſsful attack, was again ordered to move up the river for ſeveral days ſucceſſively. This had a better effect than before; for, though Montcalm kept his ſituation, he detached Mr. de Bougainville with 1500 men to watch the motions of the Engliſh admiral. Admiral Saunders, who ſtill remained in his firſt poſition. was ordered to make a feint with every appearance of reality, as if the troops had intended to land below the town, and attack the French entrenchments on the Beauport ſhore. While the enemy were amuſed by theſe movements, the general embarked his troops aboard the tranſports the 12th July at one in the morning, and proceeded three leagues farther up the river than the intended place of landing: then he put them into boats, and fell down ſilently with the tide, unobſerved by the French centinels poſted along the ſhore: the ſhips of war followed them, and, by a well-conducted navigation, arrived exactly at the time concerted, to cover their landing. When they were put on ſhore, a hill appeared before them extremely high and ſteep, having a little winding path, ſo narrow that two men could not go a breaſt, and even this ſtrongly entrenched and defended by a captain's guard. This ſmall body was ſpeedily diſlodged by the Engliſh light infantry; after which the whole army aſcended the hill, and at day-break appeared regularly formed in order of battle.

Montcalm could hardly believe the advices that were brought him, ſo impregnable did he imagine the city to be on this ſide: but his own obſervation ſoon convinced him of the Engliſh movements, and that the high town might be attacked by their army, while the low town might be deſtroyed by their fleet. It was thus become neceſſary, notwithſtanding all his diſinclination to ſuch a meaſure, to decide the fate of Quebec by the event of a battle: accordingly he quitted Beauport, paſſed the river St. Charles, and formed his troops oppoſite to the Engliſh army. The ſucceſs of this engagement, conducted with the

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moſt deliberate wiſdom, united with the moſt heroic bravery, put Great-Britain in poſſeſſion of the capital of French America. It is foreign to my deſign to deſcribe the judicious diſpoſition, animated behaviour, and ſteady perſevering courage of the Britiſh troops: theſe were the immediate cauſe of the reduction of Quebec; but the matter could not have been brought to this iſſue, had not the marine co-operated with an unanimity, ardour, and perſeverance, that can never be enough celebrated. When the Engliſh entered the place, they found the fortifications in tolerable order, but the houſes almoſt totally demoliſhed. Five thouſand men were left to defend the garriſon, and the remainder returned to England with the fleet, which ſailed ſoon, leſt it ſhould be locked up by the froſt in the river St. Lawrence.

If we turn our attention to the affairs of the Eaſt-Indies, we ſhall find the Britiſh arms equally triumphant. The French were unſucceſsful in all their attempts by land, particularly in the ſiege of Madraſs: they had ſtill, however, a conſiderable ſuperiority of land-forces in India, and they had ſtrained every nerve to enable the fleet under Mr. d'Aché to cope with that of admiral Pocock. The former was augmented to eleven ſail of the line, beſides frigates and ſtore-ſhips, an armament hitherto unknown in the Indian ſeas. The Engliſh commander no ſooner had intelligence of their arrival in thoſe parts than he ſailed to the coaſt of Coromandel, and determined, by the moſt unremitted exertions of vigilance, to purſue, and give them battle. This reſolution ſhows the ardour and ſpirit of the Engliſh navy at this period, as their enemies had a ſuperiority of 192 guns, 2365 men, beſides a great advantage in the ſize of their ſhips. In the morning of the ſecond of September the French fleet were deſcried from the maſt-head: admiral Pocock immediately threw out the ſignal for a general chace; but, the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage, though he crowded all the ſail he could carry: during ſeveral days his endeavours to bring the French fleet to an engagement, which they always declined, were equally fruitleſs. At length they totally diſappeared, and the admiral ſtood for Pondicherry, on a ſuppoſition that they intended to ſail thither. His conjecture was well founded; for on the eighth day of September he obſerved them ſtanding to the ſouthward, and on the tenth, about two in the afternoon, Mr. d'Aché, ſeeing no poſſibility to eſcape, made the ſignal for battle. The cannonading began without farther delay, and both ſquadrons engaged with equal impetuoſity: but the French directing their cannon at the maſts and rigging, while the Engliſh fired only at the hulls of the ſhips, the former ſuſtained ſuch a loſs of men, and found their veſſels in ſo ſhattered a condition, that they were glad to ſheer off, with all their canvas ſet. The loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh was not inconſiderable, there being in the whole 469 men killed and wounded: but that on the ſide of the French muſt have been far greater, as their ſhips could hardly

hardly keep the ſea, and they were obliged to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of Mauritius, in order to be refitted. Soon after this engagement admiral Corniſh arrived from England with four ſhips of the line, and confirmed the dominion of the Engliſh over the Indian ſeas.

The French, being equally unſucceſsful in Aſia, Africa, and America, ſought in vain to repair their misfortunes: no ſooner was a fleet put to ſea than it was either taken or deſtroyed: they were active to no purpoſe; for, while they built and armed veſſels with the greateſt ſpeed and diligence, they only laboured for the Engliſh, whoſe fleet was continually augmented by captures from the enemy. But neither the loſs of their poſſeſſions, nor the deſtruction of their fleets, nor the complaints of twenty millions of people exhauſted by oppreſſion, could check the fatal ambition of the French court. The miniſtry ſeemed to derive courage from deſpair, and the greater misfortunes they ſuſtained, the more daring were the projects which they had in agitation. All their ports were now filled with preparations for an invaſion of Great-Britain. Men of war, tranſports, and flat-bottomed boats were got ready with the utmoſt diligence: they talked of a triple embarkation. Mr. Thurot, who, from being captain of a merchant veſſel, had ſucceſſively become a commander of a privateer, and now a commodore in the French ſervice, commanded a ſquadron of men of war and ſeveral tranſports at Dunkirk, which, it was believed, were intended againſt Scotland. The deſign againſt England was to be carried on from Havre de Grace and ſome other ports of Normandy, where a great number of flat-bottomed boats had been prepared for the purpoſe of tranſporting troops. The third embarkation, deſtined againſt Ireland, was to be made at Vannes in the Lower Brittany. The land forces were commanded by the Duc d'Aguillon, while a powerful ſquadron under Mr. de Conflans was to cover and ſecure their landing. In order to counteract theſe machinations, the Engliſh miniſtry ordered a ſquadron under commodore Boyce to be ſtationed before Dunkirk: admiral Hawke was to be ſent with a large fleet to block up the harbour of Breſt, while a ſmaller fleet kept a watch upon that of Vannes. As to Havre, from which the danger ſeemed moſt imminent, rear admiral Rodney was diſpatched, with orders immediately to proceed to the bombardment of that place. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre in the beginning of July, and made a diſpoſition to execute his inſtructions. The bomb-ketches were placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur; and, having begun the bombardment, continued to throw their ſhells for above two days without intermiſſion. The town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places, the boats overſet or reduced to aſhes, and, at the expence of nineteen hundred ſhells, and eleven hundred carcaſſes, the French preparations at Havre were totally deſtroyed.

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A View of the Defeat of a French Squadron under the Command of M. de la Clue, by an English Squadron, Commanded by Admiral Boscawen, on the 18.th of Aug.t 1759.

coaſt of France was thus happily removed, the honour of the Britiſh flag was effectually maintained by the gallant admiral Boſcawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean. The French had aſſembled there a conſiderable armament under the command of Mr. de la Clue, which ſome believed to be deſtined for America, while others conjectured, that it was deſigned to reinforce the ſquadron at Breſt, and to co-operate with it in the intended deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt. At preſent Mr. de la Clue continued to lie in the harbour of Toulon, before which admiral Boſcawen took his ſtation with fourteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire ſhips.

Boſcawen, having in vain diſplayed the Britiſh flag in ſight of Toulon, and tried every other art to bring the enemy to an engagement, ordered three ſhips of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Barker, and Harland, to advance and burn two French veſſels lying cloſe to the mouth of the harbour. They prepared for executing their orders with the utmoſt alacrity, but met with a warm reception from ſeveral batteries, which had not been before perceived; and the wind unfortunately ſubſiding into a calm, they ſuſtained ſuch conſiderable damage as made it convenient for the Engliſh admiral to put into Gibraltar to refit his ſhattered ſhips. Mr. de la Clue ſeized this opportunity of ſailing, in hopes of paſſing the Gut of Gibraltar unmoleſted during the abſence of the Engliſh fleet. But Boſcawen had previouſly detached two frigates, of which one cruiſed off Malaga, and the other hovered between Eſtepona and the fortreſs of Ceuta, in order to obſerve the motions of the enemy. On the 17th day of Auguſt the Gibraltar frigate made the ſignal at the maſt head for the enemy being in ſight; upon which the Engliſh admiral, without delay, hove up his anchors, and put to ſea. At day light he deſcried ſeven large ſhips, part of Mr. de la Clue's ſquadron, from which five ſhips of the line and three frigates had been ſeparated in the night. Having made the ſignal to chaſe, and to engage in a line of battle a-head, his foremoſt ſhips came up with the rear of the enemy, about half after two. The admiral himſelf did not wait to return the fire of the ſternmoſt, but employed every effort to come up with the Ocean, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in perſon; and about four o'clock he ran athwart her hawſe, and poured into her a furious broadſide, which was returned with equal vivacity. This diſpute, however, was not of long continuance; for the French admiral being wounded in the engagement, and the next in command perceiving that Boſcawen's veſſel had loſt her mizen-maſt and top-ſail yards, went off with all the ſail he could carry. Mr. Boſcawen ſhifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, and joined ſome other ſhips in attacking the Centaur, which was obliged to ſtrike. The purſuit continued all night, and Mr. de la Clue, finding himſelf at day-break on the coaſt of Portugal, determined rather to burn his ſhips than allow them to fall into the

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the hands of the victors. When he reached the Portuguese shore, he put his ship under the protection of the fort Almadana, to which the English paid no regard. He himself landed with part of his men; but the count de Carne, who succeeded to the command of the Ocean, having received a broadside from the America, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, deemed the best ship in the French navy. Mean while captain Bently brought off the Temeraire, little damaged, and having on board all her officers and men; while rear-admiral Broderic burnt the Redoubtable, and took the Modeste. The scattered remains of the French fleet got with difficulty into the harbour of Cadiz, where they were soon after blocked up. Nothing was wanting to complete the glory of this victory; for it was obtained with the loss of only fifty-six men killed, and 196 wounded, and not one officer lost in the action.

After the memorable naval engagement off Cape Lagos, the French met with a disaster by land equally calamitous. The important battle of Minden deprived them of all hopes of again getting possession of Hanover, or of putting their affairs in such a situation in Germany as might afford them the prospect of any other than an ignominious peace. They were under the unhappy necessity, therefore, of trying a last effort on an element which had hitherto been extremely unpropitious to all their designs. Their sole hopes now centered in their fleets at Brest and Dunkirk, of which the former was blocked up by admiral Hawke, and the latter by commodore Boyce. They still expected, however, that the winter storms would compel the English fleets to take refuge in their own harbours, and thus afford them an opportunity to cross the sea unopposed, and to execute the object of their destination against the British coasts. In this expectation they were not wholly disappointed: on the 12th of October a violent gale of wind, which gathered into an irresistible storm, drove the English squadrons off the French coast. Thurot, a French adventurer, availed himself of this accident to obtain his release from Dunkirk, without being discovered by commodore Boyce, who, upon the first information of his departure, sailed immediately in pursuit of him: but Thurot had the good fortune or dexterity to elude his vigilance, by entering the port of Gottenburg in Sweden, where he was laid up till after Christmas by the severity of the weather, and want of necessaries to enable his ships and men to keep the seas.

Admiral Hawke's squadron had taken refuge, during the violence of the storm, in the harbour of Torbay. When its fury began to subside, the French admiral Conflans, perceiving no enemy on the coast, immediately put to sea. But the same day that *he* sailed from Brest, the English admiral sailed from Torbay. The two squadrons were the most powerful of any employed in the course of the war, and worthy to be entrusted with the fate of the two leading kingdoms in Europe. Their forces were

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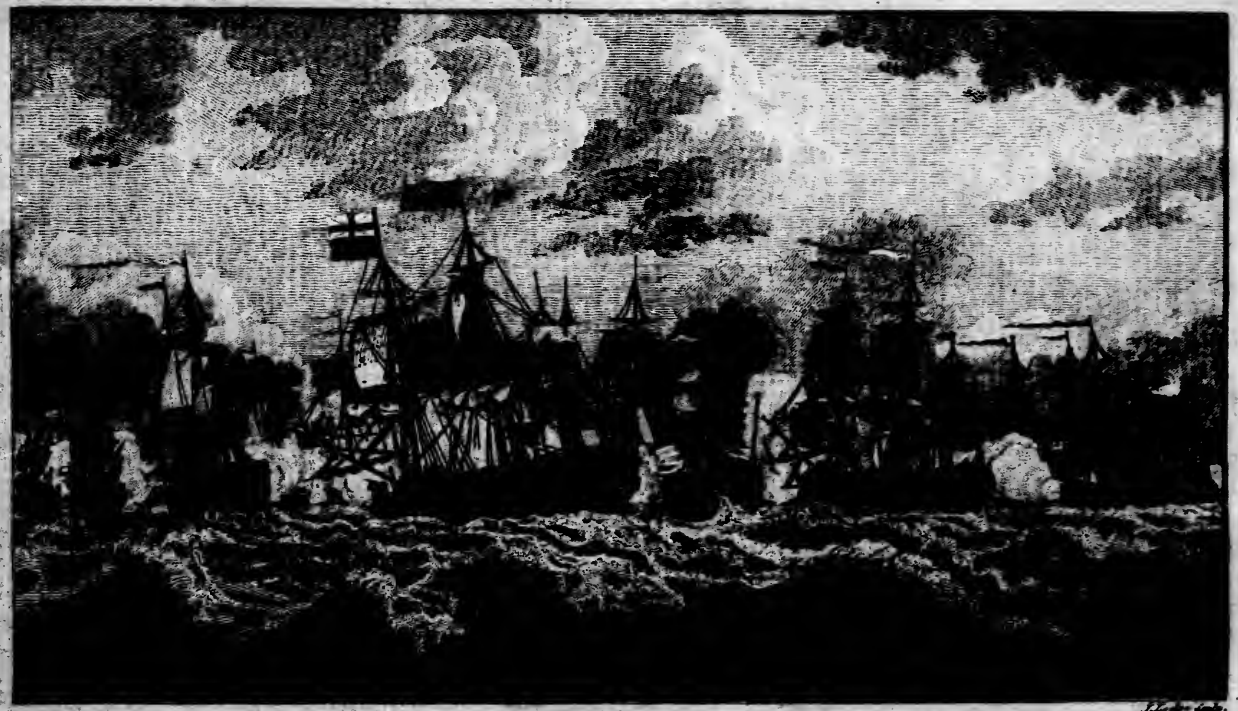

The Defeat of a French Fleet Commanded by Marshal Conflans, off Belle Isle, on the 20th of Nov. 1759, by an English Fleet Commanded by Admiral Hawke.

The Defeat of a French Fleet Commanded by Marshal Conflans, off Belle Isle, on the 20th of Nov. 1759, by an English Fleet Commanded by Admiral Hawke.

were nearly equal, the English being, by some vessels, more numerous, but having no superiority in number of men, or weight of metal.

Sir Edward Hawke directed his course for Quiberon-bay on the coast of Bretagne, which he conjectured would be the rendezvous of the French squadron. But here fortune opposed his well-concerted measures; for a strong gale sprung up in an easterly point, and drove the English fleet a great way to the westward: at length, however, the weather became more favourable, and carried them in directly to the shore. The Maidstone and Coventry frigates, who had orders to keep a-head of the squadron, discovered the enemy's fleet in the morning of the 20th of November. They were bearing to the northward between the island of Belleisle and the main land of France. Sir Edward Hawke threw out a signal for seven of his ships, that were nearest, to chase, in order to detain the French fleet until they themselves could be reinforced with the rest of his squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. These manœuvres indicated the utmost resolution and intrepidity; for at this time the waves rolled mountains high, the weather grew more and more tempestuous, and the sea, on this treacherous coast, was indented with sand and shoals, shallows and rocks, as unknown to the English pilots as they were familiar to those of the enemy. But Sir Edward Hawke, animated by the innate fortitude of his own heart and the warm love of his country, disregarded every danger and obstacle that stood in the way of his obtaining the important stake which now depended. Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea without the imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to attempt a more artful game, which, however, he did not play with the address which his situation required. As he was unwilling to risk a fair engagement, he could have no other view but to draw the English squadron among the rocks and shoals, that, at a proper time, he might take advantage of any disaster that befel them: but, fluctuating between a resolution to fight and an inclination to fly, he allowed the British ships to come up with him, and then crowded his sail when it was too late to escape. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy. The Formidable commanded by the French rear-admiral Mr. du Verger, behaved with uncommon resolution, and returned many broadsides poured into her by the English ships as they passed to bear down on the van of the French. Sir Edward Hawke reserved his fire, and ordered his master to carry him along-side of the French admiral. The pilot observed, that he could not obey his orders without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal: the brave admiral replied, "You have done your duty "in pointing out the danger; you are now to obey my com-

"mands,

"mands, and lay me along side the Soleil Royal." While the pilot was preparing to gratify his desire, the Thesée, a French ship of seventy guns generously interposed itself between the two admirals, and received the fire which Hawke had destined for a greater occasion. In returning this fire, the Thesée foundered in consequence of a high sea that entered her lower-deck ports: the Superbe shared the same fate; the Heros struck her colours, and the Formidable did the same about four in the afternoon. Darkness coming on, the enemy fled towards their own coast. Seven ships of the line hove their guns overboard, and took refuge in the river Villaine; about as many more, in a most shattered and miserable condition, escaped to other ports. The wind blowing with redoubled violence on a lee shore, Sir Edward made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet, where he continued all night in a very dangerous riding, continually alarmed by hearing guns of distress. When morning appeared, he found the French admiral had run his ship on shore, where she was soon after set on fire by her own men. Thus concluded this memorable action, in which the English sustained little loss but what was occasioned by the weather. The Essex and Resolution unfortunately ran on a sand bank called Lefour, where they were irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but most of their men and some part of their stores were saved. In the whole fleet no more than one lieutenant and thirty-nine seamen and marines were killed, and two hundred and two wounded. The loss of the French in men must have been prodigious. All the officers on board the Formidable were killed before she struck. They had, besides, four of the best ships in the navy destroyed, one taken, and the whole of their formidable armament, the last hope of the French marine, shattered, disarmed, and distressed.

While the naval power of France was falling to its ruin, her commerce was cut off in its source by the taking of Guadaloupe and Quebec. The French government, broken by repeated calamities, and exhausted by exorbitant subsidies to its German allies, was reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune. The monarch, however, still found a resource in the loyalty and attachment of his people. They acquiesced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court stopped payment of the interest on twelve different branches of the national debt; they declared against every suggestion of accommodation that was not advantageous and honourable; and they sent in large quantities of plate to be melted down and coined into specie, for the support of the war.

The liberal supplies granted by the British parliament, which met in November, formed a striking contrast with the indigence of our rivals. For the service of the ensuing year they voted 73,000 seamen, including 18,355 marines; and they allotted 3,640,000l. for their maintenance. The sums destined to other purposes

purpoſes were no leſs ample; the whole amounted to fifteen millions five hundred and three thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four pounds. Of this immenſe ſupply not leſs than two millions three hundred and forty-four thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix pounds were paid to foreigners, for ſupporting the war in Germany, excluſive of the money expended by twenty thouſand Britiſh troops in that country, and the charge of tranſporting them, with the expence of pontage, waggons, and other contingencies, and the exorbitant article of forage, which alone amounted. in the courſe of the laſt campaign, to one million two hundred thouſand pounds.

The Britiſh navy at this time amounted to 120 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire ſhips, ſloops, bombs, and tenders. Of theſe capital ſhips ſeventeen were ſtationed in the Eaſt-Indies, twenty for the defence of the Weſt-India iſlands, twelve in North-America, ten in the Mediterranean, and ſixty-one either on the coaſt of France, in the harbours of England, or cruizing in the Engliſh ſeas for the protection of commerce. Conſidering theſe mighty preparations, it is remarkable, that the return of the little ſquadron commanded by Thurot ſhould have cauſed a general alarm over the three kingdoms. This inconſiderable armament originally conſiſted of five frigates, on board of which were 1270 land ſoldiers. They had ſailed from Gottenburg to Bergen in Norway, and during that voyage had ſuffered ſo much by ſtorms, that they were obliged to ſend back one of their largeſt veſſels to France. It was not till the fifth of December that they were able to to ſail directly for the place of their deſtination, which was the northern coaſt of Ireland. In this voyage their ill fortune continued to purſue them. For near three months they were obliged to ply off and on among the weſtern iſles of Scotland, during which time they ſuffered every poſſible hardſhip: their men thinned and diſheartened, ſuffering by famine and diſeaſe, one ſhip irrecoverably loſt, and the remaining three ſo ſhattered, that they were obliged to put into the iſle of Ilay. Here this enterprizing adventurer, though oppreſſed with misfortune, and ſteeled by ſuch hardſhips as too often extinguiſh every generous principle of humanity, behaved with the utmoſt juſtice and moderation, paying handſomely for the cattle and proviſions which he had occaſion to uſe, and treating the natives with unuſual courteſy and kindneſs.

As ſoon as the weather permitted, Thurot quitted this iſland, and purſued his deſtination to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, where, on the 21ſt of February, he effected a deſcent with 600 men. They advanced without oppoſition to the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumſtances of colonel Jennings, who commanded only four companies of raw undiſciplined men, would allow. A vigorous defence was made, until the ammunition of the Engliſh failed; and then colonel Jennings

 retired

retired to the caſtle of Carrickfergus, which, however, was in all reſpects untenable, being unprovided in proviſions and ammunition, and having a breach in the wall of near fifty feet wide: nevertheleſs, they repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attack, having ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. At length the colonel ſurrendered, on condition that his troops ſhould be ranſomed by exchanging them for an equal number of French priſoners; that the caſtle of Carrickfergus ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor the town burned or plundered. This laſt circumſtance, however, was not ſtrictly obſerved. The magiſtrates of Carrickfergus refuſed ſuch ſupplies of wine and proviſions as the French officers demanded, and thus, by their own imprudence, cauſed the town to be ſubjected to a contribution, which, however was not immoderate. Thurot, having by this time got notice of the defeat of Conflans's expedition, and hearing that a conſiderable body of regular troops were aſſembled, and preparing to march to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of Carrickfergus, embarked, and ſet ſail for France, after gaining great reputation by the exploits of a ſquadron, which deſerves to be conſidered as little better than a wreck of the grand enterpriſe againſt the Britiſh coaſts.

But this gallant adventurer had not left the bay of Carrickfergus many hours, when he perceived, near the coaſt of the iſle of Man, three ſail that bore down upon him. Theſe were Engliſh frigates, the Æolus of thirty-ſix guns, commanded by captain Elliot, the Pallas and Brilliant, each of thirty-two guns, under the command of captain Clements and Logie, who had been diſpatched by the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, in queſt of the French ſquadron. At nine in the morning of the 28th of February, captain Elliot came up with the Belleiſle, commanded by Thurot, which was ſuperior to the Æolus in ſtrength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal; but both ſhip and men were in a bad condition. The engagement was hardly begun, when the Pallas and Brilliant attacked the other two ſhips of the enemy. The action was maintained with great ſpirit on both ſides for an hour and a half, when captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleiſle, who immediately ſtruck her colours, the gallant Thurot having fallen in the action. The Engliſh took poſſeſſion of their prizes, and conveyed them into the bay of Ramſey in the iſle of Man. In this engagement three hundred of the French were ſlain, or diſabled: whereas our loſs did not exceed forty killed and wounded. The name of Thurot had become ſo terrible to all the ſea ports of Britain and Ireland, that the ſervice performed on this occaſion was deemed eſſential to the quiet and ſecurity of theſe kingdoms. The thanks of the houſe of commons of Ireland were voted to the conquerors of Thurot as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, the commanding officer at Carrickfergus; and the defeat and capture of this petty ſquadron was celebrated

lebrated with the moſt hearty and univerſal rejoicings. Such was the fate of the laſt branch of the grand armamen wihch had ſo long been the hope of France, and the terror of Great Britain.

In North America the affairs of the French had taken ſuch a turn as afforded them a happy proſpect of future ſucceſs. While the operations of the war there were intruſted to the land forces alone, England was unfortunate, and France triumphant: but no ſooner did our ſquadrons appear on our coaſts, than every thing returned to its former ſituation, and Britain was as victorious as before. The garriſon left for the defence of Quebec amounted originally to 5000 men, a number much too ſmall, conſidering both the nature of the place, and the number of French forces which ſtill remained in Canada. The fortifications of Quebec were weak and incomplete; without any kind of outworks; and the town had been reduced, during the late ſiege, almoſt to a ruin. Mr. Levi had collected at Montreal 6000 experienced militia in Canada, with 300 Indians, beſides ten battalions of regular troops amounting to about 5000 men more. With this force he took the field on the 17th of April; and, while his proviſions and ammunition fell down the river St. Lawrence under a convoy of ſix frigates, the French army arrived in ten days march to the heights of Abraham, three miles diſtant from Quebec. General Murray, who commanded the garriſon, had it in his option either to remain within the city, or to march out and try his fortune in the field. As his troops were habituated to victory, and provided with a fine train of artillery, he was unwilling to keep them ſhut up in a place which appeared to him ſcarcely tenable. He determined, therefore, to lead them againſt the enemy; a reſolution, which, conſidering the immenſe inequality of numbers, (for, although the garriſon originally conſiſted of 5000, he had not now above 3000 effective men), favoured more of youthful temerity than of military diſcretion. At firſt, however, fortune ſeemed to favour his deſigns. The Engliſh army, having marched out of the city, and deſcended from the heights of Abraham, attacked the enemy's van with ſuch impetuoſity, that it was obliged to give way, and to fall back on the main body. This advantage brought them full on the main army of the French, which by this time had formed in columns. The fire became ſo hot, that it ſtopped the progreſs of our troops; and the French, wheeling to right and left, formed a ſemicircle which threatened to ſurround them, and to cut off their retreat. Near a third of the Engliſh army were now killed or wounded, and nothing could be thought of in this ſituation but to make proper movements to ſecure their return to Quebec. This they effected without loſing many men in the purſuit; and the ſevere misfortune, occaſioned by their own temerity, rouſed the governor and troops to the moſt ſtrenuous efforts in defence of the place. The French loſt

no time in improving their victory. They opened the trenches on the very night of the battle: but being deficient in artillery, they had performed nothing of consequence before the 15th of May, when the besieged were reinforced by the arrival of the British fleet. Then the enemy understood what it was to be inferior at sea; for, had a French squadron got the start of the English in sailing up the river, Quebec must have reverted to its former owers.

On the 9th of May, to the great joy of the garrison, an English frigate anchored in the bay, and told them that Lord Colville who had sailed from Halifax with the fleet under his command, on the 22d of April, was then in the river St. Lawrence. He had been retarded in his passage by thick fogs and contrary winds. About the same time commodore Swanton, arriving with a small reinforcement from England, and hearing that Quebec was besieged, sailed up the St. Lawrence with all expedition. On the 15th he anchored at Point Levi, and early next morning ordered captain Schomberg of the Diana, and captain Deane of the Lowestoffe to slip their cables, and attack the French fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a considerable number of smaller sums. They were no sooner in motion than the French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran ashore, and was burnt at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town, and all that remained were taken or destroyed.

Mr. Levi had the mortification to behold, from the heights of Abraham, this action, which at one stroke put an end to all the hopes he had conceived from his late victory. He was persuaded that these frigates, by the boldness of their manner, preceded a considerable reinforcement, and he therefore raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him a great quantity of baggage, tents, stores, magazines of provisions and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field pieces, six mortars, and a great number of scaling ladders, intrenching tools, and other implements necessary for a siege.

This event, which was entirely owing to the seasonable assistance of the fleet, was equally important in itself and in its consequences. While it secured the possession of Quebec, it gave an opportunity to general Murray to march to the assistance of general Amherst, who was employed in the siege of Montreal, the second place in Canada for extent, commerce and strength. Here the whole remaining force of the French in North-America was collected under the command of Mr. Vaudreuil, an enterprising and artful general, who neglected no means of protracting the siege. At length he was obliged to yield to the united armies, and on the 8th of September, 1760, surrendered his garrison to be sent to France, on condition that they should not

not ſerve in the preſent war, and yielded up the inhabitants of his government as ſubjects to the king of Great-Britain.

The French had not neglected to ſend relief to a place, which was the laſt object of their hopes for regaining poſſeſſion of Canada. They had diſpatched three frigates, with twenty ſhips of burden, containing a reinforcement of troops and military ſtores for the garriſon of Montreal. But when the commaner of this expedition underſtood, that the fleet under lord Colville had anticipated his arrival in the river St. Lawrence, he attempted to land his whole embarkation in the bay of Chaleurs, that they might endeavour, if poſſible, to join the principal army by land. But here they were diſcovered by captain Byron with three of his majeſty's ſhips; their armament was taken or deſtroyed, and their whole deſign diſconcerted. Thus, by the bravery of our troops, and the uncommon ſpirit, vigilance, and activity of our navy, every attempt of the enemy was fruſtrated, and the quiet poſſeſſion of all Canada confirmed to Great Britain.

In the Eaſt-Indies the Britiſh arms were attended with equal ſucceſs. After raiſing the ſiege of Fort St. George in February, 1759, the Engliſh army poſſeſſed themſelves of the important town and fortreſs of Conjeveram, as well as of the cityMaſulipatam, both on the Coromandel coaſt. This coaſt joins to the rich province of Bengal, where the French intereſt had been totally ruined by the conduct and gallantry of colonel Clive.

Encouraged by theſe advantages, a body of 1200 men, Europeans and Seapoys, advanced farther, and attempted to diſlodge an army of French and their confederate Indians, encamped under the cannon of a fort near Wandewaſh. They were repelled with the loſs of between three and four hundred killed and wounded. But colonel Coote, at the head of the principal body of Engliſh troops on that coaſt, compenſated for this diſaſter by inveſting and taking Wandewaſh in three days. Soon after, he obtained a complete victory over general Lally, who commanded an army twice as numerous as that of the Engliſh, and conſiſting of 2200 Europeans and 10,000 blacks. After this deciſive engagement, which, excepting the battle of Plaiſſey, was more important in its conſequences than any fought in India during the war, colonel Coote undertook the ſiege of Chilliput, which ſurrendered in two days. He then proſecuted his march to Arcot the capital of that province, the fort of which being ſilenced, the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. After the reduction of Arcot all the inferior places, ſuch as Permacoil and Allumparva, ſubmitted. The important ſettlement of Carical was reduced by the ſea and land forces, commanded by rear admiral Corniſh and major Monſon; and colonel Coote formed the blockade of Pondicherry by land, while the harbour was beſet by the Engliſh ſquadron. This town was the only impor-

important ſettlement which now remained to our enemies in India.

During all this time admiral Pococke had, with his uſual ſkill and intrepidity, ſeconded the efforts of the troops. He had more than once compelled Mr. d'Aché, the greateſt admiral that France can boaſt of, and who alone ſupported the declining reputation of her marine, to take ſhelter under the walls of Pondicherry. Pococke had reduced the French ſhips to a very ſhattered condition, and killed a great many of their men; but, what ſhews the ſingular talents of both admirals, they had fought three pitched battles in the courſe of eighteen months, without the loſs of a ſhip on either ſide.

The Britiſh ſquadrons in the Weſt-Indies were commanded by admiral Holmes on the Jamaica ſtation, and Sir James Douglas in the Leeward iſlands. The active vigilance of theſe commanders not only enabled them to protect the iſlands from inſult or invaſion, but prompted them to annoy the enemy. Rear-admiral Holmes, having in the month of October received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape François on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to Europe, he ſtationed the ſhips under his command in ſuch a manner as gave them an opportunity to intercept this fleet. The principal French ſhip was the Sirenne commanded by commodore M'Cartie, an Iriſh officer of conſiderable reputation. After two ſharp engagements ſhe ſtruck to the Boreas, while the other four frigates bore away, with all the ſail they could crowd, for the weſt end of Tortuga, to ſhelter themſelves in Port au Prince. They were purſued by the Lively and Hampſhire; the former obliged one of the French frigates to ſubmit, after a warm engagement of an hour and a half. The Hamſhire ſtood for the other three, and, running between the Duke of Choiſeul and the Prince Edward, engaged them both at the ſame time. The firſt having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix: the other ran aſhore about two leagues to leeward, and ſtruck her colours. At the approach of the Hampſhire, the enemy ſet her on fire, and ſhe blew up. The Fleur de Lys, that had run into Freſh-Water bay, a little to leeward of Port au Prince, ſhared the ſame fate; and thus by the gallantry of the captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, and the prudent diſpoſition of admiral Holmes, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three deſtroyed.

Immediately after this event, advice being received by admiral Holmes, that the enemy's privateers ſwarmed about the iſland of Cuba, he ordered the boats of the Trent and Boreas to be manned, that they might proceed, under the direction of the lieutenants Millar and Stuart, to the harbour of Cumberland in that iſland. There they met with the Vainqueur of ten guns, ſixteen ſwivels, and ninety men; the Mackau of ſix ſwivels and fifteen men, and the Gueſpe of eight guns and eighty-five men.

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The boats, after ſurmounting many difficulties, rowed up to the Vainqueur, boarded and took poſſeſſion of her under a cloſe fire. The Mackau was taken without reſiſtance; but, before they could reach the Gueſpe, the enemy ſet her on fire, by which ſhe was deſtroyed.

The ſame enterpriſing courage diſtinguiſhed the officers of the ſquadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward Iſlands. The captains Obrien and Taylor, cruiſing near the Grenades, were informed that the Virgin, once a Britiſh ſloop, with three French privateers, had taken refuge under the guns of three forts on one of thoſe iſlands. They ſailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprize was crowned with ſucceſs. Having demoliſhed the forts, they took the four ſhips after a warm engagement, which laſted ſeveral hours. They next entered another harbour on the ſame iſland, where they had intelligence of three more ſhips; they demoliſhed the fort on this harbour, and carried off the three prizes. In returning to Antigua they fell in with thirteen victuallers, who immediately ſurrendered. At the ſame time eight privateers were taken by the ſhips which commodore Douglas employed in cruizing round the iſland of Guadaloupe.

While the Engliſh were carried forward with a continual tide of proſperity in diſtant parts of the world, no action of importance was atchieved in the Britiſh ſeas by the naval force of that kingdom. Admiral Rodney ſtill maintained his ſtation off the coaſt of Havre de Grace, to obſerve the French movements towards the mouth of the Seine. The admirals Boſcawen and Hawke alternately commanded the powerful ſquadron which ſtill remained in the bay of Quiberon, to interrupt the navigation of the enemy, to watch and detain the French veſſels which had run into the mouth of the river Villaine after the defeat of Conflans; and to divert the efforts of the French from other quarters, by employing a great number of forces on that part of the coaſt.

Meanwhile a numerous body of forces were aſſembled, and a great number of tranſports collected at Portſmouth. The troops were actually embarked with a good train of artillery; generals were nominated to the command of the enterpriſe; and the eyes of the whole nation were fixed upon this armament, which had been prepared at an immenſe expence, and the deſtination of which remained a profound ſecret. But, to the aſtoniſhment of all thoſe who were not admitted behind the curtain, the whole ſummer was ſpent in idleneſs and inaction, and upon the death of the late king, in the month of October following, the enterpriſe was entirely laid aſide.

While admiral Rodney hovered near the mouth of the Seine he perceived, on the 5th of July at noon day, five large flat-bottomed boats, with their colours flying, as if they had ſet the Engliſh ſquadron at defiance. Theſe boats were diſpatched by

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way of experiment, to try whether it were possible for vessels of this newly invented construction to escape the vigilance and efforts of an English fleet. The French had prepared above an hundred of them, which then lay at Caen in Normandy. The ten which now sailed, stood backwards and forwards on the shoals, intending to amuse Mr. Rodney till night, and then to proceed under cover of darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions that his small vessels should be ready to sail in the night for the mouth of the river Orne, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himself with the larger ships stood for the steep coast of Port Passin. The disposition was judicious, and attended with success. The flat-bottomed boats having no way to escape, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of these vessels was one hundred feet in length, and capable of containing four hundred men. The disaster which befel them taught the French minister of the marine not to build any further hopes upon such aukward machines. The remainder were ordered to be unloaded at Caen, and sent to Rouen to be laid up as useless.

This was not the only service which Rodney's squadron performed. In the month of November, captain Ourry of the Acteon chased a large privateer, and drove her on shore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue; and his cutters scoured the coast, and took or destroyed forty vessels of considerable burden, which carried on a great fishing near Dieppe.

Besides the purposes above-mentioned, which were answered by admiral Boscawen's fleet, it effectually prevented any vessels from sailing from the harbours of Brest or Rochfort, with the design to reinforce the French in North America, which might have protracted the war there to another campagin. The enterprizing spirit of this English admiral, impatient of continuing so long in a state of inaction, how advantageous soever to the interests of his country, prompted him to employ his men in the execution of some actual service. He exercised them, therefore, in taking a small island near the river Vannes, which he ordered them to cultivate and plant with vegetables for the use of the seamen infected with scorbutic disorders, arising from the constant use of salt provisions, from the sea air, and from a want of proper exercise.

Sir Edward Hawke, who relieved Mr. Boscawen in September, pursued the same plan. Sensible of the inconveniencies to which a fleet on that station is exposed for want of fresh water, which must be carried to them by transports hired on purpose, he detached Lord Howe in the Magnanime, with the ships Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little island Dumet, which abounded in that great necessary of life. This island, about three miles in length and two in breadth, was defended by a small fort mounted with nine cannon, and garrisoned with one company

company of the regiment of Bourbon, who ſurrendered with little or no reſiſtance after the ſhips had begun the attack.

We have not interrupted the hiſtory of the Britiſh ſquadrons by relating the exploits of particular cruizers, ſeveral of which conferred the higheſt honour on the Engliſh navy. On the 2d of April captain Skinner of the Biddeford, and captain Kennedy of the Flamborough, both frigates, having ſailed from Liſbon, fell in with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ſhips, which the Engliſh captains immediately determined to engage, notwithſtanding the great inferiority of their ſtrength. The enemy did not decline the battle, which began about half an hour after ſix in the evening, and raged with great fury till eleven. By this time the Flamborough had loſt ſight of the Biddeford, and the frigate with which the former was engaged bore away with all the ſail ſhe could carry. Captain Kennedy purſued her till noon the next day, when he entirely loſt ſight of her; by which means ſhe got into Liſbon with the loſs of ſeveral men beſides the lieutenant of marines, and conſiderably damaged in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the Biddeford, who, after a moſt ſevere conflict, had compelled her antagoniſt to fly, and had chaſed her till ſhe was out of ſight. Soon after the action began, captain Skinner, while ſtanding upon the arm-cheſt to inſpect the ſeveral poſts, and to animate his men by his example, was unfortunately killed. He was an officer equally brave and bountiful, and as much beloved for his gentleneſs and humanity as reſpected for his ſkill and courage by thoſe who ſerved under him. The command devolved upon the hon. lieutenant Knollis, who maintained the battle with great ſpirit, even after he was wounded; and a ſecond ſhot through his body deprived him of life. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, the crew of the Biddeford, though deprived of their officers, their main top-maſt ſhot away, the ſhip diſabled in her rigging, and the enemy's fire which continued exceedingly hot, diſcovered no ſigns of fear, or of diſinclination to the ſervice. The maſter of the ſhip now aſſumed the command, and every man aboard acted as if on his perſonal bravery alone the fortune of the engagement had depended. While the maſter kept the quarter-deck, and took care of the poſts there, the purſer was ſtationed on the main-deck, and kept up a briſk and well-directed fire. Numbers of the wounded men returned with cheerfulneſs to their poſts, after the ſurgeon had dreſſed their wounds. Their cool determined valour prevailed over a ſhip double their own in ſtrength. The enemy's fire began to ſlacken, one gun being ſilent after another, till the enemy did not diſcharge four guns in a quarter of an hour. It was belived they were going to ſtrike; but it proved, that they were preparing for flight; for a little after, about ten at night, the engagement having laſted three hours, they bore away with all the ſail they could crowd. The Biddeford took the opportunity

opportunity to pour a broadſide into her enemy, and a volley of ſmall arms nearly at the ſame inſtant. But, when ſhe attempted to chaſe, the ſailors found they had no command of their ſhip, the rigging being cut to pieces, and the maſts and yards ſhattered and diſabled.

The captures from the French, within the courſe of this year, conſiſted of royal ſhips of war, privateers, and armed merchantmen. The royal ſhips were ſix, mounting in all 176 guns. The privateers and armed merchantmen amounted to 110, which carried 848 carriage-guns, 240 ſwivels, and 6389 men. The Engliſh navy ſuffered little from the French during this period, but ſuſtained great damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ſhip of the line, was loſt in the channel off the iſland of St. Nicholas; the crews and guns were ſaved. The Lyme of twenty guns foundered in the Cattegate in Norway, and fifty of the men periſhed. In the Weſt Indies a tender belonging to the Dublin commanded by commodore Sir James Douglas, was loſt in a gale of wind, with 100 choſen mariners. But theſe loſſes, great as they were, ſeemed inconſiderable, compared to that of the Ramillies, a magnificent ſhip of the ſecond rate, belonging to the ſquadron which admiral Boſcawen commanded on the coaſt of France. In the beginning of February a ſeries of ſtormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty. The Ramillies, having overſhot the entrance to the ſound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was daſhed in pieces among the rocks, after her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, (one midſhipman and 25 of the ſeamen excepted,) amounting to 700, periſhed.

The number of merchant veſſels taken by the French amounted to above 300, chiefly, however, coaſters and colliers of very inconſiderable value. Nor would it have been at all ſurpriſing if the French had taken not only more numerous but more valuable prizes. While their own commerce was in a great meaſure deſtroyed, and they had no merchant ſhips at ſea but ſome coaſters, and a few veſſels, under convoy from the Weſt Indies, the trading fleets of England covered the ocean. Every year her commerce was augmenting; the money which the war carried out was returned by the produce of her induſtry; the ſinking fund amounted annually to above three millions, and, in the year 1760, 8000 veſſels were employed by the traders of Great Britain.

The parliament which aſſembled the 18th of November, 1760, had voted 70,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, including 18,355 marines, and a ſum not exceeding four pounds monthly *per* man for maintenance, the whole amounting to 3,640,000 pounds. No material alteration was made in the diſpoſition of the ſeveral ſquadrons which conſtituted the navy of

of Great Britain. That in the bay of Quiberon was commanded by Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. Admiral Saunders was ſtationed in the Mediterranean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Corniſh commanded in the Eaſt Indies, rear-admiral Holmes at Jamaica, Sir James Douglas at the Leeward iſlands, and lord Colville at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Beſides theſe, ſingle ſhips cruiſed in different parts, in order to protect the Britiſh merchantmen, and ſquadrons were occaſionally equipped under various commanders.

The ſcene of action, in the year 1761, opened in the Eaſt Indies. After the defeat of the French near Wandewaſh, the taking of the city of Arcot, and the reduction of the fortreſſes of Chitteput and Carrical, the French were blocked up in Pondicherry, a town of near four miles in circuit, elegantly built, ſtrongly fortified, and defended by the whole force which remained to the enemy on the coaſt of Coromandel. The periodical rains which fall on that coaſt rendered a regular ſiege impracticable; ſo that the blockade, which had been commenced by the fleet under admiral Stevens and the land forces under colonel Coote, was continued with the beſt diſpoſition, and the moſt extraordinary patience, for full ſeven months. On the 26th of November, 1760, four batteries were raiſed, at ſome diſtance, to infilade the ſtreets of Pondicherry, whilſt others were advanced nearer, in order to play upon the works. The works of the beſiegers ſuffered much from ſtorms, which ruined the batteries and approaches: but theſe were repaired with great alacrity, and the enemy was reduced to the moſt extreme diſtreſs. They lived on camels, elephants, dogs, and cats. Even this wretched proviſion was ſo ſcarce, that it was purchaſed at an immenſe price: five pounds had been paid for the fleſh of a dog.

In the midſt of this diſtreſs their hopes were ſuddenly revived by a dreadful misfortune which happened to the Engliſh fleet. On the firſt of January, 1761, one of thoſe terrible tempeſts, ſo deſtructive and ſo frequent in the Indian ſeas, obliged admiral Stevens to ſlip his cables and put to ſea. The reſt of the Britiſh ſquadron were driven from before the walls of Pondicherry. The Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the ſtorm, and their crews periſhed. The Newcaſtle, the Queenborough, and Protector fire-ſhip, were driven on ſhore and deſtroyed; but the men were happily ſaved, together with the guns, ſtores, and proviſions. Many other ſhips ſuſtained conſiderable damage. This unexpected diſaſter elevated to the higheſt pitch the ſpirit of the garriſon, and general Lally, ſeeing the port clear, loſt not a moment to ſend an expreſs to the French agent in the neighbouring neutral ſettlements, in order to obtain a ſupply of proviſions.

As the admiral imagined, that Lally had made the ſame ſolicitations by other meſſengers, he immediately diſpatched letters to the

the Dutch and Danish settlements, mentioning the good condition of the greater part of his fleet, and assuring them that he would make prize of such vessels as he found intringing the neutrality by attempting to supply the enemy. He was sufficiently in a condition to make good his threats; for, in four days after the storm, he had, with incredible diligence and celerity, repaired the damage of his ships, and appeared before Pondicherry with eleven sail of the line and two frigates, all fit for service. The siege was now carried on with redoubled ardour. By the 15th of January a battery was raised within point blank; a breach was effected in the curtain; the west face and flank of the north-west bastion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy entirely silenced. The principal of the Jesuits came out with two civilians, and proposed terms of capitulation in the name of the inhabitants. General Lally disdained to capitulate, but sent out a paper, full of invectives against the English for breach of treaties relative to India: the obstinacy of the governor made the proposal of the inhabitants be disregarded; so that the city of Pondicherry, with a garrison of near 2000 European soldiers, a vast quantity of military stores, and great riches, was, without any formal surrender, abandoned to the discretion of the besiegers.

After the reduction of Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel, a body of English forces was embarked for an expedition against Mahie, a settlement on the coast of Malabar, which the French had lately fortified at a very considerable expence. The place was attacked with so much vigour, that the French governor thought proper to surrender it about the beginning of February, by which means the English obtained the command of the whole peninsula of India, the most extensive as well as the most profitable sphere of commerce in the world.

These important successes had not, since the commencement of the war, been checquered by any considerable misfortune attending the British arms in the east. We must not, however, omit to mention the atchievements of the count d'Estaing, who in the year 1759 had made himself master of the English fort of Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia, and taken two frigates, with three other vessels belonging to the company. He performed this with four ships under Dutch colours, one of which carried sixty-four guns, another twenty-two, with a land force of 150 Europeans, and about 200 Caffres. In the succeeding year the fort of Natal on the coast of Africa surrendered to him at discretion, and he found two ships in the road. He afterwards sailed to Sumatra, where the English carried on a great trade in pepper, and, before the end of the following April, reduced Tapponapoli and Bencooien or Marlborough fort, which last, though in a good state of defence, was ingloriously abandoned by the English garrison, after they had burnt a vessel richly loaded, (the Denham Indiaman,) that lay in the harbour. The activity and enterprise

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of Mr. d'Eſtaing would deſerve commendation, if his character had not been ſtrongly marked with perfidy and cruelty. He had ſurrendered himſelf at the ſiege of Madras, and had engaged not to ſerve againſt the Engliſh until he ſhould be regularly exchanged; ſo that, when he attacked Gambroon, he was a priſoner on parole. When he became maſter of that place, he paid no regard to the terms on which it had ſurrendered. He promiſed to prevent theſts and diſorders; but the houſes were ſet on fire, and the factory given up to the licentious pillage of the Arabs.

After the expulſion of the French from North America, the Engliſh found in the Cherokees a cruel and barbarous and not an unwarlike enemy. They defended themſelves with a ſavage heroiſm againſt the ſuperior arts of a civilized nation, nor could they be reduced to the neceſſity of accepting a peace from their conquerors, until the Engliſh had penetrated with great courage and perſeverance into their country, deſtroyed fifteen of their towns or villages, and burnt or cut down the greateſt part of their harveſt.

While the continent of North America was thus reduced to a ſtate of undiſturbed obedience, the Britiſh ſquadrons were ſtill carrying on their conqueſts in the Weſt Indies. On the fourth of June Sir James Douglas ſailed from Guadaloupe with the Dublin, Belliqueux, Sunderland, and Montague, four ſhips of the line, and a conſiderable body of land forces under the command of lord Rollo, deſtined for an expedition againſt the iſland of Dominica. This iſland, though one of thoſe called neutral, had been occupied and fortified by the French. Its extent is about ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth; it is well watered by rivers plentifully ſupplied with fiſh; produces abundant paſture for cattle, and is very fruitful in coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and cotton. It is ſituated within ten leagues of Martinico, the capital of the French ſugar-iſlands, which, in caſe of an invaſion, it could eaſily ſupply with men and proviſions; a circumſtance which rendered it of great importance to France, and an object worthy the ambition of the Brititiſh miniſtry.

The armament under lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas arrived within a league of Roſeau, the capital of Dominica, on the ſixth of June; and the fleet having anchored, a lieutenant of the navy, accompanied by a land officer, was immediately diſpatched with a manifeſto, ſigned by the commodore and general, requiring the inhabitants of the neutral iſland of Dominica to ſurrender, and take the oaths of allegiance to his majeſty king George. The manifeſto being read to the people of Roſeau, ſome of the principal inhabitants ſet off in a boat, and went on board the Engliſh fleet. Their behaviour and converſation diſcovered no diſlike to the Britiſh government: on the contrary, they ſeemed very well pleaſed that his majeſty's forces had come to take poſſeſſion of the iſland. But when they were

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put on ſhore in the afternoon, they, as well as the reſt of the inhabitants, were encouraged by the French governor, Mr. Longprice, to ſtand on the defenſive, and to declare they would not tamely ſurrender, while they had arms in their hands. As ſoon as this determination was known, the ſhips anchored as near as poſſible to the ſhore, and the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for landing the troops. This was effected, about five in the evening, under cover of the ſhipping. They formed quickly on the beach; and, while, the main diviſion took poſſeſſion of the town, the corps of grenadiers, conſiſting of the companies of the fourth and twenty-ſecond regiments, ſeized a flanking battery, and part of the adjoining entrenchment, which had been abandoned. But the enemy continued to annoy the Britiſh troops by their muſquetry from behind buſhes and trees, and by their cannon fired from a battery which overlooked the town.

Lord Rollo ordered them to be immediately diſlodged by the grenadiers ſupported by the battalions; which ſervice was performed with ſo much order and rapidity, that, before night, the French were driven ſucceſſively from all their entrenchments, and the battery above them, where colonel Melvill immediately took poſt with his grenadiers. Lord Rollo continued at their advanced poſt during the night, having eſtabliſhed a communication, by proper guards, with the reſt of the troops who poſſeſſed the town. Next day he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Roſeau, where he received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, who came to lay down their arms, and take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majeſty.

While this important conqueſt was acquired by the aſſiſtance of part of his ſquadron belonging to the Leward iſlands, the remainder was employed in protecting the Britiſh traders, and ſcouring thoſe ſeas of the Martinico privateers, of which they took a great number. Nor was the ſquadron ſtationed off Jamaica leſs vigilant, or leſs alert: rear-admiral Holmes who commanded there, planned his cruiſes with judgment, and executed them with ſucceſs. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that ſeveral ſhips of war belonging to the enemy had ſailed from Port Louis, he immediately made ſuch a diſpoſition of his ſquadron as was moſt likely to intercept them. He himſelf in the Hampſhire fell in with the St. Anne, and chaſed her to leeward down upon the Centaur. The French captain, perceiving this laſt ſhip, and dreading the danger of being between two fires, hauled up between them, and ran cloſe in ſhore, until he was becalmed about a league to the northward of Donna-Maria bay. The Centaur chaſed, and got up alongſide; upon which the Frenchman, who had fired his ſtern chace, ſtruck his colours, and ſurrendered a very fine ſhip, pierced for ſixty-four guns, loaded with coffee, ſugar, and indigo, and manned with near 400 ſailors and marines.

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Sir EDWARD HAWKE,

Admiral of the White.

Earlier in the ſame year the French were foiled in an attempt to regain a footing on the coaſt of Africa. They are too ſenſible of the advantages attending the lucrative trade of this coaſt, to remain ſatisfied under a total excluſion from it. In order to recover ſome part of what they had loſt, they ſent two frigates to ſurpriſe James-fort, at the mouth of the Gambia. The little garriſon there received them with ſuch reſolution, that one frigate was forced on ſhore, and loſt; and the other ſailed off, after having ſuſtained conſiderable damage. There had been two more frigates appointed by the French to act on this ſervice. But theſe had been intercepted by Sir Edward Hawke's ſquadron, ſtationed in the bay of Quiberon.

This unimportant capture, and that of a few merchantmen of little value, did not juſtify to the nation the inactivity in which the Britiſh ſquadron on the coaſt of France had been allowed to remain. Something of greater conſequence was expected from ſuch a powerful armament under the direction of ſuch naval commanders as Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. But in the month of March, to the general ſurpriſe and indignation of the public, the two admirals returned to Spithead, and another ſquadron, with a great body of land forces on board, was afterwards ſent to occupy their ſtation. This ſquadron conſiſted of the Sandwich, ninety guns; the Valiant, Temeraire, Torbay, Dragon, and Swiftſure, ſeventy-four guns each; the Prince of Orange, ſeventy guns; the Hampton-Court and Eſſex, ſixty-four guns each; the Achilles, ſixty guns; and ſeveral frigates, bomb-ketches and fire ſhips, with upwards of an hundred tranſports, carrying 900 ſoldiers under the command of major-general Hodgſon. The expedition was intended againſt Belleiſle, the reduction of which, it was imagined, would be attended with inconſiderable difficulties and many advantages. This iſland is between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference, and the largeſt of all the European iſlands belonging to the French king. It contains only one city called La Palais, three country towns, 103 villages, and about 5000 inhabitants, who live by the natural fertility of the ſoil, and the curing and vending of pilchards. There are three harbours in this iſland, Palais, Lauzion, and Goulfard, every one of which labours under ſome conſiderable defect. But, although the harbours are bad, ſmall privateers might iſſue from thence greatly to the moleſtation of the French coaſting trade, and the fleet of England might ride, between theſe harbours and the continent of France, in a well-protected road. The real advantages, however, ariſing from this conqueſt, were not the only inducements to undertake it. Nothing could wound more cruelly the pride of France than the acquiſition of what might be regarded as a part of her coaſt; and, at the ſame time, the jealouſy of Spain would be leſs alarmed by our advantages in this quarter, than by thoſe which we might obtain by puſhing our conqueſts in the Weſt-Indies.

The

The fleet ſailed from Spithead on the 29th of March in three diviſions, commanded by commodore Keppel, Sir Thomas Stanhope, and captain Barton. On the 6th of April a weſterly wind enabled them to approach the coaſt of France, and the commodore detached ſeveral frigates, with orders to ſtation themſelves in ſuch a manner as might intercept the enemy's communication with the continent. Next morning the fleet paſſed along the ſouthern ſhore of the iſland, and came to an anchor in the great road, about 12 o'clock at noon. The commanders agreed, that the deſcent ought to be made on the ſouth-eaſt extremity of the iſland, near the Point Lomaria. But, in order to amuſe the enemy, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ſhips conveyed the troops to the intended landing place, and ſilenced a battery which the enemy had there erected. The flat-bottomed boats were now approaching the ſhore, and about 260 had actually landed under the command of major Purcel and captain Oſborne, when the enemy, ſuddenly appearing on the heights, poured in ſuch a ſevere fire as threw them into the utmoſt confuſion, and intimidated the reſt of the troops from landing. Captain Oſborne, at the head of 60 grenadiers, advanced with great intrepidity ſo near as to exchange ſeveral thruſts with the French officer. But the handful of men which he commanded were ſoon overpowered by numbers. He himſelf, as well as major Purcel and two ſea officers, were ſhot, and the attempt ended with the loſs of above 500 killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. This diſcouraging check was ſucceeded by tempeſtuous weather, which did conſiderable damage to the large veſſels, and ſtaved or overſet 20 flat-bottomed boats.

Theſe diſaſters did not diſpirit the Engliſh commanders. They determined to examine the whole coaſt, in order to find a place more favourable for another attack. As ſoon as the weather afforded them the proſpect of making a ſecond trial, they pitched on a place near the above-mentioned point of Lomaria, where the exceſſive ſteepneſs and difficulty of the rocks had rendered the enemy leſs attentive than elſewhere. On the 22d of April, in the morning, the troops were diſpoſed in flat-bottomed boats, and rowed towards different parts of the iſland; which diſtracted the French operations, and obliged them to divide their forces. Mean while captain Paterſon, at the head of Beauclerck's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, landed near Lomaria, mounted the precipice with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, and ſuſtained the whole fire of the enemy, until they were reinforced by the approach of the greateſt part of the Engliſh troops. The French then retired before the bayonets of the Britiſh ſoldiers, leaving many of their wounded companions and ſeveral field pieces. Nor was the action without loſs on our ſide. Forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were colonel Mackenzie,

at Port Andre, on the Island of Belle Isle.

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The Attack made by the British Fleet commanded by Admiral Keppel, the 8. of April 1761. at Port Andre, on the Island of Belle Isle.

zie and captain Murray of the marines, and captain Paterſon of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who loſt his arm in the engagement.

The whole army being now landed, Mr. de St. Croix ordered all his out-poſts to repair to a camp under the walls of the town of Palais, where he determined to make a vigorous defence, his forces, when joined by the militia of the iſland, amounting to four thouſand men fit for ſervice. On the 23d of April the Engliſh troops were formed into columns, and began their march towardsthe capital of the iſland. Next day general Hodgſon ordered a detachment of light horſe to take poſt at Sauzon; and, on the 25th, a corps of infantry took poſſeſſion of a village called Bordilla; and the whole army intrenched itſelf in that neighbourhood. The tempeſtuous weather rendered it impoſſible to bring on ſhore the artillery and implements neceſſary for a ſiege, the French governor ſeized this opportunity to erect ſix redoubts for defending the avenues of Palais, the citadel of which had been planned and fortified with admirable ſkill by the celebrated Vauban. General Hodgſon, compelled by neceſſity to defer his military operations, publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the inhabitants, offering them the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights, provided they would ſubmit themſelves to the protection of the Engliſh government; an aſſurance which had conſiderable effect on the natives, but produced no alteration on the reſolution of the governor, who, when ſummoned to ſurrender, declared he was determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity. About the latter end of April ſome mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, and the beſiegers broke ground on the 2d of May. The day after, in the evening, the enemy attacked the trenches with great vigour, and threw the piquets on the left in confuſion. Notwithſtanding the efforts of general Crawford, who performed every thing that could be expected from the bravery and conduct of an experienced officer, the works of the beſiegers were deſtroyed, ſeveral hundreds of their men were killed, and the general with his two aids-du-camp fell into the hands of the enemy. The French did not attempt to puſh the advantage any farther, by attacking the piquets on the right, who had prepared to give them a warm reception. They retired after their firſt ſucceſs, and allowed the Britiſh to repair the damage which they had ſuſtained. This was done in leſs than twenty-four hours, and a redoubt was alſo begun on the right of the works to prevent a ſecond ſurprize.

From this time the ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour; and the beſieged gave ſuch continual proofs of their courage and activity, as confirmed the reputation of Mr. de St. Croix for a gallant officer. The engineers being unanimouſly of opinion that the works could not be properly advanced, until the French redoubts ſhould be taken; the general made the diſpoſition for that purpoſe on the 13th. The attack began

at day-break, with four pieces of cannon and thirty cohorns, which poured a terrible fire into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank. This opened a way for a detachment of marines, ſuſtained by part of Loudon's regiment, to advance to the parapet, and, with fixed bayonets, to drive the French from the works; and to take poſſeſſion of the poſt. The other redoubts were ſucceſſively reduced by the ſame detachment reinforced by Colvill's regiment, and the enemy were compelled, after great ſlaughter, to take ſhelter in the citadel. Such was the ardour of the aſſailants, that they entered the ſtreets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives; and having taken poſſeſſion of the town, they releaſed the Engliſh priſoners above-mentioned.

The defence being now confined entirely to the citadel, which could have no communication either with the reſt of the iſland or with the continent of France, it was evident that the place muſt ſoon be obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. But Mr. de St. Croix determined to ſell it as dearly as poſſible, and to maintain his own honour at leaſt, if he could not keep the poſſeſſion of the citadel of Palais. On the part of the Engliſh nothing was neglected. Parallels were finiſhed, barricadoes made, batteries conſtructed, an inceſſant fire from mortars and artillery was maintained day and night, from the 13th of May till the 25th. Then the fire of the enemy began to abate; by the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and, notwithſtanding the indefatigable induſtry of the governor in repairing the damage, the fire of the beſiegers increaſed to ſuch a degree, that the breach became practicable by the 7th of June, and the place was apparently no longer tenable. Then Mr. de St. Croix capitulated upon terms not unworthy of his noble defence, and the garriſon marched out with the honours of war.

Thus was the whole iſland of Belleiſle reduced under the Engliſh government after a defence of two months, in the courſe of which we loſt eighteen hundred men killed and wounded. The loſs moſt regretted was that of Sir William Williams, a young gentleman of great talents and expectations, who had already made a diſtinguiſhed figure in parliament. He was the third gentleman of faſhion, whom in this war, the love of glory had brouhgt to an honourable death in hoſtile expeditions againſt the coaſt of France.

Having particularized the ſucceſsful operations of the Britiſh ſquadrons in the taking of Belleiſle, Dominica, and Pondicherry, as well as in defeating the projects which the French meditated againſt our ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, we ſhall mention the exploits performed by ſingle cruizers in the courſe of the year, many of which confer the higheſt honour on the Britiſh flag. Captain Elphinſtone, commander of the Richmond frigate of 32 guns and 220 men, ſtationed on the coaſt of Flanders, being informed that a French frigate, called the Felicité had made prize of an Engliſh merchantman, ſailed in queſt of the enemy; and coming

coming in ſight of her, about 11 at night on the 23d, a ſevere engagement began next day, about ten in the morning, near Graveſande, which is but eight miles diſtant from the Hague. The vicinity of the place induced the young prince of Orange, as well as the ambaſſadors of England and France, to ſet out, in order to view the combat, in the iſſue of which, as the ſhips were exactly of equal force, the honour of the two nations was materially intereſted. About noon both ſhips ran aſhore, alongſide of each other; and in this ſituation the fight continued with great obſtinacy, till the French abandoned their quarters, their ſhip being much damaged, the captain ſlain, and above 100 men killed or wounded. The Richmond ſoon floated, without ſuſtaining any conſiderable damage, having obtained the victory at the expence of three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French ambaſſador loudly exclaimed againſt this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded ſignal reparation for the inſult and injury which his countrymen had ſuſtained. But the Dutch at that time did not think it convenient to urge their remonſtrances with vehemence, and they were anſwered in ſuch a manner by the Britiſh ambaſſador as prevented any difficulties ariſing between the two courts.

On the 23d of the ſame month captain Hood, commanding the Minerva frigate of 32 guns and 220 men, cruiſing in the chops of the channel, deſcried a large ſhip of two decks ſteering to the weſtward. This was the Warwick of 60 guns taken from the Engliſh, the moſt boaſted capture the enemy had made in the courſe of the war. She had formerly carried 60, but was now mounted with only 35 guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger de Bèlair. Her crew amounted to about 300 men, including a company of ſoldiers intended as a reinforcement to the garriſon of Pondicherry. Notwithſtanding her ſuperiority, captain Hood gave chace, and, the wind blowing a freſh eaſterly gale, he came up with her at 20 minutes paſt ten. His attack was warmly returned; the fire on both ſides was terrible. Several maſts of both ſhips were ſhot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the ſea ran very high; ſo that the crews were greatly incumbered by their broken maſts and ſhattered rigging. The high ſea ſeparated them, and the Warwick fell to leeward. About a quarter after eleven the Minerva's bowſprit was carried away, and the fore-maſt ſoon followed it. This misfortune made captain Hood almoſt deſpair of coming up with the enemy, who had got three leagues to leeward. However, he cleared his ſhip with incredible activity, and, bearing down, renewed the attack about four o'clock. In three quarters of an hour the enemy ſtruck, having 13 men killed and 35 wounded. The loſs of men was equal on board the Minerva, and all her maſts were deſtroyed: nevertheleſs, her prize was conveyed in triumph to Spithead. On the 8th of the ſame

month captain Hood had taken the Ecureil privateer belonging to Bayonne, of 14 guns and 122 men.

On the 13th of March another French ſhip called the Entreprenant, built for 44 guns, but mounted with 26, having 200 men on board and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the Vengeance frigate commanded by captain Nightingale. The Vengeance was mounted with 26 guns, nine and four pounders, and carried 200 men. There was a great diſparity in the ſize of the ſhips and in the weight of metal. But the Engliſh captain, as uſual, gave chaſe, and got up with the enemy at five o'clock in the afternoon. The action was maintained on both ſides with uncommon fury, and continued for near an hour, during which time the Vengeance being ſet on fire, the Entreprenant ran her bowſprit upon the taffrail of the Engliſh frigate, with an intention to board her. In this deſign, however, the French miſcarried through the ſkill and activity of captain Nightingale, who found means to clear himſelf and ſtood to leeward, in order to repair his rigging. The ſhip was no ſooner in proper condition, than he ranged cloſe up again to the enemy, whoſe fire was ſtill directed againſt the rigging of the Engliſh frigate, which, after this ſecond attack had laſted above an hour, being again diſabled, allowed the enemy to ſheer off, and bear away. But the Engliſh a ſecond time repaired their damage, wore ſhip, ran up within piſtol ſhot, and began a third attack more furious than any of the preceding. The engagement continued an hour and a half before the Entreprenant called for quarter. She had 15 men killed, and 24 wounded. The Vengeance had an equal number wounded, but only ſix men killed.

Theſe loſſes did not complete the misfortunes of the French navy, during the preſent year, in the Britiſh ſeas. In April a French frigate called the Comete, of 32 guns and 250 men, juſt ſailed from Breſt, was taken by captain Deane of the Bedford man of war, and conveyed ſafely into Portſmouth. About the ſame time captain Bygrave of the Albany ſloop of 16 guns and 125 men, came up with the Pheaſant frigate, of equal force, after a chaſe of 28 hours. The French captain, having thrown his guns overboard, ſtruck as ſoon as the Albany came along-ſide of him; and the prize was carried into Spithead. In the courſe of the ſame month a large Eaſt-India ſhip, fitted out from France, with 28 guns and 350 men, fell in with the Hero and the Venus, commanded by the captains Forteſcue and Harriſon, and, being taken without oppoſition, was carried into Plymouth.

The ſame ſpirit of enterpriſe and activity diſtinguiſhed the cruiſers belonging to the ſquadron commanded by vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean. In the beginning of April the Oriflamme, a French ſhip of 40 guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was deſcried by the Iſis of 50 guns, commanded by captain

captain Wheeler. The Engliſh captain gave chace, and came up with the enemy about ſix in the evening; but the Frenchman, having the advantage of the wind, maintained a running fight till half paſt ten, during which time captain Wheeler unfortunately was ſhot. The command devolved on lieutenant Cunningham, who perceiving it to be the enemy's intention to reach, if poſſible, the neutral coaſt of Spain, ordered his men to board her, which was done with great bravery; and, her commander in a ſhort time ſubmitting, ſhe was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to 45: the loſs of the Iſis did not exceed four killed, and nine wounded. The next action in thoſe ſeas was much more deſtructive to the Britiſh ſailors. The Thunderer, captain Proby, in company with the Modeſte, Thetis, and Favourite ſloop, cruiſed off the coaſt of Spain, with a view to intercept the Achilles and Bouffon, two French ſhips of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz. Theſe were deſcried on the 16th of July by the Britiſh ſhips which gave them chace. The Thunderer came up with the Achilles about midnight, and, after a ſhort but warm action of half an hour, obliged the enemy to ſtrike. The French had, on this occaſion, fired their guns with more effect than uſual; for in the Engliſh ſhip 40 men were killed, and upwards of 100 wounded: among the latter was the captain. The Thetis purſued the Bouffon, but could not bring her to an engagement till ſeven next morning. The engagement was maintained on both ſides with great impetuoſity for the ſpace of half an hour, when the Modeſte ranging up, and thus putting the French ſhip between two fires, compelled her to ſubmit. The victors carried their prizes, which had been much damaged in their rigging, and ſuffered great loſs in their crews, into the bay of Gibraltar.

Theſe advantageous captures were preludes to one of the moſt remarkable and glorious actions that diſtinguiſhed the whole war. On the 10th of Auguſt captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ſhip of the line, and captain Logie of the Brilliant, a frigate of 30 guns, ſailed from the river Tagus for England, and on the 14th diſcovered three ſail ſtanding in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. Theſe veſſels had no ſooner deſcried captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him until within the diſtance of ſeven miles, when ſeeing the Bellona and the Brilliant through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmoſphere, they concluded they were both two-decked ſhips, and, dreading the iſſue of an engagement, reſolved to avoid it by flight. The Engliſh captains judging them to be enemies, by their crowding ſail to eſcape, immediately chaſed, which continued all night. At 5 in the morning they approached ſo near as to diſcern the Courageux, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, and two frigates of 36 guns, the Malicieuſe and the Hermione. The French captain now perceived, that one of the Engliſh veſſels was a frigate; and the Bellona,

lona, being one of the beſt conſtructed ſhips in the Engliſh navy, lay ſo fluſh in the water, that ſhe appeared at a diſtance conſiderably ſmaller than ſhe really was. The Frenchman, therefore, no longer declined the engagement, but hoiſted a red enſign in the mizen ſhrouds as a ſignal for his two frigates to cloſe with and attack the Brilliant. At the ſame time he took in his ſtudding ſails, wore ſhip, and ſtood for the Bellona, while captain Faulkner advanced with an eaſy ſail, manned his quarters, and made every neceſſary diſpoſition for an obſtinate engagement.

Both commanders had a fair opportunity to meaſure their ſtrength and abilities. The wind was gentle, the ſea calm; the ſhips were of equal rates, their guns and weight of metal the ſame. The Courageux had 700 men; the Bellona 550. While the veſſels came up with each other, the fire was ſuſpended on both ſides till they were within piſtol-ſhot. The engagement then began with a dreadful fire of muſquets and artillery. In leſs than ten minutes all the Bellona's braces, ſhrouds, and rigging, were tore and ſhattered, and her mizen-maſt went by the board, with the men on the round-top, who ſaved their lives with much difficulty, by clambering into the port-holes. Captain Faulkner, apprehenſive that the enemy would ſeize the opportunity of his being diſabled, to ſheer off, gave orders for immediate boarding; but the Courageux, by falling athwart the bow of her enemy, rendered this altogether impracticable. In this poſition the Engliſh ſhip might be raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and moſt of the other ropes by which ſhe could be worked, were already ſhot away. But captain Faulkner made uſe of the ſtudding ſails with ſuch dexterity as to wear the ſhip quite round; and his officers and men, perceiving this change of poſition, flew to the guns on the other ſide, now oppoſed to the enemy, from which they poured a terrible diſcharge, which continued twenty minutes without intermiſſion or abatement. The fire became ſo intolerable that the French hauled down their enſign, and called for quarter. The damage done to the rigging of the Bellona was conſiderable; but ſhe had ſuffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The Courageux, on the other hand, appeared like a wreck on the water. Nothing was ſeen but her foremaſt and bowſprit: her decks were torn up in ſeveral places, and large breaches were made in her ſides. Above 200 of her men were killed, and half that number of wounded were brought on ſhore at Liſbon, to which place the prize was conveyed.

During the action between the larger ſhips, captain Logie of the Brilliant had diſplayed the moſt ſignal courage and addreſs. He could not attempt to board, or expect to make prize of two ſhips, each of which was of equal ſtrength with his own. But he ſo managed his attack and defence as to keep the two French frigates continually employed, and to prevent either of them

from

from giving the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance to the Courageux. Finally, he obliged them both to ſheer off, and to conſult their ſafety by flight, after they had ſuffered conſiderably in their maſts and rigging.

In all the engagements which we have deſcribed the advantage was continually on the ſide of the Engliſh. The French neither managed their ſhips with that facility, nor fought their guns with that dexterity and ſkill, which appeared in all the operations of their opponents. Their aukwardneſs in working ſhip may be aſcribed to inexperience; but their inferiority in managing their guns, it is impoſſible to refer to any ſuch cauſe. The French ſailors are regularly taught the practical part of gunnery, an advantage which the Engliſh, in general, have little opportunity to acquire. But even here the Britiſh ſeamen ſhewed themſelves, on every occaſion, ſuperior to the enemy; a ſuperiority owing, not to their education or diſcipline, but to that bravery and reſolution which never forſake them in the moment of danger, but allow them to remain in full poſſeſſion of their faculties at a time when the French are rendered incapable, through fear, of any vigorous exertion either of mind or body.

In the courſe of the year 1761 the French loſt 117 privateers and armed merchantmen, which mounted 698 carriage-guns and 293 ſwivels, and carried 5576 men, excluſive of four Indiamen, of which the cargoes were valued at near 400,000 pounds, and many unarmed merchant-ſhips. Their royal navy was deprived of ſix ſhips of the line and eight frigates, which together carried 636 guns and 6240 men. In the courſe of the ſame year the Engliſh loſt 814 merchantmen, a proportion of three to one, which aroſe from the inattention of the Engliſh veſſels to the orders of the convoys ſent to protect them, from the immenſe numbers of them which covered the ſeas, and from the enemy's venturing the whole remains of their ſtrength in privateers fitted out in order to interrupt our commercial navigation. Among all the veſſels that were taken we find but one of any conſiderable value, the Ajax Eaſt-Indiaman, captain Lindſey from Bengal, valued at 200,000 pounds. Excepting the Warwick, which was retaken, the royal navy loſt but one ſmall veſſel, the Speedwell cutter of eight guns; and the captain was honourably acquitted by a court-martial, who was unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſaid cutter, being taken in the harbour of Vigo, was an illegal capture. There is a circumſtance which ſhows, in a clearer light than the number of captures, the general reſult of the naval advantages obtained by Great Britain. Notwithſtanding the various exchanges made by cartel ſhips in the courſe of the year, we ſtill retained in our poſſeſſion upwards of 25,000 French priſoners; whereas the number of Engliſh priſoners in France did not exceed 1200.

Notwithſtanding many ſpirited exertions of the Engliſh navy in the year 1761, it is obvious, that the naval as well as the military

litary operations of Great Britain had continued gradually to languiſh during the courſe of two years. The French like ruined gameſters, had little more to loſe, and the ſmallneſs of the ſtake produced a degree of phlegm and indifference in the victors, which deprived them of their wonted activity. Beſides this, all their external glory could not alleviate their domeſtic ſufferings. Great Britain groaned under a burden of a hundred millions, without enjoying any other conſolation than that of ſeeing her opponent as much indebted, and more exhauſted, than herſelf. Had the parties, therefore, been left to their own ſtrength and reſources, there would ſpeedily have been an end of the conteſt. But France, by a dexterity of negotiation, of which there is hardly an example in hiſtory, acquired, at the end of a moſt ruinous war, ſuch a powerful and hearty aſſiſtance as afforded her the faireſt hopes of retrieving all her misfortunes. We have already hinted at the partiality of Spain in the cauſe of our enemies, and the motives of her uneaſineſs at the unexampled ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms. Theſe were heightened by the intrigues of the French ambaſſador at the court of Madrid; ſo that while our artful and ambitious rival was negotiating a treaty at London, and ſeemed deſirous of procuring the bleſſings of peace by the moſt humiliating conceſſions, her miniſter at the Spaniſh court was employed in ſuch meaſures as, inſtead of extinguiſhing the flames of war, tended to ſpread them more widely, and to make them rage with redoubled fury. Every conceſſion on the part of France was a new incentive to the animoſity of Spain. When the negotiation of the peace, therefore, ſeemed neareſt to a concluſion, it was preciſely at that time the fartheſt removed from an happy iſſue; for then was the moment for Spain to interpoſe, and, at one exploſion, to blow up the whole baſis of the treaty. Along with a very agreeable plan for an accommodation, Mr. Buſſy, the French agent at London, delivered a private memorial, ſignifying, that, in order to eſtabliſh the peace upon the moſt ſolid foundation, it might be proper to invite the king of Spain to guaranty and confirm it; and for this purpoſe it would be neceſſary finally to adjuſt the differences which ſubſiſted between the crowns of Spain and England. He condeſcended on three points which had been diſputed between theſe crowns, the reſtitution of the captures which had been made on the Spaniſh flag, the privilege of the Spaniſh nation to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland, and the demolition of the Engliſh ſettlements made in the bay of Honduras.

When theſe unexpected propoſals were made, the manly ſpirit of Mr. Pitt rejected, with the utmoſt ſcorn, the idea of negotiating the diſputes of his nation with Spain, a power with which we were actually at peace, through the medium of an enemy humble and almoſt at our feet. He called on the Spaniſh ambaſſador to diſavow this extraordinary memorial, which was equally inſolent and irregular, as matters of ſuch high moment, relating

relating to the interests of Spain, ought not to have been proposed by a French agent, commissioned to negotiate a particular and distinct business, when the Spaniards had an ambassador residing in London, from whom no intimation of these matters had been previously received. But the Spaniards, when thus called upon, instead of disavowing, openly acknowledged and justified the step taken by Mr. de Bussy. He declared, that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood but by a mutual interest. He magnified the humanity and greatness of mind which his most Christian majesty demonstrated in the proposition which had so unjustly given offence. He insisted much on the sincere desire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs, and concluded haughtily, that, if his master had been governed by any other principles, " his Catholic majesty, giving full scope to his " greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his " dignity."

Mr. Pitt had penetration enough to see through the veil that covered this hostile declaration. He perceived, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the two courts; that Spain must inevitably coincide with all the measures of France; and that, if she deferred to declare war, it was only for her own convenience, and especially because she waited the arrival of her flota from America. Totally possessed with this idea, the minister determined to act with a magnanimity becoming the dignity of the nation.

Great Britain was singularly circumstanced at this period of time. She had carried on a continental war against France, Austria, the Empire, Russia, in a word, all the great northern powers on the continent. She had destroyed the marine, the commerce, and the colonies of France. The interference of Spain alone was wanting to set her at war with all the great powers of Europe; and Spain is precisely that country against which she can at all times contend, with the fairest prospect of advantage and honour. That extensive monarchy, though vigorous at the extremities, is exhausted at the heart; her resources lie at a great distance; and whatever power commands the ocean, may command the wealth and commerce of Spain.

The situation of Great Britain, as well as the character of the minister, soared above the timid policy which commonly prevails in modern courts. There was not only a great man, but a great occasion, which is often wanting to a great man to display the full force of the mind. Mr. Pitt asserted, with the magnanimous patriotism of an ancient Roman, that, despising useless ceremonies and insignificant forms, we ought to consider the evasions of the Spanish court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a sufficient declaration of war; we ought therefore, from prudence as well as from spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow by interrupting the Spanish resources in their arrival to Europe, and

and by the ſame early and effective meaſures, which had reduced France to a dependence on Spain, diſable Spain from giving aſſiſtance to France. This procedure was ſuited to the offended majeſty of the Britiſh empire, and would teach Spain and every other power the danger of preſuming to dictate in our affairs or, to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, as inſidious as it was audacious. He would allow our enemies, whether ſecret or declared, no time to think and recollect themſelves.

The ſentiments of Mr. Pitt ſhocked the delicacy of his colleagues in adminiſtration. They talked of the chimerical heroiſm of unneceſſarily entering on a war, and of ſeeking new enemies, while no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new reſource whatſoever. To plunge into ſuch meaſures could not fail to alarm and ſcandalize all Europe. The Spaniſh king's partiality in favour of France was ſtill doubtful; but had we *real cauſe* not only for ſuſpicion but complaint, the law of nations and of reaſon requires, that recourſe ſhould be had to expoſtulation, and demands of ſatisfaction. If theſe failed of ſucceſs, then is the time to take up arms, after employing the forms univerſally acknowledged among civilized nations as neceſſary to diſtinguiſh lawful war from lawleſs violence and oppreſſion. This unſeaſonable oppoſition tranſported the miniſter beyond the bounds of moderation. He affirmed, "That this "was the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon; that "if this opportunity were let ſlip, it might never be recover-"ed, and, if he could not prevail in this inſtance, he was re-"ſolved to ſit no longer in that council; that being called to "the miniſtry by the voice of the people, to whom he was ac-"countable for his conduct, he would not remain in a ſituation "which made him reſponſible for meaſures which he was not "permitted to guide." Accordingly he reſigned the ſeals the 9th of October, and his colleagues continued to negotiate by means of Lord Briſtol, ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, for near two months longer. Mr. Wall, the prime miniſter of Spain, was repeatedly ſolicited, in moderate and inoffenſive terms, to diſcloſe the nature of the treaty, which, as the French induſtriouſly circulated, had taken place among all the different branches of the houſe of Bourbon. As often as the queſtion was propoſed, it was artfully avoided. At length, lord Briſtol being inſtructed to make the demand with greater force, Mr. Wall entered into a long and bitter complaint againſt England, accuſed her of inſolence and ambition, of a boundleſs deſire of conqueſt and dominion, and of having ſhown to the world, by the haughtineſs of her late proceedings, that ſhe intended to drive the French from all their poſſeſſions in the new world, that ſhe might have an eaſier taſk in ſeizing the Spaniſh dominions in thoſe parts; that he would be the man to adviſe the king of Spain not to ſuffer his territories to be invaded, without arming his ſubjects in their defence. As to the queſtion which had been ſo often

put

put to him, he gave no other reply, but that the king his maſter had thought proper to renew his family compacts; and then, as if he had gone farther than he was authoriſed, he ſuddenly changed the diſcourſe, and continued his declamatory invective againſt Great Britain. This was the happy effect of the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry, whoſe forbearance and good breeding were repaid by inſult and reproach. At length their patience forſook them; they perceived that longer moderation would be conſtrued into fear, and they ſent orders to Lord Briſtol to renew his inſtances concerning the treaty with becoming firmneſs, while at the ſame time he ſignified, that a refuſal to diſcloſe its contents, or to diſavow an intention to take part with our enemies, would be conſidered as an aggreſſion on the part of Spain, and an abſolute declaration of war. The demand was made in the preciſe terms of the order, and then the pride of Spain tore aſunder that veil which her policy had ſo long thought proper to aſſume. Her flota was by this time ſafe in the harbour of Cadiz. She was now ſecure as to her intereſt, and could give full ſcope to her reſentment. Mr. Wall, therefore, replied to the Engliſh requiſition in theſe memorable words: "That the "ſpirit of haughtineſs and diſcord which dictated this inconſi-"derate demand of the Engliſh miniſtry, and which, for the "misfortune of mankind, ſtill reigns ſo much in the Britiſh "government, is what has made the declaration of war; that "in that moment the war was declared, when the king's dig-"nity was attacked; and that the Engliſh ambaſſador might re-"turn how and when he thought proper."

The earl of Briſtol quitted Madrid the 17th of December; and ſoon after the Spaniſh ambaſſador left London. Europe was thus plunged into a new war by the very means which had been uſed to draw her out of an old one. A mere punctilio, if we can poſſibly believe Mr. Wall, was the motive which weighed with his maſter and himſelf, and prompted their humane magnanimity to involve one half of Europe in diſcord and miſery. But whoever diligently attends to the meaſures of the Spaniſh court from the memorial preſented by Mr. de Buſſy to the final anſwer of Mr. Wall, will perceive, that their motives to hoſtility were of a nature more ſerious and important. The inſult offered to the king's honour in the queſtion propoſed by lord Briſtol, might have been eaſily done away. Spain might have required England to diſavow the proceedings of her ambaſſador, a requeſt which, upon ſufficient ſecurity of the pacific intentions of the former, the latter would readily have granted. But the inſult to the king's honour was held out as a pretence for coming to a rupture at a time which ſeemed to ſuit the intereſts of Spain. The real cauſe of the war was her partiality for the French, her uneaſineſs at ſeeing the eldeſt branch of the houſe of Bourbon reduced to extremity, and her jealouſy of the growing power of England, whoſe renown offended her pride, and whoſe naval greatneſs

greatneſs threatened the ſafety of her diſtant dominions. It appeared however, to Mr. Wall, to be below the dignity of the Spaniſh monarch to avow reaſons of diſguſt, in which fear ſeemed to have any ſhare. He therefore directed the count de Fuentes his ambaſſador at London, to carry on the farce, and, before he left the Engliſh court, to publiſh a paper or manifeſto, in which he aſſigns, as the only cauſe of the rupture, the inſulting manner in which the affairs of Spain had been treated during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration. He declares to the Britiſh king, to the Engliſh nation, and to the whole univerſe, that the horrors of war, into which the Spaniards and Engliſh are going to plunge themſelves, muſt be attributed only to the immeaſurable ambition of him who held the reins of the government, and who appears ſtill to hold them, although by another hand; that, if the reſpect due to royal majeſty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty: the miniſters of Spain might have ſaid frankly to thoſe of England what the count de Fuentes, by the king's expreſs orders, declares publicly, *viz.* that the much-talked-of treaty is only a convention between the members of the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing that has the leaſt relation to the preſent war; that there is an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two ſovereigns, but it is ſpecified therein, that that guaranty is not to be underſtood but of the dominions which ſhall remain to France after the preſent war ſhall be ended.

This extraordinary paper, which may be called the king of Spain's declaration of war againſt the right honourable William Pitt, Eſq; was evidently intended for the ignoble purpoſe of ſowing diſſenſions among the ſubjects of Great Britain. It was anſwered in every article with the utmoſt moderation, perſpicuity, and force, in a memorial publiſhed by lord Egremont, who ſucceeded Mr. Pitt as ſecretary for the ſouthern department. It is obvious, that the Spaniſh manifeſto, whilſt it pretends to ſet forth the purport of a treaty dated the 15th of Auguſt, does not deny the exiſtence of any other treaty, which might more offenſively concern the intereſts of Great Britain; nor does it ſay the leaſt word that can explain the intentions of Spain, or the farther engagements that ſhe may have contracted with France.

When the terms of this famous treaty came to be diſcloſed, it was found to contain articles ſufficient to alarm not only Great Britain, againſt whoſe intereſts it was particularly levelled, but all the other powers of Europe. It was rather an act of incorporation, than of alliance among the kings of France, Spain, the two Sicilies, the duke of Parma, and all the branches of the Bourbon houſe. It contained ſtipulations hitherto unheard of in any treaty. By the 23d and 24th articles the ſubjects of the ſeveral branches of that auguſt family are admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to a general participation of reciprocal privileges

vileges and immunities. They appear, by the 26th article, to diſcloſe to one another their alliances and negotiations. By the 17th and 18th they formally engage not to make, or even to liſten to any propoſal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual conſent, being determined in time of peace, as well as in time of war, to conſider the intereſts of France and Spain as the ſame, to compenſate their ſeveral loſſes and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the ſame power. There are but two reſtrictions to the extent of this ſcheme. The direct trade to America forms an exception to the abſolute community of intereſts, and in the 8th article it is provided, that France ſhall not be entitled to the aſſiſtance of Spain, when ſhe is involved in a war in conſequence of her engagements by the treaty of Weſtphalia, unleſs ſome maritime power take part in thoſe wars. This article plainly points at the object againſt which the whole treaty was more immediately directed. It indicates, that the direct and immediate tendency of the whole is to affect England, and *inſinuates* to the other powers of Europe, that their connection with England is the circumſtance which is to provoke the reſentment, and call forth the activity of Spain.

Excepting theſe two reflections, the family-compact produced that entire union between the French and Spaniſh monarchies, which was ſo much dreaded on the death of Charles II. and which it was the great object of the treaty of partition, and the war of the grand alliance, to prevent. France acquired by negotiation and intrigue what ſhe could never acquire by force of arms, and, at the cloſe of an unfortunate war, obtained an advantage greater than any ſhe could have expected from the moſt fortunate iſſue of her affairs.

England was never placed in a more critical ſituation. She had to contend not only againſt all the great continental powers, but againſt the principal naval ſtrength of Europe. When war was declared in January 1762, the Spaniards had at Ferrol 11 ſhips of the line ready to ſail, and their whole fleet amounted to 100 ſhips of war.

The French, upon the concluſion of the family-compact, felt themſelves animated with new vigour. The ſhattered remains of their navy became of conſideration when united with that of Spain. The ſpirits of the people, long ſunk in deſpondency, revived, and great exertions were made to put their fleet once more on a reſpectable footing. The government tried every reſource; private merchants contributed the laſt farthing for equipping privateers, and ſeveral communities engaged to fit out men of war at their own expence.

Great-Britain enjoyed peculiar and ſufficient advantages to excite her activity, and to balance the combination of all her enemies. The uniform tenor of ſucceſs on our ſide made the people believe themſelves invincible; and this belief, combined with

with the ſolid experience acquired in ſuch a variety of ſervices, and ſo many ſharp conflicts by ſea and land, inſpired an enthuſiaſm of diſciplined valour, which indeed rendered it almoſt impoſſible to reſiſt them. The proſpect of a Spaniſh war, while it held forth the hopes of immenſe plunder, conſpired with the prevailing propenſities, and rouſed to the moſt vigorous exertions of public and private ſtrength. Nor had the parliament, which met the 3d of November, 1761, been wanting in liberality o ſecond the generous ardour of the nation. They went through the eſtimates with diligence, and granted ſuch liberal ſupplies as greatly exceeded thoſe of all former years. 70,000 ſeamen, including 19,061 marines, were voted for the ſervice of the year 1762; the land forces were maintained at the number of 67,676, beſides the militia of England, the two regiments of ſenſible men in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and 67,177 German auxiliaries to ſupport the war of Weſtphalia. For the payment of the ſea and land forces, of ſubſidies to our German allies, and of the deficiencies of the grants of former ſeſſions, they voted the ſum of 18,617,895l. 2s. 8d. of which 12,000,000 were borrowed on remote funds, at four *per cent. per ann.* with an addition of 1 *per cent. per ann.* for 99 years.

When war was declared againſt Spain, his majeſty granted a commiſſion, impowering the admiralty to iſſue letters of marque, for privateers to act againſt the ſubjects of that kingdom. At the ſame time he communicated the meaſure which the treaty between Spain and France had compelled him to take, in a ſpeech to both houſes of parliament. Such ample ſupplies were already granted, that no farther demand was made on this account; and ſo immenſely had the power of England increaſed in the courſe of three reigns, that an union, the ſuſpicion of which had alarmed all Europe in the time of the grand alliance, was beheld without the ſmalleſt ſymptom of fear or deſpondency. The king of Great-Britain diſdained not only to take any illiberal advantages of his enemies, but even to retort their wrongs. Although his Catholic majeſty detained the Britiſh ſhips in his ports, and laid reſtraints on the Britiſh ſubjects within his dominions, the ſubjects of Spain were left at entire liberty, and the merchantmen which had arrived in Engliſh harbours, before they had been apprized of the declaration of war, were allowed to depart in ſafety. This magnanimity became the dignity of the Britiſh nation. It is the part of fear to ſnatch at every pitiful advantage. But had Britain deſcended ſo low, it would have been unworthy of the grand ſcene of action and glory, which was now ready to open in remote parts of the earth.

The failure of the expedition againſt Martinico in 1759 did not diſcourage our adminiſtration from making this iſland the object of another attempt. Martinico ſtill furniſhed a conſiderable reſource to the declining commerce of France. It is the largeſt of all the Caribbee iſlands, advantageouſly ſituated between

tween Barbadoes and Guadaloupe, and to windward of Antigua and St. Chriſtopher's. It extends 20 leagues in length, and is about 130 miles in circumference, indented by a great number of creeks and harbours, diverſified with hill and dale, ſhaded with wood, watered by many ſtreams, and produces a very conſiderable quantity of ſugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento. Here the governor-general of all the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies reſides, and here is eſtabliſhed the ſovereign council, whoſe juriſdiction extends over the French Antilles, and even to the ſettlements of that crown in the iſlands of St. Domingo and Tortuga. In a word, Martinico is the moſt populous and flouriſhing of all the French ſettlements acroſs the Atlantic. Its towns and harbours are ſtrongly fortified; the country itſelf is rendered extremely difficult of acceſs by woods, rivers, rocks, and ravines; defended by a body of regular troops, beſides a diſciplined militia conſiſting of 10,000 white natives, and four times that number of negroes, whom they can arm in caſes of emergency. The acquiſition of Martinico would, in caſe of a peace, furniſh us with a place of the utmoſt importance, either to retain or to exchange; and, if Spain was unchangeably determined on a war, it would put us on a reſpectable footing in that part of the world where the Spaniards are moſt vulnerable, and where, every wound affecting the vitals of the ſtate, they feel with quickeſt ſenſibility.

The plan for proſecuting this important conqueſt had been laid down by Mr. Pitt; the preparations had been made, the officers appointed, and every neceſſary order given for carrying the whole deſign into execution. Upon a change of adminiſtration the project was not abandoned. As every thing, which had been the object of war in North America was by this time completely acquired, it was eaſy to draw a conſiderable part of the army from that quarter. A draught of eleven battalions was ordered from New-York, and alſo to aſſemble the different bodies of troops that were ſcattered among the Leeward iſlands. Rear-admiral Rodney ſailed from England in October, and took on board his tranſports four battalions at Belleiſle. The general rendezvous was in the iſland of Barbadoes, where the united armaments from England and North America amounting to eighteen battalions and as many ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, bombs, and fire-ſhips, arrived in the month of December. The land-forces alone fell little ſhort of 12,000 men, and, taking the military and naval together, it was ſuch an armament as had never been before ſeen in that part of the world. The fleet proceeded from Barbadoes the fifth day of January, and on the eighth anchored in St. Anne's bay on the eaſtern coaſt of Martinico, after the ſhips had ſilenced ſome batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the iſland. In the courſe of this ſervice the Raiſonnable, a ſhip of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from which ſhe could not

not be diſengaged; but the crew were ſaved as well as the ſtores and artillery. General Monkton, who commanded the land-forces, judged this an improper place for a diſembarkation, and therefore detached the brigadiers Haviland and Grant under a ſtrong convoy to the bay of Petite Anſe, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the ſeamen and marines. The detachment then effected a landing, and marched to the ground oppoſite to Pigeon Iſland, which commands the harbour of Fort-Royal; but, the roads being found impaſſable for artillery, general Monkton thought it improper to land the main body there, and proceeded to a creek called Cas Navires, where the whole forces were diſembarked on the 16th, without the loſs of a man, the fleet having been ſtationed ſo properly, and directing their fire with ſuch effect, that the enemy was obliged in a ſhort time to abandon the batteries erected to defend this inlet.

When the landing was effected, the difficulties were far from being at an end. The inhabitants of Martinico ſeemed determined to defend the iſland to the laſt extremity. Every paſs was guarded and fortified. The detachment, which had firſt landed, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes; but theſe met with ſo warm a reception, that they were compelled, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, to retire with precipitation.

The general determined to attack the town and citadel of Fort-Royal although his march thither was incumbered with difficulties and dangers, there being many ravines and gullies, very deep, and difficult of acceſs, well covered with batteries and redoubts, and defended by the ſlaves as well as natives in arms. Beſides the difficulties of the approach, the town and citadel are overlooked, and commanded by two very conſiderable eminences called Morne Tortueſon and Morne Garnier. Whilſt the enemy kept poſſeſſion of theſe, it was impoſſible to attack the town. They were protected like the other high grounds in this iſland by natural ravines, ſtrengthened by every contrivance of art. The Morne Tortueſon was firſt to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right, along the ſea-ſide, towards the town, in order to take the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. A thouſand ſailors in flat-bottomed boats rowed cloſe to the ſhore to aſſiſt them. On the left, towards the country, a corps of light infantry, properly ſupported, was to get round the enemy's left, whilſt the attack in the centre was made by the Britiſh grenadiers, and the main body of the army, under the fire of batteries which had been erected on the oppoſite ſide with great labour and perſeverance, the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the ſeamen, acroſs the enemy's line of fire, to which they expoſed themſelves with amazing indifference.

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The attack, which was planned with ſo much judgment, was executed with equal ſpirit and reſolution. The Britiſh troops ſucceeded in every quarter. The enemy were ſucceſſively driven from poſt to poſt; ſome fled into the town; others mounted to Morne Garnier; while the Engliſh ſtandard was diſplayed at Morne Tortueſon. But nothing deciſive could be effected againſt the town until the French were driven from the former eminence. It was three days before proper diſpoſitions could be made for this purpoſe. During this interval the enemy's whole force ſallied out of the town, or deſcended from the hill, and attacked the Engliſh in their advanced poſts. But they were repelled with ſingular bravery; and, the ardour of the Britiſh troops hurrying them forward, they improved a defenſive advantage into an attack, paſſed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, ſcaled the hill, ſeized the batteries, and poſted themſelves on the ſummit of Morne Garnier.

All the ſituations which commanded the town and citadel were now ſecured, and the Engliſh, in the morning of the 28th, began to play their artillery; which the governor no ſooner obſerved than he ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February the gates were delivered up to the Engliſh, and next morning the garriſon, to the number of 800, marched out with the honours of war. On the 7th Pigeon Iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and counted one of the beſt defences of the harbour, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons, and obtained a capitulation ſimilar to that of the citadel. Deputations were ſent from different quarters of the iſland by the inhabitants, deſiring the ſame terms. But the governor-general, Mr. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre the capital, which he meant to defend with uncommon vigour. It is probable, however, that, when he arrived there, his opinion was altered by the advice of the inhabitants. They ſaw the Engliſh maſters of all the reſt of the iſland; they reflected on the favourable capitulation which the iſland of Guadaloupe had obtained, and the good faith with which the terms of this capitulation had been obſerved. Although they changed maſters, they changed neither laws nor religion; their property was more ſecure than under the ancient government, their commerce more free and unreſtrained, and they were furniſhed with all neceſſaries from the dominions of Great-Britain; whereas formerly they depended for ſubſiſtence upon the moſt precarious and hazardous methods of ſupply. Theſe conſiderations had great weight with the inhabitants of St. Pierre, who perſuaded the governor to ſend two deputies with propoſals of capitulation. On the 14th the terms were ſettled, and the agreement ſigned. On the 16th the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood, while the governor general, the lieutenant-governor, the ſtaff-officers, and about 320 grenadiers were embarked in tranſports to be conveyed to France.

Thefe fignal fucceffes were obtained at the fmall expence of 400 men, including a few officers killed and wounded in the different attacks. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port-Royal, and a much greater number, from other parts of the ifland, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in confequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who in all other refpects were very favourably treated.

The furrender of Martinico, which was the feat of government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of all the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew on the furrender of all the dependent iflands. While general Monkton was regulating the capitulation of St. Pierre, commodore Swanton failed with a fmall fquadron to the fertile ifland of Granada, which was given up without oppofition. St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had fo long been difputed between the two nations, followed its example. By thefe acquifitions the Englifh colonies at Antigua, St. Chriftopher's, and Nevis, as well as the fhips trading to thefe iflands, were fecured againft the hoftilities of the enemy; the commerce of Great-Britain acquired an annual addition to the amount of at leaft a million fterling, and the Britifh nation became undifturbed poffeffors of that chain of innumerable iflands, which forms an immenfe bow, extending from the eaftern point of Hifpaniola almoft to the continent of South America.

While the Englifh troops were employed in taking poffeffion of Martinico and the independent iflands, a French fleet appeared to windward of the former, and fent an officer on fhore to obtain information. They continued cruifing to windward for two days, and even approached within cannon-fhot of Trinity, as if they had intended to make a defcent; but afterwards they changed their courfe, and bore away for the harbour of Dominica. Admiral Rodney being informed of their arrival in thofe parts, got under fail with his fquadron, and beat up to windward in queft of the enemy; they did not wait his approach, but made hafte to take refuge in their own harbours. While Rodney's fleet commanded the Caribbees, lord Colville's fquadron was ftationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coaft of North America, and the new conquefts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in fuch a manner as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanifh fleets, or if that fhould be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. For the defence of the Britifh coaft, and in order to anfwer the emergencies of war, a powerful fquadron was kept in readinefs at Spithead; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of Admiral Moore; and from thefe two were occafionally detached into the channel, and all round the ifland, a number of light cruifers, which acted with fuch vigilance and activity, that not a fhip could venture from any of the

French

French ſea-ports without running the moſt imminent riſque of being taken; and ſcarce a day paſſed in which ſome privateer of the enemy, either French or Spaniſh, was not brought into the harbours of Great-Britain. Rear-admiral Corniſh had the direction of the fleet in the Eaſt-Indies, Admiral Pocock, who had acquired ſo much glory there, being called to a more dangerous and important command, the conſequence of which we are now going to relate. The whole of theſe ſquadrons, combined with detached cruiſers in different parts, amounted to more than 240 ſhips of war; a force which, conſidering the diſciplined valour and naval experience of our ſeame , was fit to contend againſt the maritime ſtrength of the whole world united.

The rupture with Spain, which was rendered incurable by the invaſion of Portugal, brought on the execution of a plan which had been long in agitation, upon the preſumed probability of ſuch an event. It is ſaid that admiral Knowles was the firſt who laid before his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland a ſcheme for the reduction of the iſland of Cuba, in which the whole trade and navigation of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies centers, and without which it cannot be carried on. The duke approved of the plan, and recommended it to the miniſtry. But after they had conſidered the draughts and plan, which his royal highneſs put into their hands, lord Anſon, the firſt lord of the admiralty, produced his own, which had been made out upon more accurate information; and after maturely conſidering both plans, lord Anſon's was adopted. However, the duke of Cumberland had ſo much merit in this affair, that he was permitted to appoint his favourite lord Albemarle commander in chief of the land forces, and his brothers, major-general and commodore Keppel, to important commands in an expedition which, it was imagined, would be equally lucrative and honourable.

The fleet deſtined to extend the Britiſh empire in the weſt, ſailed from Portſmouth the 5th of March, under the command of admiral Pocock, whoſe valour and conduct had contributed ſo much towards that ſovereignty which his country poſſeſſed in the Eaſt-Indies. They ſailed for the iſland of Hiſpaniola, where they were happily met at Cape Nicholas, the north-weſt point of the iſland, by a detachment from the fleet at the Caribbees, under the command of that gallant and able officer Sir James Douglas. The junction happened on the 27th of May; and the united ſquadrons conſiſted of 19 ſail of the line, 18 ſmaller ſhips of war, and about 150 tranſports, having on board above 10,000 land-forces and marines. A ſupply of 4000 men had been ordered from New-York, which, it was ſuppoſed, would arrive time enough to bear part in their military operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his courſe to the Havanna. The firſt and moſt obvious was the common way to keep to the ſouth of Cuba, and fall into the tract of the

galleons. But this, though by much the ſafeſt, would prove by far the moſt tedious paſſage; and delays, above all things were dangerous, as the fleet had been ſo late in ſailing from England, that it would be extremely difficult to arrive before the hurricane ſeaſon. He therefore reſolved to run along the northern ſhore of the iſland of Cuba, purſuing his courſe from eaſt to weſt, through a narrow paſſage not leſs than 700 miles in length, called the Old Straits of Bahama. This paſſage, through almoſt the whole of its extent, is bounded, on the right and left, by the moſt dangerous ſands and ſhoals, which has cauſed the navigation to be avoided by ſingle and ſmall veſſels. There was no pilot in the fleet whoſe experience could be depended on to conduct them ſafely through it. The admiral, however, being provided with a good chart of Lord Anſon's, reſolved to truſt to his own vigilance and ſagacity to carry through thoſe ſtraits a fleet of near 200 ſail. So bold an attempt had never been before made; but the ſucceſs of the expedition depending entirely on diſpatch, made it prudent to hazard it. At the ſame time no precaution was omitted, which could remove the imputation of temerity. A veſſel was ſent to reconnoitre the paſſage, and make ſoundings: ſome frigates followed; ſloops and boats were ſtationed on the right and left, on the ſhallows, with well adapted ſignals both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in ſeven diviſions, and being favoured with a fair wind and good weather, got through this perilous paſſage on the 5th of June without accident or interruption.

Two days before the accompliſhment of this hazardous navigation, the Echo and Alarm frigates, which had been ordered a-head of the fleet, deſcried four veſſels which proved to be the Thetis, a Spaniſh frigate of 18 guns and 65 men, and the Phœnix of 22 guns and 175 men, and two brigs, bound to Suga in the Straits, for a cargo of timber for the uſe of the ſhips at the Havanna. The Engliſh frigates gave them chace, and obliged them to ſtrike in three quarters of an hour. This, though a ſmall ſucceſs, was an auſpicious beginning of the expedition againſt the Havanna. This place, the object of their long voyage and of ſo many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. Though St. Jago, ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland, be denominated the capital of Cuba, yet the Havanna is ſuperior to it in wealth, ſize, and importance. The harbour upon which it ſtands is, in every reſpect, one of the beſt in the world. It is entered by a narrow paſſage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large baſon, ſufficient to contain 1000 ſail of the largeſt ſhips, having almoſt throughout ſix fathoms water, and perfectly ſecured from every wind. In this bay the rich fleets from the ſeveral parts of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies aſſemble, in order to ſet out together on their voyage to Europe. Great care had been taken to fortify a

place

place which, besides being extremely populous, wealthy, and flourishing in itself, is the centre of the richest commerce of the world. The entrance into the harbour is secured on one side by the Moro fort, built upon a projecting point of land, all of solid mason-work, having a ditch 70 feet deep from the edge of the counterscarp, and more than 40 feet of that depth sunk in the rock: on the other it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The Havanna itself, which is situated to the west of the harbour, and opposite to the Moro fort, is surrounded by a good rampart, flanked with bastions, and strengthened by a ditch.

The Spaniards, sensible that, upon a rupture with Great-Britain, their West Indies were the fairest mark for the attack of the enemy, maintained a powerful fleet in those parts, and had actually a squadron of twelve ships of the line in the harbour of the Havanna. But so little confidence did they repose in their shipping for resisting the efforts of the English armament, that the only use which they made of it was to sink three of their largest vessels behind an immense boom which they had thrown across the mouth of the harbour. Their chief hope was in the strength of the place, and the difficulties attending all military operations which are drawn out to any considerable length in this unhealthy climate. These circumstances encouraged don Juan de Prado, governor of the Havanna, to determine on a vigorous defence. He was assisted by the activity of the marquis del Real, commodore of the fleet, and by the counsels and experience of the vice-roy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be then in the place, on their way to their respective governments.

On the 7th of June all things were in readiness for landing; and, in order to effect this with the least inconvenience, the admiral, with the greatest part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, that the enemy's attention might be drawn towards this quarter, while the earl of Albemarle and the whole army were landed, under the direction of commodore Keppel, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro-castle. A body of Spaniards appeared on the shore; but, some sloops being ordered to scour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops passed the river Coxemar in great order, without the smallest opposition. The first attempt was to drive the enemy from a small redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos which overlooked the Moro. This was effected on the 10th, and at the same time three bomb-ketches, being anchored on shore, began to throw shells into the town, under cover of the ships Stirling-castle and Echo.

The principal body of the army, destined to act against the Moro, was divided into two corps. one of which, commanded by general Elliot, advanced a considerable way into the country, towards the south-east of the harbour in order to cover the siege, and

and to ſecure the parties employed in watering and procuring proviſions. The other, conducted by general Keppel, was immediately employed in the attack on the fort, and a detachment headed by colonel Howe, was encamped to the weſtward of the town, partly with a view to cut off the communication between it and the country, and partly to make a diverſion in favour of the grand operation.

The ſeamen having landed faſcines, ſtores, and artillery with great expedition, the engineers, under the direction of Mr. Mackeller, whoſe abilities were equally diſtinguiſhed at Louiſbourg and the Havanna, began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed in cutting parallels, and forming a line with faſcines to ſecure the troops from the fire of the enemy. The hardſhips ſuſtained in this ſervice are almoſt inexpreſſible. The thinneſs of the earth made it extremely difficult to cover the approaches. It was neceſſary to cut roads for communication through thick woods. The artillery was to be dragged a great way over a rough rocky ſhore. During this fatigue the ſupplies of proviſion were not plentiful, and water was to be brought from a great diſtance. Many men dropped down dead with heat, thirſt, and fatigue. But the ſpirit and ardour of the troops, the unanimity and conduct of the commanders by ſea and land, overcame every difficulty. On the 29th, 2000 choſen Spaniards, with a numerous body of Negroes and Mulattoes, landed in two diviſions, to the right and left of the Moro, with an intention to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers. They were repulſed by the piquets and advanced poſts with great bravery, and compelled to retreat in confuſion, leaving behind them 200 of their number killed or taken.

The cannonading began, on the 1ſt of July, from two batteries bearing twelve cannon, ſix large mortars, three ſmall ones, and twenty-ſix royals. The enemy had ſeventeen pieces of artillery on the front attacked. The fire was for a conſiderable time pretty near on an equality, and kept up with great vivacity on both ſides. At length that of the enemy began to fail. Their attention was divided in conſequence of an attack made upon the north-eaſt face by three ſhips of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the captains Gooſtrey, Harvey, and Barnet. Theſe ſhips, having laid their broadſides againſt the fort, kept up one of the warmeſt firings ever ſeen, for ſeven hours, without intermiſſion. But the Moro, ſituated upon a high hill, had great advantages, and the fire from the oppoſite fort of Puntall galled them exceedingly. They were obliged to retire in a very ſhattered condition, after loſing above 100 men, among whom was captain Gooſtrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer.

When the Spaniards were releaſed from the fire of the ſhips, they redoubled their activity againſt the batteries, and on both ſides a conſtant unremitted fire was kept up for ſeveral days.

During

During this ſharp and doubtful contention, the merlons of the grand battery unfortunately took fire on the 3d of July. The flames became too powerful for oppoſition, and the labour of 600 men, for ſeventeen days, was deſtroyed in a few hours. This ſtroke was felt the more ſeverely, becauſe the other hardſhips of the ſiege were become ſcarcely ſupportable. Sickneſs had reduced the army to almoſt half its number. Three thouſand ſeamen were at one time unfit for ſervice, and near double that number of ſoldiers. The ſcarcity of water, and the total want of wholeſome proviſions, exaſperated the diſeaſe. The army was ready to periſh by theſe calamities; and, if the hurricane ſeaſon came on before the place were reduced, the deſtruction of the fleet was inevitable.

The unconquered ſpirit of the commanders could hardly maintain the languiſhing activity of the troops, when Sir James Douglas who had parted from the admiral, in order to ſteer his courſe for Jamaica, arrived with the fleet from that iſland, carrying many conveniencies for the ſiege. This favourable circumſtance with the hopes of a conſiderable reinforcement from New York, which arrived a few days afterwards, reſtored the vigour of the men, and rouzed them to every effort. New batteries aroſe in the place of the old, the fire of which ſoon became equal, and afterwards ſuperior to that of the enemy; the cannon of the fort was ſilenced, the upper works demoliſhed, and a lodgement at length made in the covered way. Notwithſtanding this advantage, the immenſe ditch cut in the ſolid rock formed an obſtacle that was very difficult to ſurmount. To fill it up was impoſſible, and the work of mining would have been impracticable, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwiſe have been open to the ſea. On this narrow ridge the miners paſſed wholly uncovered, and with very little loſs made a lodgment at the foot of the wall. While they formed a mine for throwing the counterſcarp into the ditch, another ſap was carried on along the glacis. In the night of the 21ſt a ſerjeant and twelve men ſcaled the wall by ſurpriſe; but, the garriſon being alarmed before any additional troops could ſuſtain them, they were obliged to retreat.

The governor of the Moro now plainly ſaw, that the place muſt be ſpeedily reduced, unleſs ſome bold meaſure were tried for its immediate relief. Accordingly, next day at four in the morning, he ordered a ſally to be made from the town by 1500 men, compoſed chiefly of the country militia and negroes, divided into three detachments, who attacked the beſiegers in as many different places. Meanwhile a warm fire was kept up from the fort of Puntall, and the ſhipping in the harbour. But the Engliſh guards, though ſurprized, defended themſelves with great reſolution, the poſts attacked were ſpeedily reinforced, and the enemy were driven precipitately down the hill, without being able

able to destroy any part of our approaches. The English lost fifty men killed or wounded, and the Spaniards had 400 killed or taken prisoners.

On the 30th of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the close fire of the covering party soon compelled the enemy to retire. This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro: for on that day the mines did their work. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach which, though very narrow and difficult, the engineer judged practicable. Orders were immediately given for the assault. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart commanded the attack. The troops, hoping to see an end of all their hardships, entered on this most dangerous service with the greatest resolution. The enemy who were drawn up to receive them, when they had passed the breach, were terrified at the determined valour which appeared in their countenances, and fled on all sides. In vain don Lewis de Velasco the governor, whose bravery and conduct had excited during the whole siege the admiration of his enemies, endeavoured, with romantic courage, to defend the colours of Spain. He fell, as well as his second the marquis Gonsales, while attempting to no purpose to rally his troops. About 400 of the garrison laid down their arms, and were made prisoners: as many were slaughtered on the spot; others ran to the boats, and were drowned in attempting to escape to the town.

The Moro-fort thus came into the possession of the English. This advantage was not immediately followed by the surrender of the Havanna. The governor seemed still determined to defend that place, the fire of which was immediately turned against the fortress which had been lost, while a ship of the line was sent down into the harbour, in order to batter it with more effect. Meanwhile lord Albemarle ordered a line of batteries to be erected along the hill of the Cevannos, which commanded almost the whole eastern side of the city. Batteries were likewise erected on the western side of the town, which had hitherto been only guarded. When these preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, his lordship, by message, represented to the governor the irresistible force of the attack which he was ready to make on the place, but which, in order to prevent unnecessary effusion of blood, he was willing to suspend, that the Spaniards might have time to capitulate. This representation was made on the 10th of August, but to no purpose, the governor returning for answer, that he was determined to defend the place, committed to him, to the last extremity. Next morning at day-break, forty-five cannon and eight mortars, erected on the batteries at Cevannos, began to play against the town and the Puntall with such continued and irresistible fury, that this fortress was silenced before ten.

In

In another hour the north baſtion was almoſt diſabled. About two in the afternoon white flags were diſplayed from every quarter of the town, and in a little time after a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with propoſals of capitulation. The eſtabliſhed religion and the ancient laws were to be preſerved, and private property was ſecured to the inhabitants. The garriſon, which was reduced to 700 men, were to have the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Old Spain, together with the Spaniſh commodore, the governor of the Havanna, the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena. The Spaniards ſtruggled hard to ſave twelve ſhips of the line which lay in the harbour; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmiſſible. They likewiſe made powerful attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war; but this would have deſtroyed, in a great meaſure, the importance of the conqueſt. It was debated for two days, when hoſtilities were on the point of being renewed; which made the enemy recede from their demand; and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the place the 14th of Auguſt.

The acquiſition of the Havanna united in itſelf all the advantages that can be obtained in war. The enemy loſt a whole fleet; they were deprived of a wealthy eſtabliſhment commanding a rich and extenſive territory; and they ceded a port which commanded the only paſſage by which their ſhips could conveniently ſail from the bay of Mexico to Europe. While this port is in the hands of an enemy, who are maſters at ſea, the court of Madrid can receive no ſupplies of treaſure from the Weſt Indies, except by beating up to windward from Carthagena. The reduction of the Havanna, while it diſtreſſed the enemy in the moſt eſſential manner by ſtopping the ſources of their wealth, opened an eaſy avenue to the conquerors for reaching their American treaſures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired ſuch immenſe ſums at the expence of her enemies. Her ſucceſs in the Eaſt Indies is ſaid to have brought into England near ſix millions ſince the commencement of hoſtilities; in the conqueſt now made, ſhe obtained, beſides an immenſe quantity of artillery, ſmall arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores, about three millions ſterling in ſilver, tobacco, and valuable merchandiſe, collected, on account of the king of Spain, in the magazines of the Havanna. In this calculation of national profit we muſt not omit the capture of the Hermione, a regiſter ſhip, the value of which fell little ſhort of a million ſterling. If it had not been for theſe extraordinary pecuniary ſupplies, with which the war was attended, it would have been difficult to carry it on to ſuch an amazing extent. The money which was brought into the kingdom invigorated commerce, and urged the hand of induſtry. The remittances for foreign ſubſidies were in a great meaſure paid by bills of merchants ſettled abroad, who had received the

value

value of these draughts in the produce of British manufactures.

In the expedition against the Havanna, the spirit, unanimity, and perseverance of the army and navy were eminently conspicuous. Never indeed was there a period of such cordial co-operation between the land and sea forces, or such a punctual attention to orders. One captain only, of the name of Campbell, having neglected to perform his duty in leading the squadron which attacked the Moro, was obliged to quit the service.

As it is our plan to give an account of the more important enterprizes, which succeeded through the co-operation of the navy, before we proceed to relate the exploits purely naval, which distinguished the year 1762, we must now carry the reader's attention to the expedition against the Philippine islands, which is one of the best-conducted, most splendid, and most important of all the successes which adorn the annals of this glorious war. The design of this expedition, which, if successful, would give as severe a wound to the interests of Spain in the East Indies, as she had received, by the taking of the Havanna, on the side of America, was suggested by the following accident. After the memorable defence of Madrass in 1759, colonel Draper's bad state of health obliged him to leave that country. He embarked in company with the honourable captain Howe, then commander of the Winchelsea, for Canton in China, a place with which the inhabitants of the Philippines carry on a considerable traffic. Here the colonel employed himself in acquiring a minute knowledge of the present state of the Spaniards in these islands, and discovered that, confiding in their remote distance from Europe, they were persuaded, that no attempt against them would ever be deemed practicable. This had lulled them into such a perfect security, that they had totally neglected the keeping up of a regular military force for their own defence.

Colonel Draper communicated his ideas on this subject to lord Anson and lord Egremont, upon the first rumours of a war with Spain. His information met with that attention which it deserved. He was desired to give a memorial in writing, explaining his plan at full length, and assured, that, if a Spanish war became unavoidable, the undertaking should be recommended to his majesty.

The motives to the execution of this enterprize were many and powerful. The Philippines or Manillas form a principal division of that immense Indian Archipelago, which consists of above 1200 islands, extending from the nineteenth degree of north latitude, almost in a continued chain, to the shores of New Guinea and the great southern continent. The Philippines, which form the northermost cluster of these islands, are, some of them, among the largest, and all of them, naturally, among the richest islands in the world. They were added to the Spanish monarchy, in its meridian glory, under Philip II. and, being

ing happily ſituated for commerce, they were uſed as the centre of communication for the Aſiatic and American trade. They may receive European goods by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and connecting the traffic of China, Japan, and the Spice iſlands with that of Europe and America, unite all the extenſive dominions of Spain in one commercial chain with the richeſt countries upon earth.

The principal iſland of the Philippines is called Manilla or Luconia, extending 300 miles in length, and 90, at a medium, in breadth. The ſoil is cultivated by the natives with uncommon induſtry for this part of the world; the Chineſe, who, after the Tartar conqueſt in the laſt century, fled here in great numbers, are the artizans, and the Spaniards enjoy the government, and beſt part of the commerce. The reſt of the Philippine iſlands, as far as the Spaniſh power prevails in them, are under the government of Luconia, the capital of which is Manilla, ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt of the iſland, and lying upon a very fair and ſpacious harbour. Here the large veſſels or galleons annually arrive, and from this place they ſail for Acapulco in America, loaded with money or goods to the value of near a million ſterling. In the war of 1739, the taking one of theſe galleons was conſidered as the moſt brilliant ſucceſs which attended the Britiſh ſquadrons. But now they were to aim at an higher object; not at a particular cargo, but at the principal mart of commerce which ſupplied this cargo; and which, when put in our poſſeſſion, would enable us to deſtroy the intercourſe of any other European ſtate with the empires of China and Japan, while it procured the higheſt reſpect for the Britiſh flag all over thoſe wealthy and extenſive regions.

The grandeur of this deſign was ſufficient to rouze the moſt vigorous efforts of adminiſtration. But the additional weight of Spain, in the ſcale of the enemies of Great Britain, required all the exertions of her ſtrength nearer home. It was impoſſible, therefore, to ſpare ſhips or troops for undertaking a conqueſt ſo diſtant and precarious, however advantageous and ſplendid. But, fortunately, the preceding events of this glorious war naturally paved the way for thoſe which were to follow. The ſucceſs of one expedition not only ſuggeſted the idea but facilitated the execution of another. By the fortune of our arms in the eaſt, we were become arbiters of the great peninſula of India; the French were expelled; the Dutch humbled; and there was nothing in thoſe parts to reſiſt the Britiſh force, or even to afford employment to all the troops that were kept on foot. Nothing, therefore, was demanded from Great Britain, but a light frigate to carry colonel Draper to Madraſs, where alone ſuitable preparations might be made for this important enterpriſe. He arrived there the latter end of June, 1762, and was appointed brigadier-general and commander in chief of the land-forces to be employed in the expedition. The ſquadron commanded by vice-

vice-admiral Cornish, a brave and able officer, consisted of several ships of the line, besides frigates. The troops allotted for this expedition consisted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery, reinforced with 600 sepoys, one company of Caffres, one of Topazes, and one of pioneers, with several hundreds of unarmed Lascars, for the use of the engineers and the park of artillery. The admiral supplied a fine battalion of 550 seamen, and 270 marines. The whole force amounted to no more than 2300 effective men; an inconsiderable number, but of tried valour, inured to toil and hardship, and rendered equal by their disciplined bravery to the strength of a great army. The 79th regiment, which was the only regular body of troops employed on this service, had been the first who checked the progress of the French in India; their valour had given the happy turn to the war under colonel Coote; they were inured to the climate, and accustomed to victory; and their arms were worthy to extend the glory of Great Britain to the remotest verge of Asia.

The enterprise was no sooner resolved upon, than the admiral detached captain Grant of the Seahorse to the entrance of the Chinese sea, with instructions to intercept all vessels bound for Manilla, that the enemy, who were even ignorant of the declaration of war, might receive no intelligence of any design formed against them. The success of the enterprise depended much on expedition, not only in order to prevent the enemy from being rouzed from their security, but in order to take advantage of the wind; for if the north-west Monsoon should set in with any violence before the fleet were well advanced on their voyage, the whole design would be defeated. Accordingly no time was lost. In the space of three weeks the troops were embodied and formed, and the stores got ready and shipped, notwithstanding a raging and perpetual surf, which in those climates is one of the greatest difficulties in any expedition, greatly embarrassing the embarkation, and rendering still more hazardous the debarkation of troops, especially in the face of an enemy.

The fleet sailed in two divisions the beginning of August, and on the 19th arrived at Malacca; a place formerly considered as the key to the Indian commerce, and still the center of a very considerable trade. The Dutch, to whom it now belonged, although they looked with no very favourable eye on the progress of the English in those eastern regions, were afraid to discover any symptom of jealousy. The English fleet used Malacca as a port of their own, and supplied themselves not only with refreshments, but with every necessary not already provided for the siege of Manilla. In 39 days from Malacca they came in sight of Luconia; the weather having in general proved favourable, although the squadron was once separated in a storm.

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The next in command to the vice-admiral was commodore Tiddeman; and the battalion of ſeamen and marines was under the captains Collins, Pitchford, and Ourry, who behaved during the whole ſervice with equal gallantry and conduct. The officers ſubordinate to brigadier-general Draper were the lieutenant-colonels Monſon and Scott, major Barker who commanded the artillery, and major Moore. Mr. Drake, and ſome other gentlemen in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice, were appointed to take care of the intereſts of their conſtituents, according to a convention made with the preſident and council of Madraſs, by which the Eaſt India company were to have a third part of the booty or ranſom, and to be inveſted with the government of the conquered country. The land and ſea forces agreed by common conſent to participate in the diſtribution of their ſeveral captures, according to the rules eſtabliſhed in the navy. The character of the commanders, as well as theſe wiſe precautions, prevented the leaſt diſagreement from ariſing between the army and marine, either in the conduct of the enterpriſe, or in the diviſion of the fruits of their ſucceſs.

The admiral having ſounded the coaſt, diſcovered a convenient place for landing their troops, about two miles to the ſouthward of Manilla. On the 24th of September, the proper diſpoſitions being made, and the three frigates Argo, Seahorſe, and Seaford, moored very near the ſhore, to cover the deſcent; three diviſions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the captains Parker, Kempenfield, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata. This was not performed without great difficulty, on account of a violent ſurf, which daſhed many of the boats to pieces. At the ſame time the enemy began to aſſemble in great numbers, both horſe and infantry, to oppoſe the deſcent, but the captains King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, maintained ſuch a warm fire of cannon to the right and left that they ſoon diſperſed, and the general diſembarked his troops without the loſs of a ſingle man. The days which immediately ſucceeded their landing were ſpent in ſeizing the moſt advantageous poſts, in ſecuring the communication with the navy, and in reconnoitring the roads and approaches to the town. They found it defended by ſome good works, conſtructed in a regular manner, and garriſoned by about 800 Spaniſh troops. The Engliſh forces were too few to inveſt the place, ſo as to prevent it from being ſupplied with proviſions from the country, or from receiving aſſiſtance from the natives, a fierce and daring people, who, though unacquainted with the uſe of fire arms and the regular diſcipline of war, were like all the inhabitants of the Indian iſles, extremely formidable on account of their martial ſpirit, native intrepidity, and contempt of death. The governor of the place was a churchman and an archbiſhop, who ſtiled himſelf captain-general of the Philippines; and, however ill qualified by his profeſſion

feſſion for the defence of a town attacked, ſeemed well fitted for this taſk by his ſpirit and reſolution.

The day after the troops landed the enemy abandoned a ſmall fort called the Pulveriſta, which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the ſtores and artillery. Colonel Monſon, with an advanced party of 200 men, occupied the church of the Hermita, about 900 yards from the city. The head quarters were fixed in the curate's houſe, and ſecured by the 79th regiment, as a poſt of the utmoſt importance, both from its ſtrength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impoſſible to encamp. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Pulveriſta, to preſerve the communication with the fleet, and guard the ſtores and artillery, which, on account of the ſurf, were not landed without great danger and fatigue. The battalion of ſeamen were ſtationed between the ſeventy-ninth regiment and the marines, and a body of men was advanced within 300 yards of the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithſtanding its being expoſed to the fire of the enemy.

Before batteries could be erected, the enemy on the 26th of September, attempted a ſally with about 400 men. They were commanded by the chevalier de Fayette, and having two field-pieces, advanced to the right of the Engliſh advanced poſts, and began to cannonade. But colonel Monſon at the head of the picquets, reinforced by a ſmall body of ſeamen, ſoon drove them back into the town. This retreat was ſo precipitate that they left one of their field-pieces on the glacis.

It was imagined that the evidence of their inferiority in this ſlight encounter would be an inducement to the governor to endeavour at obtaining advantageous terms by an early ſurrender. A ſummons was ſent to him for this purpoſe; to which he returned ſuch an anſwer as ſhowed we had nothing to expect but what we were able to command. Indeed, had the valour of the garriſon correſponded to the ſpirited declaration of the governor, the town would have had nothing to apprehend from an enemy, whoſe numbers obliged them to confine their operations to one corner of the place, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of ſupplies. The front, to which the attack was directed, was defended by the baſtions of St. Diego and St. Andrew; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way and glacis. The baſtions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine braſs cannon; but the ditch had never been completed, the covered way was out of repair, and the glacis was too low.

While the works were going forward with great rapidity, ſome ſtraggling ſeamen were murdered by the ſavages, which induced the governor to ſend out a flag of truce to apologiſe for this barbarity, and at the ſame time to requeſt the releaſe of his nephew, who

who had been lately taken in the bay by the boats of the fleet. His demand was complied with, and lieutenant Fryar was sent under a flag of truce, to conduct the prisoner to town. At that time a detachment of the garrison, intermixed with a body of Indians, sallied out to attack one of the posts of the besiegers; when the savages, ignorant of the law of nations, and disregarding the sacred character of an officer under a safe conduct, assaulted Mr. Fryar with the most brutal fury, mangling his body in a most shocking manner, and mortally wounding the Spanish gentleman, who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In this attack they were soon repelled by the British party who defended the post; their savage cruelty had exasperated the troops, and whenever they fell into the hands of the English soldiers, they found no mercy.

Mean while the indefatigable vigour, and unconquerable spirit of our soldiers and seamen had raised three batteries for cannon and mortars, which played on the town with considerable effect. The navy which had hitherto assisted no otherwise than in covering the landing, and in furnishing men and stores, began now to take a direct part in the siege. On the 29th the admiral ordered the Elizabeth and the Falmouth to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and to enfilade the enemy's front in order to second the operations of the army. Although the shallows kept them at too great a distance to have all the effect which could have been wished, their fire did not fail to produce great confusion and terror among the inhabitants, and to add very considerably to the fatigue of the garrison.

The operations of the besiegers were for some days retarded by an event which threatened to destroy at once all the effects of their industry and courage. During the first days of October a deluge of rain poured down, accompanied by a mighty storm of wind. The squadron was in the greatest danger, and all communication with it and the army entirely cut off. The South-sea Castle store-ship, which had lately arrived, and contained the greatest part of the tools and necessaries for prosecuting the siege, was driven on shore. The governor, or archbishop of the place, added to the advantage of these appearances in his favour, by calling in the aid of his ecclesiastical character. He gave out that the angel of the Lord was gone forth to destroy the English, like the host of Sennacherib of old; and this miserable superstition did not fail to raise the spirits of a fearful and cowardly garrison.

The circumstances of this storm, by an extraordinary species of good fortune, became favourable to the besiegers. The South-sea Castle, by being driven on shore without any considerable damage, gave an easy and ready access to all the stores and provisions which she contained. In the situation in which she lay on shore, her cannon became a protection to the rear of the English camp; and, by enfilading the whole beach to the southward,

ward, ſhe kept in awe a body of Indians who threatened an attack on the Pulveriſta and the magazine of the beſiegers at the Malata. At the ſame time the confidence which the enemy derived from the natural helps ariſing from the ſtorm, and in the ſupernatural ones added by their ſuperſtition, rendered them more remiſs and languid in their defence; while the roaring of the ſea, occaſioned by a great ſurf, prevented them from hearing the noiſe of the Engliſh workmen, who were buſy in the night in completing the ſeveral batteries, in finiſhing a parallel and communication from theſe to the advanced poſt at the church, on the left of which they eſtabliſhed a ſpacious place of arms. All this was accompliſhed on the 3d, and, the battery being opened againſt the left face of St. Diego's baſtion, the fire was ſo well directed by the ſkill of major Barker, that in a few hours twelve pieces of cannon, mounted on the face of the baſtion, were totally ſilenced, and the enemy obliged to retire. In leſs than two days all their other defences were greatly impaired.

The Spaniards, ſeeing their fortifications no longer tenable, projected a ſally diſpoſed in two attacks upon the two moſt important poſts of the Engliſh. The firſt was to be made upon the cantonment of ſeamen, who were known to have had the moſt conſiderable part in the management of the artillery during the whole ſiege. The ſecond was to be made on the church of St. Jago, which had been of ſo much conſequence in protecting the beſiegers in their approaches, and which covered a flank of the army.

In the middle of the night preceding the 4th of October 1000 Indians marched out upon the firſt attack. They were much encouraged by the inceſſant rains, which they hoped had rendered the fire-arms uſeleſs; while their own arms, conſiſting only of bows and lances, could ſuffer nothing from ſuch accidents. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick buſhes, growing on the ſide of a rivulet, through which they paſſed in the night, without being perceived by the patroles. When they arrived at the quarter of the ſeamen, they began the work of deſtruction with a more than hoſtile fury. The Engliſh, though ſurprized, maintained their ground with ſteadineſs, and repelled the mad rage of the ſavages with manly perſevering courage. Prudently ſatisfied with this advantage, they remained firm in their poſts till day-break, when two picquets of the ſeventy-ninth regiment arrived to their aſſiſtance. The Indians, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of their armour, advanced in the moſt reſolute manner to the attack, fought with incredible ferocity, when repulſed, returned with redoubled fury to the muzzles of the Engliſh muſquets, and died like wild beaſts gnawing their bayonets. At length, however, they were obliged to retreat before the diſciplined valour of the Engliſh, having loſt 300 men in this daring and unequal attack.

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The bad ſucceſs of the firſt attempt did not diſcourage thoſe who were ordered on the ſecond. This began juſt as the former had been defeated, and appeared at firſt more favourable to the hopes of the Spaniards. The Seapoys, who defended the church of St. Jago, were far from poſſeſſing the firmneſs of the Engliſh ſailors, and, being diſlodged without difficulty, retired in confuſion from their poſt. The enemy, who conſiſted not only of Indians but of a ſtrong detachment from the Spaniſh garriſon, immediately ſeized the church, climbed to the top, and from thence poured down a violent fire on our people, who maintained themſelves with patience and reſolution, until a detachment with ten field-pieces came to their relief. Then the Spaniards were compelled to give way, leaving 70 of their number dead on the ſpot. Nor were we freed from theſe reſolute attacks without conſiderable loſs. This, with the former action, coſt the beſiegers above 40 men, including captain Strahan of the ſeventy-ninth regiment, and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers who fell univerſally regretted.

This was the laſt effort of the garriſon in its own defence. The unruly ſpirit of the Indians, impatient of repulſe, and diſcouraged by repeated defeats, led them to return home. The fire of the garriſon grew faint, and all the outworks of the enemy were now in a ruinous condition. The operations of the beſiegers, on the other hand, were ſo well directed, and carried on with ſuch vigour, that on the 5th the breach appeared practicable. It was expected, that the garriſon would demand a capitulation, when no law of honour, becauſe there was no proſpect of ſucceſs, required a farther defence. But the beſiegers had to do with the ſullen obſtinacy of Spaniards, who neglected all opportunities of obtaining favourable terms, and without taking proper meaſures for defending the breach.

The Engliſh general, not finding any deſire of capitulation in the enemy, prepared without delay, and with the moſt judicious arrangements for the ſtorm. On the 6th at four in the morning, the troops deſtined for this ſervice filed off from their quarters in ſmall bodies to avoid ſuſpicion, and gradually aſſembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themſelves in the place of arms, and on the parallel between the church and the battery. Meanwhile major Barker maintained a cloſe fire upon every part of the enemy's works, from which we might apprehend any moleſtation. At day-break a large body of Spaniards were ſeen formed on the baſtion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended aſſault, and had reſolved to annoy the aſſailants from the retired flanks of the baſtion, where they had ſtill two cannon fit for ſervice. But the exploſion of ſome ſhells thrown among them by the beſiegers had ſo good an effect, that it made them diſperſe and retire in confuſion.

The Britiſh troops took immediate advantage of this event, and directed by the ſignal of a general diſcharge from the artil-

lery and mortars, rushed on to the assault under cover of a thick smoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Russel, at the head of 60 volunteers from different corps, led the way. They were supported by the grenadiers of the seventy-ninth regiment. A body of pioneers, to clear the breach, and if necessary, to make lodgements, followed; a battalion of seamen advanced next, supported by two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; and the troops of the East-India company formed the rear. Disposed in this excellent order, the assailants, to the number of 2000 men, mounted the breach with amazing spirit and activity. The Spaniards retired so suddenly that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stevenson was ordered to examine the ground, which removed all apprehension from this danger; and the English troops penetrated into the town without meeting with any opposition until they came to the royal gate, where there was a guard-house defended by 100 Spaniards and Indians. Here major More was transfixed with an arrow, and about twenty of our men fell. The guard refused quarter, and were cut to pieces. In proceeding forward the troops were galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, surrounding the great square. But the Spanish soldiers every where gave way before them. Three hundred perished in endeavouring to escape by passing a deep and rapid river. The governor and principal magistrates imprudently retreated to the citadel, which was by no means a tenable post: and as the English general had no offer of capitulation either on the part of the garrison or inhabitants, it was impossible to prevent some of the calamities which usually happen to cities taken by storm, from the cruel and rapacious license of the common soldiers. Those who had retired into the citadel dreading to be exposed to equal sufferings, surrendered at discretion. The marquis of Villa Medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. At the same time admiral Cornish and general Draper, influenced by a generosity familiar to our commanders, though able to command every thing by force, admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by which they enjoyed their liberties, lives, properties, and the administration of their domestic government. In consequence of this agreement the town and port of Cavité, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty; and four millions of dollars were promised as a ransom for saving the houses and effects of the inhabitants. The admiral took possession of several large ships, with a vast quantity of military and naval stores; and the English found here every refreshment to recruit the men, and every necessary to refit the squadron. The East-India company were entitled to one third of the ransom, and the conquest according to agreement was delivered

livered up to Dawſon Drake, Eſq; and the other individuals appointed to receive them in behalf of that company.

This important acquiſition was rendered complete by another fortunate event. During the ſiege admiral Corniſh received intelligence by the capture of an advice ſhip, that the galleon from Acapulco was arrived at the ſtraits which form the entrance into the Archipelago of the Philippines. This intelligence was not to be neglected, as ſo rich a prize would greatly enhance the value of the conqueſt, and not a little compenſate the diſadvantage of a repulſe. Two ſhips of war, the Panther a ſhip of the line, captain Parker, and the Argo frigate captain King, were immediately diſpatched in queſt of the galleon. After twenty-ſix days cruizing they deſcried on the 30th of October, being off the iſland Capul, a ſail ſtanding northward. The Panther being driven by the current among the Narangor, was obliged to anchor; but the Argo coming up with the chace, engaged her for near two hours, during which the Engliſh frigate was roughly handled, and even obliged to deſiſt, until his damage could be repaired. The current ſlackening, captain Parker was enabled to get under ſail, and about nine next morning came up with the enemy, who after having been cannonaded near two hours at a very ſmall diſtance, ſtruck her colours. The Engliſh captain was not a little ſurprized to learn when the Spaniſh officers came on board, that inſtead of the Sancta Philippina, which was expected from Acapulco, he had taken the Sanctiſſima Trinidad, which was bound for that port. This veſſel had left Manilla the 1ſt of Auguſt, and had ſailed 300 leagues to the eaſtward of the Embocadero; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, and being diſmaſted, was obliged to put back and refit. In the firſt engagement with the Argo this galleon mounted only ſix guns, though ſhe was pierced for ſixty. In her engagement with the Panther, ſhe mounted but thirteen. The Engliſh captains had both been ſurprized to find ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance with ſo little activity of oppoſition. But their wonder ceaſed when they examined the galleon with attention. She was a huge veſſel that lay like a mountain on the water, and her ſides ſo exceſſively thick that the ſhot had made no impreſſion upon any part, except her upper works. She had 800 men on board; and the value of her cargo was regiſtered at one million and a half of dollars; that which was unregiſtered in order to be ſmuggled amounted to full as much; ſo that this capture was a valuable addition to the conqueſt, and a freſh wound to the enemy.

At no period of time had the Spaniſh monarchy ſuffered ſuch mortifying diſaſters as in the courſe of this war, of which there was no conqueſt more advantageous in itſelf, or more honourably achieved than that of the Philippines. The Britiſh forces effected their landing before Manilla on the 24th of September; their battery of cannon was not completed until the 3d of Octo-

ber, and on the 6th they were maſters of the city. In this ſhort time, notwithſtanding the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year which prevented the communication between the land and ſea forces, a territory was acquired conſiſting of fourteen conſiderable iſlands, which from their extent, fertility, and convenience of commerce, furniſhed the materials of a great kingdom. The conqueſt of the Havanna had in a great meaſure interrupted the communication between the wealthy American colonies of the Spaniards and Europe. The reduction of the Philippines now excluded them from Aſia. The two together ſecured all the avenues of the Spaniſh trade, and cut off all intercourſe between the parts of their vaſt but unconnected empire. Never indeed were any people more to be pitied than the Spaniards. They were plunged precipitately into a war againſt every principle of ſound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of their ſovereign, in favour of the intereſts of his family, which ſtood in direct oppoſition to thoſe of his people. Unfortunately for the happineſs of mankind, the former intereſts will always be preferred under the government of an abſolute prince. Whatever concluſions, therefore, may be drawn, at any future period, in favour of the pacific intentions of the Spaniards from the national advantages that would reſult from a pacific conduct, ought not to have great weight on the councils or meaſures of Great Britain. We ought in this caſe to diſtruſt appearances. The advantage, at leaſt the ſuppoſed advantage of a king of Spain and of his ſubjects, are not always the ſame. The national advantage is moſt obvious to ſtrangers, but that of the king will prevail in the cabinet; and Spain will undertake another war againſt Great Britain, though more ruinous than the former, whenever the intereſts or honour of the houſe of Bourbon demand her aſſiſtance.

The reduction of the Manillas will be handed down as a memorable event to the lateſt poſterity. Another expedition, which was much celebrated at the time, and which adorned the luſtre of the Britiſh arms in the courſe of this autumn, was the recovery of the iſland of St. John in Newfoundland. About the latter end of May, intelligence was received by the admiralty that a French ſquadron under the command of M. de Ternay had ſailed from Breſt under cover of a fog. The deſtination of this ſquadron being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York as rear-admiral, were immediately ordered from Spithead with ſeven ſhips of the line, and two frigates, in hopes that they might fall in with the enemy. They viſited the coaſt of France; and after cruiſing for ſome time in the chops of the Channel for the protection of our trade, returned to Portſmouth, not having ſeen M. de Ternay's fleet. It was deſcried, however, on the 11th of May, about fifty leagues to the northward of the Lizard by captain Rowley, who had ſailed with three ſhips of war, the Superbe of 74 guns, the Goſport of 44, and

and the Danaé of 38, as convoy to a fleet of merchantmen bound to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley no ſooner perceived them than he made a diſpoſition for battle, though greatly inferior in ſtrength. The French ſhips bore down upon him: when he hoiſted Britiſh colours, and fired at the neareſt, ſhe was within little more than random ſhot. The enemy immediately hoiſted Engliſh colours, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chace till three in the afternoon when they were ſcarcely in ſight; and having no hope of bringing them to action, he diſcontinued the purſuit, and rejoined his convoy.

The French ſquadron conſiſted of the Robuſte of 74 guns, the Eveille of 64, the Garonne of 44, and the Licorne of 30, carrying 1500 ſoldiers under the command of the count d'Hauſonville. They ſteered their courſe for Newfoundland, and on the 24th of June entered the bay of Bulls, where the troops were landed without oppoſition. Having taken poſſeſſion of an inconſiderable Engliſh ſettlement in this bay, they ſteered for the town of St. John's, which being defended by no more than ſixty-three men, ſurrendered upon capitulation. This little garriſon were made priſoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majeſty's ſloop the Gramont, which was in the harbour. The French likewiſe took ſeveral merchant veſſels, deſtroyed the ſtages erected for curing cod, and every thing elſe belonging to the fiſhery. They afterwards began to repair the fortifications of the town, of which they had determined to keep poſſeſſion.

When the news of this loſs reached England, the antiminiſterial party employed it as a ſubject of reproach againſt the king's ſervants. Their abuſe, though mean, illiberal, and vulgar, was not altogether ill-founded. Mr. Pitt's advice for guarding Newfoundland from any ſuch attempt, had been neglected by the miniſtry, who, while on this occaſion they repreſented the loſs of a place cold, barren, and inhoſpitable, as of very little conſequence, did not delay to prepare an armament for regaining the poſſeſſion of it.

But their preparations for this purpoſe were rendered unneceſſary by the vigilant celerity of lord Colville and Sir Jeffery Amherſt, who commanded by ſea and land in North America. The former, upon receiving advice of the progreſs of the French in Newfoundland, immediately ſailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John's with one ſhip of the line and one frigate only, even while M. de Ternay lay at anchor in it, with a ſuperior ſquadron. On the 11th day of September his lordſhip was joined by colonel Amherſt, whom his brother Sir Jeffery had detached from New York, with orders to touch at Louiſbourg, and take on board ſome troops, which, with thoſe embarked at Halifax, amounted to about 800 men, chiefly Highlanders and light infantry. The light infantry landed, after

after a ſhort reſiſtance, at Torbay, about ſeven miles to the northward of St. John's, it not being poſſible to land at Kitty-vitty, where the enemy had ſtopped up the narrow entrance, by ſinking ſhallops in the channel. The French had continued to annoy the boats, as the troops landed; until the light infantry obliged the enemy to retreat. The French afterwards took to the woods, through which the Britiſh had to march for four miles. They wounded ſeveral of our men with their buſh fire, which was very troubleſome till captain M'Donald's company of light infantry ruſhed in upon them, took ſome priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt. The Britiſh forces advanced to the ſtrong poſt of Kitty-vitty, which they took ſword in hand. This advantage ſecured their communication with the ſhips for landing the ſtores and artillery. The enemy poſted on a hill on the other ſide of the river fired upon our men; but a detachment was ſent to drive them from this eminence from which they retreated with precipitation, leaving ſeveral priſoners behind. The French were ſtill in poſſeſſion of two very high and ſteep hills, the one in the neighbourhood of our advanced poſts, and the other in the neighbourhood of St. John's, and commanding all the intermediate ſpace. It was neceſſary to diſlodge them; which was performed by captain M'Donald with great bravery and reſolution, at the head of his own and the provincial light infantry. With this corps he paſſed the ſentries and advanced guard unobſerved, and was not diſcovered till the main body of the French ſaw him climbing up the rocks, and almoſt at the top which he gained; having received the enemy's fire, he poured in his own with ſuch vivacity that the French gave way. The gallant captain received a mortal wound; his lieutenant with four men were killed, and eighteen wounded.

On the 16th colonel Amherſt proceeded vigorouſly in his preparations to attack the town of St. John's. The breaſt-work and unfiniſhed battery which commanded the harbour being taken, the entrance of the channel was cleared, and the ſtores and artillery were landed without difficulty. This was fortunately performed before a violent gale of wind, which happened immediately after, and drove lord Colville to a conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt. In his abſence M. de Ternay took advantage of a thick fog, to ſlip his cables and to make his eſcape, leaving the garriſon of St. John's to defend itſelf. His ſhips were ſeen at a great diſtance by the Britiſh ſquadron; but his conduct was ſo unlike that of Engliſhmen in abandoning a place intruſted to his protection, that it was not imagined the ſhips which they deſcried could be thoſe of M. Ternay.

On the 17th at night the colonel opened a battery, with one eight-inch mortar, ſeven cohorns, and ſix royals. The enemy, at the ſame time, began a briſk fire from the fort, and threw ſeveral ſhells. In the morning of the 18th the court of Hauſonville, who had declared two days before in a letter to colonel

nel Amherſt that he would not ſurrender the fort until it were totally deſtroyed, thought proper to alter his reſolution, and to demand a capitulation. The garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Breſt with the firſt opportunity; which condition was immediately fulfilled by lord Colville, who had, by this time, returned into the harbour. Thus the town and fort of St. John's with all the other places which the French had taken on this coaſt were recovered by the indefatigable labour and perſevering bravery of a handful of men, with the loſs only of about 20 ſoldiers in this important ſervice.

In the retaking of St. John's as well as in the reduction of the Havanna and the Philippines, the fleet and army co-operated with ſingular harmony and ſucceſs. As they underwent the ſame fatigue, they were entitled to an equal ſhare of glory as well as of reward. But it is obvious that the vaſt ſuperiority of the Engliſh ſeamen to the French and Spaniſh, and their firm hardineſs in performing ſome branches of ſervice which no land troops in the world would have dared to attempt, was the principal cauſe of that uniform and uninterrupted train of good fortune which crowned the Britiſh arms. The manly firmneſs and perſevering reſolution of our ſeamen, directed by the experienced valour and active vigilance of our naval commanders, overcame obſtacles of art and nature, which appeared at firſt ſight unſurmountable. Every meaſure was taken at that critical moment which was moſt favourable to its ſucceſs; no advantage was left unimproved, no error unrepaired. The whole plan of every expedition, as well as its ſubordinate parts, was conducted with heroic bravery, and guided by conſummate wiſdom.

Had the enemy's deſigns ſucceeded, we ſhould have had few exploits to boaſt of near the coaſt of France. In the month of December of the year 1761, they attempted to burn at once all the Britiſh ſhips of war that lay at anchor in the road of Baſque. They prepared three fire ſhips, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and ſet on fire with a ſtrong breeze that blew directly on the Engliſh ſquadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation, and the wind luckily ſhifting drove them clear of the ſhips they were intended to deſtroy. They were conſumed to no purpoſe, after blowing up with a terrible exploſion, and every perſon on board periſhing. On the 7th of March, his majeſty's ſhip Milford fell in with a Spaniſh letter of marque in her paſſage to St. Domingo. She had been a privateer of Bayonne, and pierced for 20 guns, but carried at preſent only 16 ſix pounders, and ten ſwivels, and 94 men, and had a valuable cargo on board. The engagement was hot and deſperate. Captain Mann of the Milford ſoon received a mortal wound. Mr. Day, the firſt lieutenant, taking the command of the ſhip, was immediately ſhot through the head. The defence of the king's ſhip devolving on lieutenant Naſh, this officer

ficer received ſeveral wounds in his hands and face. The engagement continued almoſt for 24 hours, when the enemy ſtruck, both ſhips being miſerably ſhattered.

About the ſame time his majeſty's ſhip Fowey, of 24 guns, nine pounders, and 135 men, commanded by captain Mead, fell in with La Ventura, a Spaniſh frigate of 26 guns, 12 pounders, and 300 men, carrying money to pay the Spaniſh troops at Porto Rico and St. Domingo. Theſe frigates engaged about ſeven leagues from Cape Tiberone. The fight continued an hour and a half, when their mutual damages obliged them both at the ſame time to ſheer off and repair. This done, captain Mead at ten o'clock of the night bore down a ſecond time on the enemy; but after exchanging a broadſide without any viſible effect, it being too dark to form any ſatisfactory notion of the diſtance and motion of the Spaniſh veſſel, he made ſail to windward, keeping a proper look-out, that he might not loſe ſight of her, but be able to renew the attack with advantage by day-light. Accordingly in the dawn of the morning, the Fowey, keeping her men at their quarters, ran up as cloſe to the Ventura as it was poſſible without falling on board of her. The engagement, renewed for the third time, was more bloody and deſperate than before. It laſted with extraordinary courage and conduct on both ſides till half an hour paſt eight, when the Spaniſh frigate having received ſeveral ſhot between wind and water, and being reduced almoſt to a wreck, was compelled to ſtrike her colours. She had near 50 men killed; and both ſhips were ſo much diſabled, that neither of them had tackles left to hoiſt out a boat, nor indeed a boat that could ſwim. Captain Mead, who is known by his uſeful invention for cleaning a ſhip's bottom at ſea, had occaſion for all his ingenuity on this occaſion. He contrived by nailing tarpaulins over the ſhot-holes of a ſmall boat, to bring the Spaniſh officers on board the Fowey. His gallantry was the more conſpicuous on this occaſion, as the ſhip's maſter was drunk, and unfit to give the leaſt aſſiſtance during the action. The gunner, too, happened to be wounded in the beginning of the engagement; and a lieutenant, with 24 men, were on ſhore.

On the 3d of April, after this wreck was carried into Port-Royal in Jamaica, the Huſſar frigate, captain Carket, attacked four ſhips, lying under a fort in Tiberone bay; one of which carrying 16 guns he burnt, ſunk another of 14 guns, cut out one of 16 and another of 12, and carried them into Jamaica. In this deſperate enterprize the Huſſar had but one man killed and 12 wounded; whereas the French had 17 killed and 35 wounded. But moſt of the crews of the enemy's ſhips eſcaped aſhore in their boats during the engagement.

On the 21ſt of May two Britiſh frigates, cruiſing off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter-ſhip, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with ſuch a quantity of treaſure

treasure and valuable effects as enriched all the captors. The Hermione had but 28 guns, and surrendered with little or no resistance; she was indeed in no situation to make a proper defence, the officers on board not being acquainted with the declaration of war between the two kingdoms. This ship carried 2,600,000 hard dollars; and her whole cargo was valued at a million sterling, which is more than had ever been before taken in one bottom. The loss of such an immense treasure at the beginning of a war which required the greatest expence, must have been a heavy blow to the ambition of the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and silver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in procession to the bank, amidst the acclamations of the people, who considered this as an auspicious omen of success in the war against Spain.

In the beginning of April captain Ourry of the Acteon, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spanish register ship, bound for Langueira, laden with artillery, stores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of 25 sail of French merchant ships, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, took their departure from Cape Francois for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of these vessels were surprized and taken in the night by some privateers of New-York and Jamaica. Next day it was their misfortune to fall in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica.

Nor were the British cruisers less successful on the coasts of Europe. In the beginning of April captain Gambier of the Burford arrived at Plymouth with a large East-Indiaman which had sailed from the isle of Bourbon with a valuable cargo, and been taken by one of admiral Pocock's squadron in the chops of the channel. About the end of August captain Hotham of the Æolus chased two Spanish ships into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the 2d day of September, standing into the bay, came to anchor in such a situation as to bring his guns to bear not only upon one of the ships, but also upon a small battery situated on an eminence. After a short but warm contest, both the battery and ship were abandoned; but before captain Hotham could take possession of his prize, she ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. On the 20th of September he took a vessel of considerable value belonging to Bourdeaux. In the beginning of November captain Ruthven of the Terpsichore took a French ship of 20 guns bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francois. The action, in which the captain was wounded, was sharp and obstinate. On the ninth of the same month the enemy lost the Oiseau, a frigate of 26 guns, commanded by the chevalier de Modene, who fell in with captain Tonyn of the king's ship the Brune, about seven leagues from Carthagena. The engagement was maintained with great spirit,

ſpirit on both ſides; but at length the chevalier was obliged to ſubmit, having loſt about 30 men, including all his officers, excepting three, who with himſelf were wounded in the action.

A continuation of ſucceſs had inſpired the Engliſh with an enthuſiaſm of valour as well as of magnanimity. Of the firſt we have an example in an exploit of the Brilliant and Duke of York privateers; and of the latter in the behaviour of captain Clark of the Sheerneſs frigate. Theſe privateers entered a ſmall port near Cape Finiſterre, defended by a battery at the entrance. In two hours time they beat the Spaniards from the fort, hoiſted Engliſh colours, and ſpiked up the cannon. They might have laid the town in aſhes, but were ſatisfied with burning two ſhips, and bringing off four more which were loaded with wine for the uſe of the Spaniſh fleet at Ferrol. The Minerva, a French frigate, had, in company with four other ſhips of war, given chaſe to the Sheerneſs, commanded by captain Clark, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing freſh. He was immediately followed by the captain of the Minerva, who actuated by an idle ſpirit of vanity and inſolence, reſolved to lie between him and the ſhore, and ran his ſhip upon the rocks which bound the eaſtern ſide of the harbour. Being himſelf ignorant of the art of ſeamanſhip, and ill aſſiſted by a crew little acquainted with ſuch emergencies, his ſhip was in a ſhort time daſhed to pieces; and a conſiderable part of his people periſhed, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance he could receive from his conſorts. On this melancholy occaſion captain Clark, forgetting they were enemies, and that this very calamity was occaſioned by their reſentment againſt him and his country, exerted himſelf vigorouſly for their relief. He could not have done more if his friends had been in danger. By this generous aſſiſtance the greateſt part of the crew and all the officers were ſaved.

It would be tedious to relate every naval exploit of the year 1762, in the courſe of which our men of war and privateers fought and took 120 conſiderable prizes, carrying 844 guns and near 6000 men. Neither French nor Spaniards had force at ſea ſufficient to annoy our trade in any great degree, and they were deterred from riſking their lives and properties on board of privateers, by the rough treatment which theſe commonly met with from the Engliſh frigates or armed merchantmen. Since the Spaniards, through the ambition of the court, had been precipitated into this fatal war, they had loſt 12 ſhips of the line beſides frigates; and the French had been deprived of a marine ſufficient to conſtitute the ſtrength of a great kingdom. Their whole loſs amounted to 18 ſhips of the line and 36 frigates taken; fourteen ſhips of the line and thirteen frigates deſtroyed. On the other hand the French took two and deſtroyed three Engliſh frigates; and thirteen Britiſh ſhips of the line,

line, with fourteen frigates, were loſt by accident. But not one capital Engliſh ſhip fell into the hands of the enemy.

The proſpect of rich plunder, which always attends a Spaniſh war, had revived the ſpirit of privateering, after it was in a great meaſure extinguiſhed by the repeated diſaſters of the French, which had left them ſcarcely any thing more to loſe by ſea. Some attempts were made in this way, which ſeem bold and daring beyond the ſpirit and abilities of private perſons. The expedition againſt Buenos Ayres in particular, though it ended unfortunately by a fatal accident againſt which human prudence is too weak to provide, deſerves, on account of the boldneſs and magnitude of the deſign, to be recorded among the memorable naval exploits of the year. It was the laſt act of hoſtility between the Engliſh and Spaniards, and concluded in a manner the moſt proper for diſpoſing brave and generous nations to a mutual forgiveneſs of injuries, and a ſincere deſire of accommodation.

The attempt againſt this Spaniſh ſettlement was undertaken by ſome private adventurers, after we had made ourſelves maſters of the Havanna, and taken meaſures for the conqueſt of the Philippines. Government thought proper to encourage their deſign, not ſo much from any lucrative motive as on account of the ſituation of Buenos Ayres, which of all the Spaniſh colonies lies the moſt conveniently for moleſting the poſſeſſions of our Portugueze allies, and which, if we ſhould be ſo fortunate as to get it into our power, would afford a ſtation well adapted for enterprizes againſt the trade and the dominions of Spain in the South Seas. The embarkation was made from the Tagus, and conſiſted of the Lord Clive and Ambuſcade privateers, the former of which was equal in force to a ſhip of 50 guns. They were reinforced by a Portugueze frigate, and ſome ſmall armed veſſels and ſtore ſhips, and had on board 500 ſoldiers, partly Engliſh, partly Portugueze. The expedition was under the command of captain Macnamara, an adventurer of ſpirit and experience, who had been many years a captain in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice, and had embarked his whole fortune in the preſent enterpriſe.

The armament ſailed from Liſbon the 30th of Auguſt, 1762, from which place to the mouth of the Plata the voyage proved favourable. But when they had entered that vaſt river the 2d of November, difficulties and obſtructions began to encounter them on every ſide. A violent gale of wind, attended with thunder and lightning, attacked them at their entrance. When the tempeſt ceaſed, they found that the river was ſhoaly, and of ſo difficult navigation that they muſt meet with no ſmall obſtructions in making their way to Buenos Ayres. The Spaniards were not here, as in other places, unacquainted with the declaration of war. They were well prepared for making a vigorous

reſiſtance,

resistance, and had begun, some weeks before, to act on the offensive by taking the Portugueze settlement of Nova Colonia.

This unexpected intelligence and the difficulties of the voyage to Buenos Ayres, determined the adventurers to abandon for some time this first design, and to begin with the recovery of Nova Colonia. An English pilot who knew the place and river, and whom they accidentally met with on board a Portugueze vessel, encouraged them to the attempt, undertaking to carry the commodore's ship into the harbour, and within pistol shot of the enemy's principal battery.

On the 1st of January, 1763, he made good his promise. The English ships arrived before Nova Colonia in good order, and the men in high spirits. They adorned their vessels with all the pomp and parade of naval triumph. Their colours were fully displayed; the soldiers dressed in new red uniforms, and disposed upon the poop and upon the tops, made a gallant appearance. In this manner they advanced to the attack the 6th of January, with horns sounding and drums beating, and every movement expressive of hope and victory.

The Lord Clive made the signal for engaging, and soon after anchored under the eastmost battery of the place, while the Ambuscade was exposed to a warm fire from the middle and west batteries, as well as from two Spanish frigates. But the plan of engagement was not exactly followed; the Portugueze frigate on which they had great dependance, having anchored at such a distance that none of her shot reached the shore. The Spaniards pointed their guns well, and stood to them with firmness. But the ships having rectified several mistakes in their first disposition, began a most fierce cannonading, which lasted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon, when the enemy's fire began visibly to abate, and their men to retire to the eastmost battery as the place of greatest security. Against this the fire of the English was directed with redoubled violence; and they had hopes every minute of seeing the Spanish colours struck. But when they were on the point of attaining the object of all their desires, the commodore's ship, by some accident, which has never been accounted for, unfortunately took fire. In a moment she was all in a blaze; and the same instant discovered the flames and the impossibility of extinguishing them. There was to be seen a most dreadful spectacle. The sides of the vessel were immediately crowded with naked men, who but a few minutes before reckoned themselves in the assured prospect of wealth and conquest. Some clung to the sails and rigging until the violence of the flames obliged them to forego their hold; others precipitated themselves into the sea; many died by their own hands; and several of still more determined courage went to the lower guns in the midst of this scene of confusion and horror, and kept up a constant fire on the enemy, till they were driven

driven by the flames to perish in another element. The commodore perished; and of 340 men, only 78 escaped.

None of the other vessels durst approach the Clive for fear of sharing her fate. The Ambuscade, which had suffered greatly from the enemy's fire, escaped to the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Janeiro. Such of the Lord Clive's crew as, by uncommon dexterity in swimming, reached the shore, were humanely received by the Spaniards, whose resentment was extinguished in the calamity of their enemies. The English came to them naked; they clothed them decently: they were destitute of every necessary; they supplied abundantly all their wants, received them into their houses, and treated them rather like their dearest friends than enemies come to expel them from their possessions.

The war thus closed with an action the fittest that can be imagined to dispose the minds of men to humanity, gentleness, and benevolence, and to prepare them for receiving with approbation the measures which had been taken for giving peace to the four quarters of the world.

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OF

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INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN from the end of the War in 1763 to the Year 1779.

AS the war of 1755 had been undertaken in order to protect the British colonies in America against the encroachments of the French, so the security of the colonies seemed to have been the principal object in the treaty of peace, of which the terms were, doubtless, more advantageous to the English settlements in America than to the island of Great Britain. The unexampled success of the war enabled England to dictate the conditions of peace. She had it in her option to retain the West-India islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, and Desiderade, the possession of which would have brought the most important advantages to her commerce, or by ceding these islands, to secure the American settlements on the north by the acquisition of Canada. She preferred the interest of her colonies. It was no less in her power to retain the important conquests she had made from Spain, as to obtain an equivalent for these conquests by stipulating such commercial advantages as would have added immense wealth to Great Britain, or to defend her American colonies in the south by acquiring the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, and the extensive county of Florida. In this instance, also, the interest of America prevailed. The colonies were secured from every hostile attack, and, at the price of British blood and treasure and every national advantage, were placed

placed in ſuch a ſituation as no longer required the protection o Great Britain. From that moment they may be ſaid to have obtained independence, when their condition enabled them to aſſume it.

It has long been obſerved, that England generally loſes by negotiation the advantages which ſhe has acquired by force of arms. If this obſervation be well founded, the circumſtance, perhaps, does not ſo much ariſe from the unſkilfulneſs of her miniſters as from the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution. In a free country there are a great many little intereſts, all of which muſt be conſidered by a miniſter, and ſome of which may be allowed, at certain times, in conſequence of a particular combination of circumſtances, to prevail over the general intereſt of the community. At the time that the public attention was employed in conſidering the propoſed terms of peace, the conduct of the Weſt-India intereſt in parliament was extremely remarkable. The popular lord-mayor of London aſſumed the lead among thoſe coloniſts, who compoſed a powerful and complete body in the houſe of commons. Theſe gentlemen, while the peace was in agitation, ſpared neither pains nor expence to perſuade the Engliſh nation, that it was far more eligible to retain Canada than the Weſt-India iſlands. The reaſon for their being ſo anxious to ſpread this opinion, was becauſe the poſſeſſion of the French Weſt-Indies would have annihilated their own importance; whereas the poſſeſſion of Canada could not detract any thing from the value of Jamaica, Antigua, and the other iſlands, in which their property conſiſted. It is ſaid that the late miniſter had, againſt his own ſentiments, purchaſed their friendſhip by complying with their deſires in this particular; and their clamorous efforts to render their own voice that of the public, had, doubtleſs, a conſiderable influence with the miniſters who negotiated the peace. But this was not all. The Engliſh had not yet learned to ſeparate their own intereſts from thoſe of America; and thoſe who then held the helm of affairs were fooliſhly dazzled with the notion of acquiring an extenſive and undiſturbed empire acroſs the Atlantic. When the Weſt-India patriots obſerved them determined in this deſign, and that the retaining of Canada and the ceſſion of the iſlands was a point irrevocable in the negotiation, they joined heartily in oppoſing the whole ſyſtem of the peace. The odium of this meaſure was thrown entirely on adminiſtration; but the clamour of pretended patriots and the ambition of courtiers had united in bringing about an event which has been one conſiderable ſource of the ſubſequent calamities which have befallen Great-Britain.

The parliament which met in the year 1763 approved of the peace, and voted 16,000 men to be employed for the ſea ſervice for 1764, including 4287 marines. The king in his ſpeech had recommended keeping the fleet on a reſpectable footing; the ordinary of the navy amounted to 368,598l. and 200,000l. were voted

voted towards the building and repairs of his majesty's ships for 1764. Nothing could be more proper than these preparations, which insured the performance of the articles of the general peace on the part of France and Spain; all of which, excepting the liquidation of the Canada bills, and the Manilla ransom, were fulfilled with great punctuality.

Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of the French and Spanish courts, some occurrences unavoidably happened in distant parts which were employed as arguments by the opposers of the peace for again embroiling Great-Britain with both these kingdoms. The first event of this kind was a misunderstanding between the English and French commanders in America. This afforded matter for popular declamation; but when the facts were fully explained, it appeared that the differences had entirely arisen from the commander of an English frigate having, pursuant to his orders from England, obliged a French ship to keep within the bounds of navigation prescribed by treaty. The matter was hardly explained to the satisfaction of the public, when a sloop of war arrived at Portsmouth from Newfoundland, which represented the French fleet on that coast as extremely formidable. It was asserted that the French, in direct opposition to the treaty of peace, intended to fortify St. Peter's, and that the British squadron in those parts commanded by Mr. Palisser, was by no means in a condition to prevent this measure. Upon this intelligence, the party in opposition pronounced a French war to be unavoidable, unless we were disposed to sacrifice all our late conquests. Mean while Mr. Palisser dispatched a sloop to the French governor at St. Peter's to inquire into the truth of the reports which prevailed, and to know if he had mounted cannon and erected works on that island. The governor answered by assurances that there was no more than one four-pounder mounted, without a plat-form, and with no other intention, than to make signals, and to answer those which were made by the fishermen; that the guard had never exceeded 50 men; and that no works or buildings whatever had been erected contrary to the treaty. The suspicions had arisen from the equivocal conduct of a captain of a French ship of 50 guns, which, as it appeared by the commodore's letters, was the only large vessel the French had in those parts. This ship, with one frigate of 26 guns, and another of inferior force, formed their whole strength, and Mr. Palisser was assured that none of those vessels had ever attempted, or would ever attempt to enter into any of the harbours on the coast of Newfoundland.

The clamour which was excited by the conduct of a French squadron at Turk's island, was supported on a better foundation. This place is the most considerable of a number of small islands which go under the same name on the coast of Spanish Hispaniola. It is only four miles in length, has not any good harbour, and is so barren and uncomfortable a spot, that it is impossible for any

any settlement to subsist upon it. But as the coast abounds with various kinds of fish, especially turtle, and affords great quantities of salt, the Bermudians and other British subjects resorted thither in order to fish, and to gather salt in the dry season. Two hundred of them were employed in this manner in the month of June, when a French ship of 74 guns, with a snow, sloop, and xebeque, arrived from Cape François. Having landed on Turk's island, they laid hold of the English, plundered and burnt their cabins, detained their persons for some days as prisoners, and when dismissed, ordered them never to return into those parts. Mr. Lyttleton the governor of Jamaica was no sooner informed of those hostilities, than he sent notice of them to the ministry, who gave such instructions as the occasion required to lord Hertford, then ambassador in France. Mean while an account of the whole transaction was laid before the public; and it was generally thought that the French intended to attempt a settlement on Turk's island. The opposition represented the attack upon the English salt-gatherers as a premeditated plan of the French politics, which was to be executed by the treacherous d'Estaign then governor of St. Domingo, for expelling the British subjects not only from these wretched islands, but from all their other possessions in the West-Indies. They insisted that the past hostilities and present intentions of the French were a justifiable ground for a new war. But this clamour was effectually silenced by the declaration of the French court, in answer to the demands of the British ambassador. It disavowed the proceedings of the French subjects in the West-Indies, disclaimed all intention of acquiring or conquering Turk's island, ordered the count d'Estaign to cause these islands to be immediately abandoned, and every thing therein to be restored to the condition in which it was before the late violent proceedings. Full reparation also was ordered to be made to the British subjects for the loss of their property and other injuries, according to an estimation to be immediately settled by the governors of Jamaica and St. Domingo.

The usual remissness of the court of Spain in giving instructions to their governors in distant parts, concerning the observation of treaties negotiated in Europe, had almost occasioned a rupture betwixt England and that kingdom, which, however, terminated in a manner equally honourable for Great-Britain. On the 22d of February, 1764, an order came from don Joseph Rosado, governor of Baccabar, commanding the English settlers in the bay of Honduras to retire from every other place, and to confine themselves to the banks of the river Balis. The English in those parts are under the protection of the governor of Jamaica, to whom they formed a petition, setting forth their grievances. In consequence of which governor Lyttleton sent an agent from Jamaica to inquire into the true state of the grievances complained of, and to use his best endeavours to redress them.

Upon inquiry it was found, that the order of the Spanish governor of Baccabar was in consequence of a letter of the 29th of December, 1763, written by Mr. d'Estines, captain-general of Jucatan, who had arrived at Campeachy on the 7th of the same month. This letter injoined the necessity of confining the logwood cutters to particular districts, in order to prevent the Spaniards from being imposed on by pretenders to the rights of British subjects. Accordingly the English were limited to 20 leagues up the south side of the new river; in the river Balis, and four leagues to the southward of its mouth, they were not to be interrupted; but if discovered beyond these limits, their negroes were seized, their property confiscated, and their own persons arrested.

While proper measures were used in America for removing these grievances, and for keeping the Spaniards to the 17th article of the treaty, which ascertained the right of the English to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, the earl of Rochford, then ambassador at Madrid, had instructions to complain of the conduct of Mr. d'Estines. To his memorial, which was dictated in the most spirited terms, the Spanish minister replied, "That "he had no advices from that governor relative to the subject of "the complaint; but that it was certainly his Catholic majesty's "intention to abide by the 17th article of the last treaty of peace; "that he had already given positive orders to his governor of "Jucatan for that purpose; that these orders should be renewed, "and the English no longer interrupted in cutting logwood in "the stipulated places."

This answer, though in appearance sufficiently explicit, did not satisfy the antiministerial party in Great-Britain. They affirmed that the reply of his Catholic majesty's minister was disingenuous, because it stipulated no satisfaction to the sufferers, nor any punishment on the offending party; and they called out for an immediate declaration of war against Spain. Partly, perhaps, in order to quiet the violence of their clamours, the earl of Rochford was ordered to make fresh remonstrances. These occasioned the sending of new orders to the governor of Jucatan, in which his proceedings with regard to the British subjects in the bay of Honduras are disapproved by his Catholic majesty; he is commanded to repair their injuries, to give them no disquiet in future under any pretence whatever; it being the desire of the king of Spain to preserve peace with Great-Britain, and to give the greatest proofs of his friendship to the British nation.

The pacific intentions of France and Spain, which had been sufficiently discovered in every transaction since the conclusion of the treaty, was entirely owing to the known strength of the British navy in those parts where the natural enemies of this kingdom are most vulnerable. The American seas were covered with English ships of war, which in a great measure interrupted the

the illicit commerce between the Britiſh colonies and the French and Spaniſh ſettlements. This occaſioned affecting repreſentations to be ſent from acroſs the Atlantic. The coloniſts complained that all the Britiſh ſhips of war were now converted into guarda-coſtas, and their commanders into ſo many cuſtom-houſe officers, who ſeized every foreign ſhip carrying gold and ſilver to be exchanged for Britiſh commodities; and they aſſerted that, if this reſource by which they were ſupplied with ſpecie from France and Spain was cut off, it would be impoſſible for them to make their remittances to England.

The univerſality of theſe complaints engaged the miniſtry to mitigate the rigour of the orders which they had ſent out at the concluſion of the peace to the Weſt-India governors, and commanders of ſhips, for annoying the contraband trade of the colonies with France and Spain. The navy of Great-Britain was thus delivered from a ſervice, which was in ſome meaſure unworthy of that dignity and ſplendour by which it had been diſtinguiſhed; and few veſſels were henceforth employed in an undertaking which was more ſuitable to the naval greatneſs of this iſland.

It had long been a queſtion with the learned, whether the unexplored part of the ſouthern hemiſphere contained another continent, or whether ſo great a part of the globe exhibited only an immenſe expanſe of water. The former opinion ſeemed to be rendered probable by analogical reaſoning concerning the geography of the earth, and received ſome additional ſtrength from the various diſcoveries of new lands in thoſe remote parts, by the ſeveral commercial powers who held poſſeſſions in America. The Engliſh, Portugueſe, Dutch, and French navigators had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, for above two centuries, in this immenſe field of enterprize; and, although they failed in all their attempts to determine the main queſtion, they met with ſuch a variety of new objects as gave riſe to other queſtions, and excited freſh curioſity. Soon after the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty to the throne, a deſign was formed of ſending out veſſels for examining with particular attention the wonders of the ſouthern hemiſphere, and for confirming what was true and detecting what was falſe in the various and contradictory accounts of former navigators. In the year 1764, the kingdom being then in a ſtate of profound peace, the Dolphin and the Tamer, the former a ſhip of war of the ſixth rate, and the latter a ſloop mounting ſixteen guns, were diſpatched for this purpoſe, under the command of commodore Byron, who in purſuance of his inſtructions, ſailed from the Downs on the 21ſt of June; and having viſited the Falkland iſlands, paſſed through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, where he diſcovered the iſlands of Diſappointment, George, Prince of Wales, Danger, York iſland, and Byron iſland. He returned to England in the month of May in the year 1766—having determined in the courſe of

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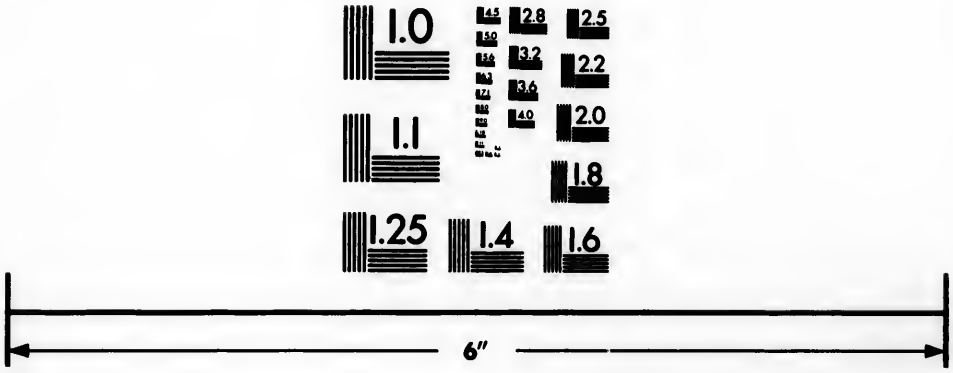

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this long navigation many doubtful points, the result of which is highly interesting to the public, and may be of great importance to future navigators.

Commodore Byron came in sight of Cape Frio on the coast of Brazil on the 11th of September, and anchored the day following in the great road of Rio de Janeiro. This city is governed by the viceroy of Brazil, who received the English officers with a ceremonious politeness. The people aboard the commodore's ship, having been supplied with fresh provisions and greens every day, were very healthy; but there being many sick aboard the Tamer, a place was appointed for them on shore, where they soon recovered. On the 16th of October both ships weighed anchor; and the crews were impatient to get to sea, in order to avoid the excessive heats which prevail on that coast. They were obliged, however, to remain five days above the bar, waiting for the land breeze; nor was it without much difficulty, they got out at last, on account of the narrowness of the entrance between the two first forts, which renders the passage so dangerous that the ships must have been lost, had they followed the advice of the Portuguese pilot. During the delay at Rio de Janeiro several English sailors were decoyed by the Portuguese to leave their respective ships. This is a common practice on the coast of Brazil, especially at Rio de Janeiro, where the Portuguese, carrying on a great trade, spare no pains, nor labour, nor deceit to entice foreign seamen to enter into their service.

The commodore, having lost sight of the coast of Brazil on the 22d of October, called all hands upon deck, and informed them that he was not, as they imagined, bound immediately to the East-Indies, but upon certain discoveries, which it was thought might be of great importance to our country, in consideration of which the lords commissioners of the admiralty had been pleased to promise them double pay, and several other advantages, if during the voyage they should behave themselves to his satisfaction. They all expressed the greatest joy upon the occasion; assured him they would undergo with cheerfulness every difficulty and danger in the service of their country, and obey his orders with the utmost zeal. The commodore continued to steer his course towards the south; and on the 11th November found himself in the latitude, 42 degrees, 34 minutes south; longitude, 58 degrees 17 minutes west. While he was in the latitude of 35 degrees 50 minutes, he found the weather as cold as it is in the same season in England, although the month of November is a spring month in the southern hemisphere, answering to the month of May in Europe; and they were 20 degrees nearer the line than we are in Britain; so much colder is it towards the southern regions of the earth. The people on the forecastle were frequently deceived with the appearance of land.

On

On the 12th November they called out at once, "Land right "a-head." The commodore looked forward under the foresail, and saw what at first appeared to be an island, rising in two rude craggy hills. He sent officers to the mast-head who called out that they saw land a great way to the windward. As they continued their navigation, the land still kept the same appearance, and the hills looked blue, as they generally do at a distance. Many of the seamen said they saw the sea break upon the sandy beaches; but having steered for above an hour, what they had taken for land vanished at once, and, to their great astonishment, appeared to have been a fog bank. After this extraordinary disappointment the commodore shaped his course for Cape Blanco, which he discovered on the 17th, but after two days sailing was still at a loss for Port Desire, no description being more confused than that which Sir John Narborough had given of that harbour. On the 20th he discovered an island, which corresponded with Narborough's description of Penguin island; and in the evening saw a remarkable rock, rising from the water's edge like a steeple, on the south side of the entrance of Port Desire. This rock is an excellent land-mark for the harbour, which is otherwise very difficult to find. During his stay at this place, which was till the 5th of December, the commodore ordered every part of it to be sounded, and found that there is no danger but what may be seen at low water. He discovered several wells of fresh water at a small distance from the beach, and found great quantities of guanicoes and wild fowl. Here is also such plenty of excellent muscles, that a boat may be loaded with them every trip at low water; and in some parts of the coast there are bushes which might produce a tolerable supply of fuel. On the whole, Port Desire would be a very convenient place for ships to touch at, if it were not for the rapidity of the current.

Having unmoored on the 5th December, they proceeded in search of Pepy's island, which is said in Cowley's voyage to lie in 47 degrees south latitude. But they sought for it during several days in vain, and were at length obliged by hard weather to steer for the Cape Virgin Mary, the north entrance of the Straits of Magellan. On the 20th they ran close in shore to this cape, there being a long spit of sand running to the southward. In the evening they brought up close to this spit of sand, having seen many guanicoes feeding in the vallies, and a great smoke all the afternoon. At this place the Dolphin anchored; but the Tamer, not being able to fetch the anchoring ground, kept under way all night. However, both vessels anchored next morning two miles from the shore. This was the coast of Patagonia, which, according to very early accounts, was said to be inhabited by a race of giants; but the veracity of these accounts had become doubtful, from the contradictory assertions of many later navigators who had been on that coast, and had never met with any

men

men of an extraordinary ſtature. This circumſtance naturally engaged the commodore's attention. When his ſhip, therefore, had come to an anchor, he ſaw exactly what had happened to the crew of the Wager, as mentioned in the account written by Mr. Bulkeley of her voyage. A great number of horſemen rode backwards and forwards directly abreaſt of the ſhip, waving in their hands ſomething white as an invitation for them to come on ſhore. The commodore, being, extremely deſirous to know what theſe people were, ordered out his twelve-oared boat, and went towards the beach with Mr. Marſhal his ſecond lieutenant, and a party of men well armed, Mr. Cumming his firſt lieutenant following in the ſix-oared cutter. When they came within a ſhort diſtance of the ſhore, they ſaw above 500 people, ſome on foot, but the greater part on horſeback, who continued waving and hallooing, as invitations to land. They appeared to be entirely unarmed; but the commodore made ſigns to them to remove to a little diſtance, with which they immediately complied. The Engliſh then landed, and were drawn up on the beach, where the commodore ordered them to continue, while he alone went forward towards the Indians, who retired as he approached. He therefore again made ſignals that one of them ſhould come near, which one of them who appeared to be a chief, immediately complied with. He was of a gigantic ſtature, and ſeemed to realize in part the tales of Polyphemus of old. He had the ſkin of a wild beaſt thrown over his ſhoulders, and his face was painted ſo as to make a moſt hideous appearance. The commodore did not meaſure him, but ſuppoſes his height to have been about ſeven feet. With this frightful Coloſſus he marched forward to join the reſt, who ſtill continued at a diſtance, as they had been deſired. Mr. Byron made ſigns for them to ſit down, which they readily obeyed. There were among them ſeveral women proportionably large, and few of the men ſeemed leſs than the chief who had firſt come forward. They received with much pleaſure the trinkets which were diſtributed among them, and behaved in a moſt regular and orderly manner, no one teſtifying the leaſt impatience or diſpleaſure, that his neighbour was ſerved before him, or that his preſent was better than his own. They made ſigns for the commodore to go along with them, and offered him one of their horſes; but he made them underſtand that he muſt return to his ſhip, at which they expreſſed great concern. During the pantomimical conference, an old man often laid his head down upon the ſtones, and ſhutting his eyes for about half a minute, firſt pointed to his mouth, and afterwards to the hills, meaning probably, that if the ſtrangers could ſtay all night, he would bring them ſome proviſions. Theſe people are not only tall, but well proportioned: except the ſkins which they wore with the hair inwards, moſt of them were naked, a few only having on their legs a kind of boot, with a ſhort pointed ſtick

faſtened

faſtened to each heel, which ſerved as a ſpur. When the commodore, and ſome of his people who had by this time come up, thought proper to leave them, not one of them offered to follow, but continued to remain in the ſame poſition in which they had been placed. They had a great number of dogs, with which they probably hunt the wild animals which ſerve them for food. Their horſes were not large, nor in good caſe, yet they appeared to be nimble and well broken. The bridle was a leathern thong, with a ſmall piece of wood that ſerved for a bit, and the ſaddles reſembled the pads, which are uſed among the country people in England. The women rode aſtride, and both men and women without ſtirrups; yet they galloped fearleſsly over the ſpit upon which the Engliſh landed, the ſtones of which were large, looſe and ſlippery.

Mr. Byron, having quitted this part of the coaſt, and being in latitude 51 degrees ſouth, and longitude 63 degrees 22 minutes weſt, obſerved on the 14th of January a low flat iſland, full of high tufts of graſs reſembling buſhes. He continued his courſe along the ſhore of this iſland about ſix leagues, and then ſaw another iſland low and rocky. On the former he diſcovered one of the fineſt harbours in the world, which he named Port Egmont in honour of the Earl, who preſided at the board of admiralty. The mouth of this harbour is ſouth-eaſt, diſtant ſeven miles from the rocky iſland, which is a good mark to know it by. In every part of Port Egmont, where the whole navy of England might ride in perfect ſafety, there is great plenty of freſh water; and geeſe, ducks, ſnipes and other birds are ſo numerous, that the ſhip's company grew tired of them. Here are wild celery and wood ſorrel in the greateſt abundance, beſides many other refreſhments, which are in the higheſt degree ſalutary to thoſe who have contracted ſcorbutic diſorders during a long voyage. Nor is there any want of muſcles, clams, cockles and limpets; the ſeals and penguins are innumerable, and it is impoſſible to walk on the beach without firſt driving them away. The coaſt, alſo, abounds with animals of a more dangerous kind. There are ſea lions of an enormous ſize; and a very fierce quadruped reſembling a wolf. The fangs of this creature are remarkably long and ſharp; and it is ſo fierce as to run againſt every animal that it ſees. It is not eaſy to gueſs how this quadruped ſhould have got to theſe iſlands, which are diſtant at leaſt one hundred leagues from the continent. The firſt navigator who viſited thoſe parts is ſuppoſed to be captain Davis, the aſſociate of Cavendiſh, in 1592. In 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins ſaw land, ſuppoſed to be the ſame, and, in honour of his miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. Long afterwards they were ſeen by ſome French ſhips from St. Maloes; and Frezier, probably for that reaſon, called the Malouins, a name which has ſince been adopted by the

the Spaniards. Commodore Byron thinks there is little reason to doubt they are the same called Pepys Islands by Cowley; and he took possession of Port Egmont and all the neighbouring islands for his majesty king George the third, by the name of Falkland Islands.

Commodore Byron having examined those parts with a degree of attention that had never been before bestowed on them, made sail for Port Desire, and on the 6th of February saw land, and stood in for the port. During the run from Falkland Islands to this place, the number of whales about the ship was so great as to render the navigation dangerous. On the 14th he put to sea, in order to go through the Streights of Magellan, and to examine with attention the principal bays and harbours formed by the coast on each side. He entered the Streight the 17th of February, and quitted it the 9th of April, having employed seven weeks and two days in the voyage, which was attended with incredible difficulties and dangers. These, however, were to be ascribed entirely to his entering the Streight near the time of the equinox, when the worst weather was to be expected: but at a proper season of the year, not only a single vessel but a whole squadron might pass the Streight in less than three weeks. One great advantage of this passage above the doubling Cape Horn, is the facility with which fish is almost every where to be procured, with wild celery, scurvy grass, berries, and many other vegetables.

Having cleared the Streight he pursued his course to the westward, and on the 9th of May, being in latitude 26 degrees 46 minutes south, longitude 94 degrees 45 minutes west, determined to steer a north west course until he got the trade wind, and then to stand to the westward till he should fall in with Solomon's Islands, if any such there were, or make some new discovery. On the 31st there was a great number of birds about the ship, which made him conclude the land was at no great distance. But none was discovered till the 7th of June, in latitude 14 degrees 5 minutes south, longitude 144 degrees 58 minutes west. Then a small island was observed at the distance of some leagues. In a very short time another island was discovered to windward, much larger than the first. The ship stood for the small island, which had a most beautiful appearance, being surrounded with a beach of the finest white sand, and within covered with tall trees, which extended their shade to a great distance. It seemed to be about five miles in circumference, and from each end of it a spit runs into the sea, upon which the surge broke with great violence. The natives appeared on the beach with spears in their hands, at least sixteen feet long. They made large fires, probably for signals, as the same appeared immediately after on the large island. The commodore sailed round

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this iſland, but to the great regret and diſappointment of the ſhip's company no anchoring place could be found within leſs than a cable's length of the ſhore, which was ſurrounded cloſe to the beach with a ſteep coral rock. The ſailors, diſtreſſed with the ſcurvy, ſaw coçoa nuts in great abundance, the milk of which is perhaps the greateſt antiſcorbutic in the world. They had reaſon to believe that there were limes, bananas, and other fruits which are generally found between the tropics; and, to increaſe their mortification, they ſaw the ſhells of many turtles ſcattered about the ſhore. Having viewed this forbidden paradiſe with ſenſations of inexpreſſible diſtreſs, they wrought up to the other iſland, which was diſcovered to be equally inacceſſible. They perceived ſeveral other low iſlands, or rather peninſulas, moſt of them being joined one to the other by a neck of land very narrow, and almoſt level with the ſurface of the water. Here the cocoa trees are eaſily diſcovered, being higher than any other part of the ſurface. A boat being ſent to ſound the lee ſide of theſe iſlands for an anchoring place, the Indians ran down in great numbers to the ſhore, armed with long ſpears and clubs, and making uſe of many threatening geſtures. A gun was fired over their heads, which made them fly to the woods; but the boat returned without being able to diſcover any ſoundings cloſe in with the ſurf, which broke very high upon the ſhore. The commodore thus finding it impoſſible to obtain any refreſhment here, named this cluſter of iſles the Iſlands of Diſappointment, and continued his voyage to the weſtward.

Land was again diſcovered in leſs than twenty-four hours, at the diſtance of ſix leagues. In the morning of the 10th of June, being within three miles of the ſhore, they perceived it to be a long low iſland, with a white beach, of a pleaſant appearance, full of cocoa nut and other trees. It was ſurrounded with a rock of red coral, and the natives behaved in the ſame hoſtile manner as thoſe of the Iſlands of Diſappointment. No anchoring place was to be found, nor was it poſſible to eſtabliſh any friendly intercourſe with the Indians. When the veſſel came to the weſtermoſt point of this iſland the ſailors obſerved another about four leagues diſtant. They viſited every part of its coaſts, but could find no ſoundings. The boats having approached very near the ſhore, made ſigns to the natives, who appeared in great numbers, that they wanted water. The Indians readily underſtood them, and directed them to run down farther along the ſhore. Some of them ſwam off to our boats, carrying cocoa nuts, and water in the ſhells. The principal object of the boats was to obtain ſome pearls; and the men, to aſſiſt them in explaining their meaning, had taken with them ſome of the pearl-oyſter ſhells, which they had found in great numbers upon the coaſt.

coaſt. But all their endeavours to make themſelves underſtood by the Indians were ineffectual; and as no anchorage could be found for the ſhips, the commodore proceeded to the weſtward, having named theſe iſlands, which are ſituated in latitude 14 degrees 41 minutes ſouth, longitude 149 degrees 15 minutes weſt, King George's Iſlands.

On the day following, that is the 13th of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, land was again diſcovered, bearing S. S. W. diſtant about ſix leagues. The commodore ſtood for it, and found it to be a low and very narrow iſland, lying eaſt and weſt, with a very green and pleaſant appearance, but a dreadful ſurf breaking on every part of it. It abounds with inhabitants, is about twenty leagues in length, and lies in latitude 15 degrees ſouth, and the weſtermoſt point of it in longitude 151 degrees 53 minutes weſt. To this place, which was every where inacceſſible, the commodore gave the name of the Prince of Wales Iſland.

From the weſtern extremity of this iſland he ſteered towards the north-weſt, and, on the 16th, ſaw vaſt flocks of birds, which always took their flight to the ſouthward when evening came on. This appearance, as well as the obſervation that all the little iſlands which had been diſcovered, were full of inhabitants, made it probable, that there was a continent, or at leaſt ſome large iſlands to the ſouthward. But the ſickneſs of the ſhip's crew made it impoſſible for them to purſue their diſcoveries in that direction. On the 21ſt of June they were in latitude 12 degrees 33 minutes ſouth, longitude 167 degrees 47 minutes weſt, and next morning diſcovered a moſt dangerous reef of breakers, at the diſtance of a league. Land was ſeen a little afterwards from the maſt-head, having the appearance of three iſlands, with rocks and broken ground between them. The ſouth-eaſt of theſe iſlands is about three leagues in length between the extreme points, from both which a reef runs out, upon which the ſea breaks to a tremendous height. The iſlands themſelves had a more fertile and beautiful appearance than any before diſcovered, and, like the reſt, ſwarmed with people, whoſe habitations were ſeen ſtanding in cluſters all along the coaſt, which is unfortunately ſurrounded in ſuch a manner by rocks and breakers, that it cannot be approached without the moſt imminent danger. The commodore, therefore, named theſe the Iſlands of Danger. They lye in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes ſouth, longitude 169 degrees 28 minutes weſt.

He ſteered from thence N. W. by W. and on the 24th diſcovered another iſland bearing S. S. W. diſtant about ſeven or eight leagues. It appeared, upon approaching nearer to it, to be low, and covered with wood, among which were cocoa-nut trees in great abundance. It is near thirty miles in circumference;

rence; a dreadful ſea breaks upon almoſt every part of the coaſt, where no anchorage is to be found. The commodore ſent out the boats with orders to land, if poſſible, and procure ſome refreſhments for the ſick. They brought off about 200 cocoa nuts, which, to perſons afflicted with the ſcurvy, were an ineſtimable treaſure. They reported, that there was no ſign of the iſland's ever being inhabited. They found thouſands of ſea-fowl ſitting upon their neſts, which were built in high trees; and theſe birds were ſo tame, that they ſuffered themſelves to be knocked down, without taking to flight. The commodore was at firſt inclined to believe that this iſland was the ſame that in the *Neptune Francoiſe* is called Maluita, and laid down about a degree to the eaſtward of the great iſland of St. Elizabeth, the principal of the Solomon's iſlands; but being afterwards convinced of the contrary, he called it the Duke of York's Iſland.

He continued his courſe till the 29th, in the track of Solomon's iſlands, but found no reaſon to believe that any ſuch exiſted in the ſituation aſſigned them by the French. He diſcovered, however, on the 2d of July, an iſland bearing north, diſtant about ſix leagues. Next morning it was found to be low and flat, of a delightful appearance, and full of wood, among which the cocoa-nut tree was very conſpicuous. It is extremely populous, and the natives, in more than ſixty canoes, put off from the ſhore and made towards the ſhip, which lay by to receive them. "After theſe Indians," ſays the commodore, "had gazed at us ſome time, one of them ſuddenly jumped "out of his proa, ſwam to the ſhip, and ran up the ſide like a "cat; as ſoon as he had ſtepped over the gunwale, he ſat down "upon it, and burſt into a violent fit of laughter, then ſtarted "up, and ran all over the ſhip, attempting to ſteal whatever "he could lay his hands upon, but without ſucceſs, for being "ſtark naked it was impoſſible for him to conceal his booty for "a moment. Our ſeamen put on him a jacket and trowſers, "which produced great merriment, for he had all the geſtures "of a monkey newly dreſſed; we alſo gave him bread, which "he eat with a voracious appetite, and after having played a "thouſand antic tricks, he leaped overboard, jacket and trow-"ſers and all, and ſwam back to his proa. After this ſeveral "others ſwam to the ſhip, ran up the ſide to the gun-room "ports, and having crept in, ſnatched up what ever lay in their "reach, and immediately leaped again into the ſea, and ſwam "away at a great rate, though ſome of them, having both "hands full, held up their arms quite out of the water to pre-"vent their plunder from being ſpoiled. Theſe people are tall, "well proportioned and clean limbed; their ſkin is a bright "copper colour, their features extremely good, and there is a

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"mixture of intrepidity and cheerfulness in their countenances "that is very striking. They had long black hair, which some "of them wore tied up behind in a great bunch, others in three "knots; some of them had long beards, some only whiskers, "and some nothing more than a small tuft at the point of the "chin. They were all of them stark naked, except their orna-"ments, which consisted of shells, very prettily disposed and "strung together, and were worn round their necks, wrists, and "waists. One of these men, who appeared to be a person of "some consequence, had a string of human teeth about his waist, "which was probably a trophy of his military courage, for he "would not part with it in exchange for any thing that I could "offer him. Some of them were unarmed, but others had "one of the most dangerous weapons I had ever seen. It was "a kind of spear, very broad at the end, and stuck full of "shark's teeth, which are as sharp as a lancet, at the sides, for "about three feet of its length. We showed them some cocoa "nuts, and made signs that we wanted more; but instead of giv-"ing any intimation that they could supply us, they endeavoured "to take away those we had." The commodore sent out boats to sound, and they reported that there was ground at the depth of thirty fathom within two cables length of the shore; but as the bottom was coral rock, and the soundings much too near the breakers for a ship to lie in safety, he was obliged to make sail, without procuring any refreshments. This island, to which his officers gave the name of Byron's Island, lies in latitude 1 degree 18 minutes south, longitude 173 degrees 46 minutes east. Here ended the discoveries made by the Dolphin. She afterwards shaped her course for the isle of Tinian, which, to her great regret and disappointment, appeared to be no longer that delightful place of which the elegant author of Anson's voyage has given so luxuriant a description. From thence she proceeded to Batavia, and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, proceeded on her return to England. She came to anchor in the Downs on the 9th of May, 1766, having been just nine weeks in coming from the Cape, and somewhat more than two and twenty months upon the voyage round the world.

The parliament which assembled towards the close of the year 1764, voted 16,000 men to be employed in the sea service for the year 1765, including 4287 marines; and a sum not exceeding 4l. per man per month for their maintenance. The ships stationed in the British seas had no call to exert their activity; but those on the coast of America were employed in the same service which had been attended with such bad effects the preceding year. The trade of America with Great Britain had increased, during the last years, and after the conclusion of the war, beyond the hopes and speculations of the most sanguine politicians.

politicians. The Americans bought annually to the amount of three millions of British commodities. Their trade, however, was not confined to the mother country. It swelled out on evrey side; and having filled all its proper channels to the brim, overflowed with a rich abundance. In short, the contraband trade kept pace with the regular, and was its most natural effect. This, doubtless, was an evil; but being connected with the cause of our prosperity, it was an evil that ought to have been treated with the greatest delicacy and address. Unfortunately for the interests of the British empire on both sides of the Atlantic, a gentleman now president in the treasury, who had beheld with peculiar jealousy the increase of this contraband trade, Mr. Grenville, when first lord of the admiralty, and not strictly called upon in his official line, had presented a very strong memorial to the lords of the treasury, heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit trade in America. We have already hinted at the bad consequences arising from the attempt to put an entire stop to the commerce between the British and Spanish colonies. These were seen and acknowledged even by administration. A law was made therefore, the 5th of April, 1764, which rendered legal, in some respects, the intercourse between the different establishments in the new world. But the same law loaded this commerce with very heavy impositions, and ordered the money arising from these to be paid in specie, into the British exchequer. While it was thought expedient to fit out armed cutters, under the command of sea officers, to prevent smuggling in the British seas, the naval commanders on the coasts of America were employed in rendering effectual the late commercial regulations. These gentlemen could not be supposed to become acquainted with all the forms which this business required. They were unacquainted with the cases in which ships were liable to penalties; nor did they better understand those cases in which they were even exempted from detention. Hurried on by the natural violence of their dispositions, and acting with that irregular vivacity and contempt of formal rules, which they had exerted with such advantage and glory in defence of their country against the common enemy, they ruined the interests of trade, while they disappointed the expectations of the treasury. The commerce between British subjects was the first that suffered, notwithstanding that vast number and intricacy of bonds, clearances, cockets, registers, &c. which had been established to protect it. The trade carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, which was so extremely advantageous to the former, was nearly annihilated. The new-made custom-house officers seized indiscriminately, all vessels carrying on that trade, whether belonging to fellow-subjects or foreigners, which the ordinary custom-house-officers, stationed on them, had always

ways permitted to pafs unnoticed. Befides the general traffic between the Englifh, French, and Spanifh Americans, there was a particular and moft advantageous trade carried on between North America and the French Weft Indies. It confifted chiefly in an exchange of fuch commodities as muft otherwife have remained a drug, if not an incumbrance, on the hands of the poffeffors. The balance was paid in fpecie to North America, which, together with the balance of the Spanifh trade, enabled them to make their remittances to Great Britain. This intercourfe between North America and the French Weft India iflands, was confidered as fo neceffary to the former, that it was permitted to be maintained during the firft years of the war; directly, by means of flags of truce; indirectly, through the Dutch and Danifh iflands; and, at length, through the Spanifh porte of Monte Chrifti in the ifland of Hifpaniola. When the Englifh, towards the conclufion of the war, had obtained the moft diftinguifhed advantages, and in a manner laid fiege to all the French Weft India iflands, government determined to put a ftop to this intercourfe, not fo much in the light of a contraband trade, as in that of a treafonable practice, without which it would be impoffible for thefe valuable iflands to hold out againft our attempts to reduce them. When the war concluded, the arguments of treafon ceafed, and this intercourfe again returned to its former flourifhing condition. But, upon the eftablifhment of the new revenue laws, it funk under the fame blow which deftroyed the general commercial intercourfe of the new world.

Before the eftablifhing of thefe laws produced any confiderable effect in Great Britain, it was attended with very fatal confequences to the fituation and circumftances, as well as to the temper and difpofition of the colonifts. Immediately on a ftop being put to their trade, they came to a refolution not to buy any clothing they could poffibly live without, that was not of their own manufacturing. Not having the ufual returns to make to Great Britain for the woollen goods which they ufually purchafed from her, they adopted a plan of retrenchment dictated by neceffity, and gave up all hopes of being clothed in the finery of their mother country. The refolution taken with regard to this article was rendered general by a vote of the houfe of commons, which followed the law impofing new duties upon their foreign trade: "That, towards farther defraying the neceffary "expences of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to "charge certain ftamp-duties upon them." When this determination of the Britifh legiflature was known in America, the inhabitants entered into affociations, not only to abide by their former refolution taken in confequence of the interruption of their trade by the naval cuftom-houfe officers, but to encourage

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as much as possible all kinds of manufacture within themselves. These measures were despised by the ministry, who concluded that because the wool of the colonies is not so good as that of Great Britain, it would be impossible for them not to depend upon her for that article; and because the other commodities which they purchased from this country were such as it would be extremely inconvenient for them to want, they must be soon disgusted with an agreement, entered into in a moment of resentment, which must be more distressing to themselves than injurious to the mother country. But the firm perseverance of the colonies in adhering to the principles of their association, proved the weakness of this reasoning. They were ready to submit to every other hardship rather than yield to what they deemed an infringement of their liberties.

In consequence of this general disposition of persons of all ranks in these colonies, great evils began to be felt, and still greater to be apprehended. A temporary interruption of commercial intercourse between England and America immediately took place, which could not fail to be extremely prejudicial to the former. The numerous body employed in preparing, buying, or transporting goods to the American market, were deprived of employment. While individuals were reduced to beggary, the revenue suffered in proportion by the want of the export and import duties. Yet neither these evils, nor the fear of totally alienating America from the interest of Great Britain, deterred the ministry from passing that law, the bare suspicion of which had occasioned such disgust. The stamp-act made its way through both houses, and received the royal assent by commission, the 22d of March, 1765.

The news of this unfortunate event first reached the province of New-England, which of all the English colonies has ever had the strongest bent towards republican licentiousness. The sullen obstinacy and hatred which already possessed them, were converted, by this fresh instance of what their leaders taught them to deem little better than tyranny, into the most violent fury, which every where broke out into action. The ships in the harbour hoisted their colours half mast high, in token of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the populace treated the act with the most licentious contempt; many of the better sort gradually mixed in these tumultuous acts, proceeded to avow it themselves in the most expressive terms, grounding it on the same arguments which their friends on this side the water had already used to prove it. The history of what follows is that of the disgrace of Great Britain. The ministry, whether unwilling or unable to support by force of arms the law which they had thought proper to enact, resigned their places. Their successors yielded to the storm, instead of resisting it, while resistance could

could yet be effectual. They obtained a momentary popularity by repealing the ſtamp-act, which had been ſo offenſive to the colonies, and ſo hurtful to a conſiderable part of the trading intereſt of Great Britain. But the factious, turbulent ſpirit which had taken poſſeſſion of the former, was far from being mollified by the lenient conceſſions in their favour, and the great conſideration ſhewn to their circumſtances by their legiſlature. The miniſtry, whoſe debility or moderation had tended to confirm them in their diſregard to the authority of parliament, did not long continue in office. But the effects of their adminiſtration were permanent. The colonies were no longer ſatisfied in committing private acts of outrage; they did not content themſelves with ſhowing diſreſpect to their governors and other ſervants of the crown; but openly ſet at defiance the power of the whole legiſlative body. Even the aſſembly of New York, a province where the ideas of legal ſubordination had been long and firmly eſtabliſhed, voted in direct oppoſition to an act of laſt ſeſſion for providing the troops with neceſſaries in their quarters, and paſſed an act of aſſembly by which theſe provinces were regulated in a mode totally inconſiſtent with that preſcribed by parliament.

Adminiſtration combated this rebellious uſurpation of power by another act of the legiſlature, incapacitating the aſſembly of New York for all legal functions, till they had in every reſpect complied with the Britiſh regulations reſpecting the troops. At the ſame time they oppoſed the licentious ſpirit of the other provinces by new revenue laws, which, as no vigorous means were uſed to enforce them, were as nugatory as the former. The Rockingham adminiſtration repealed the ſtamp-act, but aſſerted the right of taxation; their ſucceſſors (the Duke of Grafton was now at the head of the treaſury) exerciſed this right, by laying duties on the importation of glaſs, paper, and ſome other commodities, into the colonies. The officers appointed to collect this revenue were every where treated like criminals; and the authority of Great Britain was totally diſregarded. Beſides the tumultuous riots which happened in particular parts, the general temper and conduct of the whole people became every day more licentious. That republican ſpirit, which is as inconſiſtent with the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution as it is agreeable to the wild doctrines and levelling principles in which the inhabitants of Boſton had been nurſed, began firſt openly to diſplay itſelf in that capital. Having adopted reſolutions of a nature the moſt violent and factious, the aſſembly there ſent a circular letter, ſigned by the ſpeaker, the 11th of February, 1768, to all the other aſſemblies of North America. In this they expatiated largely on the natural rights of men and the tyranny of the Britiſh legiſlature, and they ſummoned the colonies to unite

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in one common cauſe for maintaining their privileges inviolate. This letter was anſwered by many of the provinces in a ſimilar tone; and the flame of rebellion began to ſpread over the whole North American continent.

One vigorous meaſure gave it a conſiderable check in the place where it had firſt broke out. Two regiments were ordered from Ireland to ſupport the authority of parliament over the inhabitants of Boſton, and ſeveral detachments from different parts of the continent rendezvouſed at Halifax for the ſame purpoſe. Upon the firſt rumour of theſe movements, the Boſtonians were as much alarmed as if they had been on the point of ſuffering all the horrors of invaſion from a cruel foreign enemy. The aſſembly, or convention, which on many occaſions had treated not only their governor, but even the parliament of Great Britain with the moſt indecent aſperity of expreſſion, drew up a memorial in terms of great moderation, diſclaiming all pretence to any authority whatever, and adviſing and recommending it to the people to pay the greateſt deference to government, and to wait with patience the reſult of his majeſty's wiſdom and clemency for a redreſs of their grievances. If the moſt unhappy infatuation had not prevailed over the councils of Great Britain, the ſudden change produced by this appearance of vigour, might have opened the eyes of adminiſtration, and taught them that coercive meaſures alone could reduce the Americans to a ſenſe of their duty. But inſtead of puſhing the advantage which they had obtained, in order to deſtroy the very ſeeds of rebellion, the firſt deceitful appearance of tranquillity made them relax their ſeverity; the Americans had time to recollect themſelves and to recover from their panic; and the important moment was again loſt of eſtabliſhing, without great effuſion of blood, the ſovereignty of parliament over the whole Britiſh empire

While ſo little attention was beſtowed on preſerving the dominions of which we were already in poſſeſſion, continual efforts were made for extending the limits of our territories by freſh diſcoveries. In Auguſt, 1766, the Dolphin, in which commodore Byron had circumnavigated the world, was again ſent out under the command of captain Wallis, with the Swallow, commanded by captain Carteret. They proceeded together to the weſt end of the Streights of Magellan, and ſeparated in the great ſouthern ocean. Captain Wallis directed his courſe more weſterly than any navigator before him had done in ſo high a latitude; but he met with no land till he came within the tropic, where he diſcovered the iſlands, Whitſunday; Queen Charlotte; Egmont; Duke of Glouceſter; Duke of Cumberland; Maitea; Otaheite; Eimeo; Tapanamou; Howe; Scilly; Boſcawen; Keppel, and Wallis; and retured to England in May, 1768. Captain Carteret kept a different route, in which he diſcovered the iſlands,

Osnaburgh; Gloucester; Queen Charlotte; Carteret; Gower; and the Streight between New Britain and New Ireland; and returned in March, 1769.

Captain Wallis having cleared the Streights of Magellan the 12th of April, 1767, proceeded westward, but did not fall in with any undiscovered land till the 6th of June. A few days before the sailors had observed several gannets, which, with the uncertainty of the weather, inclined them to believe that land was not far distant. This belief was confirmed by their seeing a great many birds on the 5th; and the day after, being in latitude 19 degrees south, and longitude 137 west, they saw plainly from the deck a low island, at about five or six leagues distance. When they were within a few miles of this island they saw another, bearing north-west by west. The captain sent his boats manned and armed to the shore of the former, which returned in a few hours, bringing with them several cocoa nuts and a considerable quantity of scurvy grass. The crews reported, that they had seen none of the inhabitants, but had visited several huts, or rather sheds, consisting only of a roof, neatly thatched with cocoa-nut and palm leaves, supported upon posts, and open all around. They had found no anchorage, and the surf was so high that it was with difficulty they had got on shore, the whole island being surrounded with a reef of rocks, which rendered it extremely difficult of access. The captain, therefore, finding it answered no purpose to continue longer at this island, which, being discovered on Whitsun-eve, he called Whitsun-island, stood away for the other, distant about four leagues. When the ship came under the lee of the latter, the boats were immediately dispatched, but could find no soundings till within half a cable's length of the shore. They landed, however, and found the island sandy and level, full of trees, but without underwood, and abounding with scurvy grass, and wells of excellent water. As the boats approached the shore, the Indians thronged down towards the beach, and put themselves upon their defence with long pikes, as if to dispute the landing. The boats crew then lay upon their oars, and made signs of friendship, shewing at the same time several strings of beads, ribbands, knives, and other trinkets. The Indians still made signs for them to depart, but at the same time eyed the trinkets with such a wishful curiosity, as left room to expect that it might be possible to establish an intercourse. This, however, was not effected, but the boats landed, and the ship was supplied with water and other necessary refreshments. Captain Wallis took possession of the island in the name of George the Third, and named it Charlotte's Island in honour of her majesty. It is about six miles long, and one broad, and lies in latitude 19 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude

tude 138 degrees 4 minutes weſt. The ſame day that they left this place they diſcovered another iſland, bearing eaſt by north, diſtant fifteen miles. Here the ſea breaks over a reef of rock, running from eaſt to weſt, and forms itſelf into a lagoon in the middle of the iſland, which is low, covered with trees, but without any huts or inhabitants. The Indians belonging to Charlotte Iſland had fled thither in their canoes when the Engliſh landed on their coaſt; and ſeeing their enemies, as they imagined, purſuing them to this place, they left their women and children on the beach, and advanced with pikes and firebrands, making a great noiſe, and dancing in a ſtrange manner. The ſoil of this iſland was ſandy, there is no verdure under the trees, the ſhore every where rocky, and no anchorage. The captain therefore left a place where there was no proſpect of obtaining any refreſhment, having firſt named it Egmont Iſland in honour of the firſt lord of the admiralty. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 20 minutes ſouth, longitude 138 degrees 30 minutes weſt.

On the 11th of June, about mid-day, they ſaw an iſland, bearing weſt ſouth-weſt, and ſtood for it. At four in the afternoon they were within a quarter of a mile of the ſhore, but could find no ſoundings, the iſland being ſurrounded by rocks, on which the ſea breaks very high. As to appearance, ſoil, and inhabitants, it differed little from the iſlands which they had juſt left. The captain named it Glouceſter Iſland, in honour of his royal highneſs the duke of that name. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 11 minutes ſouth, longitude 140 degrees 4 minutes weſt.

In ſailing weſtward the captain diſcovered two other ſmall iſlands, the firſt of which he named after the duke of Cumberland, and the ſecond after Prince William Henry. Theſe, however, had nothing to recommend them above thoſe already mentioned; ſo that he continued to proceed weſtward, in hopes of finding higher land, where the ſhip might come to an anchor, and ſuch refreſhments as they ſtood in need of be procured. On the 17th he diſcovered high land, with frequent fires, which proved it to be inhabited. This alſo was an iſland, nearly circular, above two miles in diameter. There was no anchorage to be found, but the inhabitants appeared more numerous than the ſmallneſs of the place could ſupport, which gave hopes that there were lands of greater extent not far diſtant, which might be leſs difficult of acceſs. The captain having named this iſland, which lies in latitude 17 degrees 51 minutes ſouth, longitude 147 degrees 30 minutes weſt, Oſnaburgh, in honour of Prince Frederic, bore away to the ſouth-weſt; and the ſame day diſcovered very high land in the weſt-ſouth-weſt. This was the famous iſland of O-Taheite, which captain Wallis named King

George the Third's Island. It consists of two principal divisions, which are united by a narrow neck of land. The circumference of both is about forty leagues, lying in latitude 17 degrees 46 minutes south, and longitude 149 degrees 13 minutes west. The Dolphin happened to approach this coast the 18th of June, during a thick fog; and the crew were much surprised, when it cleared away, to find themselves in the middle of some hundreds of canoes. The Indians, who assembled to the number of many thousands, behaved at first in a friendly manner; one of them holding up a branch of the plantain tree as a token of peace. But afterwards having surrounded the ship with a number of canoes loaded with stones, they began, on a signal given, to throw them with great violence, which obliged the captain to order some guns to be fired. The terror of the firearms soon made them desist from hostilities; and an intercourse was established, by which the English procured hogs, fowls, bread, fruit, apples, bananas and cocoa nuts, in exchange for nails, hatchets and various trinkets, which the Indians held in great value. The Dolphin lay off this island from the 24th of June to the 27th of July; during which the English examined the interior parts as well as the coast, which they found to be luxuriantly fertile and extremely populous. The inhabitants are well lodged, and clothed with a stuff made of the macerated fibres of a shrub which grows in great abundance in their country. They are of the ordinary European size, a tawny complexion, the men well made and the women handsome. Captain Wallis could not discover what were their religious sentiments, or whether they entertained any ideas of superior and invisible powers. But having become somewhat acquainted with them, he found them not only just in their dealings, but generous and humane; and so extremely susceptible of attachment, that several of them, especially the queen of the island, were exceedingly afflicted when their visitants were obliged to depart.

After leaving this island, which has been examined with more attention in later voyages, the captain steered his course for Tinian. In his way thither he fell in with several small islands, none of which afforded good anchorage. The principal of them is Boscawen's Island, lying in latitude 15 degrees 50 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees west; Keppel's Isle, in latitude 15 degrees 55 minutes south, longitude 175 degrees 3 minutes west; and Wallis's Isle, in latitude 13 degrees 18 minutes south, longitude 177 degrees west. The boats, in examining the last, found that in two or three places there is anchorage in eighteen, fourteen, and twelve fathom, upon sand and coral, without a reef of rocks which surrounded the island. There is also a breach in this reef, about sixty fathom broad; and a ship,

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if preſſed with neceſſity, might anchor here in eight fathom, but it is not ſafe to moor within a greater length than half a cable. The plans of all theſe iſlands were delivered by the captain on his return into the hands of the admiralty, with their longitudes and latitudes ſo accurately laid down, that ſucceeding navigators had no difficulty in finding them.

Captain Carteret, as we have already mentioned, ſeparated from his companion after paſſing the Streights of Magellan, and ſteered a courſe conſiderably nearer to the equator. On the 26th of July, 1767, being in latitude 10 degrees ſouth, longitude 167 degrees weſt, he was in hopes of falling in with ſome of the iſlands called Solomon's Iſlands, this being the latitude in which the ſouthermoſt of them is laid down. What increaſed this expectation was the ſeeing a number of ſea birds, which often hovered about the ſhip; but the captain was not ſo fortunate as to meet with any land; and as he ſailed over the ſouthern limits of that part of the ocean in which Solomon's Iſlands are ſaid to lie, and Commodore Byron, in the voyage formerly deſcribed, had traverſed the northern without finding them, there is reaſon to conclude, that, if there be any ſuch iſlands, their ſituation in all our charts is erroneouſly laid down.

Captain Carteret continued his voyage, nearly in the ſame parallel, towards the weſt; but did not diſcover land till the 12th of Auguſt, when he fell in with a cluſter of iſlands, of which he counted ſeven. Having anchored at about three cables length from the ſhore, he ſoon obſerved ſome of the natives, who were black, with woolly heads, and ſtark naked. A boat was diſpatched in ſearch of a watering place, at which the natives diſappeared; and the boat returned with an account that there was a fine run of freſh water abreaſt of the ſhip, and cloſe to the beach, but that the whole country in that part being almoſt an impenetrable foreſt, the watering would be very dangerous if the natives ſhould endeavour to prevent it; that there were no eſculent vegetables for the refreſhment of the ſick, nor any habitations as far as the country had been examined, which was wild, foreſty and mountainous. The captain therefore tried ſome other places, where the ſailors ſaw hogs, poultry, cocoa-nut trees, plantains, bananas, and a great variety of other vegetable productions, as they ſailed along the ſhore. Unfortunately, however, an unhappy diſpute aroſe between the boat's crew and the natives, who defended themſelves bravely with bows and arrows, which they ſhot in regular platoons. This prevented all friendly intercourſe; and the ſhips company were ſo much weakened by diſeaſe, that they could not hope to obtain what they wanted by force. The captain gave the general name of Queen Charlotte Iſlands to the whole cluſter, and aſſigned particular names to the moſt remarkable. That which he called

called *Howe's* lies in latitude 11 degrees 10 minutes ſouth, longitude 164 degrees 43 minutes eaſt. Egmont Iſland lies in latitude 10 degres 40 minutes ſouth, longitude 164 degrees 49 minutes eaſt. The eaſt ſides of theſe two iſlands, which lie exactly in a line with each other, including the paſſage between them of four miles, extend about eleven leagues; both of them appear to be fertile, and afford a very agreeable proſpect, being covered with tall trees of a beautiful verdure. Lord Howe's Iſland, though more flat and even than the other, is notwithſtanding high land. At the diſtance of about thirteen leagues from the north-eaſt point of Egmont Iſland is another of a ſtupendous height, and a conical figure, the top of which is ſhaped like a funnel, emitting ſmoke, though no flame. This he called Volcano Iſland. To a low flat land, which, when Howe and Egmont iſlands were right a-head, bore north-weſt, he gave the name of Keppel's Iſland. It lies in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes ſouth, longitude 165 degrees 4 minutes eaſt. The largeſt of two others to the ſouth-eaſt he called Lord Edgecumb's Iſland, the ſmall one Perry's Iſland; the other iſlands, of which there are ſeveral, he did not particularly name.

As all hopes of obtaining refreſhment in thoſe parts were at an end, and the ſhip was not in a condition of purſuing her voyage to the ſouthward, the captain gave orders to ſteer north, hoping to refreſh at the country which Dampier has named *Nova Britannia*. Accordingly he ſailed from Egmont Iſland the 18th of Auguſt, with a freſh trade wind; and on the 20th diſcovered a flat low land, in latitude 7 degrees 56 minutes ſouth, longitude 158 degrees 56 minutes eaſt, which he called Gower's Iſland. Here, to the great mortification of all on board, no anchorage could be found, but ſome cocoa-nuts were purchaſed from the natives, who approached the ſhip in their canoes. They were in every reſpect the ſame ſort of people that had been met with in the neighbouring places. The night was exceedingly dark, and by day-break a current had ſet the ſhip conſiderably to the ſouthward of the iſland, and in ſight of two others, ſituated nearly eaſt and weſt of each other. That to the eaſt is much the ſmalleſt, and was named Simpſon's iſland. The other is lofty, has a ſtately appearance, lies in latitude 8 degrees 26 minutes ſouth, longitude 159 degrees 14 minutes eaſt, and its length from eaſt to weſt is above ſix leagues. It was named by the officers Carteret's iſland, in honour of their commander. A boat was ſent on ſhore, which the natives endeavoured to cut off, and hoſtilities having thus commenced, the Engliſh ſeized their canoe, in which they found an hundred cocoa nuts. The canoe was large enough to carry eight or ten men, neatly built, adorned with ſhell-work and figures rudely painted.

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The people were armed with bows and arrows, and ſpears pointed with flints. By ſome ſigns which they made, it appeared that they were not wholly unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. Like the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands they were quite naked and equally dexterous at ſwimming and managing their canoes. In the following days the ſhip found no ſoundings at the ſmall iſlands which ſhe fell in with, and which the captain ſuppoſes to be thoſe called Ohang Java, diſcovered by Taſman. They are nine in number, and to the north lie two others which are mentioned by no preceding navigator, and which the captain named Sir Charles Hardy and Winchelſea Iſlands. The former lies in latitude 40 degrees 50 minutes ſouth, longitude 154 degrees eaſt; the latter is diſtant about ten leagues, in the direction of ſouth by eaſt.

On the 26th of Auguſt they ſaw another large iſland to the northward, which was ſuppoſed to be St. John's iſland, diſcovered by Schouten, and ſoon after they ſaw high land to the weſtward, which proved to be Nova Britannia. The next day a north-weſterly current ſent them into a deep bay or gulf, which has been diſtinguiſhed by Dampier by the name of St. George's bay. From this place they ſailed to a little cove at ſeveral miles diſtance, to which they gave the name of *Engliſh cove.* Here they found wood and water in great plenty, alſo rock-oyſters and cockles of a very large ſize. Higher on the ſhore they procured cocoa nuts, and the upper part of the tree that bears them, which is called the cabbage. This cabbage is a white, criſp, juicy ſubſtance, which, uſed raw, taſtes ſomewhat like a cheſnut, but, when boiled, is ſuperior to the beſt parſnip. For each of theſe cabbages they were obliged to cut down a tree, by which means they deſtroyed, in the parent ſtock, a great deal of cocoa, which are the moſt powerful antiſcorbutic in the world. The ſhip's company, who were extremely afflicted with the diſorder, recovered faſt, and had an opportunity of examining the neighbourhood, where the country is high and mountainous, but covered with trees of various kinds, ſome of which are of an enormous growth, and probably would be uſeful for many purpoſes. Among others they found the nutmeg tree in great plenty, though the nuts were not then ripe, and appeared not to be of the beſt kind, owing perhaps to their growing wild, and being overſhadowed by taller trees. The different kinds of palm, with the beetle nut trees, various ſpecies of the aloes, canes, bamboos, and rattans, grow with wild luxuriance. The woods abound with pigeons, doves, rooks, parrots, and a large bird with black plumage, that makes a noiſe ſomewhat like the barking of a dog. The people ſent out to examine the country fell in with ſeveral habitations of the natives, which appeared by the ſhells that were

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ſcattered about them, and the fires half conſumed, to have been but very lately deſerted. From the meanneſs of theſe hovels, it appeared that the inhabitants ſtood low even in the ſcale of ſavage life.

Engliſh Cove lies a few miles from Wallis Iſland, which is diſtant about three leagues from Cape St. George, the latitude of which is 5 degrees ſouth, and its longitude 152 degrees 19 minutes eaſt, about two thouſand five hundred leagues due weſt from the continent of America. The captain weighed anchor the 7th of September, having taken poſſeſſion of this country, with all its iſlands, bays, ports and harbours, for his majeſty King George the Third. This was performed by nailing upon a high tree a piece of board, faced with lead, on which was engraved the Engliſh union flag, with the name of the ſhip and her commander, the name of the Cove, and the time of her coming in and ſailing out of it. A boat had been ſent out ſeveral times to examine the harbours of the coaſt, and from one of theſe expeditions returned with a load of cocoa-nuts, which ſhe procured in a fine ſmall harbour about four leagues weſt-north-weſt from Engliſh Cove. Of this harbour the captain received ſo agreeable accounts that he thought proper to viſit it, and found that it was formed by two iſlands and the main. The largeſt, which is to the north-weſt, he called *Cocoa-nut Iſland*, and the ſmaller, which is to the ſouth-eaſt, he called Leigh's Iſland. His officers named the harbour in honour of their captain; it is by far the beſt ſtation they had fallen in with during their long run from the Streights of Magellan. The captain would have continued here a ſufficient time to give his people all the refreſhments they wanted, if the lives of all on board, in their preſent unhealthy condition, the quantity of ſhips proviſions, and the ſhattered ſtate of the veſſel, had not depended upon their getting to Batavia while the monſoon continued to blow from the eaſtward.

He weighed anchor the 9th, but was again driven by winds and currents into St. George's bay, which, contrary to what had been ſuppoſed, he found inſtead of a bay to be a channel between two iſlands. This channel he found to be divided by a pretty large iſland, which he named in honour of the duke of York, and ſeveral ſmall ones lying ſcattered around it. The land of the duke of York's Iſland lies level, and has a delightful appearance; the center is covered with lofty woods, and near the ſhore are the houſes of the natives, extremely numerous, built among groves of cocoa-nut trees, the whole forming a proſpect the moſt beautiful and romantic that can be imagined. The largeſt of the two iſlands that are divided by the channel or ſtreight, which is about eight leagues broad, the captain left in poſſeſſion of its antient name of New Britain. It lies on the

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ſouth ſide, and there is upon it ſome high land, and three remarkable hills cloſe to each other, which he called the Mother and Daughters. To the northern iſland he gave the name of New Ireland, and to the ſtreight that of St. George's Channel. Continuing to ſteer along the coaſt of New Ireland, he diſcovered a large iſland, with a pleaſant appearance, very populous, which he named in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 53 minutes ſouth, longitude 149 degrees 17 minutes eaſt. All the time the ſhip lay of this iſland there was an inceſſant noiſe like the beating of a drum; and ten canoes put off from New Ireland, with about an hundred and fifty men on board. The people are black and woolly headed, but have not the flat noſes and thick lips of the Africans. None of them would come on board, but conveyed ſuch trifles as they exchanged for the nails and iron offered them by the Engliſh, upon the end of a long ſtick. The canoes were long, narrow, and neatly made: one of them could not be leſs than ninety feet; formed, however, of a ſingle tree, rowed by three and thirty men, and without any appearances of ſails. Theſe negroes, though ſtark naked, except a few ornaments of ſhells upon their arms and legs, had their heads and beards abundantly covered with white powder.

The weſtern extremity of New Ireland the captain named Cape Byron. It lies in latitude 2 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, longitude 149 degrees 2 minutes eaſt. Over againſt the coaſt of New Ireland, to the weſtward of Cape Byron, lies a fine large iſland, covered with trees, to which he gave the name of New Hanover. To the weſtward of New Hanover he diſcovered, at the diſtance of eight leagues, ſeven ſmall iſlands, which were named the Duke of Portland's Iſlands; the middle of which lies in latitude 2 degrees 29 minutes ſouth, longitude 148 degrees 27 minutes eaſt. The ſhip was now clear of the ſtreight, whoſe length from Cape St. George to Cape Byron is above eighty leagues. The neceſſity which puſhed Captain Carteret on this diſcovery may be very advantageous to future navigators, as St. George's Channel is a much better and ſhorter paſſage than round all the land and iſlands to the northward, and refreſhments of various kinds may be procured from the natives inhabiting the oppoſite coaſts of the channel, or the iſlands that lie near them, for beads, ribbands, looking-glaſſes, and eſpecially iron tools and cutlery ware, of which they are immoderately fond.

The captain proceeded weſtward the 15th of September, and the ſame day diſcovered an iſland of conſiderable extent, with many others lying on the ſouthward. From theſe many canoes, crowded with Indians, paddled to the ſhip: they made various ſigns, which were repeated, to ſhow that whatever they meant the

the ſame was meant to them. In order to invite them on board, the ſhips company held up whatever trifles they thought would give them pleaſure; but they had no ſooner come within reach of the people on deck, than they threw their lances at them with great force. It was neceſſary to repreſs their fury by firing ſmall ſhot, with which one of them was killed, and the canoes rowed off with great expedition. In ſailing along, many other canoes appeared, and behaved in the ſame hoſtile manner. From one, in which a man was killed by the ſhot of a muſket, the reſt precipitately leaped into the ſea, which afforded an opportunity of ſeizing the canoe, which was full fifty feet long, though one of the ſmalleſt that had come out, and filled with fiſh, turtle, yams, and cocoa nuts. The ſhip being diſengaged from this fierce and unfriendly people, purſued her courſe along the other iſlands, which are between twenty and thirty in number, and of conſiderable extent; one in particular would alone make a large kingdom. The captain, not having had an obſervation of the ſun for ſeveral days, and there being ſtrong currents, could not exactly aſcertain their ſituation, but he judged the middle of the largeſt to lie in latitude 2 degrees 18 minutes ſouth, longitude 146 degrees 44 minutes eaſt, at the diſtance of five and thirty leagues from New Hanover. He called them *Admiralty* Iſlands, and, if his ſhip had been in better condition, and provided with proper articles for the Indian trade, he would have examined them with particular attention, eſpecially as their appearance is very inviting, being clothed with a beautiful verdure, the woods lofty and luxuriant, interſperſed with ſpots cleared for plantation, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and houſes of the natives, who ſeem to be very numerous. With theſe iſlands it would be eaſy to eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe, as the ſuperiority of our fire-arms would ſoon perſuade the natives that all conteſt was in vain; and the traffic would be advantageous on both ſides, as the Indians might be ſupplied with many articles which they are greatly in want of, and the Engliſh might in all probability be ſupplied with the valuable ſpiceries produced in the Moluccas; for the Admiralty Iſlands lie in the ſame degree of latitude, and the nutmeg tree was found on the coaſt of New Ireland, a ſoil comparatively barren and rocky.

Having paſſed theſe iſlands the ſhip continued her courſe weſt by north with a fine eaſtern breeze, and on the 19th diſcovered two ſmall iſlands, both low land, level and green. The neareſt the captain called Durour's Iſland. Its latitude is about 1 degree 14 minutes ſouth, its longitude 143 degrees 21 minutes eaſt. At no great diſtance is the other, which was called Matty's Iſland, and two others, ſtill ſmaller, lying to the ſouth-weſt, were called Stephen's Iſlands. All theſe have a beautiful green appearance, are covered with trees, and repleniſhed with inhabitants. On the

the 25th of September the ſhip fell in again with land, which proved to be three iſlands, the largeſt lying fifty miles north of the line, and in longitude 137 degrees 51 minutes eaſt. Several canoes ſoon came off, filled with the natives, who, after making ſigns of peace, came on board without the leaſt appearance of fear or diſtruſt. They ſold their cocoa nuts with great pleaſure for ſmall pieces of iron. They are of the Indian copper colour, their features pleaſing, their teeth remarkably white and even, of the common ſtature, nimble, vigorous and active in a ſurpriſing degree. They are not, like the other people on all the iſlands that had been viſited, quite naked, though they had only a ſlight covering for the waiſt, which conſiſted of a narrow piece of fine matting. They offered to leave a certain number of their people as pledges, if the ſailors would go on ſhore, to which they ſtrongly urged them; and one of them would by no means leave the ſhip when ſhe purſued her courſe; the captain carried him to Celebes, where, being taken ill at ſea, he unfortunately died. The iſlands from which he had been taken were remarkably ſmall and low, the largeſt being no more than five miles in compaſs. The captain gave them the name of *Freewill Iſlands*, from the ſociable and benevolent diſpoſition of the natives.

The remaining route of captain Carteret to the coaſt of Mindanao, and from thence to the iſland of Celebes, had been explored by Dampier and other navigators. But the captain has rectified ſeveral miſtakes which his predeceſſors had fallen into, particularly in the account of the ſtreight of Macaſſar. He made the entrance of this ſtreight the 14th of November, and anchored before the town of Macaſſar the 15th of December. In the neighbourhood of this place he obtained permiſſion, after much altercation and many threats uſed with the Dutch governor, to continue a conſiderable time, until the crew were a little recovered from their languor and debility, and the ſhip put in a condition to undertake her voyage to Batavia. This voyage being ſucceſsfully performed, the captain doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and had a pleaſant paſſage to the iſland of St. Helena. He left this place the 24th of January, 1769, to proſecute his voyage to England; and after a month's navigation diſcovered a ſhip to leeward, in the ſouth-weſt quarter, which hoiſted French colours. When this ſhip was near enough to hail the Swallow, captain Carteret was ſurpriſed to hear the Frenchman mention his own name as well as that of his ſhip, inquiring after his health, and telling him, that after the return of the Dolphin to Europe, it was believed he had ſuffered ſhipwreck in the ſtreight of Magellan, and that two ſhips had been ſent out in queſt of him. The captain aſked in his turn who it was that was ſo well acquainted with all theſe particulars, and

and how this knowledge had been acquired. The Frenchman answered, that the ship was in the service of their East-India company, commanded by Mr. Bougainville, returning from the isle of France, who had got an account of the voyage of the Dolphin and Swallow from the French gazette at the Cape of Good Hope. An offer was then made of supplying the Swallow with refreshments, which was a mere verbal civility, as the ship had immediately sailed from the same places at which Mr. Bougainville himself had been supplied; and it was asked if captain Carteret had any letters to send to France. As he happened to have several, which he had received from French gentlemen at the Cape, this furnished an occasion to Mr. Bougainville to send his boat on board, which was precisely what he desired. A young officer, dressed in a waistcoat and trowsers, but whose rank captain Carteret soon found to be superior to his appearance, came down to the cabbin; and being asked several questions by captain Carteret, to which he replied with great readiness and ingenuity, contrived to introduce inquiries concerning the streights of Magellan, the hardships which the Swallow had suffered in her voyage, and other topics equally interesting. These questions the captain endeavoured to elude as long as it was possible; but the queries of the young Frenchman becoming too particular and troublesome, having desired to know on what side the equator the Swallow had crossed the south seas, the captain rose up abruptly with some marks of displeasure. His visiter was going to make an apology, to prevent which captain Carteret desired him to present his compliments to Mr. Bougainville, and in return for his obliging civilities, present him with one of his arrows with which the Indians had wounded some of the English.

When the captain came on deck, he was asked by his lieutenant whether the Frenchman had entertained him with an account of his voyage. This led him to explain the general purport of their execution, upon which the lieutenant observed, that the boat's crew had not kept their secret as well as their officer, but given sufficient intimation, that they had been round the world, mentioning the different places they had touched at, and many particulars of their voyage. This disingenuous artifice of Mr. Bougainville, to draw captain Carteret into a breach of his obligation to secrecy, was unworthy of that spirit of enterprise which led him to undertake so dangerous a navigation, which he has related with so much elegance.

According to his own account, he sailed from France in November, 1766, in the frigate la Boudeuse; and having spent some time on the coast of Brazil, and at Falkland islands, got into the southern ocean, by the streights of Magellan, in January, 1768. In this ocean he discovered the four Facardines, the isle of Lanciers, Harp island, Thrum Cap, and Bow island.

About

About twenty leagues farther to the weſt he diſcovered four other iſlands, and afterwards fell in with Otaheite, iſles of Navigators, and Forlorn Hope, which to him were new diſcoveries. He then paſſed through between the Hebrides; diſcovered the Shoal of Diana, the land of Cape Deliverance; ſeveral ſmall iſlands to the north; paſſed the coaſt of New Ireland; touched at Batavia; and arrived in France in March, 1769, about the ſame time that captain Carteret arrived in England.

The brilliant diſcoveries of captain Wallis, who returned to England in May, 1768, inſpired the moſt ſanguine hopes of completing the great purpoſe for which all theſe voyages had been undertaken. Many ſouthern lands were already diſcovered, which heightened the probability of finding at length the great *Terra Auſtralis incognita*, which had been ſo long ſought for in vain. Among the countries which captain Wallis had diſcovered and explored was the iſland of Otaheite, the ſituation of which appeared extremely proper for anſwering a particular purpoſe, which the admiralty had in their view in the preſent expedition, beſides the general deſign of diſcovering unknown lands. The year 1769 was rendered remarkable by the tranſit of the planet Venus over the diſk of the ſun; a phænomen on of the greateſt importance to the ſciences of aſtronomy, geography and navigation; and which every where engaged the attention of the learned in thoſe branches of knowledge. In the beginning of the year 1768 the royal ſociety preſented a memorial to his majeſty, ſetting forth the advantages to be derived from accurate obſervations of this tranſit in different parts of the world; particularly from a ſet of ſuch obſervations made in a ſouthern latitude, between the 140th and 180th degrees of longitude, weſt from the royal obſervatory at Greenwich; but that the ſociety were in no condition to defray the expence neceſſary for equipping veſſels to convey the obſervers to their deſtined ſtations. In conſequence of this memorial the admiralty were directed by his majeſty to provide proper veſſels for the purpoſe. Accordingly, the Endeavour bark, which had been built for the coal trade, was purchaſed and fitted out for the ſouthern voyage, and the command of her entruſted to lieutenant (now captain) Cook, himſelf a diſtinguiſhed member of the royal ſociety, and appointed by his aſſociates, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Green the aſtronomer, to make the requiſite obſervations on the tranſit.

Captain Cook ſailed from Deptford the 30th of July, 1768, with inſtructions to proceed directly to Otaheite; and, after the aſtronomical obſervations ſhould be completed, to proſecute the deſign of making diſcoveries in the Pacific ocean, by proceeding ſouthward to the latitude of 40 degrees, and if he did not find land to continue his voyage to the weſt, between the latitudes of 40 degrees and 35 degrees ſouth, till he fell in with New Zealand, which

which he was directed to explore; and thence to return to England by ſuch route as he ſhould judge moſt convenient.

In executing theſe inſtructions, Mr. Cook endeavoured to make a direct courſe to Otaheite, and in part ſucceeded; but when he came within the tropic he fell in with ſeveral iſlands, which had not been before diſcovered. He remained three months at Otaheite, and then viſited many neighbouring iſlands, till then unknown. On the 6th of October, 1769, he fell in with the eaſt ſide of New Zealand, and continued exploring the coaſt of this country till the 31ſt of March, 1770. He then proceeded to New Holland, and ſurveyed its eaſtern coaſts, which had not been before viſited; and paſſing between its northern extremity and New Guinea, afterwards touched at the iſland of Savu, Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, and arrived in England on the 12th of July, 1771.

Beſides the aſtronomical purpoſes which were anſwered by this voyage, and the important diſcoveries of new lands, made in the courſe of the longeſt navigation hitherto undertaken, the expedition of captain Cook was diſtinguiſhed by another circumſtance particularly intereſting to the lovers of philoſophy. The expedition was adorned by the preſence of Mr. Banks, a man of letters as well as of fortune, who was accompanied by Dr. Solander, an accompliſhed diſciple of Linnæus. Both theſe gentlemen were remarkable for an extenſive and accurate knowledge of natural hiſtory, and being otherwiſe men of liberal education and principles, they were led to make various obſervations, not only on the natural curioſities and productions, but on the manners, policy, religion and language of the ſeveral countries which they viſited. Seldom have men of ſuch talents poſſeſſed that ſpirit of daring enterpriſe which prompts to the diſcovery and examination of unknown lands. Seldom have diſtant countries been viſited and deſcribed by philoſophers; for avarice and ambition, and not the thirſt of knowledge, have generally excited to ſuch undertakings men of a bold and hardy, but of narrow and illiberal ſpirit. The ingenious obſervations made during the courſe of the preſent voyage tend to fill up the picture of which former navigators had only ſketched the outlines.

The reception which captain Cook and his companions met with from the Portugueſe at Rio de Janeiro, where he put in the 13th of November in order to purchaſe proviſions and neceſſaries, was moſt unworthy of the deſign in which they were engaged. That ignorant ſuperſtitious people could form no idea of the object of their voyage. The purpoſe of making philoſophical diſcoveries they treated with the utmoſt contempt, and watched the perſons of the Engliſh travellers with all the jealous ſeverity of fear and ignorance. Mr. Cook continued his voyage

voyage to the Streights of Le Maire, which ſeparate Staten Iſland from Terra del Fuego. He arrived at the entrance of the Streights the 14th of January, which is near the middle of ſummer in thoſe parts. As the weather was calm Mr. Banks was deſirous of examining the coaſt of the main land, and aſcending a mountain which appeared at a little diſtance in ſearch of plants. This was effected; but ſo exceſſive is the cold in the ſouthern hemiſphere, that, at a degree of latitude which in the ſummer months is temperate in Europe, all thoſe who undertook this expedition were in danger of being frozen to death; and ſeveral of Mr. Banks's attendants actually periſhed.

In this miſerable climate the inhabitants appeared to be the moſt deſtitute and forlorn of all human beings. They have no dwelling but a wretched hovel of ſticks and graſs, which not only admits the wind, but the ſnow and the rain. They are deſtitute of every convenience that is furniſhed by the rudeſt art, having no implement even to dreſs their food. They have no other cloathing than the ſkin of the ſeal, which is thrown over their ſhoulders, drawn over their feet, and worn round the waiſts of the women as a ſuccedaneum for a fig-leaf. Shell-fiſh ſeems to be their only food, which being in no great plenty in any particular place, obliges them to wander perpetually in ſmall hordes over thoſe dreary and inhoſpitable regions, which appear ſo ill fitted to be the habitations of men. Yet theſe ſavage tribes are, perhaps, only miſerable in the imaginations of thoſe who ſurvey them, and who, placing themſelves in their ſituation, conceive what exquiſite ſufferings they would feel if reduced to the ſame manner of life. The wandering inhabitants of Terra del Fuego are contented with their lot. Though deprived of whatever is comfortable, they are ſtudious to adorn their perſons. Their faces are painted in various forms; the region of the eye generally white, and the reſt of the face diverſified with ſtreaks of red and black.

The captain fell in with the iſland of Terra del Fuego about twenty leagues to the weſtward of the Streight of Le Maire. The Streight itſelf is about five leagues long and as many broad; and has a bay in the middle of it, which affords good anchorage, as well as excellent wood and water. The doubling of Cape Horn has been ſo much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it is more eligible to paſs through the Streight of Magellan; but captain Cook's experience ſeems to prove the contrary; for he was no more than thirty-three days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, from the eaſt entrance of the Streight of Le Maire; whereas captain Wallis employed above three months in getting through the Streights of Magellan in the ſame ſeaſon of the year.

Captain

Captain Cook, continuing his voyage in a north-weſterly direction, obſerved the latitude, on the 24th of March, 1769, to be 22 degrees 11 minutes ſouth, and longitude 127 degrees 55 minutes weſt. Some of the people, who were upon watch in the night, reported that they ſaw a log of wood paſs by the ſhip, and that the ſea, which was rather rough, became ſuddenly as ſmooth as a mill-pool. However, they fell in with no land till the 4th of April, when an iſland of an oval form appeared at the diſtance of a few leagues. They approached it on the north ſide within a mile, but found no bottom with 130 fathom of line. The whole is covered with trees, eſpecially palms and cocoa-nut trees; among the groves of which the natives were ſeen walking in great numbers. The captain named this Lagoon iſland. It is ſituated in latitude 18 degrees 47 minutes ſouth, and longitude 139 degrees 28 minutes weſt. In purſuing his voyage weſtward he fell in with ſeveral other inconſiderable iſlands at no great diſtance from the former. Theſe were Thrumb-Cap, The Group, Bird Iſland, and Maitea, to which captain Wallis gave the name of Oſnaburgh.

On the 11th of April land was ſeen a-head, which was known by its ſituation to be Otaheite, the ſame which is deſcribed in the voyage of captain Wallis, to which he gave the name of King George the Third's iſland. When the ſhip came near to the ſhore, it was immediately ſurrounded by the natives in their canoes, who offered cocoa nuts, fruit reſembling apples, bread fruit, and ſome ſmall fiſhes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. Soon after arrived other canoes, in which were ſome of thoſe Indians who had maintained a good deal of intercourſe with the crew of captain Wallis's ſhip, and who were immediately known to Mr. Gore, the ſecond lieutenant, who had gone round the world with that captain. One of theſe ancient acquaintance came on board, and as ſoon as the ſhip was properly ſecured, went on ſhore with the captain and the other gentlemen. They were all received wirh many marks of friendſhip by the hoſpitable Indians, and a treaty was ratified between them by exchanging the green branches of a tree, which was the ſymbol of peace among many ancient and powerful nations. The ſhip continued on the coaſt of Otaheite three months, trading with the natives, and examining the iſland. The ordinary rate of traffic was a ſpike nail for a ſmall pig, and a ſmaller nail for a fowl; a hatchet for a hog; and twenty cocoa nuts, or bread fruit, for a middling-ſized nail. Looking-glaſſes, knives, and beads, are excellent articles of commerce, and for theſe every thing may be obtained which the natives can beſtow. During the whole time that the Engliſh continued here, they lived in the moſt friendly intercourſe with the Indians; and conſidered the

the iſland not as before in a curſory manner, but with a critical attention.

Though Otaheite lies within the tropic of Capricorn, it is one of the moſt healthy and delightful ſpots in the world. The heat is not troubleſome, and the air is ſo pure that freſh meat will keep very well for two days, and fiſh one day. The winds generally blow from the diviſions between eaſt and ſouth; the tide riſes but little, and being governed by the winds is extremely uncertain. The coaſt is of a bold elevation, riſes like an amphitheatre, and the mountains every where covered with wood, preſent to the view the moſt captivating proſpect. The ſtones all over this iſland appear to have been burnt; and there are other marks of violent concuſſions and ſubterraneous fires, by which the face of nature has been altered in this and the neighbouring iſles. The exterior ranges of hills are ſometimes barren, and contain a great quantity of yellowiſh clay, mixed with iron ore; but this excepted, there are no other indications of metals, or valuable minerals of any kind.

The ſoil of Otaheite is a rich black mould, producing ſpontaneouſly a great variety of the moſt excellent fruits; ſugar canes, which the inhabitants eat raw; ginger, turmeric, and a great number of other excellent roots, which are unknown in other climates. The trees are the greateſt curioſity of Otaheite. The Chineſe paper-mulberry tree is that of which the natives make their cloth. The trunk of the bread-fruit tree, which furniſhes nouriſhment to the whole iſland, is ſix feet in the girth, and about twenty feet to the branches. There is a ſpecies of the fig, the branches of which bending down, take freſh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, united by a common vegetation, which have the appearance of one ſtock of aſtoniſhing magnitude. Another tree, covered with a dark-green foliage, bears golden apples, which reſemble the anana or pine-apple in juiciness and flavour. The moſt beautiful tree in the world received the name of *Barringtonia*; the natives call it *huddoo*; it had a great abundance of flowers, larger than lillies, and perfectly white, excepting the tips of their numerous chives, which were of a bright crimſon. The fruit, which is a large nut, has the property of various plants of tropical climates, of intoxicating fiſh, ſo that they come to the ſurface of the water, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken by hand. There is a great variety of excellent fiſh, which, as they form the principal object of luxury, the catching of them is the main occupation of the natives. There are no venemous reptiles or troubleſome inſects, but ants and muſquitos. Beſides poultry exactly like thoſe of Europe, there are wild ducks; beautiful green turtle doves; large pigeons of a deep blue plumage; parroquets valued for their red falkers, and often ſeen tame in the

houſes of the natives. There are no quadrupeds in the iſland, but hogs, dogs and rats; all which are extremely numerous.

The perſons of the inhabitants being examined with particular attention, there was no occaſion to alter the idea which captain Wallis had given of them. Captain Cook rather ſeems to heighten the panegyric; and Mr. Bougainville affirms, that were a painter to delineate an Hercules or a Mars, it would be impoſſible to diſcover more advantageous models. The women of the lower ranks are of a ſmaller ſtature than the reſt, which is attributed to their early and promiſcuous intercourſe with men; for the better ſort, who do not gratify their paſſions in the ſame unbridled manner, are above the middle ſtature of Europeans. The men of conſequence in the iſland wear the nails of their fingers long, which they conſider as a very honourable diſtinction, ſince only ſuch people as have no occaſion to work can ſuffer them to grow to that length. The women always cut their hair ſhort round their heads. Both men and women have the hinder part of their thighs and loins marked with black lines in various directions, by ſtriking the teeth of an inſtrument ſomewhat like a comb through the ſkin, and rubbing into the punctures a kind of paſte made of ſoot and oil, which leaves an indelible ſtain. This cuſtom, which is called tattowing, is common to all perſons beyond the age of twelve years; and the legs of people of ſuperior rank and authority are chequered with the ſame decorations. Both ſexes are not only decently but gracefully clothed with the ſtuff above-mentioned. The dreſs of the better ſort of women conſiſts of ſeveral pieces; one is wrapped round the waiſt, ſo as to hang down in the form of a petticoat, and being of a thin pliable texture, diſplays an elegant figure to the greateſt advantage. "The women of Otaheite," ſays Mr. de Bougainville, "have features as agreeable as thoſe of the Europeans; and are unrivalled in the ſymmetry and beautiful proportion of their limbs. The men who live much on the water are of a redder complexion than thoſe who chiefly reſide on ſhore. Some have their hair brown, red or flaxen, in which they are exceptions to all the natives of Aſia, Africa, and America, who have their hair univerſally black."

Their houſes are nothing more than a roof, ſcarcely four feet from the ground, raiſed on three rows of pillars, one row on each ſide, and one in the middle. The covering conſiſts of palm leaves, the pillars of wood, and the floor is ſtrowed with hay or covered with mats. Theſe ſimple habitations contain no other furniture except a few blocks of wood, which ſerve them as pillows, and their ordinary apparel is made uſe of inſtead of blankets and ſheets. The ſize of the houſe is proportioned to the number which conſtitutes the family, and is ſeldom occupied

except

except during the hours of repose. In these dormitories it is the established rule for the master and mistress to sleep in the middle, round them the married people, in the next circle the unmarried women, and the servants at the extremity of the shed, or in fair weather in the open air.

They are quite unacquainted with the method of boiling water, as they have no vessels among them that will bear the heat of the fire. Their meat is always broiled or roasted. They use shells for carving, but eat with their fingers. Some attempted the use of the knife and fork, in imitation of the English, but we are told by Mr. Hawkesworth, that they could not guide these implements; by the mere force of habit, the hand came always to the mouth, while the food at the end of the fork went to the ear. Their general drink is water, or the milk of the cocoa nut. They have a plant called *ava ava*, of an intoxicating quality, which the men make use of sparingly; the women never; and they testified aversion for the strong liquors which were offered them. They eat alone, or at least only in company with a guest that happens to come in; and the men and women never sit down together to a meal. Persons of rank are constantly fed by their inferiors, frequently their women, and this custom is so strongly confirmed, that a chief who dined on board the Endeavour would have returned without his meat, if one of the servants had not fed him. The origin of these singular customs has not been explained. The idea of cleanliness to which these people are so strongly attached, that they perform their ablutions several times every day, may perhaps account for the great men's requiring to be fed. But that a people remarkably fond of society, and particularly that of their women, should exclude its pleasures from the table, where, among all other nations, whether civil or savage, they have been principally enjoyed, is truly inexplicable. Captain Cook imagined this strange singularity among the inhabitants of Otaheite must have arisen from some superstitious opinion; but they constantly affirmed the contrary. They eat alone, they said, because it was right; but why it was right to eat alone they never attempted to explain.

These islanders, who lie on the ground, and inhabit huts exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, are remarkably healthy and vigorous, and generally attain to old age, without feeling the inconveniencies of this melancholy period of life. Mr. de Bougainville describes an old man, whom they saw on their landing, who had no other character of old age, than that remarkable one which is imprinted on a fine figure. His head was adorned with white hair, and a long white beard; all his body was nervous and fleshy; he had neither wrinkles, nor showed any other token of decrepitude. This venerable

man ſeemed diſpleaſed at the arrival of theſe ſtrangers, retired without making any return to the courteſies which they paid him, and inſtead of taking part in the raptures which the multitude expreſſed, his thoughtful and ſuſpicious air ſeemed to indicate a fear, that the ſociety of a new race of men might diſturb the uninterrupted happineſs which he had ſo long enjoyed. They are utterly deſtitute of medical knowledge, which they hold in contempt; but they are good proficients in ſurgery, the operations of which they often experience to be uſeful. One of the Engliſh ſeamen, when on ſhore, ran a large ſplinter into his foot, which his companion, after giving him exquiſite pain, vainly attempted to extract with his pen-knife. An old Indian, who happened to be preſent, called a man from the other ſide of the river, who, having examined the lacerated foot, fetched a ſhell from the beach, which he broke to a point with his teeth; with which inſtrument he laid open the wound, and extracted the ſplinter: whilſt this operation was performing, the old man went a little way into the wood, and returned with ſome gum, which he applied to the wound, upon a piece of the cloth that was wrapped round him, and in two days time it was perfectly healed. The gum was produced by the apple tree; the ſurgeon of the ſhip procured ſome of it, and uſed it as a vulnerary balſam with great ſucceſs.

The language of the inhabitants of Otaheite is ſoft and melodious, abounding with vowels, which renders its pronunciation eaſily acquired. It is almoſt totally without inflexion either of nouns or verbs; but a ſufficient acquaintance with it has not been attained to determine whether it is copious or otherwiſe. It was impoſſible to teach the Indians to pronounce the Engliſh names of their gueſts, but they did not fail to come as near to it as poſſible, the giving of the name being an indiſpenſable ceremony, which they never omitted when they introduced a new acquaintance. They converted the Engliſh names into words reſembling Spaniſh or Italian; Cooke they called Toote; Hicks, Hete; Mr. Gore, Toarro; Dr. Solander, Torano; Parkinſon, Patini; Mr. Monkhouſe, a midſhipman, they called Matté, which ſignifies in their language dead, becauſe he commanded a party that killed a man for ſtealing a muſket. The neareſt imitation they could reach of King George, was by calling him Kihiargo. They are not deſtitute of genius for the ſciences, though they have no opportunity of cultivating them. A map of Otaheite, engraved for captain Cook's firſt voyage, was taken out and laid before Tuahow, the high admiral, without informing him any thing of what it was. He preſently diſcovered its meaning, and was overjoyed to ſee a repreſentation of his own country. Theſe people have a remarkable ſagacity in foretelling the weather, particularly the quarter from whence the wind will

will blow. In their long voyages they ſteer up by the ſun in the day, and in the night by the ſtars; all of which they diſtinguiſh ſeparately by names; and know in what part of the heavens they will appear in any of the months, during which they are viſible in their horizon; nor are they leſs acquainted with the periods of their annual appearance. They reckon time by moons, thirteen of which compoſe the year. They divide the day and the night, each into ſix parts. They judge of the time of the day by the height of the ſun. It is ſaid, that the higheſt number for which they have names is 200. They expreſs the diſtance from one place to another by the time it would take to run over it. They entertain no notion of the baneful influence of comets, but they conſider thoſe meteors which are called ſhooting ſtars, as evil genii.

The government of the inhabitants of Otaheite is compared by Dr. Hawkeſworth to the early ſtate of every nation in Europe under the feudal ſyſtem. There is a king or ſovereign in each of the two peninſulas into which the iſland is divided; with the lands of the different diſtricts, whoſe poſſeſſions are cultivated by their vaſſals and villeins. The king poſſeſſes far leſs authority over the whole ſociety, than each chieftain poſſeſſes in his own diſtrict, and the nobles are nearer on a footing with their ſovereign than the lower ranks are with the nobles. Intermarriages are not permitted between the nobles and the vulgar; every advantage and honour is confined to the former; and even ſuch articles of food as are reckoned delicacies, pork, fiſh and fowl, are only to be uſed by the nobility. Of theſe there are different orders, as in all the feudal kingdoms. There are different liveries, ſo to ſpeak, to diſtinguiſh theſe orders; and the rank of every individual is aſcertained by the height at which their ſervants wear their ſaſhes. Like the ancient nobility of Europe, they enjoy the right of private war; and each nobleman, at the head of his vaſſals, repels injuries, and maintains his rights, by the deciſion of arms. Their influence, indeed, over their followers is moſt powerful. They have intelligence of every event; they receive notice of every crime that is committed; they beſtow reward, inflict puniſhment, and their deciſions are ſubmitted to with the moſt paſſive and unreſerved obedience. Otaheite, therefore, affords in miniature, the picture of two feudal kingdoms, for the whole inhabitants, including women and children, do not exceed 6000. One circumſtance alone, as it is related by Dr. Hawkeſworth, is peculiar to this people. The child of the prince, or of the baron, ſucceeds to the titles and honours of his father as ſoon as it is born; ſo that a baron who was yeſterday diſtinguiſhed by epithets of honour, and approached with the ceremony of lowering the garments and uncovering the upper part of the body, is to-

to-day, if his wife be delivered of a ſon, reduced to the rank of a private perſon; all marks of reſpect being transferred to the child, though the father ſtill continues to poſſeſs and adminiſter the eſtate. If this circumſtance be authentic, it furniſhes a remarkable diſtinction between the government of Otaheite and that of the feudal nations of Europe. In theſe, force generally prevailed over right. The weakneſs of age and ſex often excluded from the ſucceſſion thoſe who were naturally entitled to it. The eſtate of a child or of a woman was often acquired by a diſtant collateral relation; even the deſtination of royalty proceeded not in a regular line, the uncle often uſurping the rights of a ſon, the brother thoſe of a daughter.

The religion of theſe iſlanders is not the circumſtance which firſt attracts the attention of travellers. Captain Wallis, who firſt viſited and deſcribed them, is inclined to believe, that they had not any religious worſhip or belief. But ſubſequent accounts inform us of their religious tenets, which are as ſuperſtitious and abſurd as thoſe of other pagan nations. They admit that great and primitive truth, that all is derived originally from one firſt cauſe. But they ſuppoſe the Supreme Being to have impregnated a rock, which brought forth the year; which daughter, embraced by the father, produced the thirteen months; which, in conjunction with each other, produced the days. In the ſame manner were the ſtars and all the other objects of nature created, ſo that the idea of generation runs through the whole, an idea impreſſed with peculiar force on the imagination of theſe Indians, who of all men are particularly the moſt addicted to the ſenſual pleaſures. They believe the exiſtence of the ſoul after death, and of a greater or leſs degree of happineſs to be then enjoyed; but they are ſaid to have no conception of a ſtate of puniſhment or reward hereafter. The ſhare of happineſs in a future life, they imagine, will be proportioned not to the merit but to the rank of individuals; the nobles enjoying the firſt diſtinction of felicity, while their vaſſals and villeins muſt be ſatisfied, even in the region of ſpirits, with a ſubordinate lot. This religious tenet is evidently derived from their political uſages. The prieſthood, as in many ancient countries, is hereditary. The prieſts are profeſſedly the men of ſcience, but their knowledge is altogether frivolous, conſiſting in being converſant in the names and rank of the ſubordinate divinities, and the opinions concerning the origin of the univerſe, handed down from one generation to another, by real tradition, in detached ſentences, and in a phraſeology unintelligible to thoſe who do not belong to the ſacred families.

The general manners and character of the people are ſuch as naturally reſult from the limited ſtate of ſociety in which they live, and the faint gradations of improvements to which they have

have attained. Their paſſions, like thoſe of children, are violent, but tranſitory. They paſs ſuddenly, yet without any apparent cauſe, from an exceſs of grief to the tranſports of joy. Their propenſity to particular friendſhips, like that of all rude people, is ſtrong; and their fidelity inviolable. When the Engliſh viſited them for the ſecond time, every Indian choſe his friend. With a diſpoſition naturally generous, they diſcovered a ſingular propenſity to theft. Of this there are innumerable examples in all the accounts which are related of them. But perhaps it has not been ſufficiently attended to, that their inclination to this vice might depend leſs on the depravity of their moral principles, than on their limited notions of property. Even after they had experienced the power of their new viſitants, they continued to pilfer as aſſiduouſly as before; and perſons who, in other reſpects, diſplayed no ſmall elevation of character, had a particular predilection for riches acquired by ſtealth.

Another trait of their character, which had been in ſome meaſure miſtaken by the firſt travellers into their country, is the licentiouſneſs of their amours. Mr. de Bougainville and Dr. Hawkeſworth aſſert, that there were no women in the iſland who had the ſmalleſt pretenſions to chaſtity. This aſſertion, however, captain Cook diſcovered to be too general. The women of rank, that is, all the female nobleſſe, are not devoid of honour; although they do not imagine their inferiors ought to be condemned for yielding to promiſcuous love. But, notwithſtanding the exception which the captain has diſcovered, it muſt be acknowledged, that their manners in this particular are ſuch as could ſcarcely eſcape obſervation and cenſure. When the Dolphin firſt appeared on the coaſt, a great number of women appeared on the beach, and were very importunate with the men in the boat to come on ſhore. They ſtripped themſelves naked, and endeavoured to allure them by wanton geſtures; and when they found, that notwithſtanding all their endeavours to detain them, the boat was putting off, they pelted them with apples and bananas, ſhouting and ſhowing every poſſible ſign of deriſion and contempt. After this, canoes, with a number of women, came cloſe by the ſide of the ſhip, where the ſame wanton geſtures were repeated. A regular traffic being eſtabliſhed on ſhore, it was ſettled that a river ſhould ſeparate the natives and the ſtrangers, and a few only of the former ſhould croſs at a time, for the purpoſe of trading. Several young women were then permitted to croſs the river, who, though they were not averſe to the granting of perſonal favours, were tenacious of making the moſt of them. An iron nail was commonly the price of beauty; and in proportion to the charms of the damſel was the ſize of the nail which ſhe received. The men ſcrupled not to promote this

kind

kind of dealing, for fathers and brothers would bring their daughters and ſiſters, for the purpoſe of proſtitution to the ſailors. When they preſented the girl, they ſhowed a ſtick of the ſize of the nail which was demanded for her, and he who came up to the price was entitled to the merchandize.

From the unbridled licentiouſneſs of the inhabitants of this iſland, the French gave it the name of the new Cythera. When Mr. de Bougainville arrived on this ſhore, he was received with the ſame laſcivious compliments which had been laviſhed on the Engliſh. "It was very difficult," ſays that officer, with ſuch "ſeducing incitements, to keep at their work 500 young French "ſoldiers, who had been deprived of the ſight of women for "ſix months." Notwithſtanding the endeavours uſed to keep the crew in order, the captain's cook found means to eſcape on ſhore. He had no ſooner ſingled out a fair one, than he was immediately encircled with a large party of natives, who ſtripped him of his clothes from head to foot, and with great tumult and violent exclamations, examined every part of his body very minutely. When their curioſity had been fully gratified they reſtored his clothes, and handing the girl to him, ſignified by ſigns ſufficiently expreſſive, that ſhe was very much at his ſervice. But by this time the ardour of the Frenchman had ſubſided, and every tumultuous paſſion was abſorbed in that of fear. He entreated them, as the only favour they could beſtow, to convey him on board, and he reached the ſhip more dead than alive.

When captain Cook lay off this ſhore, the women of Otaheite had ſo totally diveſted themſelves of all apprehenſions of ill treatment from the Engliſh ſailors, that great numbers of the lower claſs remained on board the ſhip, after the numerous tribe of viſitants had returned on ſhore in the evening. They ventured, without ſcruple, to paſs the night on board, having ſtudied the diſpoſition of Britiſh ſeamen ſo well as to know that they ran no riſk by confiding in them, but, on the contrary, might make ſure of every bead, nail and hatchet that their lovers could muſter. The evening, therefore, was as completely dedicated to mirth and pleaſure, as if the ſhip had been at Spithead inſtead of Otaheite. Before it was perfectly dark the women aſſembled on the forecaſtle, and one of them blowing a flute with her noſtrils, all of them danced a variety of dances uſual in their country, moſt of which were little conſiſtent with European ideas of delicacy. Even the better ſort are not entirely exempted from the national weakneſs. A chief named O-tai came on board, accompanied by his wife and two ſiſters; one of whom, named Morarai was a moſt graceful figure, with the moſt delicate and beautiful *contours* of the hands and all above the zone; an ineffable ſmile ſat on her countenance; her admi-

ration

ration at ſeeing the new objects aboard the ſhip diſplayed itſelf in the livelieſt expreſſions; nor was ſhe ſatisfied with looking round the decks, but deſcended into the officers cabin, attended by a gentleman of the ſhip. Having curiouſly examined every part, Morarai took a particular fancy to a pair of ſheets which ſhe ſaw ſpread on one of the beds, and made a number of fruitleſs attempts to obtain them from her conductor, to whom they belonged. He propoſed a ſpecial favour as the condition. She heſitated ſome time, and at laſt, with ſeeming reluctance, conſented. But when the yielding nymph was about to ſurrender, the ſhip ſtruck violently on the reef, and the affrighted lover, more ſenſible to danger than to his fair miſtreſs, quitted her unrifled charms, and flew upon deck. Repeated ſhrieks made the condition of the ſhip more alarming; every perſon on board exerted himſelf to the utmoſt on this emergency; at length they brought her again to float. When the danger was over, the officer bethought himſelf of the abandoned fair one; but on viſiting his cabin he found her gone, and his bed ſtripped of its ſheets. Morarai, however, had conducted the theft with ſuch dexterity, as would have rendered it not only excuſeable but praiſe-worthy among the Spartans; having appeared on deck, and continued a conſiderable time, without exciting any miſtruſt of her acquiſition. Four days after this adventure, the ſame officer, accompanied by ſeveral others, ſtrolling about the country, came to the ſpot where O-tai and his fair ſiſter reſided. He thought it to no purpoſe to inquire after his loſt bed linen, but choſe rather to renew his ſolicitations to the lady. Beads, nails and various trifles were preſented to her, which ſhe readily accepted, but remained inflexible to the paſſionate addreſſes of her lover. She was already in poſſeſſion of the ſheets, which were the only wealth of ſufficient value in her eyes to induce her to admit the tranſient embraces of a ſtranger; though ſhe was accuſed by her countrywomen of admitting towtaws, or men of the loweſt rank, to her bed at night; and thus impoſing on her brother, who would have been highly offended at the proſtitution, not of her perſon, but of her dignity.

Though it be evident that the general character of the natives of Otaheite is extremely deficient in point of modeſty, yet many of their cuſtoms, perhaps, are more immodeſt in appearance than in reality. The uſual way of expreſſing their reſpect to ſtrangers is by uncovering themſelves to the middle; and a ceremony of a ſimilar kind, but expreſſive only of reſpect, was uſed by Oorattao, a woman of rank, who viſited Mr. Banks. After laying down ſeveral plantain leaves, a man brought a large bundle of cloth, of the manufacture of that country, which having opened, he ſpread it piece by piece upon the ground,

ground, in the ſpace between Mr. Banks and his viſitants. There were in all nine pieces, but having ſpread three pieces one upon another, the lady came forward, and ſtepping upon them, took up her garments all around her to the waiſt; ſhe then turned about three times with great compoſure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and ſimplicity, which having done, ſhe dropped the veil: when other three pieces were ſpread, ſhe repeated the ſame ceremony; and ſo the third time, when the laſt three pieces were laid out; after which the cloth was again rolled up, and delivered to Mr. Banks, as a preſent from the lady, who, with her attending friend, came up, ſaluted him, and received ſuch preſents in return as he thought proper to offer them. Examples of this kind would lead us to believe, that the indecency of the natives of Otaheite, like that of moſt nations who have made ſmall advancements in the arts of ſocial life, proceeds leſs from a natural propenſity to voluptuous exceſs, than from their imperfect notions of propriety. As what has appeared in them a ſtrong inclination to the vice of ſtealing, ariſes, probably in ſome degree, from their limited ideas of property, ſo the apparent licentiouſneſs of their manners, with regard to the fair ſex, may proceed from a want of thoſe cultivated notions of delicacy which prevail in poliſhed countries. They ſee nothing indecent in the unreſerved intercourſe of the ſexes; among them Venus is the goddeſs of hoſpitality; her worſhip is celebrated without myſtery; and every paſſion is gratified before witneſſes, without any more ſigns of ſhame, than appears in other countries when people aſſociate at a meal. Yet it muſt not be diſſembled, that ſome of their cuſtoms diſcover a certain refinement in ſenſual pleaſure, which is the characteriſtic of a degree of depravity that could hardly be expected in their ſimple ſtate.

We return from this digreſſion, in which we have endeavoured to reduce into a ſmall compaſs the various accounts of Wallis, Cooke, Foſter, and Bougainville, concerning the manners and character of a people, whoſe diſcovery is one of the moſt brilliant that has been made by modern navigation. The iſland, indeed, is more intereſting to the philoſopher than to the merchant, as it produces nothing that can be converted into an article of diſtant traffic, and can be uſeful only in affording refreſhments to ſhipping, in their voyages through thoſe ſeas. Captain Cook took his leave of Otaheite the 13th of July, 1769, having carried with him Tupia, one of the natives, who informed him that four of the neighbouring iſlands lay at the diſtance of leſs than two days ſail. The names of theſe were Ulietea, Hyaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola. The firſt is about twenty-one leagues in circuit. Its productions are the ſame as thoſe of Otaheite, nor is there any thing to diſtinguiſh the appearance and

manners

manners of its inhabitants from those of that island. The same may be said of the other three, as well as of the small islands of Tubai and Maurua; to all of which, as they lie contiguous to each other, captain Cook gave the name of the Society Islands, but did not think it necessary to distinguish them separately by any other names, than those by which they are known to the natives. They are situated between the latitudes of 16 degrees 10 minutes, and 10 degrees 55 minutes south, and between the longitudes of 150 degrees 17 minutes, and 152 degrees west, from the meridian of Greenwich. Ulietea and Otaha lie at the distance of two miles from each other, and are both inclosed within one reef of coral rocks, so that there is no passage for shipping between them. Ulietea affords a great many good harbours both on the east and west sides; the entrances into them, indeed, are but narrow; but when a ship is once in, nothing can hurt her. The northermost, on the west side, in which the ship lay, is called Ohamaneno; the channel leading into it is about a quarter of a mile wide, and lies between two low sandy islands. This harbour, though small, is preferable to the others, because it is situated in the most fertile part of the island, and where fresh water is easily to be got. Otaha also affords two good harbours, one on the east side and the other on the west. The island of Bolabola lies north-west and by west from Otaha, distant about four leagues. It is surrounded by a reef of rocks, and several small islands, in compass together about eight leagues. This island is rendered remarkable by a high craggy hill, which appears to be almost perpendicular, and terminates at the top in two peaks, one higher than the other. The captain did not take time to examine the harbours, but understood that Bolabola is not deficient in this particular. The island of Houaheine is situated in the latitude of 16 degrees 43 minutes south, and longitude 150 degrees 52 minutes west, distant from Otaheite about thirty-one leagues, and about seven leagues in compass. The harbour, which is called by the natives Owalle, lies on the west side, under the northernmost high land. The climate is more forward than that of Otaheite, and the country abounds with provisions. The inhabitants of all these islands treated the English with the most courteous hospitality; and testified great sorrow at the departure of their guests, which, however, did not take place till captain Cook had, with the usual formality, taken possession of their territories in the name of his majesty King George.

The captain left these shores the 9th of August, 1769, and met with nothing remarkable in his course till the 13th about noon, when he saw land bearing south-east, which Tupia told him was an island called Oheteroa. It is situated in the latitude of 22 degrees 27 minutes south, and in the longitude of 150 degrees

44 minutes weſt, about thirteen miles in circuit, and the land rather high than low, but neither populous nor fertile in proportion to the other iſlands which had been diſcovered in thoſe ſeas. The chief produce ſeems to be a tree of which they make their weapons, called in their language Etoa; many plantations of it were ſeen along the ſhore, which is not ſurrounded, like the neighbouring iſlands, by a reef. The ſhip, or boats, made the whole circuit of Oheteroa, and found there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it; and the hoſtile diſpoſition of the natives rendering it impoſſible to land without bloodſhed, the captain determined not to attempt it, having no motive that could juſtify the riſk of life.

Tupia mentioned ſeveral iſlands lying at different diſtances and in different directions from this, between the ſouth and the north-weſt; and that, at the diſtance of three days ſail, there was an iſland called Mancoa, or Bird Iſland. But ſo many diſcoveries of this kind had already been made, that the captain purpoſed to ſpend no more time in ſearch of iſlands, only in examining thoſe which he happened to fall in with during his courſe, and to proceed ſouthward in ſearch of a continent. After a navigation of above ſix weeks land was diſcovered, which became the ſubject of much eager converſation, it being generally believed to be the *Terra Auſtralis Incognita*. It was indeed the coaſt of New Zealand, which, ever ſince it had been diſcovered by the Dutch navigator Taſman, in 1642, has paſſed with moſt geographers for a part of the great ſouthern continent. But captain Cook diſcovered that New Zealand conſiſted of two iſlands, divided by a Streight which is called after his name, and ſituated between the latitudes of 34 degrees 22 minutes and 47 degrees 25 minutes ſouth, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees and 180 degrees eaſt. This indefatigable navigator employed almoſt ſix months in fully exploring the coaſt of both iſlands, of which he diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral bays, rivers, capes, *&c.* by particular names. The firſt place where he anchored, on the northernmoſt iſland, he called Poverty Bay, becauſe he found in it no refreſhments, nor any thing except wood neceſſary for a ſhip. From hence he proceeded ſouthward almoſt to the forty-firſt degree of latitude; and then reverſing his courſe, ſailed to the north-eaſtern point of land, and the broadeſt part of the whole iſland. He afterwards anchored in a port, ſituated in latitude 56 degrees 54 minutes ſouth, and in longitude 184 degrees 4 minutes weſt, which, as he here made an obſervation of the tranſit of Mercury over the ſun, he called Mercury Bay. The river which empties itſelf into the head of this bay he called the Thames, on account of its reſemblance to the Engliſh river of that name. The banks of this river are repreſented as the moſt eligible place in thoſe iſlands for

ſettling

ſettling a colony. More to the north-weſt is the Bay of Iſlands, ſo named from the great number of little iſlands that line its ſhore, forming ſeveral harbours equally ſafe and commodious, where there is depth and room for any number of ſhipping. Captain Cook, in doubling the northern extremity of New Zealand, met with a gale of wind, which, for its ſtrength and continuance was ſuch as he had never experienced before. He was three weeks in making ten leagues, and five weeks in making fifty. Having doubled this cape he proceeded along the weſtern ſhore, which is extremely barren, conſiſting of banks of white ſand, and which he therefore called the deſert coaſt. The ſouthern part of this coaſt bends towards the weſt, and is diſtinguiſhed by a remarkably high peak of a moſt majeſtic appearance, covered with perennial ſnow. This peak, which received the name of Mount Egmont, is ſurrounded by a flat country of a pleaſant appearance, cloathed with wood and verdure. Having coaſted this ſhore, the captain entered the Streight which divides the northern from the ſouthern iſland. The latter underwent a very accurate ſurvey. On the eaſtern coaſt he diſcovered a ſmall iſland of a circular form, in the latitude of 43 degrees 44 minutes ſouth, which he called Banks's Iſland. Proceeding ſouthward he found the extremity of the land almoſt ſeparated from the reſt, it being joined by a long and narrow iſthmus. The ſouth-eaſt ſide is of very dangerous navigation, on account of the ridges of rocks which riſe for many leagues out of the ſea. But the weſtern extremity affords a commodious bay, with many harbours and coves ſcattered on different parts of it, where good anchorage may be found. On the ſhore, the ſoil is a deep black mould, formed of decayed vegetables. The trees gradually diminiſh in height and circumference, in receding from the ſhore, contrary to what is obſerved in other parts of the world. The captain having left the above mentioned bay, (which he called *Duſky Bay*), proceeded along the weſtern coaſt, and entered Cook's Streights by the ſouth-weſt point of land, behind which he anchored in a fine harbour, which he named Admiralty Bay. A little more to the eaſtward is Queen Charlotte's Sound, the entrance of which lies in latitude 41 degrees ſouth, longitude 175 degrees 25 minutes eaſt. This Sound is three leagues broad at its mouth, and contains a collection of the fineſt harbours in the world. There are a great number of ſmall iſlands lying at the entrance, and the land about it is ſo high as to be ſeen at the diſtance of twenty leagues. Here the ſailors caught near three hundred weight of fiſh, and found wood and water in abundance. The captain ordered the water-caſks to be filled in this neighbourhood, and prepared to leave New Zealand on the 30th of March, having circumnavigated the whole coaſt, and made frequent excurſions into the interior parts of the country.

Theſe

Thefe iflands produce no quadrupeds but dogs and rats; there are few fpecies of birds, and of thefe none, except perhaps the gannet, is the fame with thofe of Europe. For this fcarcity of animals upon the land, the fea makes an abundant recompence; every creek fwarming with fifh, equally wholefome and delicious. The fhip feldom anchored in any ftation, or with a light gale paffed any place, which did not afford enough of fifh with hook and line to ferve the whole fhip's company; the feine feldom failed of producing a ftill more ample fupply; and the variety of fpecies was equal to the plenty. There are mackarel of many kinds, one of which is exactly the fame as we have in England; and the other fpecies of fifh unknown to the European feas, were diftinguifhed by the names of thofe kinds to which they bear the neareft refemblance, and they do honour to the comparifon. Among the vegetable productions of New Zealand, the trees claim a principal place; there being forefts of vaft extent, full of the ftraighteft, the cleaneft, and the largeft timber, any where to be feen. The trees here, however, are too hard and too heavy to be made into mafts; but for every other purpofe they feem to be exceedingly fit, on account of their fize, their grain, and their apparent durability. There are few eatable vegetables in New Zealand, except wild celery, and a kind of creffes, which grow in great abundance upon all parts of the fea-fhore. Of the efculent plants raifed by cultivation, there are only yams, fweet potatoes, and cocoas. Gourds are cultivated by the natives for the fake of the fruit, which furnifhes them with veffels for various ufes. There is a plant that ferves the inhabitants inftead of hemp and flax, which excels all that are put to the fame purpofes in other countries. Of this plant there are two forts; the leaves of both refemble thofe of flags, but their flowers are fmaller, and their clufters more numerous; on one kind they are yellow, on the other a deep red. Of the leaves of thefe plants, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel, as well as their ftrings, lines and cordage for every purpofe, which are fo much ftronger than any thing we can make with hemp, that they will not bear a comparifon. Of the leaves of this plant, without any other preparation than that of fplitting them into proper breadths, and tying the ftripes together, they make their fifhing nets, fome of which are of an enormous fize.

From the populoufnefs of the fea-coafts, it was at firft imagined, that the natives of New Zealand were extremely numerous. But it was afterwards found, that the interior parts were entirely deftitute of inhabitants, or very thinly peopled; for the principal food of the New Zealanders confifting in fifh, they are afraid to remove to a great diftance from the chief fource of their fubfiftence.

ſiſtence. The fleſh of dogs, and the few vegetables above-mentioned, are the only ſuccedaneum they have to ſupport life; ſo that when the dry ſtock fails in the ſeaſon when few fiſh are caught, the diſtreſs is dreadful; and this calamity, which too often happens, accounts for a practice prevalent in New Zealand of fortifying every village with the utmoſt care, and the horrid cuſtom of eating thoſe who are killed in battle. The New Zealanders rather exceed the European ſize; they are ſtout, well limbed and fleſhy; exceedingly active and vigorous; and diſcover great manual dexterity in all the arts to which they apply. Their colour reſembles the brown hue of the Spaniards; the women have not a feminine delicacy in their appearance, but their voice is remarkably ſoft; and by this they are principally diſtinguiſhed, the dreſs of both ſexes being the ſame. This dreſs is to a ſtranger the moſt uncouth that can be imagined. It is made of the leaves of the hemp plant, ſplit into three or four ſlips, interwoven with each other into a kind of ſtuff between netting and cloth, with all the ends, which are eight or nine inches long, hanging out on the upper ſide. Of this ſingular cloth two pieces ſerve for a complete dreſs; one of them is tied over their ſhoulders with a ſtring, and reaches as low as the knees; to the end of this ſtring is faſtened a bodkin of bone, which is eaſily paſſed through any two parts of this upper garment to keep them together. The other piece of cloth, or lower garment, is wrapped round the waiſt, and reaches nearly to the ground. When they have only the upper garment on, (for the lower is not ſo conſtantly worn), and ſit upon their hams, they bear a reſemblance to a thatched houſe; but however ugly their dreſs, it is a proper defence againſt the inclemencies of the weather to men who often ſleep in the open air.

Theſe people being inured to war, and accuſtomed to conſider every ſtranger as an enemy, were always diſpoſed to attack the Engliſh until they were intimidated by their manifeſt ſuperiority. But when they were convinced of the power of fire-arms, and obſerved the clemency of their enemies in forbearing to make uſe of theſe dreadful weapons, except in their own defence, they became at once friendly and affectionate; and when an intercourſe was eſtabliſhed, were rarely detected in any act of diſhoneſty. They excel the inhabitants of Otaheite as much in modeſty, as they fall ſhort of them in the cleanlineſs of their perſons, and the convenience of their habitations. The women, however, were not impregnable; but the terms and manner of compliance were as decent as thoſe in marriage among us, and according to their notions, the agreement was as innocent. The conſent of friends was neceſſary to obtain the perſonal favours of a young woman, and by the influence of a proper preſent this conſent might generally be obtained.

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The ingenuity of these people appears principally in the construction and management of their canoes, and in whatever relates to war or fishing. The larger canoes are 68 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 3 and a half feet deep; each side consisting of one entire plank, 63 feet long, fitted and lashed to the bottom with great dexterity and strength. They have no defensive armour; although they have a great variety of those which are fitted for destruction. The principal of these are spears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo, which is fastened to their wrists by a strong strap, lest it should be wrenched from them, and which the principal people generally wear sticking to their girdles, considering it as a military ornament, and part of their dress, like the poniard of the Asiatic, and the sword of the European. Tillage, weaving, and the other arts of peace seem to be best known and most practised in the northern part of this country. They have an instrument which serves at once for spade and plough. The ground is rendered as smooth as in a garden, and every root has its small hillock, ranged in a regular quincunx by lines, which were seen with the pegs remaining in the ground. The religion, government and language of the New Zealanders bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the natives of Otaheite. Tupia understood their discourse, and was perfectly understood by them. This similarity of dialogue proves a common origin; but which of the two countries was first peopled; whether they were peopled from one another, or both from some more ancient mother-land; and what this land is—are questions which in all probability will never be resolved.

Captain Cook sailed from New Zealand the 31st of March, 1770, and made the coast of New Holland the 19th of April. It was in latitude 37 degrees 58 minutes south, and longitude 210 degrees 39 minutes west, when he first discovered land. The southernmost point of land in sight at this time was judged to lie in latitude 38 degrees, longitude 211 degrees 7 minutes, beyond which, although the weather was very clear, nothing could be observed. The great body of Van Diemen's land, however, ought, according to the maps, to have borne due south; but the captain not having seen it, does not determine whether it joins the point now discovered or not. Standing to the northward he observed a bay, which seemed to be well sheltered from all winds, and into which he determined to go with the ship. There he anchored in the afternoon under the south shore, about two miles within the entrance, in six fathom water, the south point bearing south-east, and the north point east. This place was a-breast of a small village, consisting of about six or eight houses; and while the sailors were preparing to hoist out the boat, they saw an old woman, followed by three children,

children, come out of a wood. She was loaded with fire-wood, and each of the children had alſo its little burden. She often looked at the ſhip, but expreſſed neither fear nor ſurpriſe. Some canoes returned from the fiſhing; the men landed, and the old woman having kindled a fire, they began to dreſs their dinner, to all appearance wholly unconcerned about the ſhips. They were all ſtark naked, the woman herſelf being deſtitute even of a fig-leaf. It was natural to imagine that theſe ſavages, who ſeemed to pay no regard to the ſhip's coming into the bay, would have paid as little attention to the people's coming on ſhore. But as ſoon as the boat approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to defend their coaſt, and the reſt ran away. Each of the two champions was armed with a lance about ten feet long, and a ſhort ſtick, which he ſeemed to handle as if it was a machine to aſſiſt him in throwing his lance. They called out in a loud harſh tone, and in a language which none of thoſe in the boat, although Tupia was of the party, underſtood a ſingle word. The courage of theſe Indians was remarkable, as they were but two againſt forty in the boat; which the captain ordered to lie on her oars, while he endeavoured to obtain the good-will of his opponents by throwing them nails, beads, and other trifles, which they took up, and ſeemed to be well pleaſed with. When he made ſigns to them that the ſhips wanted water, they waved with their hands, which he interpreted as an invitation to land. But this was not their meaning, for when the boat began to advance they renewed their oppoſition. One appeared to be a youth of nineteen or twenty, and the other a man of middle age; both of ſuch determined obſtinacy, that it was neceſſary to fire a muſket between them. Upon the report the youngeſt dropped a bundle of lances upon the rock, but recollecting himſelf in an inſtant, he ſnatched them up again with great haſte, and threw a ſtone at the boat. A ſecond muſket was fired, which ſtruck the oldeſt on the legs, who immediately ran to one of the houſes, diſtant about an hundred yards, and returned with a ſhield or target for his defence. A third muſket was fired before they betook themſelves to flight, and left the boat maſter of the ſhore. Here there was abundance of water, and ſuch a variety of plants, that the captain gave it the name of Botany Bay. It lies in latitude 34 degrees ſouth, and longitude 152 degrees 37 minutes eaſt. The country in general is level, low and woody. There are two kinds of trees, larger than the Engliſh oak; one of them yields a reddiſh gum like *ſanguis draconis*, and the wood is heavy, hard, and dark coloured. The woods abound with birds of an exquiſite beauty, particularly of the porrot kind; and crows exactly the ſame with thoſe in England. About the head of the harbour, where there are large

 flats

flats of ſand and mud, there is great plenty of water-fowl; and on the banks themſelves are vaſt quantities of oyſters, muſcles and cockles, which ſeem to be the principal ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants.

The captain having left this place, where he could eſtabliſh no intercourſe with the natives, proceeded northwards in order to examine the eaſtern coaſt of New Holland, and to diſtinguiſh by name the more remarkable places that he met with in his voyage. Having paſſed what he called Hervey's Bay, diſtinguiſhed by Mangrove trees, he anchored in Buſtard Bay, in latitude 24 degrees 4 minutes ſouth, longitude 151 degrees 42 minutes eaſt. He gave it that name from the great numbers of birds of the buſtard ſpecies, as large as turkeys, one of which weighed ſeventeen pounds and a half, and was the moſt delicate bird that had been met with during the whole voyage. Here are oyſters in great numbers, and of various kinds; among others the hammer oyſter, and abundance of ſmall pearl oyſters. And captain Cook ſays, that if in deep water there is equal plenty of ſuch oyſters at their full growth, a pearl fiſhery might be eſtabliſhed to very great advantage. Proceeding about two degrees farther north, he anchored again in *Thirſty Sound*. From their great variation in the needle, when brought on ſhore, and from ſeveral other obſervations at this place, it ſeems probable that iron ore abounds in the hills. Along the whole coaſt the ſea conceals ſhoals, which ſuddenly project from the ſhore, and rocks that riſe abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom.

Off *Cape Tribulation*, which lies in latitude 16 degrees 6 minutes ſouth, and longitude 246 degrees 39 minutes eaſt, our intrepid and hitherto ſucceſsful adventurers were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. On the 10th of June, at eleven o'clock at night, the ſhip ſuddenly ſtruck againſt a coral rock, and became immoveable except by the heaving of the ſurge, which beating her againſt the craggs of the rock on which ſhe lay, cauſed ſo violent a concuſſion, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty any one on board could ſtand on his legs. At the dawn of day land appeared at eight leagues diſtance, without any iſland in the intermediate ſpace upon which they might be ſet on ſhore by the boats, and afterwards proceed to the main, if the ſhip ſhould go to pieces: the wind, however, died away, till it became a dead calm, by which the ſhip eſcaped inſtant, and otherwiſe inevitable, deſtruction. At eleven in the forenoon it was high water, but ſo much ſhorter was the day-tide than that of the night, that notwithſtanding the ſhip had been lightened near fifty tons, ſhe did not float by a foot and a half. Thus diſappointed, they proceeded to lighten her ſtill more, by throwing overboard every thing that could poſſibly be ſpared.

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The water now began to rush in so fast, that two pumps could scarcely keep her free. At five in the afternoon the tide again began to rise, and with it the leak increased so fast that it was necessary to man two more pumps, of which one only could be wrought. Three of the pumps, however, being kept going, the ship righted at nine; but by this time the leak had gained so considerably, that it was imagined she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. The floating of the ship therefore was anticipated, not as an earnest of deliverance, but as a forerunner of destruction. The boats were not capable of carrying all on shore, where, should any of the crew be able to arrive, their fate would be still more melancholy than that of those who perished in the shipwreck. Banished on a coast where even nets and fire-arms could scarcely furnish the means of subsistence, and possessing the means of no effectual defence against the natives, they must speedily fall a prey to indigence or ferocity, or languish during the remainder of life in a desolate wilderness, without the hope of any domestic comfort, and cut off from the society of men. To those only who have waited in such a suspence, death has approached in his wildest terrors; While every one was reading his own sensation in the countenance of his companions the ship floated, and was heaved into deep water. It was no small consolation to find that she did not now admit more water than she had done upon the rock. By the gaining of the leak upon the pumps there were no less than three feet nine inches water in the hold; and the men having endured excessive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind, for more than twenty-four hours, and having but little hope of succeeding at last, began to flag, when this favourite circumstance again animated their vigour, and made them exert the most extraordinary efforts. But none of them could work at the pumps above five or six minutes together, and then, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water was running over it from the pumps several inches deep. When those who succeeded them had worked their spell, and were exhausted in their turn, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others starting up renewed their labour. At eleven o'clock a breeze from the sea springing up, the ship was got under sail, and stood for the land. The exact situation of the leak could not be discovered, and therefore it was impossible to stop it within, and it was as impossible to continue that degree of labour, by which the pumps had been made to work. In this situation a happy expedient was adopted. It is called fothering the ship, and is done by taking a large studding-sail, on which a quantity of oakum and wood chopped small and mixed together, was stitched down in handfuls as lightly as possible; over this the

 dung

dung of ſheep and other filth was ſpread; and the ſail, thus prepared, was hauled under the ſhip's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended. When it came under the leak, the ſuction which carried in the water, carried in with it the oakum and wool from the ſurface of the ſail, which in other parts the water was not ſufficiently agitated to waſh off. This contrivance ſucceeded ſo happily, that one pump was able to reduce the water from the leak: and ſo ſuſceptible are mankind of ſudden joy whenever ſo partially relieved from imminent danger, that ſcarcely greater tranſport could have been felt, if they had been arrived into a ſafe harbour, than this favourable alteration occaſioned. At ſix in the evening the ſhip was brought to an anchor for the night in ſeventeen fathom water, at the diſtance of ſeven leagues from the ſhore, and one from the edge of rocks upon which ſhe had ſtruck. The next morning ſhe came to an anchor within two miles of the ſhore, no harbour having been diſcovered. But the day following was moſt propitious by the diſcovery of a harbour to leeward, moſt excellently adapted to the purpoſe for which it was wanted; and what was no leſs fortunate than remarkable, in the whole courſe of the voyage no place had been ſeen which would have afforded the ſame relief to the ſhip in the ſituation ſhe then was. Three whole days intervened before a favourable wind aroſe to carry them into their deſtined haven, in which time they found leiſure and inclination to reflect, that there was nothing but a lock of wool between them and deſtruction. At length theſe buffeted adventurers ſet their impatient feet on land, after giving the ſtrongeſt proof of a manly, inflexible firmneſs; for, ſays captain Cook, "Upon this occaſion I muſt obſerve, both in juſtice and "gratitude to the ſhip's company and the gentlemen on board, "that, although in the midſt of our diſtreſs, every one ſeemed "to have a juſt ſenſe of his danger, yet no paſſionate exclama-"tions or frantic geſtures were heard or ſeen; every one ap-"peared to have the moſt perfect poſſeſſion of his mind, and "every one exerted himſelf to the utmoſt with a quiet and "patient perſeverance, equally diſtant from the tumultuous "voice of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of deſpair." Their change of ſituation was now viſible in every countenance, for it was moſt ſenſibly felt in every breaſt. They had ſailed three hundred and ſixty leagues, with a man continually in the chains having the lead, which perhaps never happened to any other veſſel. They had been three months entangled among ſhoals and rocks that every moment threatened them with deſtruction; frequently paſſing the night at anchor, within hearing of the ſurge that broke over them; ſometimes driving towards it even while their anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident, to which an almoſt continual tempeſt expoſed them, they

they ſhould not hold, every perſon on board muſt inevitably periſh.

The harbour which afforded them relief in this extreme emergency, they named after their veſſel *Endeavour River*. It lies in latitude 15 degrees 26 minutes ſouth, and its longitude by obſervation is 214 degrees 42 minutes 30 ſeconds weſt. It is only a ſmall bar harbour, or creek, which runs in a winding channel three or four leagues inland, and at the head of which there is a ſmall brook of freſh water. There is not depth of water for ſhipping above a mile within the bar, and at this diſtance only on the north ſide, where the bank is ſo ſteep for near a quarter of a mile, that a ſhip may lie afloat at low water, ſo near the ſhore as to reach it with a ſtep, and the ſituation is extremely convenient for heaving down; but at low water the depth upon the bar is not more than nine or ten feet, nor more than 17 or 18 at the height of the tide; the difference between high and low water, at ſpring tides, being about nine feet. At the time of new and full moon it is high water between 9 and 10 o'clock. This part of the coaſt is barricaded with ſhoals ſo as to make the harbour exceedingly difficult of acceſs; the ſafeſt approach is from the ſouthward, keeping the main land cloſe upon the board all the way; and the ſituation of the harbour may always be found by the latitude, which has been very accurately laid down.

The captain having refitted at this place, where the principal refreſhment to be procured was turtle, and a plant called, in the Weſt Indies, Indian kale, ſet ſail the beginning of Auguſt, to examine the northern extremity of the country. The rocks and ſhoals off this coaſt are more dangerous, perhaps, than in any part of the globe; for here are reefs of coral riſing like an immenſe wall, almoſt perpendicularly out of the ſea; always overflowed at high water, and at low water, in many places, dry. The enormous waves of the vaſt ſouthern ocean meeting with ſo abrupt a reſiſtance break with inconceiveable violence; in a ſurf which no rocks or ſtorms in the northern hemiſphere can produce. The danger of navigating the unknown parts of this ocean was greatly increaſed to our adventurers, by their having a crazy ſhip, and being ſhort of proviſions and every other neceſſary, "Yet," ſays captain Cook, "the diſtinction of "the firſt diſcoverers made us cheerfully encounter every danger, and ſubmit to every inconvenience; and we choſe rather "to incur the cenſure of imprudence and temerity, which the "idle and voluptuous ſo liberally beſtow upon unſucceſsful fortitude and perſeverance, than leave a country which we had "diſcovered, unexplored, and give colour to a charge of timidity "and irreſolution."

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The captain resolved to keep the main land on board in his future route to the northward; because, if he had gone without the reef, it might have carried him so far from the coast as to prevent his being able to determine whether this country joined to New Guinea. This was a question which former navigators had left undecided, and which captain Cook was determined to decide. In the execution of this enterprize, he braved such dangers as would have appalled the resolution of any man whose spirit for discovery had not extinguished all regard to personal safety. He found the two countries to be divided by a narrow sea, or streight, the north-east entrance of which lies in the latitude of 10 degrees 39 minutes south, and in the longitude of 218 degrees 36 minutes west. It is formed by the northern extremity of New Holland, and a congeries of islands, which, it is probable, extend all the way to New Guinea. These islands differ very much in height and circuit, and many of them seemed to be well cloathed with herbage and wood, and well peopled with inhabitants.

To this channel of passage the captain gave the name of Endeavour Streights. Its length from north-east to south-west is ten leagues, and its breadth five leagues, except at the north-east entrance, where it is less than two miles, being contracted by the islands which lye there. On one of these islands the captain took possession of the eastern coast of New Holland, from the latitude of 38 degrees to 10 degrees 30 minutes south, in the name of his majesty king George the Third, and distinguished that immense extent of country by the appellation of *New South Wales*. The ascertaining of the division between New Holland and New Guinea was the last discovery made by captain Cook in this voyage. He was now arrived in seas which had been already navigated, and where every coast had been laid down by Dutch or Spanish navigators. Instead, therefore, of following this judicious and enterprising adventurer in his navigation to the isle of Java, and his voyage homeward, it is proper to look back, and consider the information that may be derived from his discoveries relative to New Holland.

This immense island, for such is the title by which it seems to be improperly distinguished, exceeds in magnitude the habitable parts of the continent of Europe; extending from 10 degrees to 44 degrees south, between 110 degrees and 154 degrees east. It received the name of Holland from its having been chiefly explored by Dutch navigators. The land first discovered in those parts was called *Eendraght*, or Concord Land, from the name of the ship which made the discovery in 1616. Two years after, another part of this coast was discovered by Zeachen, who gave it the name of *Arnheim* and *Diem*, though a different part from what received the name of *Diemen*'s Land from Tasman;

Tasman; the latter being the southern extremity of the island, whereas the former lies in 15 degrees south. Van Meitz, Carpenter, and Dampier discovered different parts of the coast; but our information derived from all these adventurers was nothing in comparison of what we have received from captain Cook.

The whole eastern coast of New Holland is well watered by brooks and springs, but there are no great rivers. The face of the country, every where bleak and barren, is considerably less so towards the south, where the trees are taller and the herbage richer; but no underwood is any where to be seen. There are but two sorts of timber trees, the gum tree and the pine; the esculent plants are few, but there are a variety of such as gratify the curiosity of the botanist. The species of birds are numerous, and many of exquisite beauty. Venomous serpents abound, and great variety of reptiles, most of which are harmless. The greatest natural curiosity in this country is the ant, of which there are several sorts. One is green, and builds its nest upon trees, by bending down the leaves, and gluing the points of them together, so as to form a purse. The viscus used for this purpose is an animal juice, which nature has enabled them to elaborate. Thousands of these busy insects were seen using all their strength to hold the leaves in a proper position, while other industrious multitudes were employed within, in applying the gluten. "To satisfy ourselves," says captain Cook, "that the "leaves were bent and held down by these diminutive artificers, "we disturbed them in their work, and as soon as they were "driven from their station, the leaves in which they were em-"ployed sprung up with a force much greater than we could "have thought them able to conquer by any combination of "their strength. But though we gratified our curiosity at their "expence, the injury did not pass unrevenged, for thousands "immediately threw themselves upon us, and gave us intolera-"ble pain with their stings, especially those which took posses-"sion of our necks and our hair, from which they were not "easily driven. There is another species, possessing no power of tormenting, and resembling the white ants of the East Indies. These construct nests upon the branches of trees three or four times as big as a man's head; the materials of which are formed of small parts of vegetables kneaded together with a glutinous matter, with which nature has furnished them. Upon breaking the outside crust of this dwelling, innumerable cells, furnished with inhabitants, appear in a great variety of winding directions, all communicating with each other, and with several apertures which lead to other nests upon the same tree. They have also another house built upon the ground, generally at the root of a tree; and formed like an irregularly sided cone, sometimes

times more than six feet high, and nearly as much in diameter. The outside of these is composed of well tempered clay, about two inches thick, and within are the cells, which have no opening outward. Between these two dwellings, one of which is their summer, and the other their winter residence, there is a communication by a large avenue, or covered way, leading to the ground by a subterraneous passage. The fish here are of kinds unknown to Europe, except the shell-fish and the mullet. Upon the shoals and reef are the finest green turtle in the world, and oysters of various kinds, particularly the rock oyster, and the pearl oyster. In the rivulets and salt creeks are alligators.

This extensive country is very thinly inhabited, and that by men in the lowest stage of savage life. On the coast the natives never appeared in larger companies than thirty together, and the ground being entirely uncultivated, they drew their principal subsistence from the sea. It is probable that the inland parts of the country are totally destitute of inhabitants. The only tribe with which any intercourse was established, consisted of 21 persons, 12 men, 7 women, a boy and a girl. The men are middle sized, clean limbed, and remarkably vigorous and nimble. Their countenances are expressive; their voice soft and effeminate; their bodies encrusted with dirt, which makes them appear almost as black as negroes. They crop their black hair, and keep their beards short by singeing them. The women were never seen but at a distance, for when the men crossed the river to the ship they left them behind. Neither sex have any conscious sense of indecency in discovering the whole body. They received the things that were given them, but were insensible to all the signs that were made that something was expected in return. Many of the trinkets that had been given them were afterwards found thrown negligently away in the woods, like the playthings of children, which please only when they are new. The bodies of many were marked with large scars, inflicted with some blunt instrument, and which they signified by signs to have been memorials of grief for the dead. There was no appearance of a town or village in the whole island; their houses were framed without art or industry; some of them only sufficient for a man to stand upright in, but not large enough for him to extend his length in any direction. They are built with pliable rods, about the thickness of a man's finger, in the form of an oven, and covered with palm leaves and bark. The door is a large hole. Under these houses or sheds they sleep, coiled up with their heels to their head, in which position one of the houses will hold three or four persons. Towards the north of the island these houses were made still slighter; one side being entirely open, and none of them above four feet deep. These hovels were set up occasionally by a wandering horde, in any

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place that would furnish them for a time with subsistence, and left behind them when they removed to another spot. When they mean to continue only a night or two at a place, they sleep without any shelter except the bushes and grass, the latter of which is here near two feet high. They have a small bag, about the size of a moderate cabbage net, which the men carry upon their back by a string that passes over their heads. It generally contains a lump of paint and rosin, some fish-hooks and lines, shells of which their hooks are made, a few points of darts, and ornaments of shells and bones, with which they adorn their wrists and noses. This is the whole inventory of the richest man among them. They are unacquainted with the use of nets in fishing. Their fish-hooks are neatly made, and some of them extremely small. For striking turtle they have a peg of wood, about a foot long, and well bearded; this fits into a socket at the end of a staff of light wood, as thick as a man's wrist, and eight feet long. To the staff is tied one end of a loose line, about four fathoms long, the other end of which is fastened to the peg. To strike the turtle the peg is fixed into the socket; and when it has entered his body, and is retained there by the barb, the staff flies off, and serves for a float to chase their victim in the water. It assists also to tire him, till they can overtake him with their canoes, and haul him ashore. Their lines are made of the fibres of a vegetable, and are from the thickness of half an inch to the fineness of an hair. They bake their provisions by the help of hot stones, like the inhabitants of the south sea islands. They produce fire with great facility, and spread it in a wonderful manner. For this purpose they take two pieces of dry soft wood. The one is flat, the other a stick with an obtuse point at one end. This they press upon the other, and turn it nimbly by holding it between both hands as we do a chocolate mill. By this method they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark increase with great speed and dexterity. "We have often seen," says captain Cook, "one of them run along the shore, to all appearance with no-"thing in his hand, who stooping down for a moment, at the "distance of every fifty or an hundred yards, left fire behind "him, as we could see, first by the smoke, and then by the "flame among the drift wood, and other litter that was scat-"tered along the place. We had the curiosity to examine one "of the planters of fire when he set off, and we saw him "wrap up a small spark in dry grass, which, when he had run "a little way, having been fanned by the air which his motion "produced, began to blaze. He then laid it down in a place "convenient for his purpose, inclosing a spark of it in another "quantity of grass, and so continued his course." Their weapons are spears or lances; some have four prongs pointed with bone

bone and barbed. To the northward the lance has but one point; the ſhaft is made of cane, ſtraight and light, from eight to fourteen feet long, conſiſting of ſeveral joints, where the pieces are let into each other and bound together. The points of theſe darts are either hard heavy wood, or bones of fiſh: thoſe of wood are ſometimes armed with ſharp pieces of broken ſhells ſtuck in, and at the junctures covered with roſin. The canoes to the northward are not made of bark, but of the trunk of a tree hollowed by fire; and none of them carry more than four people. The only tools ſeen among them are the adze, wretchedly made of ſtone; ſome ſmall pieces of ſtone in the ſhape of a wedge; a wooden mallet, and ſome awkward inſtruments, or rather fragments of ſhells and coral. The uncultivated ſtate of the inhabitants of New Holland; their total ignorance of agriculture, and the arts moſt neceſſary to human life, accounts for their being found in very ſmall numbers together. They could not live in large ſocieties without being expoſed to periſh for want of the neceſſaries of life. But it is hard to ſay how there comes to be ſo very few of theſe little wandering communities in a country of ſuch amazing extent; and whether they are thinned by civil broils, excited by the horrid appetite of devouring each other, that prevails in New Zealand, or that their population is prevented by any other cauſes, cannot be aſcertained. Though their country is at ſo little diſtance from New Guinea, they have never in all probability viſited that iſland. If they had, the cocoa nuts, bread fruits, plantains and other vegetables which abound there, would naturally have been tranſplanted to New Holland. But no traces of them are to be found; and the miſerable inhabitants, deſtitute of all neceſſaries but what they procure by fiſhing, unacquainted with the uſe of clothes to defend them againſt the rigour of the elements, and unprepared to live in ſuch numbers together, as might enable them to obtain the ſmalleſt degree of knowledge even in the rude arts of uncultivated life, are reduced to the loweſt condition in which the human ſpecies have ever been diſcovered in any part of the globe. Yet men ſunk in this humiliating ſtate, preſent us with the rudiments of all the arts and paſſions which diſtinguiſh the greateſt and moſt poliſhed nations. Their contrivances for fiſhing prove them capable to attain the higheſt pitch of mechanical ingenuity. Their regard to ſeparate property ſhows them as ſuſceptible of avarice as they are ſenſible to the dictates of juſtice; and their attempts, however awkward, to adorn their perſons, indicate a deſire to pleaſe, and to render themſelves mutually agreeable. One advantage of theſe voyages into diſtant lands is to furniſh materials for the hiſtory of man. They prove, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, the elevation and dignity of his nature; for how unfor-

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tunate ſoever his external circumſtances, he diſcovers himſelf, by the plaineſt marks, to poſſeſs the ſeeds of all thoſe various attainments which diſtinguiſh the heroes and ſages of the moſt enlightened periods.

It is equally agreeable to the writer and reader to dwell on the brilliant and uſeful diſcoveries of Britiſh navigators in diſtant parts; and it is extremely mortifying to be obliged to return from this pleaſing theme, to record the unhappy meaſures of the Britiſh adminiſtration, which have involved the navy, the army, and the whole empire in circumſtances not leſs diſgraceful than calamitous and afflicting. It would not, however, be agreeable to the truth of hiſtory entirely to aſcribe the diſtreſſing ſcenes which followed, to the negligence and incapacity of miniſters. Notorious as theſe have appeared, the ſituation and behaviour of the nation at large, ſeemed to forebode ſome fatal calamity. Intoxicated with more than expected proſperity, the people, at the cloſe of the late war, were ſeized with an extravagant degree of giddy inſolence, which made them deſpiſe the reſt of mankind. In an overgrown and wealthy capital, where every capricious abſurdity is apt to be carried to the moſt vicious exceſs, the vulgar were taught to ſpurn at regularity, ſubordination and law. From reſentment, envy, and the worſt paſſions incident to the human frame, the meaneſt of mankind were capable of throwing the nation into confuſion; of heaping an oppreſſive weight of popular odium on the ſervants of the crown; and, however defective their dexterity, yet working with ſuch ſturdy engines as the ignorant prejudices of a licentious rabble, they were able to divide the one half of the iſland againſt the other. Our enemies ſaw with pleaſure the effect of their wretched cabals, which were not more deſpicable in themſelves than deſtructive in their conſequences: France and Spain learned with inexpreſſible joy the reſpectable employment of the Britiſh parliament in the never-ending debates concerning the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes; in which, in their opinion, the queſtion was, to decide whether an out-law, a bankrupt, and an impious blaſphemer, ſhould be appointed to defend the laws, the property and religion of England. They were charmed with the petitions and remonſtrances of the city of London; and were glad to find the Engliſh miniſters too much employed in an altercation with the magiſtrates of the metropolis, and in quieting the unhappy riots which clamorous incendiaries had excited among the people at home, to engage in vigorous meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing their authority in America.

The conduct of adminiſtration, with regard to this country, was beyond any thing that their moſt ſanguine wiſhes could have hoped. Contradictory inſtructions given to the governors; taxes impoſed and repealed again and again; aſſemblies called and diſſolved,

diſſolved, and allowed to ſit again without diſavowing the meaſures which had occaſioned their former diſſolution; troops ſent, driven out, with many alternate propoſals of violence and ſubmiſſion; treaſons charged, adopted by parliament, not proved, nor attempted to be proved, neither detected nor puniſhed.—The adminiſtration of Lord North, who, already chancellor of the exchequer, was in the beginning of 1770, appointed firſt Lord of the treaſury, did not announce any alteration in the heſitating, ambiguous conduct which had been hitherto maintained. The firſt meaſure which he adopted relative to America was to bring in a bill for a repeal of part of an act paſſed in the ſeventh of his preſent majeſty, eſtabliſhing duties on paper, painters colours, glaſs and tea. The duties on the other articles were aboliſhed, that on tea only was continued. The motives aſſigned for the bringing in this bill, were the dangerous combinations which theſe duties had given birth to beyond the Atlantic, and the diſſatisfaction which they had created at home, among the merchants trading to the colonies. It did not fail to be remarked on this occaſion, that while the miniſter condemned theſe duties in the groſs, and the law upon which they were founded as ſo abſurd and prepoſterous that it was aſtoniſhing how it could originate in a Britiſh houſe of commons, yet he, notwithſtanding this deciſive declaration, propoſed a repeal of but part of the law, and ſtill continued the duty on tea; leſt he ſhould be thought to give way to American ideas, and to take away the impoſitions, as having been contrary to the rights of the colonies. Another inconſiſtence, not leſs glaring, and of ſtill more importance, was the declaring the law of taxation, while no vigorous ſtep was taken to enforce it.

Great Britain, diſturbed by factious riots at home, and threatened with a rebellion in America, was to be inſulted by the unprovoked hoſtility of foreign powers. Our unhappy teſtine diviſions, which had gradually ſpread from the con[illegible]ſts in the capital to the remoteſt parts of the empire, had ſo filled the hands and engaged the thoughts of government, that little attention either had or could for ſome time paſt have been given to our foreign intereſts. Thus convulſed at home, and in a ſtate of contention with our colonies, already productive of the moſt alarming appearances, it was not to be ſuppoſed, from the known ſyſtems of policy eſtabliſhed and practiſed among rival ſtates, that ſuch evident opportunities of advantage would be overlooked by the natural and ever watchful enemies of Great Britain. The ſtate of France, indeed, being nearly as unfortunate as our own, prevented that kingdom from expreſſing her ſecret animoſity. But the principles of the family compact actuated every member of the houſe of Bourbon; and a ſtroke was at this time aimed by

Spain

Spain which affected the honour of the British flag, and tarnished the recent glory of the nation.

The first discovery, the situation and the importance of Falkland islands, have already been described. Gold and silver being almost the only objects which excited the attention of the first discoverers and conquerors of the new world, these islands producing nothing of this kind were neglected for almost two centuries. Experience, and the extension of commerce, have at length shewn the probability that the southern parts of the new world afford other commodities, which may be turned to as great advantage by industrious nations as mines of gold and silver. In particular it is thought, that the greatest and most advantageous fishery in the world might be established there; and navigators say, that an hundred whales are to be met with in the high southern latitudes, for one that is to be found on the coast of Greenland. Besides this motive, which was alone sufficient to excite the enterprize of a commercial nation, Lord Anson's voyage fully explained the advantages that would result to England in time of war, from having a friendly port and place of refreshment considerably more to the south, and much nearer Cape Horn than the Brazils. The zealous and disagreeable character of the American Portugueze, which rendered it desirable to avoid all dependence on such insidious and contemptible allies; the great length of the voyage, by which the vigour and health of the men, as well as water and other provisions, were exhausted before they arrived at the place of action; were the principal inducements mentioned by Lord Anson for carrying this measure into execution. He pointed out the place most proper for forming the establishment, and, when at the head of the admiralty, made preparations for sending frigates to make discoveries in those seas, and particularly to examine the condition and circumstances of the above-mentioned islands. But this project was not so cautiously conducted as to escape the vigilance of the court of Spain, who made such representations on this subject to the British ministry, that the scheme was for the present laid aside, and continued dormant till the conclusion of the present war, when it was again revived by the earl of Egmont, who then presided in the admiralty. Accordingly commodore Byron was sent out in the year 1764, the success of whose expedition we have already related. About the same time Mr. Bougainville sailed into those seas to make discoveries for the crown of France, and touched at Falkland's Islands. But in a requisition of the court of Spain, the French easily sold or ceded all right to any property in what is called the Magellanica regions; with which sale or disposition it appears that Great Britain was not acquainted, nor even with any settlements for ever formed there by the French.

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In the year 1769 there was an Engliſh frigate and a ſloop upon that ſtation; and captain Hunt of the Tamer frigate cruiſing off Falkland's Iſlands fell in with a Spaniſh ſchooner belonging to Port Solidad taking a ſurvey of them. The Engliſh captain, according to the orders which he had received, deſired the Spaniard to depart from that coaſt as belonging to his Britannic majeſty. The ſchooner departed, but returned in two days after, and brought on board an officer with letters and a preſent from Don Philip Ruez Puenta, the Spaniſh governor of Port Solidad. Theſe letters were couched in terms of apparent civility. Don Ruez affected to diſbelieve the report of the captain of the ſchooner, and attributed captain Hunt's being in thoſe ſeas to chance or ſtreſs of weather. He offered him upon that preſumption every refreſhment, and all acts of kindneſs in his power; but if the improbable account which he had received ſhould happen to be true, he warned the Engliſh captain of his danger, reminded him of the violation of treaties, and the ſole dominion of the king of Spain in thoſe ſeas; and at the ſame time authorized the Spaniſh officer to order the Engliſh ſubjects immediately to depart.

Captain Hunt, in anſwer to the Spaniſh officer, with whom the governor had deſired him to correſpond, aſſerted the ſole dominion of his Britannic majeſty, as well by right of diſcovery as ſettlement, and warned the Spaniards in his name, and by his orders, to depart the iſlands, and allowed them ſix months from the date of the letter to prepare for their departure. The Spaniſh officer made a formal proteſt, as well upon the grounds already mentioned as upon captain Hunt's refuſing to allow him to viſit the ſettlement, and threatening to fire into the Spaniſh ſchooner upon her attempting to enter the harbour; he alſo proteſted againſt the captain's going to Solidad, which he had propoſed in an amicable manner, and declared that it ſhould be conſidered as an inſult.

About two months after this tranſaction, two Spaniſh frigates of conſiderable force, with troops on board for the new ſettlement, arrived at Port Egmont, the principal place in Falkland's Iſlands, under pretence of wanting water. The commander in chief wrote a letter to captain Hunt, in which he expreſſed great aſtoniſhment at ſeeing an Engliſh flag flying, and a kind of ſettlement formed; charged him with a violation of the laſt peace, and proteſted againſt the meaſure in all its parts, at the ſame time declaring he would abſtain from any other manner of proceeding until he had acquainted his Catholic majeſty with this diſagreeable tranſaction. Captain Hunt, as before, founded his poſſeſſion on the claim of right, juſtified his conduct by the orders of his ſovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart totally from thoſe iſlands.

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The Spanish frigates having continued eight days at Port Egmont, during which time they were supplied with water, and treated with great civility by our people, departed seemingly without any hostile intention. But captain Hunt, dreading the consequences which soon followed, thought proper to return as soon as possible to England, to give an account of what had passed to the admiralty. He was succeeded at Port Egmont by the Favourite sloop, captain Maltby, which, with the Swift, captain Farmer, each of 16 guns, formed the whole force upon that station. Even this was unfortunately lessened, the Swift being overset in the Streights of Magellan, where she had gone to make discoveries. The people, except three, were happily saved, by the fortitude and constancy of a few of their number, who, in an open cutter, undertook a voyage of three weeks in a most boisterous sea. They arrived at Port Egmont, and brought the Favourite to the relief of their distressed companions.

It was not long after this unexpected deliverance, when a Spanish frigate came into the same port, under pretence that she had been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, and was distressed for water: but three days after, her consorts, consisting of four frigates, also arrived, and it soon appeared that they had been only 26 days at sea, had parted from the first in a gale of wind, and, instead of being in their way to Port Solidad, were now arrived at their place of destination. These five frigates carried 134 pieces of cannon, and had on board between 16 and 1700 men, including soldiers and marines; besides which they had brought with them a train of artillery, and other materials sufficient to have invested a regular fortification.

A Spanish broad pendant was immediately hoisted on the arrival of the four last frigates, and as no doubt of their intentions now remained, captain Farmer ordered most of the officers and men who had belonged to the Swift, to come on shore to the defence of the settlement, while captain Maltby began to bring the Favourite nearer to the Cove. Upon the first motion of the Favourite one of the Spanish frigates sent an officer on board to acquaint the captain that if he weighed they should fire into his vessel. He, however, got under sail, regardless of this menace: the frigate fired two shot, which fell to leeward of him; and three of the Spanish vessels got under way, and worked to windward as he did.

The whole strength of the English in the island consisted in a wooden block-house, which had not even a port-hole in it, and only four pieces of cannon, which were sunk in the mud, to defend it. From the first appearance of the Spanish forces, captain Farmer had been active in clearing the stores out of the block-house, and in endeavouring to make it as defensible as its nature

nature would permit. He raised the cannon, cleared the platform, and cut out port-holes. In the mean time letters were sent from the Spanish commodore to both the captains separately, requesting them in the politest terms to consider his great power, and their own defenceless situation; and that they would, by quitting the place, prevent his being under the disagreeable necessity to proceed to hostilities. These were followed by another the next day, in which he offered, if they would quietly, and with good-will, abandon Port Egmont, he would peaceably put his troops on shore, and treat them with all the consideration which the harmony subsisting between the two powers required; that he would allow them to carry away all their property, and give them a receipt for any part of it they might chuse to leave behind, in order that the matter might be amicably adjusted between their respective courts. If, contrary to expectation, they should endeavour to maintain the settlement, he would then proceed to the accomplishment of his orders; and in that case threatened them with an attack by sea and land, expatiating in a pompous style on the spirit and brilliancy which they would experience in his military and naval forces. He concluded by requiring a categorical answer in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter.

To this arbitrary summons the British officers replied, that words are not always deemed hostilities, and that it was impossible for them to believe he should venture in a time of profound peace, and when by his own acknowledgment the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two courts, to commit an act of the most fatal tendency. That the king of Great Britain was able to defend the honour of his flag, and to protect the security of his dominions in all parts of the world; and had even a shorter time than fifteen minutes been allowed them to deliberate, it could not alter their determined resolution to defend the charge entrusted to them to the utmost of their abilities.

Previous to the designed attack the Spanish commodore desired that some of our officers might be sent to view the number and condition of the troops and artillery which he intended to land, in order to persuade the English captains of the inefficacy of their obstinate resistance to his commands. This was complied with; but without shaking the British resolution. The Spanish frigates then warped in close to the shore, and moored head and stern opposite to the block-house and battery. The same evening, the 9th of June, captain Maltby came on shore with fifty of the Favourite's men, who brought with them two six pounders, ten swivels, and a quantity of small arms and ammunition. The next morning a part of the Spanish troops and artillery landed, about half a mile to the northward of our people; and when they had advanced half way from the place of

of their landing, the reſt of the boats, with the remainder of the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spaniſh frigates, and rowed right in for the Cove, being covered by the fire of the frigates, whoſe ſhot went over the block-houſe.

The Engliſh fired ſome ſhot; but ſeing the impoſſibility of defending the ſettlement, and the Spaniards having now broke through all the limits of peace and amity, ſo that their hoſtility could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers with great addreſs having brought the affair to that point which they deſired, determined with equal propriety to ſave the valuable lives of the people, who muſt have been unavoidably cut off in this unequal conteſt. Accordingly they hung out a flag of truce, and demanded articles of capitulation.

The ſubſtance of theſe articles, concluded between the Engliſh captains on one hand, and Don John Ignatio Madariaga, major general of the royal navy of Spain, on the other, was, that the Britiſh ſubjects ſhould be allowed to depart in the Favourite, and to take with them ſuch of their ſtores as they thought proper; that an inventory ſhould be made of the remainder, which were to be depoſited in the hands of the governor of Solidad, who became anſwerable for them; that the Engliſh flag ſhould continue flying on ſhore and on board the ſloop; but that they were to exerciſe no juriſdiction except over their own people; nor to appear under arms until the time of embarkation, to which they were to march out with drums beating and colours flying. There was a reſtriction with regard to the time of their departure, until the governor of Solidad, or his deputy, ſhould arrive to make the inventories, and to take charge of the ſtores. For the better ſecurity of this limitation a new and wanton inſult was offered to the Britiſh flag, the Favourite's rudder being forcibly taken away, and kept on ſhore during the time of their detention. The account of the violent tranſactions of the Spaniards at Falkland's Iſlands, previous to this open and unprovoked hoſtility, was brought to England by captain Hunt, early in the month of June. The nation heard the news with indignation and reſentment; eſpecially as they had already much reaſon to complain of the ungenerous conduct of the Spaniards in detaining ſome thouſands of Engliſh priſoners, ſeized under pretence of carrying on an illicit trade by the Spaniſh guarda coſtas. The neceſſity of putting ourſelves in a reſpectable condition of defence was inſiſted on by the moſt popular members in both houſes. Their partizans clamoured againſt the tameneſs of adminiſtration, and maintained the neceſſity of an immediate declaration of war, in order to diſappoint the perfidious deſigns of our ancient and inveterate enemies.

The malignant nature of theſe deſigns, it was ſaid, appeared too evidently in a dreadful national calamity, which happened

about this time, in the conflagration at Portſmouth. An event ſo prejudicial to our maritime ſtrength, attended with ſuch critical circumſtances, was conſidered as a part of a great and ſettled plan for the reduction of our power and opulence. The fire which happened about the ſame time in Peterſburgh, and which was alſo accompanied by ſome alarming particulars, did not leſſen the ſuſpicion on this occaſion; and the reward of a thouſand pounds offered by government, in the Gazette, for the diſcovery of thoſe who had occaſioned the fire in the dock-yard at Portſmouth, added a new cauſe of jealouſy and diſtruſt.

The loſs ſuſtained by the fire was ſuppoſed, according to the firſt looſe calculations, to amount to half a million, but by latter and more accurate eſtimates, is made to be only 150,000l. which is comparatively nothing to the dreadful conſequences that muſt have enſued, without a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance. The quantity of ſtores conſumed was ſupplied with great expedition from the other docks; the public buildings and work-houſes were ſoon reſtored; and the loſs thus rendered of very little conſequence to our marine in general.

Notwithſtanding the alarm occaſioned by theſe tranſactions in the nation, the miniſtry made little preparation for war. Some ſhips indeed were put into commiſſion, and there was a greater buſtle in the dock-yards than in the time of profound tranquility. It was not, however, till the latter part of Auguſt, that houſes were opened at the ports for manning ſixteen ſail of the line, and preſs warrants were not iſſued till near a month after. Much about this time the Favourite returned with our people from Falkland's iſlands; but notwithſtanding the melancholy ſtory which they told, to the diſgrace of the Engliſh name, ſuch was the licentiouſneſs and depravity of the times, that even the manning of the navy met with great difficulties. The legality of preſs warrants was publicly called in queſtion, and the opinions of counſel applied to the ſubject. In the city of London, upon the election of alderman Croſby to the mayoralty, that magiſtrate totally refuſed to back the preſs warrants, and aſſerted, that the conſiderable bounty granted by the city was intended to prevent ſuch violences. Alderman Wilkes had before diſcharged an impreſſed man. Such tranſactions will tranſmit in proper colours to poſterity the names of thoſe patriotic magiſtrates, who did their utmoſt to impede the public ſervice, when the ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions and the dignity of the crown were at ſtake.

When the parliament was aſſembled the 13th of November, 1770, the ſpeech from the throne took notice that an immediate demand had been made from the court of Spain of ſuch ſatisfaction as there was a right to expect for the injury received; and

and at the ſame time declared, that the preparations for war ſhould not be diſcontinued, until further reparation ſhould be continued. The addreſſes of both houſes of parliament were ſpirited, and the ſtrongeſt and moſt unreſerved aſſurances were given, that every degree of requiſite ſupport ſhould be cheerfully granted. At the ſame time that the bleſſings of peace were acknowledged, the fulleſt confidence was placed in his majeſty, that he would never be induced, by a miſtaken tenderneſs for the preſent eaſe of the people, to ſacrifice their moſt eſſential and more laſting intereſts. So early as the 29th of November 40,000 men were voted for the ſea ſervice; extenſive grants were afterwards paſſed for the ordinary and ſupport of the navy; the land forces for home ſervice were augmented from about 17,000 to above 23,000 effective men; a new battalion was added to the ordnance, and a ſmall addition made to the pay of the ſubaltern officers belonging to that corps.

As the ſeſſion advanced, the proſpect of peace ſeemed gradually to diminiſh. The negociation and the tranquil intentions of Spain, which had been alledged by the miniſtry in anſwer to the clamours for immediate war, were no longer heard of, and a ſtate of hoſtility with that country ſeemed to be conſidered as the probable iſſue of this affair. In fact, the negociation was for a conſiderable time interrupted, and only renewed through the mediation of France, and finally concluded at the earneſt deſire of that court, and the terror inſpired into the Spaniards by the vigour of the Britiſh preparations.

About a fortnight before the arrival of our people from Falkland's iſlands, a letter was received at the office of Lord Weymouth, ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, from Mr. Harris our miniſter at Madrid, acquainting government, that a ſhip had arrived from Buenos Ayres, with an account of the intended expedition, its force, and the time fixed for its ſailing. At the ſame time prince Maſſerano, the Spaniſh ambaſſador acquainted his lordſhip, that he had good reaſon to believe the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken it upon him to make uſe of force, in diſpoſſeſſing our people of Port Egmont; and that he was directed to make this communication to prevent the bad conſequences of its coming through other hands; at the ſame time expreſſing his wiſhes, that whatever the tranſactions at Port Egmont may have been, in conſequence of a ſtep taken by the governor, without any particular inſtruction from his Catholic majeſty, they might not be productive of meaſures dangerous to the good underſtanding between the two crowns.

Lord Weymouth replied, that if force had been uſed it was difficult to ſee how the fatal conſequences could be avoided; that the inſtructions given to the Britiſh officers at Falkland's

islands were of the most pacific nature; but that still the circumstance of Mr. Buccarelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, having acted without orders, left an opening for conciliation, provided the ambassador would disavow the conduct of that gentleman. Prince Masserano, however, declared, that he had no instructions to that purpose, but deprecated all resolutions and measures that might involve the two crowns in a war.

Upon a second conference with the ambassador, lord Weymouth demanded, in his majesty's name, as a specific condition of preserving the harmony between the courts, a disavowal of the proceedings at Port Egmont, and that the affairs of that settlement should be restored to the precise state in which they were previous to these proceeding. He at the same time sent instructions to Mr. Harris, to inform Mr. Grimaldi the Spanish minister of state of what had passed here, and of the proposed satisfaction, which alone could put it in his majesty's power to suspend his preparations for hostility. Mr. Grimaldi at first expressed himself in very vague terms. He had reason to foresee that some disagreeable event would happen in the south seas, from the notorious disapprobation of the court of Spain to any British establishments in those parts. He could not blame the conduct of Mr. Buccarelli, as it was founded upon the laws of America. At the same time he wished to have prevented this conduct, and had actually, upon the first surmise of the design, dispatched a vessel from the Groyne, to hinder it from being put in execution; that the Spanish nation had so little to get and so much to lose by a war, that nothing but the last extremity could reduce them to so violent a measure; and that the king his master wished only to act consistently with his own honour, and the welfare of his people, and that so far as our demand was compatible with those two points, there was no doubt of its being agreed to. In a subsequent meeting he assured the British envoy, that his Catholic majesty was determined to do every thing in his power to terminate this affair in an amicable manner: that instructions for this purpose had been transmitted to prince Masserano at the court of London, differing from the requisition of that court in terms only, and not essentially, so that he had no doubt the proposals which they contained would readily be adopted.

Prince Masserano, accordingly, proposed a convention to lord Weymouth, in which the king of Spain disavowed any particular orders given to Mr. Buccarelli, at the same time that his majesty allowed that governor had acted agreeably to his general instructions, and to the oath which his office obliged him to take. He further stipulated the restitution of Falkland's islands without prejudice to his Catholic majesty's right; and he expected that the king of Great Britain would disavow captain

Hunt's

Hunt's menace, which, he ſaid, gave immediate occaſion to the ſteps taken by Mr. Buccarelli. To this it was anſwered, that when his Britannic majeſty's moderation condeſcended to demand redreſs for the injury which his crown had received, he could not poſſibly accept as a convention that ſatisfaction to which he had ſo juſt a title without entering into any engagement in order to procure it. That the idea of his majeſty's becoming a contracting party upon this occaſion, is entirely foreign to the caſe, for having received an injury, and demanded the moſt moderate reparation of that injury his honour can permit him to accept, that reparation loſes its value if it is to be conditional, and to be obtained by any ſtipulation whatſoever on the part of his majeſty.

Upon this anſwer prince Maſſerano told lord Weymouth, that he had no power to proceed in this affair, except by convention, without farther inſtructions from Madrid. While the ambaſſador ſent for theſe, lord Weymouth diſpatched an expreſs to Mr. Harris, to lay before the Spaniſh miniſter the unexpected obſtacles that had ariſen in this affair, and to demand a direct anſwer to the object of his firſt requiſition. For ſeveral days, however, no anſwer was returned; but at length Mr. Grimaldi intimated, that the king his maſter had ſent inſtructions to prince Maſſerano, by which he was empowered to treat again, and to grant every reaſonable ſatisfaction for the ſuppoſed inſult; that his Catholic majeſty was willing to come into any method regarding the manner of giving the ſatisfaction that ſhould appear the moſt eligible to the king of Great-Britain; expecting, however, that as he went ſuch a length to ſave his honour, his own ſhould alſo be conſidered, ſo far as it did not interfere with the ſatisfaction that was to be offered.

Nothing could appear to be more ſatisfactory than theſe pretended inſtructions given to prince Maſſerano. Mr. Grimaldi's anſwer was given the 7th November, and was received in London the 19th; but it ſoon appeared that the conduct of prince Maſſerano did not at all accord with the pacific intentions and conciliatory ſentiments profeſſed at Madrid. The earl of Rochfort, who ſucceeded lord Weymouth in office, wrote a letter to Mr. Harris, dated the 21ſt December, in which he informed him, that all negociations with the Spaniſh ambaſſador had for ſome time been at an end, the anſwer to the king's demand being totally inadmiſſible; and that being inconſiſtent with his majeſty's honour to make any farther propoſal to the court of Spain, he was deſired to withdraw from Madrid with all convenient ſpeed.

Thus was the negociation entirely broken off. How it came again to be renewed ſeems to have been better known in all the coffee-houſes of Europe, than to the Engliſh ſecretaries of ſtate.

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No document relative to its renewal has ever been laid before parliament or the public, but it is reasonable, from the duplicity and design discovered by Spain, in the whole transaction, to look for the motives of conciliation in every other quarter, rather than in the pacific or friendly dispositions of the court of Madrid.

The family compact, by which the different branches of the House of Bourbon engaged to employ their whole force in the mutual support and assistance of each other, was proposed, and carried into execution by the wisdom and address of the duke of Choiseul. That able minister little imagined a compliance with the terms of this formidable union might become extremely inconvenient to France, for the interest of which it had principally been formed. It did not occur to him, that the haughty spirit of Spain, exasperated by the disgraceful wounds received in the war with Great Britain, would prompt her to take the first opportunity of seeking revenge; while France, exhausted in her resources; without money or credit; convulsed by the most violent dissentions between the first orders of the state, while the people were ripe for sedition from the want of the first necessaries of life, might be in no condition to afford Spain that assistance which had been so stipulated between them. The credit of the duke who had contrived the family compact, long considered as a master-piece of policy, but now found to be attended with consequences in every view disgraceful to France, began to decline: he was soon after removed from his employment and obliged to retire. Other councils prevailed, more agreeable to the pacific dispositions of an aged prince, who had nothing farther in view but to end his days in the bosom of ease and tranquility.

The interval that passed between the breaking off of the negociation between Great-Britain and Spain, with the transactions of which the public has never been informed by authority, was probably filled up by listening to the mediation of France, which disarmed the ardent hostility of her southern ally, and persuaded her, much against her own inclination, to propose an accommodation, in form at least, less offensive to the dignity of Great-Britain. It was not till the first day of the meeting of parliament, January 22d, 177 , after the Christmas recess, that, instead of a *convention*, a *declaration* was proposed and signed by prince Masserano, and accepted by the earl of Rochford. By the former the ambassador, in the name of his master, disavows the violence used at Port Egmont, and stipulates that every thing shall be restored there precisely to the same state in which it was before the reduction; but at the same time declares, that this restoration is not in any wise to affect the question of the prior

prior right of ſovereignty of thoſe iſlands; and by the acceptance, the performance of theſe ſtipulations is to be conſidered as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great-Britain. This tranſaction was immediately announced to both houſes. While the friends of adminiſtration propoſed an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for having ſupported the honour of the crown of Great-Britain by a firm and unvaried adherence to his juſt demand of ſatisfaction, and for not having too haſtily engaged the nation in the hazards and burdens of war, the gentlemen in oppoſition affirmed, that the whole tranſaction was equally unſafe and diſgraceful; that inſtead of having provided a reparation for former hoſtilities, or a ſecurity againſt future, it contained in itſelf the genuine ſeeds of perpetual hoſtility and war. That it is as diſhonourable to the crown itſelf as to the nation, and admitting the faſhionable language, that the dignity of the former, and the reparation to it, are the only objects of conſideration, it will be found as ſhamefully deficient in this reſpect as in every other. Thus, by this infamous accommodation, the honour of the crown of England had not been put on the ſame footing with that of inferior kingdoms. The French king, for a ſmall violation of territorial right in the purſuit of an outlawed ſmuggler, had thought it neceſſary to ſend an ambaſſador extraordinary to the king of Sardinia to apologize for it in the moſt ſolemn and public manner. When the Engliſh fleet under admiral Boſcawen deſtroyed ſome French ſhips on the coaſt of Portugal, Great Britain ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Liſbon, to make reparation in honour; but when the Spaniards inſult the Britiſh flag, and commit the moſt outrageous acts of hoſtility on Britiſh ſubjects, they propoſe a declaration, in which the right to employ the ſame violence again is maintained and defended. For though the court of Spain had diſavowed the act of hoſtility as proceeding from particular inſtructions, ſhe continued to juſtify it under her general inſtructions to her governors, under the oath by them taken, and under the eſtabliſhed laws of America; and that this juſtification of an act of violence under general orders, eſtabliſhed laws and oaths of office, is far more dangerous and injurious to this kingdom than the particular enterpriſe which has been diſavowed, as it moſt evidently ſuppoſes, that the governors of the Spaniſh American provinces are not only authoriſed, but required, to raiſe forces by ſea and land, and to invade our poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, in the midſt of profound peace. Many other objections of equal weight were urged againſt the acceptance of the Spaniſh declaration, in a ſtrong, animated, eloquent and argumentative proteſt of the houſe of peers, which will remain to all poſterity to their immortal honour.

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The tame measures of government, however, were adopted by a great majority. During the recess of parliament, September 16, 1771, Spain fulfilled her engagements contained in the declaration, by the restoration of Port Egmont, which was delivered up to captain Scott, who was sent thither with a small squadron for that purpose. Ministry seemed to think all was secured by an amicable termination of this dispute; and parliament was not called till after the Christmas holidays, 21st January, 1772. The late meeting of this assembly, which indicated that no urgent business required an early attendance, and the pacific declaration from the throne, were sufficient to lull the nation into the most perfect security. What, therefore, must have been their surprise and indignation, when a motion was made so early as the 29th of January, that 25,000 seamen should be voted for the service of the ensuing year. It was urged, in support of this motion, that the French having sent a considerable fleet to the East-Indies, we were obliged upon that account to augment our naval force there. That a larger squadron was now employed for the protection of Jamaica and our other West-India islands, than in former years of peace; as the importance of our valuable possessions in that quarter, the probability of the Spaniards making their first attempt upon them in case of a war, and the considerable fleet which they kept up in those seas, rendered an augmentation of our maritime strength on that station a matter of the most evident necessity. That the war between the Turks and Russians made it also necessary to employ a greater number of ships for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and Archipelago than had been customary in times of general peace. Besides these general reasons for augmentation, much stress was laid upon the great reform with regard to the guard ships, it being acknowledged, that for several years past these ships had been exceedingly neglected, and considered merely as jobs; so that at the time of the late expected war there were neither ships nor men fit for service. But that now things were so much altered for the better, that twenty of the best ships in the navy were kept upon that duty; and were in such complete condition, and so nearly manned, that a slight press would at any time enable them in a very few days to put to sea. That the rest of the fleet was also in good condition, and in about a year we should have near eighty ships of the line at home fit for service, besides those that were upon foreign duty. Many pointed and severe sarcasms were levelled at the ministry for accompanying a speech, which breathed nothing but effusions of peace, with all the actual preparations for war; some gentlemen in opposition declared for the motion, upon the avowed principle that the supplies demanded were not in any degree to be considered as a peace establishment; while the

the greater part of these gentlemen arraigned the adding to the burdens of a nation already sinking under the weight of an overgrown and monstrous public debt. They observed that our peace establishment was every year increasing, and that arguments similar to those at present alledged could never be wanting to oppose any diminution of it.

The progress of the Russians in the Mediterranean rendered it necessary for both France and Spain to stand on their guard, and to watch the growing greatness of these new and formidable allies of Great Britain. But, in the beginning of the year 1773, there were more extraordinary preparations in the French and Spanish ports than any apprehension of this kind could account for. Those preparations were carried on with the utmost vigour and industry, not only in the ports of the Mediterranean but in those of the ocean, and afforded room for suspecting the most hostile intentions. Strong remonstrances on this subject were made on the part of Great Britain at the courts of Paris and Madrid, accompanied with a declaration, that if such measures were continued, his Britannic majesty would be under a necessity of sending such a fleet of observation into the Mediterranean, as should effectually frustrate any attempts that might be made against the Russians. In the mean time a powerful fleet was equipped, and ordered to rendezvous at Spithead, and those warlike preparations were for some time continued on all sides. The rapidity with which Great Britain assembled such a naval force as was sufficient to contend with that of all her enemies united, and the magnificence and military pomp with which her mighty preparations were displayed, restrained the hostile dispositions which had begun to prevail at Paris and Madrid, and prevented the prosecution of measures, which must have involved all Europe in their consequences.

The conduct of administration will be an enigma to posterity. Possessed of a naval force that made the greatest princes of Europe tremble, they have been so far from quieting the dissentions which prevailed in America, that they have totally alienated from Great Britain those flourishing and wealthy provinces, and reduced their country to that state of despair in which we now live. Two roads were open before them, either of which might have been followed, if not with equal glory, yet with an equally assured prospect of success. By disregarding the clamours of an interested opposition, and making use of the power in their hands, they might, while all Europe were silent in our presence, have inflicted whatever punishment became necessary to reduce the rebellious provinces to an humble sense of their duty. But this method was so far from being adopted, that a first lord of the treasury talked of compelling the Americans to submit to taxes without bloodshed; and a first lord of the admiralty,

miralty, upon the appearances of meafures which indicated vigour, voted a reduction of 4000 feamen; affuring the houfe, that the low eftablifhment propofed would be fully fufficient for conquering the Americans; of whofe power and courage he fpoke with the utmoft contempt, affirming that they were not difciplined nor capable of difcipline, and that formed of fuch materials, and fo indifpofed to action, the numbers of which fuch boafts had been made, would only facilitate their defeat.

Another road, which might have been purfued with univerfal applaufe, would have been to abandon that odious meafure of taxing a free people without their own confent. Had that been done, the weight of oppofition would have been removed at once, and the Americans, if they ftill continued refractory, might have been compelled by force of arms to acknowledge the fupremacy of the mother country without one fympathizing voice in Europe to condole with them for the rigours of a punifhment which they had juftly drawn on their own heads. But neither of thefe methods being adopted, the miniftry hefitated between peace and war; and their tame, equivocal, temporifing conduct brought the Americans to a maturity of refiftance and rebellion, the effects of which we fhould now proceed to defcribe and deplore, if, in deducing a chronological account of the naval tranfactions of Great Britain, there were not fome intervening events, which deferve to be related.

Thefe are the difcoveries which continued to be made by our navigators in the years 1773, 1774, and 1775. They were not, as of late years, confined entirely to the fouthern ocean. While captain Cooke was employed in exploring this part of the globe, the honorable Conftantine Phipps, now Lord Mulgrave, was fent to examine how far navigation was practicable towards the north pole. This was done in confequence of an application to Lord Sandwich, firft Lord of the admiralty, from the Royal Society. His lordfhip laid the requeft of the Society before the king, who ordered the Racehorfe, and Carcafs, bombs, to be fitted out for the expedition. The command of the former was given to captain Phipps, and of the latter to captain Lutwidge. The idea of a paffage to the Eaft Indies by the north pole, was fuggefted as early as the year 1727, by Robert Thorne, a merchant of Briftol, who addreffed a paper to Henry the Eighth on that fubject; but Henry as ufual, was involved in a multiplicity of affairs, which prevented him from giving any attention to this application. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Sir Hugh Willoughby made the attempt with three fhips, *anno* 1553. He proceeded to the latitude of 75 degrees north, but being obliged to winter in Lapland, he and all his company perifhed miferably. Three years afterwards captain Burroughs failed on the fame defign, and advanced to 78 degrees north. To him fucceeded captains

captains Jackman and Pell in 1580, in two ships; the latter of whom, with his ship, was lost. The Dutch began to pursue the same discovery in 1595, and successive voyages were made, which tended rather to prove the impracticability of sailing to high northern latitudes, than the probability of finding the passage, which was the object of these daring enterprises. In 1607 Henry Hudson was equipped by a company of London merchants, to discover a passage by the north pole to Japan and China. He penetrated to 80 degrees 23 minutes north, and was then stopped by the ice. Two years after another ship was sent out by the Russian Company of merchants in London; the ship was commanded by Jonas Poole, who could not with his utmost endeavours advance farther than 79 degrees 5 minutes north. In the year 1614 another voyage was undertaken, in which Baffin and Fotherby were employed, but without success; and next year Fotherby, in a pinnace of 20 tons, with ten men, was equally unsuccessful. John Wood, with a frigate and a pink, sailed in 1676, but returned without effecting any thing. Most of these voyages having been fitted out by private adventurers, for the double purpose of discovery and present advantage, it was natural to suppose, that the attention of the navigators had been diverted from the more remote and less profitable object of the two, and that they had not prosecuted the chief purpose of discovery with all the care that could have been wished. "But," says captain Phipps, "I am happy in an "opportunity of doing justice to the memory of these men, "which, without having traced their steps, and experienced "their difficulties, it would have been impossible to have done. "They appear to have encountered dangers, which at that pe- "riod must have been particularly alarming from their novelty, "with the greatest fortitude and perseverance, as well as to have "shewn a degree of diligence and skill, not only in the ordinary "and practical, but in the more scientific parts of their profes- "sion, which might have done honour to modern seamen, with "all their advantages of later improvements. This when com- "pared with the state of navigation, even within these forty "years, by the most eminent foreign authors, affords the most "flattering and satisfactory proof of the very early existence of "that decided superiority in naval affairs, which has carried the "power of this country to the height it has now attained."

The captain sailed in February 1773, and after passing the islands of Shetland, the first land he made was Spitzbergen, in latitude 77 degrees, 59 minutes, 11 seconds north, and longitude 9 degrees, 13 minutes east. The coast appeared to be neither habitable nor accessible, but formed of high black rocks, without the least marks of vegetation, mostly bare and pointed, in some places covered with snow, and towering above the clouds.

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The vallies between the high cliffs were filled with ſnow or ice. "This proſpect," ſays captain Phipps, "would have ſuggeſted "the idea of perpetual winter, bright ſun-ſhine, and conſtant "day-light, give a cheerfulneſs and a novelty to the whole of "this ſtriking and romantic ſcene. The height of one moun-"tain ſeen here was found to be 1503 yards. The harbour of "Smeerenberg, lying in latitude 79 degrees, 44 minutes north, "longitude 9 degrees, 50 minutes, 45 ſeconds eaſt, has good "anchorage in fifteen fathoms. Cloſe to this harbour is an "iſland, called Amſterdam iſland, where the Dutch uſed for-"merly to boil their whale blubber, and the remains of ſome "conveniencies erected by them for that purpoſe are ſtill viſible. "They attemped once to form an eſtabliſhment here, and left "ſome people, who all periſhed in the winter. The Dutch "ſhips ſtill reſort to this place for the latter ſeaſon of the whale-"fiſhery. The moſt remarkable views which theſe dreary re-"gions preſent, are what are called the ice-bergs. Theſe are "large bodies of ice, filling the vallies between the high moun-"tains. Their face towards the ſea is nearly perpendicular, and "of a very lively green colour. One was about 300 feet high, "with a caſcade of water iſſuing out of it. Large pieces fre-"quently break off from the ice-bergs, and fall with great noiſe "into the water."

Captain Phipps has been very accurate in deſcribing the few animals which theſe inhoſpitable regions produce, and was at pains to examine the vegetable and mineral productions. He proceeded afterwards to Moffen Iſland in latitude 80 degrees north, longitude 12 degrees, 20 minutes eaſt, which is of a round form, about two miles in diameter, with a lake in the middle, frozen with eternal ice. At the Seven Iſlands which lie in latitude 81 degrees, 21 minutes north, the two ſhips became ſuddenly faſt in the ice on the 31ſt of July. Theſe iſlands and north-eaſt land, with the frozen ſea formed almoſt a baſon, having but about four points open for the ice to drift out in caſe of a change of wind. The paſſage by which the ſhips had come in to the weſtward became cloſe, and a ſtrong current ſet in to the eaſt, by which they were carried ſtill farther from their courſe. The labour of the whole ſhip's company to cut away the ice proved ineffectual; their utmoſt efforts for a whole day could not move the ſhips above 300 yards to the weſtward through the ice, whilſt the current had at the ſame time driven them far to the north-eaſt and eaſtward. Appearances remained thus threatening for four or five days, the ſafety of the crew ſeemed all that could poſſibly be effected. As it had been foreſeen that one or both of the ſhips might be ſacrificed in the proſecution of the voyage, the boats for each ſhip were calculated, in number and ſize, to be fit in any emergency to tranſport the whole crew.

crew. Driven to this ſtate of danger and ſuſpenſe, on the 6th of Auguſt the boats were hoiſted out, and every poſſible method taken to render them ſecure and comfortable; but the next day the wind blew eaſtwardly, and the ſhips were moved about a mile to the weſtward. But ſtill they run not ſo far weſt by a great way as when they were firſt beſet with the ice; however, on the 9th of Auguſt, the current had viſibly changed, and run to the weſtward, by which both the ſhips hadbeen carried conſiderably in that direction. On the 10th a briſk wind at north-north-eaſt accompliſhed their deliverance, and freed them from the dreadful proſpect of periſhing, as many former adventurers had done in thoſe polar regions. Having found it impracticable to penetrate any farther towards the north, they returned to the harbour of Smeerenberg; having, in the proſecution of this voyage, reached 81 degrees, 36 minutes north latitude, and between the latitudes of 79 degrees 50 minutes, and 81 degrees, traverſed 17 degrees and a half of longitude, that is, from 2 degrees eaſt to 19 degrees, 30 minutes eaſt.

While lord Mulgrave was employed in aſcertaining the limits of navigation towards the north, captain Cook was indefatigable in examining the reſpective dominions of land and ocean in the ſouthern hemiſphere. Notwithſtanding the various voyages, in which this part of the globe had been traverſed in the many different directions, all tending to render the exiſtence of a ſouthern continent more improbable, the fact was not yet brought to a clear and demonſtrative evidence. To determine this point was the main object of the preſent voyage, on which captain Cook ſailed in the Reſolution, accompanied by captain Fourneaux in the Adventure, the 2d of April, 1772. The ſhips in which they embarked were the moſt proper that could be contrived for ſuch a dangerous undertaking; captain Cook in the clear, ſimple, and manly narrative which he has publiſhed of his proceedings, having proved beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, that north-country veſſels, or ſuch as are built for the coal trade, are the fitteſt for purſuing with ſucceſs the diſcovery of remote countries. To the nature of his ſhips, which were of this ſafe and commodious conſtruction, rather than to his own nautical ſkill and abilities, he modeſtly aſcribes the ſingular felicity of his voyage, which was far beyond the experience or hopes of former navigators.

Beſides the advantages ariſing from the form of the veſſels, and the ſkill of the commander, the proviſion of every ſort exceeded all that had been known on any former occaſion. Every circumſtance and ſituation that could be foreſeen or apprehended was provided for with unexampled liberality. A conſiderable ſum of money was allotted by parliament to encourage two gentlemen, eminent in natural hiſtory, to ſacrifice their time, and encounter

encounter the toils and dangers of ſuch a voyage. With the ſame generous ſpirit for the improvement of knowledge, a landſcape-painter of merit, and two able aſtronomers, were alſo engaged. Nor was any attention omitted which could be deemed neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence, ſecurity, health, or comfort of all the voyagers.

Having ſailed with ſo many circumſtances in their favour, they reached the Cape of Good Hope without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, and departed from thence the 22d of November, 1772. They returned to the ſame place the 22d of March, 1775, having ſailed no leſs than 20,000 leagues in two years and four months; an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which, it is highly probable, never was traverſed by any other ſhip in an equal period of time. When we take into computation the voyage to and from the Cape to England, the whole time conſumed is above three years, during which they experienced every variety of climate from 52 degrees north latitude to 71 degrees ſouth, and were continually expoſed to all the hardſhips and fatigue inſeparable from a ſeafaring life; and yet what is moſt extraordinary, the numerous ſhip's company on board the Reſolution preſerved a more uninterrupted ſtate of good health, than perhaps they could have enjoyed on ſhore in the moſt temperate climate of the earth. In that long and various courſe, of 118 perſons only four were loſt; and of that four only one fell a victim to ſickneſs; a fact unparalleled in the hiſtory of navigation.

In the moſt healthy climates no bills of mortality have produced ſuch an inſtance amongſt an equal number of men during a like period. When, therefore, we conſider the numbers of brave ſeamen who perithed by marine diſeaſes under Anſon and other navigators, the greateſt praiſe is due to Captain Cook for his judicious management in preſerving the health of the men under his command. The chief preſervative againſt the ſcurvy, uſed by this judicious commander, was ſweet wort, which was given not only to thoſe who were afflicted with that diſtemper, but likewiſe to thoſe who were thought likely to take it. Portable ſoup and ſour krout were alſo uſed with ſucceſs in preſerving the health of the ſeamen. The ſhip's company were kept in conſtant exerciſe, and their cleanlineſs contributed not a little to their health. The ſhip was frequently purified by fires, a practice much recommended by captain Cooke. Freſh water was alſo an object of particular attention. Not ſatisfied with having plenty of that neceſſary article, he would always have the pureſt, and therefore, when ever an opportunity offered, he emptied what he had taken in a few days before, and filled his caſks anew. As a teſtimony of regard for theſe important improvements

ments for preſerving the health of ſeamen, the Royal Society was pleaſed to beſtow Sir Godfrey Copley's medal upon captain Cook.

The firſt cruize from the Cape of Good Hope, November 22d, 1772, was employed in aſcertaining the great queſtion concerning the *Terra Auſtralis incognita*. The two ſhips ſailed in company, and the 10th of December following, being in latitude 50 degrees, 40 minutes ſouth, ſaw the firſt ice. The maſs was about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit, flat at top, and its ſides roſe in a perpendicular direction, againſt which the ſea broke exceedingly high. From this time the icy mountains began to be very frequent, exhibiting a view as pleaſing to the eye as terrible to reflection; "for," ſays the captain, "were "a ſhip to get againſt the weather-ſide, of one of theſe maſſes "of ice, when the ſea runs high, ſhe would be daſhed to pie-"ces in a moment." On the 14th, being in latitude 54 degrees, 50 minutes ſouth, 21 degrees, 34 minutes eaſt, they were ſtopped, in their route to the ſouthward, by an immenſe field of low ice, to which no end could be ſeen to the ſouth eaſt or weſt. In different parts were hills of ice, like thoſe that had been before found floating in the ſea; and the ſhip's company were often amuſed with the flattering proſpect of land, which turned out to be fog-banks. A boat was here hoiſted out to try the direction of the current, and Mr. Wales the aſtronomer, accompanied by Mr. Foſter the naturaliſt, took the opportunity of going in her to make experiments on the temperature of the ſea at different depths. A thick fog came on, which blackened into ſuch a degree of obſcurity, that they entirely loſt ſight of both the ſhips. In a four-oared boat, in an immenſe ocean, far from any hoſpitable ſhore, ſurrounded with ice, and deſtitute of proviſions, their ſituation was as frightful as any that can well be imagined. In this dreadful ſuſpence, they determined to lie ſtill, hoping that, provided they preſerved their places, the ſloops would not abandon them. The moſt delightful muſick they ever heard was the jingling of the bell of the Adventure, which took them on board. The ſhips then changed their courſe to the eaſtward, where the large iſlands of ice were hourly ſeen in all directions; ſo that they became as familiar to thoſe on board as the clouds and the ſea. A ſtrong reflection of white on the ſkirts of the ſky was a certain indication of theſe iſlands; although the ice itſelf is not entirely white, but often tinged, eſpecially near the ſurface of the ſea, with a beautiful beryllline blue. This colour ſometimes appeared 20 or 30 feet above the ſurface, and was moſt probably produced by ſome particles of ſea-water daſhed againſt the maſs in tempeſtuous weather. Different ſhades of white were frequently obſerved in the larger iſlands, lying above each other in ſtrata of a foot high, which confirms captain Cook's

Cook's opinion concerning the formation and increase of these masses, by heavy falls of snow at different intervals. The 26th the islands still surrounded them, behind one of which, in the evening, the setting sun tinged its edges with gold, and brought upon the whole mass a beautiful suffusion of purple. "Although," says captain Cook, "this was the middle of summer with us, "I much question if the day was colder in any part of England; "the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer constantly kept be-"low the freezing point. The shooting at penguins afforded "great sport but little profit, the birds diving so frequently in "the water, and continuing so long under it, that the fowlers "were generally obliged to give over the pursuit. Their thick "glossy plumage turned off the small shot, and it was necessary "to attack them with ball."

Having hitherto met with no land, captain Cook determined, January 2d, 1773, to go in search of Cape Circumcision, which is laid down by Bouvet in 58 degrees, 53 minutes south, 10 degrees 6 minutes east; but as he saw no appearance of it in that situation, although the weather was very clear, he supposed it to have been nothing but fields and mountains of ice. January 9th, three boats were hoisted out, and in a few hours took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good fresh water. The salt which adhered to the ice was so trifling as not to be tasted, and entirely drained off by lying a short time on the deck. Crantz some years ago advanced in his history of Greenland, that those great masses of ice in the northern seas dissolved into fresh water, from which he inferred, that they owed their origin to the vast rivers of those hyperborean regions; but it was reserved to captain Cook to establish the doctrine, that the freezing of sea-water into ice, not only deprives it of all its salt particles, but that it will thaw into soft, potable, and most wholesome water. He has also proved by experience that the bad qualities which for so many ages have been attributed to melted snow and ice-water are destitute of all foundation. This happy discovery of deriving the greatest advantage from the ice in mountains, which seem to threaten our navigators with nothing less than destruction, enabled them to persevere in their voyage for a length of time that would have been otherwise impossible, and contributed to that unparalleled degree of health, which they so fortunately enjoyed.

January 17th they crossed the Antarctic circle in longitude 39 degrees, 35 minutes east, which till then remained impenetrable to all former navigators. The ice-islands became more and more numerous; and in longitude 67 degrees, 15 minutes south, an immense field of congelation extended to the southward as far as the eye could reach, which obliged captain Cook to put about, and stand north-east by north. Here were seen many whales playing

playing about the ice, and various flocks of brown and white pintadoes, which were named Antarctic petrels, because they seemed to be natives of that region. January 31st, two islands of ice were seen in latitude 50 degrees, 50 minutes south, one of which appeared to be falling to pieces by the crackling noise it made; and this was the last ice seen, until they returned again to the southward. In the neighbourhood of this latitude they fell in with the islands discovered by Messrs. Thirguelen, St. Allouard and Marion, French navigators, all of which were islands of considerable extent, high, rocky, destitute of trees, and almost entirely barren. It was supposed that the French had discovered the north cape of a great southern continent; but though that land was not found by captain Cook, his long navigation proves, that their discovery, if not an ice field, could only be a small island.

The Resolution lost sight of the Adventure the 8th of February, and the two sloops continued separate for the rest of the cruise, but afterwards met in Queen Charlotte's sound in New Zealand. They proceeded together to Otaheite, and other islands within the tropics, and again separated near to Cook's streights, and never more joined during the voyage. Captain Furneaux returned a second time to the place of rendezvous at Queen Charlotte's sound, but his consort having left that place a considerable time before his arrival, he, after refreshing his crew, set sail for England, which he reached in July 1774.

The Resolution continuing her voyage, in 58 degrees south, Captain Cook observed for the first time, on February 17th, the Aurora Australis, a phænomenon which had never before been taken notice of by any navigator in the southern hemisphere. It consisted of long columns of a clear white light, shooting up from the horizon to the eastward, almost to the zenith, and spreading gradually over the whole southern part of the sky. These columns differed from the southern lights in being always of a whitish colour. The sky was generally clear when they appeared and the air sharp and cold, the thermometer standing at the freezing point. In March 26th, captain Cook made the coast of New Zealand, and anchored in Dusky bay, after having been one hundred and seventeen days at sea, without having once seen any land, in which time they had sailed three thousand six hundred and sixty leagues.

The captain continued during the following months, which are the winter season in that climate, to visit his old friends at Otaheite, the Society and Friendly Islands; and after examining a space of more than forty degrees of longitude between the tropics, he returned to Queen Charlotte's sound. There he changed the fair-weather rigging of his ship for such

as might resist the storms and rigours of the high southern latitudes, and set sail the 27th November to explore the unknown parts of the Pacific Ocean. On December 6th he reached the 51st degree, 32 minutes south latitude, and the 180th degree east longitude, consequently the point of the antipodes of London. December 15th, in 66 degrees south, and 159 degrees west, the farther course to the southward was interrupted by the ice-islands, among which they were almost embayed, which obliged them to tack to the north, and soon after they got clear of all the ice, but not without receiving several knocks from the larger pieces, which would have destroyed any vessel less carefully prepared to resist those repeated shocks. They crossed the Antarctic circle a second time on December the 20th, in the longitude of 147 degrees, 46 minutes west. The next morning they saw innumerable ice-islands, high and rugged, their tops formed into various peaks, which distinguished them from those hitherto observed, which were commonly flat at the top. Many of those now seen were between two and three hundred feet in height, and between two and three miles in circuit, with perpendicular cliffs or sides, astonishing to behold. Most of their winged companions had now left them, except the grey albatrosses, and instead of the other birds, they were visited by a few Antarctic peterels, two of which were shot. From the appearance of the former, captain Cook says, "we may with reason conjecture that there is land to the south." December the 22d, they had penetrated to 67 degrees, 31 minutes south, being the highest latitude they had yet reached. The longitude was 142 degrees, 54 minutes west. They celebrated Christmas day the 25th with great festivity, the sailors feasting on a double portion of pudding, and regaling themselves with the brandy which they had saved from their allowance several months before, being solicitous to get very drunk. The sight of an immense number of ice-lands, among which the ship drifted at the mercy of the current, every moment in danger of being dashed in pieces, could not deter them from indulging in their favourite amusement; as long as they had brandy left, they would persist to keep Christmas, though the elements had conspired together for their destruction.

January 3d, 1774, being in latitude 56 degrees south, and longitude 140 degrees 31 minutes west, the wind obliged them to steer more to the north-east than they would have chosen, by which they left unexamined a space of 40 degrees of longitude, and 20 degrees of latitude; which, however, was afterwards explored on the return of the Resolution next year, and likewise by captain Furneaux in the Adventure much about this time. The wind increased so much on January the 15th, that it was very doubtful whether our navigators would return to give an account

account of their voyage. At nine at night a huge mountainous wave ſtruck the ſhip on the beam, and filled the deck with a deluge of water, which poured into the cabin, extinguiſhed the lights, and left the gentlemen there in doubt whether they were not entirely overwhelmed, and ſinking into the abyſs. They paſſed for a third time the Antartic circle on January 26th, in longitude 109 degrees weſt, when they found the mildeſt ſunſhine that had been experienced in the frigid zone. This led them to entertain hopes of penetrating as far towards the ſouth pole as other navigators had done towards the north; but the next day they diſcovered a ſolid ice field before them of immenſe extent, bearing from eaſt to weſt. A bed of fragments floated all round this field, which ſeemed to be raiſed ſeveral feet high above the level of the water. Whilſt in this ſituation, they obſerved the ſouthern part of the horiſon illuminated by the rays of light reflected from the ice to an amazing height. Ninety-ſeven ice-iſlands were counted within the field, beſide thoſe on the outſide; many of them were large, and looked like a ridge of mountains, riſing one above another till they were loſt in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immenſe field was compoſed of looſe or broken ice cloſe packed together; ſo that it was not poſſible for any thing to enter it. Captain Cook, however, is of opinion, that there muſt be land to the ſouth behind this ice; but adds, "It can afford no better retreat for "birds, or any other animals, than the ice itſelf, with which it "muſt be entirely covered. I, who was ambitious not only of "going farther than any body had gone before, but as far as it "was poſſible for man to go, was not ſorry at meeting with "this interruption; as it in ſome meaſure relieved us, and "ſhortened the dangers and hardſhips inſeparable from the na-"vigation of the ſouthern polar regions. Since then we could "not proceed farther to the ſouth, no other reaſon need be aſ-"ſigned for my tacking and ſtanding back to the north, being "at this time in the latitude of 71 degrees, 10 minutes ſouth, "and longitude 106 degrees, 54 minutes weſt."

Captain Cook then went in ſearch of the land, ſaid to have been diſcovered by Juan Fernandez about a century ago, in latitude 38 degrees, and laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in 90 degrees weſt, but no ſuch land was found in this ſituation: if there is any land in the neighbourhood, it can be nothing but a ſmall iſland. The captain then proceeded to the Marqueſas iſlands diſcovered by Mendana in 1595, and viſited a ſecond time during this voyage the queen of tropical iſlands, Otaheite; where, having refreſhed, he ſailed for the new Hebrides, which though diſcovered as early as 1606 by that great navigator Quiros, had never been ſufficiently explored. Captain Cook, beſides aſcertaining the extent and ſituation of the iſlands of this Archipelago,

which had been barely ſeen by others, added the knowledge of ſeveral before unknown, which entitled him to give the whole the appellation which they now bear. They are ſituated in the direction of north-north weſt and ſouth-ſouth eaſt, between the latitudes of 14 degrees, 29 minutes, and 20 degrees, 4 minutes ſouth, and between the longitudes of 166 degrees, 41 minutes, and 170 degrees, 21 minutes eaſt, extending 125 leagues. Of all theſe iſlands Tierra del Eſpiritu Santo is the moſt weſterly and the largeſt, being twenty-two leagues in length, and twelve in breadth. The lands, eſpecially on the weſt ſide, are exceedingly high and mountainous, generally covered with wood, and the vallies uncommonly luxuriant, watered by ſtreams and chequered with plantations. On the weſt ſide is a large and ſafe bay, the two points which form its entrance lying at the diſtance of ten leagues from each other. The inhabitants are of a ſtout make, dark colour, with woolly hair; though almoſt naked, their perſons are adorned with ſhells and feathers; round their middle they wear a narrow belt, from which is hung a matted belt which covers them behind and before as low as the knees. They had no other arms but ſpears with two or three prongs, which ſeemed rather intended for attacking fiſh than men. The ſecond day after the ſhip arrived on their coaſt they were with much difficulty prevailed on to approach near enough to receive ſome preſents, of which nails were accepted with the greateſt pleaſure. They faſtened a branch of the pepper plant to the rope by which the nails were let down, which was the only return they made for the generoſity of the ſtrangers. Their language bears ſome reſemblance to that of the Friendly Iſlands.

Mallicollo is the moſt conſiderable iſland next to Eſpiritu Santo, being 18 leagues in length, and 8 at its greateſt breadth. It is not only fertile, but appears to have been very anciently inhabited, as the natives called it by nearly the ſame name which Quiros had received 160 years ago. The people here are deſcribed as the moſt ugly and ill-proportioned that can well be imagined, and differing in almoſt every reſpect from the other iſlanders in the South Sea. They are of a dark colour, and diminutive ſize, long heads, monkey faces, their hair black and curly, but not ſo ſoft or woolly as that of a negroe. The men go quite naked; and what increaſes their natural deformity is a rope as thick as a man's finger tied round the belly, cutting a deep notch acroſs the body, which ſeems divided into two parts by this tight and unnatural ligature. Moſt other nations invent ſome kind of covering from motives of ſhame, but here a roll of cloth, continually faſtened to the belt, rather diſplays than conceals, and is the oppoſite of modeſty. They are armed with ſpears, bows and arrows; but are of a more pacific diſpoſition

tion than moſt other ſavages, having ventured to the ſhip without much invitation, and received with much complacence the preſents offered them, for which they made a ſuitable return. When they returned on ſhore the ſound of ſinging and beating their drums was heard all night. Mr. Foſter ſuppoſes there may be 50,000 inhabitants on this extenſive iſland, which contains more than 60 ſquare miles, covered for the moſt part with a continued foreſt, of which a few inſulated ſpots only are cleared, which are loſt in the extenſive wild like ſmall iſlands in the Pacific Ocean.

Very few women were ſeen, but thoſe few were no leſs ugly than the men; of a ſmall ſtature, their heads, faces, and ſhoulders painted red. Their food conſiſts principally of vegetables, which they cultivate with much care; hogs and fowls abound, and by means of their canoes they draw a conſiderable ſupply of fiſh from the ocean. When the Reſolution was about to depart, captain Cook ſays, "the natives came off in canoes, "making exchanges with ſtill greater confidence than before, "and giving ſuch extraordinary proofs of their honeſty as ſur-"priſed us. As the ſhip at firſt had freſh way through the "water, ſeveral of the canoes dropped aſtern after they had "received goods, and before they had time to deliver theirs "in return; inſtead of taking advantage of this, as our friends "at the Society Iſlands would have done, they uſed their utmoſt "efforts to get up with us, and deliver what they had already "been paid for; one man in particular followed us a conſide-"rable time, and did not reach us till it was calm, and the "thing was forgotten; as ſoon as he came along-ſide he held "up the article, which ſeveral on board were ready to buy, "but he refuſed to part with it till he ſaw the perſon to whom "he had before ſold it; this perſon not knowing the man again, "offered him ſomething in return, which he conſtantly refuſed, "and ſhowing him what had been given before, at length made "him ſenſible of the nice point of honour by which he was "actuated." Beſides excelling all their neighbours in probity, they appeared the moſt intelligent of any nation that had been ſeen in the South Sea. They readily underſtood the meaning conveyed by ſigns and geſtures, and in a few minutes taught the gentlemen of the ſhip ſeveral words in their language, which is wholly diſtinct from that general tongue of which ſo many dialects are ſpoken at the Society Iſlands, the Marqueſas, Friendly Iſles, Eaſter Iſland and New Zealand. They were not only aſſiduous in teaching, but had great curioſity to learn the language of the ſtrangers, which they pronounced with ſuch accuracy, and retained with ſuch force of recollection, as led their inſtructors to admire their extenſive faculties and quick apprehenſion; ſo that what they wanted in perſon or beauty was amply compenſated

penſated to them in acuteneſs of underſtanding, and probity heart.

Captain Cook continued ſixteen days at another iſland called Tanna, diſtinguiſhed by a furious volcano, which was ſeen burning at a great diſtance at ſea. The ſoil of this iſland is compoſed of decayed vegetables intermixed with the aſhes of the volcano, and the country is in general ſo covered with trees, ſhrubs, and plants, as to choak up the bread-fruit and cocoa nuts. The natives are not numerous, but ſtronger and better proportioned than the Mallicolleſe. Not one ſingle corpulent man was ſeen here; all are active and full of ſpirit. Their features are large, the noſe broad, but the eyes full and generally agreeable. They ſeem to excel in the uſe of arms, yet they are not fond of labour; they never would put a hand to aſſiſt in any work the ſhip's company was carrying on, which the Indians of other iſlands uſed to delight in: here they throw all the laborious drudgery on the women, many of whom were ſeen carrying a child on their backs, and a bundle under their arm, and a fellow ſtrutting before them with only a club or a ſpear. The plantations conſiſt of yams, bunanas, eddoes and ſugar canes, all which being very low, permit the eye to take in a great extent of country. There are plenty of hogs, but very few domeſtic fowls. Rats of the ſame ſpecies common in the other iſlands were ſeen running about in great numbers. They particularly frequent the fields of ſugar canes, where they make deſtructive depredations.

Captain Cook continued ſurveying theſe iſlands during the month of Auguſt, 1774; from which he ſet ſail the 1ſt of September, and having ſtood to ſouth-weſt all night, next day no more land was to be ſeen. On the 4th of September, being in the latitude of 19 degrees, 14 minutes ſouth, and the longitude of 165 degrees eaſt, land was diſcovered bearing ſouth-ſouth-weſt, for which he continued to ſteer till five in the evening. The ſhip had hardly got to an anchor on the 5th before it was ſurrounded by a great number of canoes, carrying the natives, moſt of whom were unarmed. They were prevailed on to receive ſome preſents, lowered down to them by a rope, in return for which they tied two fiſh that ſtunk intolerably. Theſe mutual exchanges brought on a degree of confidence; ſeveral came on board, and ſtayed dinner, but could not be perſuaded to eat any thing but yams. They were curious in examining every part of the ſhip, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They were fond of ſpike nails, and pieces of coloured cloth, eſpecially red. After dinner the captain went on ſhore with two armed boats, carrying with him one of the natives, who had conceived an attachment for him. They landed on a ſandy beach before a vaſt number of people, who had

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aſſembled merely from curioſity. The captain made preſents to all thoſe his friend pointed out, who were either old men, or ſuch as ſeemed to be perſons of ſome note: he offered to make preſents to ſome women who ſtood behind the crowd, but his friend reſtrained him from this act of complaiſance. A chief, named Teaboonia, then made a ſpeech conſiſting of ſhort ſentences, to each of which two or three old men anſwered by nodding their heads and giving a kind of grunt, ſignificant of approbation. This ſpeech was made on account of the ſtrangers, to whom it ſeemed to be very favourable. The captain having then inquired by ſigns for freſh water, ſome pointed to the eaſt, and others to the weſt. His friend undertook to conduct him to it in the boats; and having rowed about two miles up the coaſt to the eaſt, where the ſhore was moſtly covered with mangrove trees, they entered by a narrow creek, which led to a little ſtraggling village, near which was abundance of freſh water. The ground near this village was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of ſugar cane, plantains, yams and other roots, and watered by little rills, artfully conducted from the main ſtream which flowed from the hills. Here were ſome cocoa-nut trees, which did not ſeem burdened with fruit: the crowing of cocks was heard, but none of them were ſeen. In proceeding up the creek, Mr. Foſter ſhot a duck, which was the firſt uſe theſe people ſaw of fire-arms. The captain's friend was at much pains to explain to his countrymen how it had been killed. "The day being far ſpent," ſays the captain, "and the tide not permitting us to ſtay longer in the creek, "we took leave of the people, and got on board a little after "ſun-ſet. From this little excurſion I found we were to expect "nothing from theſe people but the privilege of viſiting their "country undiſturbed. For it was eaſy to ſee they had little "more than good nature to beſtow. In this they exceeded all "the nations we had yet met; and although it did not ſatisfy "the demands of nature, it at once pleaſed, and left our minds "at eaſe."

The captain continued the greateſt part of the month in examining this iſland, to which he gave the name of New Caledonia. It is the largeſt of all the tropical iſlands in thoſe parts, and, excepting New Holland and New Zealand, is the largeſt that has been diſcovered in the ſouth Pacific Ocean. It extends from 19 degrees, 37 minutes, to 22 degrees, 30 minutes ſouth latitude, and from 163 degrees, 37 minutes, to 167 degrees, 14 minutes eaſt longitude; being twelve degrees diſtant from New Holland; and the country bearing a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe parts of New South Wales that lie under the ſame parallel of latitude. The whole coaſt ſeems to be ſurrounded by reefs and ſhoals which render the acceſs to it very dangerous; but at the ſame time

time guard the coaſts againſt the violence of the wind and ſea, cauſe them to abound with fiſh, and ſecure an eaſy and ſafe navigation for canoes. Theſe Indians are ſtout, tall, and in general well proportioned; their beards and hair black and ſtrongly frizzled, ſo as to be almoſt woolly in ſome individuals. They are remarkably courteous and friendly; but their appearance is very indecent, every Caledonian being, like the natives of Tanna and Mallicollo, an ambulant ſtatue of the Roman garden-god. Yet there was not a ſingle inſtance of the women permitting any improper familiarities. They ſometimes indeed mixed in the crowd, and amuſed themſelves with encouraging the propoſals of the ſeamen, beckoning them to come along the buſhes; but as ſoon as the ſailors followed, they gave them the ſlip, running away with great agility, and laughing very heartily at their ridiculous diſappointment.

Their houſes or huts are circular as a bee-hive, and full as cloſe and warm. The entrance is by a ſquare hole, big enough to admit a man bent double; the ſide-walls four feet and a half high, the roof more lofty, peaked at the top, and ſupporting a poſt of wood ornamented with carving or ſhells. They commonly erect ſeveral huts in the neighbourhood of each other, under a cluſter of thick fig-trees, whoſe foliage is impervious to the rays of the ſun. The ſhip did not continue long enough on this coaſt for the captain to acquire any certain knowledge concerning the language, government, and religion of the natives. They are governed by chiefs, like the inhabitants of the New Hebrides, and pay a great degree of deference to old age. No circumſtance was obſerved in their behaviour which denoted the ſmalleſt ſuperſtition of any kind.

After leaving New Caledonia, the Reſolution, ſteering ſouthward, fell in with an uninhabited iſland the 10th October, 1774, which the captain named Norfolk Iſle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. It lies in latitude 29 degrees 2 minutes ſouth, longitude 168 degrees 16 minutes eaſt. It is about three miles long, very ſteep, covered with cypreſs trees, abounding in a red porous lava, which indicates that this iſland had been a volcano. The productions of New Zealand are here combined with thoſe of the New Hebrides and Caledonia, for the cypreſs of the one, as well as the cabbage palm of the other, flouriſh in great perfection; the former yielding timber for the carpenter, and the latter affording a moſt palatable and wholeſome refreſhment. The fiſh caught here, together with the birds and vegetables, enabled the ſhip's company to fare ſumptuouſly every day during their ſtay. Here is likewiſe the valuable flax plant of New Zealand; all which circumſtances, if the iſland were a little larger, would render it an unexceptionable place for an European ſettlement.

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The greateſt defect of Norfolk iſland, as well as of all thoſe lately viſited, is the ſcarcity of animal food, with which, however, they might eaſily be ſtored in great abundance. But this circumſtance obliged the captain to ſail again for New Zealand, where he came to an anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound the 19th October, 1774. Here he continued till the 10th of November, when, having already ſatisfied himſelf of the non-exiſtence of an undiſcovered continent in the Pacific Ocean, he proceeded to examine the Magellanic regions, and by exploring the unknown parts of the Atlantic and Indian oceans, to complete the ſurvey of the ſouthern hemiſphere. The firſt object of this cruize was to diſcover an extenſive coaſt laid down by Mr. Dalrymple, between 40 and 53 degrees weſt longitude, and in the latitude of 54 and 58 degrees ſouth, in which he places the bay of St. Sebaſtian. But no ſuch coaſt was to be found; and as captain Furneaux in the Adventure paſſed acroſs that part where the eaſtern and weſtern ſhores are laid down, it appears that no ſuch land exiſts in the ſituation aſſigned to it in the Engliſh or French charts. On January 14th, 1775, land was diſcovered in latitude 53 degrees 56 minutes ſouth, longitude 39 degrees 24 minutes weſt; the mountains appeared of an immenſe height, covered with ſnow and ice to the water's edge. Towards the ſouth ſeveral low lands were ſeen, which appeared to have ſome verdure upon them, and were therefore called the Green Iſlands. This land, which was at firſt ſuppoſed to be part of a great continent, was found at length to be an iſland of 70 leagues in circuit, between the latitudes of 53 degrees 57 minutes and 54 degrees 57 minutes ſouth, and the longitudes of 38 degrees 13 minutes and 35 degrees 34 minutes weſt. It is not eaſy to conceive any thing more diſmal than the face of nature in this iſland. Though it was in the midſt of the ſummer of that climate, the iſland ſeemed in a manner walled round with ice, and muſt have been nearly inacceſſible in any other ſeaſon. Captain Cook landed in a bay on the northern ſide, which he called Poſſeſſion Bay, becauſe here he took poſſeſſion for his majeſty of this dreary manſion of ſterility under the name of Southern Georgia. The head of the bay, as well as two places on each ſide, were terminated by perpendicular cliffs of great height, ſuch as are found in the harbour of Spitzbergen in the northern hemiſphere. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to ſea; and a great fall happened while the ſhip was in the bay, which made a noiſe like cannon. The other parts of the country were not leſs ſavage and horrible. The wild rocks raiſed their lofty ſummits till they were loſt in the clouds, and the vallies lay involved in ſnow, affording no trees nor ſhrubs, nor the leaſt ſigns of vegetation. Captain Cook examined alſo the ſouthern parts of this iſland, which afforded nothing but a

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ſtrong-bladed graſs growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant of the moſſy kind ſpringing from the rocks. Seals, ſea-lions, and penguins were the only appearances of animated nature in this land of deſolation, which the captain left on the 26th of January, intending to ſteer eaſt-ſouth-eaſt until he arrived in 60 degrees latitude, beyond which he meant not to proceed, unleſs he diſcovered certain ſigns of falling in with land. In the proſecution of this deſign he met with nothing but thick fogs and continual iſlands of ice, the unintermitting aſpect of which at length tired even this perſevering adventurer. Many on board were at this time afflicted with ſevere rheumatic pains and colds, and ſome were ſuddenly taken with fainting fits, ſince their unwholeſome, juiceleſs food could not ſupply the waſte of animal ſpirits. When the hope of reaching a milder climate diffuſed a general ſatisfaction, another frozen country roſe to their view the 31ſt January. Captain Cook gave the name of Sandwich Land to this diſcovery, which may poſſibly be the northern point of a continent; for he is of opinion, that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the ſource of moſt of the ice that is ſpread over this vaſt ſouthern ocean. He likewiſe thinks that it extends fartheſt to the north, oppoſite the ſouthern Atlantic and Indian oceans, becauſe ice was always found more to the north in thoſe ſeas than in the ſouthern Pacific, which he imagines would not happen unleſs there was land of conſiderable extent to the ſouth. But the danger of exploring theſe unknown regions of winter is ſo great that he concludes, ſeemingly on good grounds, that no man will ever venture farther than he has done. The moſt ſouthern extremity that was ſeen lies in latitude 59 degrees 30 minutes ſouth, longitude 27 degrees 30 minutes weſt. To this he gave the name of Southern Thule, beyond which nothing, perhaps, will ever be diſcovered. It is impoſſible to conceive any proſpect more inexpreſſibly horrid than the appearance of this country; a country doomed by nature never to feel the genial warmth of the ſun's rays, and where all life and vegetation are for ever ſhut up in eternal froſt. This forbidden coaſt admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a harbour being blocked up with ice. Captain Cook having thus fully accomplitſhed the deſign of his voyage, proceeded northward, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope as above mentioned.

Before we conclude the hiſtory of this voyage, it muſt not be omitted that captain Cook, when he returned to Otaheite, April 1774, had an opportunity of examining with more accurary than had been hitherto done, the naval force of this iſland. Having gone by appointment to the diſtrict called Opparee, to pay a viſit to Otoo the king, he obſerved a number of large canoes in motion; all of which, to the number of three hundred and

and thirty, drew up in regular order, completely manned and equipped. The veſſels were decorated with flags and ſtreamers, ſo that the whole made a more ſplendid appearance than could have been expected in thoſe ſeas. Their inſtruments of war were clubs, ſpears, and ſtones; the canoes were ranged cloſe along ſide of each other with their heads aſhore, and the ſtem to the ſea; the admiral's veſſel being nearly in the centre. Beſides the veſſels of war, there were an hundred and ſeventy ſail of ſmaller double canoes, all with a little houſe upon them, and rigged with maſts and ſail, which the war canoes had not. The former muſt have been intended for tranſports and victuallers, for in the war canoes there was no ſort of proviſions whatever. In all the three hundred and thirty veſſels the captain gueſſed there might be ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty men, a number which, he ſays, appears incredible, eſpecially as he was told the whole belonged to two diſtricts, the iſland being divided into more than forty. In this computation, however, he allowed but forty men, troops and rowers, to each of the larger canoes, and eight to each of the ſmaller; an eſtimate which all his officers agreed rather to fall ſhort of, than to exceed the truth. The fleet was going out to attack the inhabitants of Eimeo, who had ventured to provoke the Otaheiteans to a naval engagement. The captain was obliged to depart before he ſaw the concluſion of this affair; but the marine ſtrength which he witneſſed led him to important reflections concerning the populouſneſs of Otaheite. "It had been obſerved," he ſays, "that "the number of war canoes belonging to the diſtricts of Atta-"hourou and Ahopata was an hundred and ſixty; to Tettaha "forty, and to Matavai ten; and that this diſtrict did not equip "one fourth part of that number. If we ſuppoſe every diſtrict "in the iſland, of which there are forty-three, to raiſe and equip "the ſame number of war canoes as Tettaha, we ſhall find, "by this eſtimate, that the whole iſland can raiſe and equip 1720 "war canoes, and 68,000 able ſeamen; allowing forty men to "each canoe. And, as theſe cannot amount to above one third "part of the number of both ſexes, children included, the whole "iſland cannot contain leſs than 200,000 inhabitants; a number "which at firſt ſight exceeded my belief. But, when I came to "reflect on the vaſt ſwarms which appeared wherever we came, "I was convinced that this eſtimate was not much, if at all, "too great. There cannot be a greater proof of the richneſs "and fertility of Otaheite, (not forty leagues in circuit), than "its ſupporting ſuch a number of inhabitants." We now return from deſcribing the diſcoveries of this enterpriſing and judicious commander, to relate the ſequel of our domeſtic misfortunes.

It has been already obſerved, that although the miniſtry had given way to the refractory ſpirit of the colonies in many other in-

inſtances, yet the odious and ill-judged tax on tea imported into America was ſtill ſupported by the force of an act of parliament. This regulation, which had been much objected to at home, was univerſally obnoxious on the other ſide of the Atlantic. The Americans foreſaw, that if the tea was once landed, and in the hands of conſignees appointed by the Eaſt-India company, which had lately fallen under the direction of government, it would be impoſſible to prevent its ſale and conſumption, and they therefore conſidered the duty on this commodity as a meaſure calculated to deceive them into a general compliance with the revenue laws, and thereby to open a door to unlimited taxation. Beſides, all the dealers both legal and clandeſtine, who, as tea is an article of ſuch general conſumption in America, were extremely powerful, ſaw their trade at once taken out of their hands. Views of private intereſt thus conſpiring with motives of public zeal, the ſpirit of oppoſition univerſally diffuſed itſelf throughout the colonies, who determined to prevent the landing of the tea by every means in their power.

Mean while the tea ſhips had ſailed from England, October, 1773, with the following deſtinations: For Boſton, New York, and Philadelphia, three ſhips, each loaded with 600 cheſts of tea; for Charleſtown and Rhode-Iſland, two ſhips, loaded with 200 cheſts each; the whole amounting to 2200 cheſts. As the time of their arrival approached, the people aſſembled in different places in great bodies in order to concert meaſures for preventing this dangerous importation. The conſignees appointed for vending the tea by the Eaſt-India company, were compelled, in moſt places, at the riſk of their lives and properties, to relinquiſh their employments. Committees were appointed by the people to propoſe teſts, and to puniſh thoſe who refuſed ſubſcribing whatever was propoſed, as enemies to their country. In the tumultuary aſſemblies held on theſe occaſions innumerable reſolutions were paſſed derogatory to the legiſlative power of Great Britain. Inflammatory hand-bills and other ſeditious papers were publiſhed at New York, Charleſtown, and Philadelphia; but Boſton, which had ſo long taken the lead in rebellion, was the ſcene of the firſt outrage. The ſhips laden with tea having arrived in that port, were boarded (18th December, 1773) by a number of armed men, under the diſguiſe of Mohawk Indians, who in a few hours diſcharged the valuable cargoes into the ſea. Charleſtown in South Carolina followed this pernicious example. At New York alone the tea was landed under the cannon of the men of war.

When the American diſpatches arrived, March 7, 1774, and brought advice of the outrages committed againſt the tea-ſhips at Boſton, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes, in which they are informed, that in conſequence of the unwarrantable practices

practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent proceedings at the town and port of Boſton, with a view of obſtructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately ſubverſive of its conſtitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament; that they may enable his majeſty to take ſuch meaſures as may be moſt likely to put an immediate ſtop to thoſe diſorders, and conſider what farther regulations may be neceſſary for ſecuring the execution of the laws, and the juſt dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The miniſter who delivered this meſſage allowed, that the deſtruction of the tea at Boſton might have been prevented by calling in the aſſiſtance of the naval force which lay in the harbour; but as the leading men in that city had always made great complaints of the interpoſition of the army and navy, and charged all diſturbances of every ſort to their account, this aſſiſtance had with great prudence been declined; the Boſtonians were left to the free exerciſe of their own judgment, and the reſult had given the lie to all their former profeſſions.

The meſſage and declaration ſeemed to be at variance with each other. In the former his majeſty deſires the parliament to impower him to ſtop the courſe of diſorders, which the miniſter allows might have been prevented by the exertion of that force with which he was already entruſted. But it ſeems that government had not as yet been ſufficiently perſuaded of the evil intentions of the inhabitants of Boſton, and wiſhed to give them a farther opportunity of diſplaying the moſt extenſive depravity of their political characters. This being now evident to every unprejudiced mind, the miniſter opened his plan for the reſtoration of peace, order, juſtice, and commerce in the Maſſachuſet's Bay. He ſtated, that the oppoſition to the authority of parliament had always originated in that colony, which had been inſtigated to a rebellious conduct by the irregular and ſeditious proceedings of the town of Boſton. That therefore, for the purpoſe of a thorough reformation, it became neceſſary to begin with that town, which by a late unparalleled outrage had led the way to the deſtruction of commerce in all parts of America. That, had ſuch an inſult been offered to Britiſh property in a foreign port, the nation would have been entitled to demand ſatisfaction. He propoſed, therefore, that the town of Boſton ſhould be obliged to pay for the tea which had been deſtroyed, and to give ſecurity in future, that trade may be ſafely carried on, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid. For this purpoſe, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary to take away from Boſton the privilege of a port until his majeſty ſhould be ſatisfied in theſe particulars. Upon theſe arguments leave was given to bring in a bill (March 14th) "for the immediate removal of the officers

"concerned

"concerned in collecting the customs from the town of Boston "in the province of the Massachuset's Bay in North America, "and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and "shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise at the said town "of Boston, or within the harbour thereof." This bill passed in the house of commons the 25th of March; and, after being carried up to the lords, received the royal assent the 31st of March.

This law forms the æra at which has been dated the decisive resolution of parliament to proceed to extremities with the province of Massachuset's Bay. Besides the ships of war already in America, the Preston, admiral Graves, with the Royal Oak, Worcester, and Egmont, were ordered to repair with all convenient speed to Boston. But at the same time that these resolutions were taken, general Gage was appointed governor of the obnoxious colony, a gentleman who had long resided there, and was well acquainted with the inhabitants, with whom he had formed the most intimate connections. This to many afforded a proof that the ministry had fallen back into their former irresolution; and the Bostonians threatened on the one hand with an act which deprived them of their ordinary means of subsistence, and soothed on the other by the appointment of a governor most agreeable to their wishes, maintained their wonted spirit, and continued to defy the equivocal, temporizing timidity of the mother country. They ventured to hold a town-meeting, at which they resolved to invite the other colonies to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, until the Boston port bill should be repealed. They artfully connected the safety of the liberties of North America with the punishment of one rebellious city, and, expatiating on the injustice and cruelty of the odious bill, appealed from it to God and the world. The governor arrived the middle of May, and was received at Boston with the usual honours. He laid nothing before the provincial assembly but what the ordinary business required; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem on the first of June, in pursuance of the late act of parliament.

Mean while the Boston port bill, as well as the resolutions taken at the town-meeting, were dispatched to every part of the continent. These, like the Fury's torch, set the countries every where in a flame through which they passed. At New York the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper, which they cried about the streets, under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. The house of burgesses in Virginia appointed the first of June, the day on which the Boston bill was to have effect, to be set apart for fasting, prayer, and humiliation; an example which was followed by almost every

ry province of North America. Even the inhabitants of Salem who derived evident advantage from the degradation of a neighbouring town, declared that they muſt be dead to every idea of juſtice, and loſt to all the feelings of humanity, if they could indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe their fortunes on the ruins of their ſuffering neighbours.

Thus the Boſton port bill, unaſſiſted by thoſe active exertions of the military or naval power of Great Britain which might have rendered it an object of terror, raiſed a flame from one end to the other of the continent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cauſe. They all agreed in determining not to ſubmit to the payment of any internal taxes that were not impoſed by their own aſſemblies, and to ſuſpend all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and thoſe of Maſſachuſet's Bay in particular, were fully redreſſed. Nor were they leſs unanimous in entering into a general agreement, which was formed at Boſton under the name of a ſolemn league and covenant, for mutually ſupporting each other, and maintaining what they deemed the rights of freemen, inviolate. They ſoon after appointed deputies from each province to attend a General Congreſs, which ſhould contain the united voice and wiſdom of America, and which they agreed ſhould be held at Philadelphia the 5th of September, 1774. Among the firſt acts of this aſſembly was a declaration in which they acknowledge their dependence, but inſiſt on their privileges. They cheerfully conſent to the operation of ſuch acts of the Britiſh legiſlature as are confined to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country: but they inſiſt, that the foundation of the Engliſh conſtitution and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council, and as the colonies are not, and from various cauſes cannot be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, they are intitled to a free and excluſive legiſlation in their ſeveral provincial aſſemblies, in all caſes of taxation and internal policy. They recommend to the ſeveral provinces the continuance of the meaſures which they had already adopted, for eſtabliſhing a powerful national militia, and for raiſing money to pay thoſe brave troops who would at every hazard defend the privileges of America.

The General Congreſs gave a conſiſtence to the deſigns of twelve colonies differing in religion, manners and forms of government, and infected with all the local prejudices and averſions incident to neighbouring ſtates. The ſtrength which all derived from this formidable union might have been ſufficient to alarm Great Britain; but the miniſtry, inſtead of fleets and armies, continued ſtill to fight the Americans with acts of parliament.

ment. For this purpose the first lord of the treasury moved, 10th of February, 1775, for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachuset's Bay and New Hampshire, as well as of the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island; and to prohibit these provinces from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places therein mentioned. Upon the third reading of this bill a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, should be included in the same restrictions with the New England provinces. This amendment, however, was over-ruled; although it could hardly be denied that these provinces had rendered themselves equally culpable with those of New England. Nearly about the same time, parliament voted an augmentation of 4383 soldiers, and 2000 seamen; and it was intended that the troops at Boston should amount to full ten thousand, a number deemed more than sufficient for quelling the present disturbances. While the nation seemed in general heartily to concur in those vigorous measures, they were not a little astonished at the famous conciliatory motion made by Lord North, containing the following resolution: "That when the governor, council "and assembly of any colony should be willing to contribute "their proportion to the common defence, and for the support "of the civil government, such proportion to be raised under "the authority of the assembly of that province, it will be pro-"per to forbear imposing or levying any tax, duty or assessment "from the said province, excepting only such duties as it may "be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce." This proposition was considered by many of those who supported the general measures of government, as a dereliction of those rights which they had hitherto contended to be essential to the British legislature; while the opposition asserted, that it would be received by the same indignation by the Americans, as every other measure intended to disunite their interests.

This law, which occasioned great discontents in England, met not with the smallest regard in America. While the Parliament were employed in enacting it, the ill humour that prevailed among the troops and inhabitants at Boston, broke out into action. It is still undecided which party commenced hostilities; but the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, proved the bravery of the Provincials far superior to the ideas generally entertained of it. The blood shed on these occasions excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and dispatch, as if an enemy had already appeared in their own territories. In some places the magazines were seized, in others the treasury, and without waiting for any account or advice, a stop was almost every where

were put at the ſame time to the exportation of proviſions. The governor and forces at Boſton, as well as the inhabitants, continued cloſely blocked up by land; while they were excluded from all ſupplies of freſh proviſions, which the neighbouring countries could have afforded them by ſea. As the military ſtores began to be exhauſted without the poſſibility of receiving any ſpeedy ſupply, the governor thought proper to enter into a capitulation with the Boſtonians, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were allowed to depart with all their other effects. Though all the poor and helpleſs were ſent out, and many others obtained paſſports both then, and at different times afterwards, yet the greater part of the inhabitants were upon different grounds obliged to remain in the city, which breach of faith, as the Americans termed it, on the part of general Gage, is deſcribed with great indignation in all their ſubſequent publications.

The Continental Congreſs met at Philadelphia May 10th, 1775, and adopted ſuch meaſures as confirmed the people in their warlike reſolutions. They provided for the array and ſupport of an army, named generals, eſtabliſhed a paper currency, for the realizing the value of which the "Twelve United "Colonies" became ſecurities; ſoon after Georgia acceded to the Congreſs, from which time they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the "Thirteen United Colonies." It was ſaid, that in the whole extent of North America, from Nova Scotia, to Florida, near 200,000 men were training to arms under the auſpices of the Congreſs. This aſſembly took meaſures not only for defending themſelves, but for diſtreſſing their enemies. They ſtrictly prohibited the ſupplying of the Britiſh fiſheries with any kind of proviſion; and to render this order effectual, ſtopt all exportation to thoſe colonies and iſlands which ſtill retained their obedience. This prohibition occaſioned no ſmall diſtreſs to the people at Newfoundland, and to all thoſe employed in the fiſheries; inſomuch, that, to prevent an abſolute famine, ſeveral ſhips were under a neceſſity of returning light from that ſtation, to carry out cargoes of proviſions from Ireland.

In the mean time, ſeveral private perſons, belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Maſſachuſet's, and New York, without any public command, or participation that has hitherto been diſcovered, undertook an expedition of the utmoſt importance, and which threatened to deprive Great Britain of every ſingle poſſeſſion which ſhe held in North America. This was the ſurpriſe of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point and other fortreſſes, ſituated upon the lakes, and commanding the paſſes between the ancient Engliſh colonies and Canada. Theſe adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, ſeized Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, in which they found about 200 pieces of

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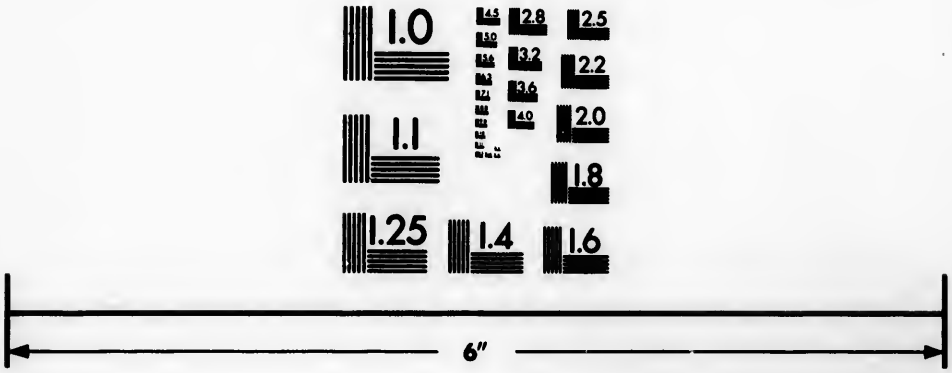

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cannon, besides mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of various stores; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderoga for the equipping of others.

Although the troops at Boston were greatly reinforced by the arrival of the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, a considerable body of marines, and several regiments from Ireland, they continued patiently to submit to all the inconveniencies of a blockade; nor did they receive any considerable assistance from the great number of ships of war which almost surrounded the peninsula. The Congress published a resolution, June 8th, importing the compact between the crown and the people of Massachuset's Bay, to be dissolved. This was followed by a proclamation of general Gage, (June 12th), by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and punishment denounced against those who obstinately persisted in disobedience. They were to be treated as rebels and traitors; and as the regular course of justice was stopped, martial law was to take place until the rules of civil equity were restored to their due efficacy.

The Provincials considering this proclamation as an immediate prelude to hostility, determined to be before hand with their enemies. Having made the necessary preparations for seizing the port of Charlestown, they sent a number of men with the greatest privacy in the night, to throw up works upon Bunker's Hill. This was effected with such extraordinary order and silence, and such incredible dispatch, that none of the ships of war which covered the shore, heard the noise of the workmen, who by the morning had made a small but strong redoubt, considerable intrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof. The sight of these works was the first thing that alarmed the Lively man of war, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a sight, which seemed little less than a prodigy. A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from this time carried on against the works, from the ship, and floating batteries, as well as from the top of Cop's Hill in Boston. About noon, general Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. These troops, consisting of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper train of artillery, were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a rein-

a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by two companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines, amounting in the whole to something more than 2000 men.

The attack began by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced slowly towards the enemy, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the Provincials into confusion. These, however, sustained the assault with a firmness that would have done honour to regular troops, and detached a body of men to Charlestown which covered their right flank. General Pigot, who commanded the right wing, was thus obliged to engage at the same time with the lines and with those in the houses. During this conflict, Charlestown was set on fire; whether by the troops, or by carcasses thrown from the ships, is uncertain, but that large and beautiful town, which, being the first settlement in the colony, was considered as the mother of Boston, was in one day burnt to the ground. The Provincials did not return a shot until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, where a most dreadful fire took place, by which above a thousand of our bravest men and officers fell. In this action, one of the hottest ever known, (considering the number engaged), our troops were thrown into some disorder; but in this critical moment general Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, rallied them by a happy manœuvre, and brought them instantaneously to the charge. They attacked the works with fixed bayonets and irresistible bravery, and carried them in every quarter. The Provincials fought desperately, but being, as they affirm, destitute of bayonets, and their powder expended, they were obliged to retreat over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The king's troops took five pieces of cannon, but no prisoners except 30, which were so severely wounded, that they could not escape.

The possession of part of the peninsula of Charlestown, and of Bunker's Hill, which was immediately fortified, enlarged the quarters of the troops, who had been much incommoded by the streightness in which they were confined in Boston; but this advantage was counterbalanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Besides, the Provincials lost no time in throwing up works upon another hill opposite to Bunker's, on the side of Charlestown neck, which was still in their possession. The troops were thus as closely invested in this peninsula as they had been in Boston. Their situation was irksome and degrading, being surrounded and insulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to despise, and

cut off from all those refreshments of which they stood in the greatest need.

The resentment occasioned by their sufferings probably engaged them to continue a great cannonade upon the works of the Provincials, which could have little other effect than to inure them to that sort of service in which they were employed. A regiment of light cavalry which arrived from Ireland, increased the wants of the garrison, without being of the smallest use, as the cavalry were never able to set foot without the fortifications. The hay which grew upon the islands in the bay, as well as the sheep and cattle which they contained, became an object of great attention to the king's troops; but the Provincials having prepared a number of whaling boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets of the bay, were, notwithstanding the number of the ships of war and armed vessels, too successful in burning, destroying, and carrying away those essential articles of supply. These enterprises brought on several skirmishes, and the enemy grew at length so daring, that they burnt the light-house situated on an island at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and some carpenters being afterwards sent, under the protection of a small party of marines, to erect a temporary light-house, they killed or carried off the whole detachment. From this time a sort of predatory war commenced between the king's ships and the inhabitants on different parts of the coast. The former, being refused the supplies of provisions and necessaries which they wanted for themselves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in these attempts were frequently opposed, and sometimes repulsed with loss by the country people. The seizing of ships, n conformity of the new laws for restraining the commerce of the New-England provinces, was also a continual source of animosity and violence, the proprietors hazarding all dangers in defending or recovering their vessels. These contests drew the vengeance of the men of war upon several of the small towns upon the sea coasts, some of which underwent a severe chastisement.

The parliament, which met in October, 1755, seemed more firmly determined than on any former occasion, to pursue what were called vigorous measures by the majority, and which the opposition distinguished by the epithets of cruel, bloody, and unjust. The American petitions addressed to the crown were rejected with contempt or indignation; and it was determined to carry on the war with a spirit that should astonish all Europe, and to employ such fleets and armies in the ensuing year as had never before entered the new world. A motion was made from the admiralty, in the committee of supply, that 28,000 seamen, including 6,665 marines, should be voted for the service of the year

year 1776. This was accompanied with a general outline of the ſervices to which the navy ſhould be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North-American ſtation ſhould amount to 78 ſail. This would, doubtleſs, employ the greateſt part of the ſeamen propoſed; and happily the affairs of Europe did not require any conſiderable exertion of our naval ſtrength. The profeſſions of the neighbouring courts were pacific and friendly; and what was of more weight than profeſſions, their preparations were nowiſe alarming. At any rate our guardſhips were ſo numerous and ſo well appointed, that they might on the ſhorteſt notice be rendered ſuperior to any force that our rivals could aſſemble. The motion for the augmentation was paſſed; though not without ſevere animadverſion from the moſt diſtinguiſhed of our naval commanders, who arraigned in the plaineſt terms the preſent government and conduct of our naval affairs, and inſiſted that the eſtabliſhment now propoſed, though too great for peace, was by no means adequate to the demands of a war.

On the day following, (8th November), the miniſter of the war department, having laid the eſtimates for the land ſervice before the committee of ſupply, ſhewed that our whole military force would amount to 55,000 men, of which upwards of 25,000 would be employed in America. On this occaſion alſo many gentlemen affirmed, that the propoſed force was totally unequal to the purpoſe of conquering America by force of arms, the meaſure upon which the miniſtry ſeemed now abſolutely determined. This was ſupported by the opinion of a great general officer who had been long in adminiſtration; the other military gentlemen were called upon to declare their diſſent if they thought otherwiſe, but they all continued ſilent.

A few days afterwards, the firſt lord of the treaſury brought in the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourſe with the Thirteen United Colonies. All property of Americans, whether of ſhips or goods, on the high ſeas, or in harbour, were declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majeſty's ſhips of war; and ſeveral clauſes were inſerted in the bill to facilitate and leſſen the expence of the condemning of prizes, and the recovery of prize-money. But, in order to ſoften theſe harſh meaſures, the bill enabled the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who, beſides the power of granting pardons to individuals, were authoriſed to inquire into general grievances, and empowered to determine whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that ſtate of obedience which entitled them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which caſe the reſtrictions of the preſent bill were to ceaſe in their favour.

After

After all the boasted preparations for hostility, the seeming contradiction in this bill was thought by many to support the consistent character of administration. It was still the same alternative of war and peace; peace offered by Great Britain who had received the injury, and not by her enemies, on whom she pretended to be ready to wreak the whole weight of her vengeance. This mixed system of war and conciliation was represented as highly improper at the present juncture. The measure adopted, whether of peace or war, should be clear, simple and decided, not involved in doubt, perplexity and darkness. If war is resolved, and it is determined to compel America to submission, let the means of coercion be such as will, to a moral certainty, insure success. Our fleets and armies must command terms, which will in vain be solicited by our commissioners.

While these preparations and debates occupied the British senate, the designs of the Americans gradually became more daring. Their successful expedition to the lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderago and Crown Point, had opened the gates of Canada; and the Congress came to the bold resolution of sending a force to invade and conquer that loyal colony. The generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-England militia, a body of New-England men, amounting in the whole to three thousand, were appointed to this service. A number of batteaux, or flat-boats, were built at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorrel, which forms the entrance into Canada. Having proceeded to the isle Aux Noix, they proposed to attack the fort St. John's, in which they were retarded by a want of ammunition sufficient for carrying on the siege. Their commander Montgomery, who was well qualified for any military service, turned his thoughts to the reduction of the little Fort Chamblée, which lies farther up the country, and was in a very defensible condition. Here he found considerable stores, and 120 barrels of powder, which enabled him to push with vigour the siege of St. John's. General Carleton, the governor of the province, then at Montreal, was equally indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. With the utmost difficulty he had got together about a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with colonel M'Lean, who had raised a regiment under the name of Royal Highland Emigrants, consisting of the native mountaineers of Scotland, who had lately arrived in America, and who, in consequence of the troubles, had not obtained settlements. But the designs of general Carleton were defeated by a party of Provincials, who encountered him at Longueil, and

and easily repulsed the Canadians. Another party pushed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorrel, where the Canadians, by whom he was attended, hearing of the general's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was compelled, at the head of his few Scotch Emigrants, to take refuge in Quebec. Mean while Montgomery obtained possession of St. John's, 3d November, 1775, where he found a considerable quantity of artillery, and many useful stores; the garrison, commanded by major Preston, surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent up the lakes to those interior parts of the colonies, which were best adapted to provide for their reception and security.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that necessity immediately erected batteries near the junction of the St. Lawrence and the Sorrel, in order to prevent the escape of the armed vessels, which general Carleton had at Montreal, to the defence of Quebec. Montgomery mean while laid siege to Montreal, of which he got possession the 13th November; and Carleton's armament being pursued, attacked and driven from their anchors up the rivers by the Provincials, he himself narrowly escaped in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, and after many dangers arrived at Quebec. His naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, fell into the hands of the Provincials.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. Besides this, colonel Arnold appeared unexpectedly with a body of New-Englanders at Point Levi, opposite to the town. The river fortunately separated them from the place, otherwise it seems probable that they might have become masters of it in the first surprize and confusion. Several days elapsed before they effected a passage in boats furnished them by the Canadians, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English frigates in the river. The inhabitants of Quebec, however, had by this time leisure to unite for defending their city. When Montgomery, therefore, who with the utmost expedition had pushed forward to join Arnold, attempted on the 31st of December to carry the place by escalade, he met with the most vigorous and unexpected resistance. He himself was slain, Arnold wounded, and a considerable body of the Provincials taken prisoners of war. The remainder did not again venture on any similar attack, but were satisfied with converting the siege into a blockade, and found means effectually to prevent any supplies of provisions or necessaries from being carried into Quebec.

While the Provincials obtained these important advantages in Canada, the Virginians obliged their governor, Lord Dunmore, to provide for his safety by embarking on board the Fowey man of war. All connection between Great Britain and that colony

was

was diſſolved July 18th. The governor in vain emancipated the ſlaves, a meaſure which he had ſo often threatened, that its execution was rendered ineffectual. He determined, however, to do every thing in his power to regain poſſeſſion of ſome part of the country which he had governed. Being joined by ſuch perſons as were obnoxious on account of their loyalty, and ſupported by the frigates on the ſtation, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh ſuch a marine force as might enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which rendered the moſt valuable parts of Virginia acceſſible by water, to be always at hand, and to profit by every favourable occaſion that offered. But his ſpirited endeavours to redeem the colony was attended only with diſappointment; and his armament, too feeble for any eſſential ſervice, was diſtinguiſhed barely by acts of depredation. The unfortunate town of Norfolk, having refuſed to ſupply his majeſty's ſhips with proviſions, was attacked by a violent cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, three ſloops of war, and the governor's armed ſhip the Dunmore; and the firſt of January was ſignalized with burning it to the ground. In South Carolina Lord William Campbell, the governor, after leſs vigorous exertions, was obliged to retire from Charleſtown on board a ſhip of war in the river; and governor Martin of North Carolina ſaved himſelf by the ſame expedient. The fleet of England ſerved as a peaceable aſylum to the expelled magiſtrates of revolting provinces, while its army was inglorioſly cooped up in Quebec and Boſton.

The Provincials were not leſs active in the cabinet than in the field. November 13, 1775, the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay publiſhed letters of marque and repriſal, and eſtabliſhed courts of admiralty for trying and condemning Britiſh ſhips. The General Congreſs, (December the 6th,) having previouſly agreed on articles of confederation and perpetual union, anſwered with much acrimony the royal proclamation of Auguſt 23d for ſuppreſſing rebellion and ſedition, and declared, that whatever puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon any perſon in the power of their enemies, for defending the cauſe of America, the ſame ſhould be retaliated on the Britiſh ſubjects who fell into their hands.

In this ſtate of obſtinacy or firmneſs on the ſide of the Americans, the diſtreſſed army at Boſton looked with impatience towards theſe kingdoms for the arrival of the expected reinforcements. The delays and misfortunes which the tranſports experienced in their voyage, and the ſight of many veſſels laden with the neceſſaries and comforts of life taken in the harbour, heightened the mortification and ſufferings of thoſe brave troops, who were kept, by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the ſtrength of the enemy, in a total inaction during the whole winter. The American

rican cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being of the greater part no better than whale-boats, grew daily more numerous and ſucceſsful againſt the victuallers and ſtore-ſhips; and, among a multitude of other prizes, took an ordnance ſhip from Woolwich, containing a large mortar upon a new conſtruction, ſeveral pieces of fine braſs cannon, a great number of ſmall arms, with abundance of ammunition and all manner of tools, utenſils, and machines neceſſary for camps and ſieges. This important prize, which gave a new colour to the military operations of the Provincials, was taken by a ſmall privateer, which excited juſt indignation againſt the management of our naval affairs, for hazarding a cargo of ſuch value in a defenceleſs veſſel.

When news of the prohibiting act reached the Congreſs, they ſent orders to general Waſhington to bring affairs at Boſton to as ſpeedy a deciſion as poſſible, in order to diſengage his army, and to give them an opportunity to oppoſe the new dangers with which they were threatened. Waſhington, therefore, opened a new battery, at a place called Phipps's Farm, on the night of the 2d of March, from whence a ſevere cannonade and bombardment was carried on againſt the town. This attack was continued till the 5th, when the army, to their incredible ſurprize, beheld ſome conſiderable works upon the heights of Dorcheſter-point, from which a 24 pound and a bomb battery were ſoon after opened. The ſituation of the king's troops was now extremely critical, it being neceſſary either to abandon the town which began to blaze on every ſide, or to diſlodge the enemy and deſtroy the new works. The latter, however, general Howe, who had ſucceeded general Gage in the command, judged to be impracticable, ſo that nothing remained but to abandon Boſton, and to convey the troops, artillery, and ſtores on board the ſhips. The embarkation rather reſembled the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp; 1500 of the inhabitants, whoſe attachment to the royal cauſe had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, encumbered the tranſports with their families and effects. This inconvenience, joined to ſcarcity of proviſions and ill ſucceſs, bred much diſcontent. The troops conſidered themſelves as abandoned, having received no advice from England ſince the preceding October. Mutual jealouſies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, part of the uneaſineſs which itſelf felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully ſo at this tempeſtuous equinoctial ſeaſon, and the multitude of ſhips, which amounted to 150 ſail, increaſed the difficulty and apprehenſion. At the ſame time the king's forces were under the neceſſity of leaving a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ſtores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boſton Neck,

Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unſerviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented them from having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afte - wards weighed up by the inhabitants of Boſton; who, the 17th of March, received general Waſhington's army with drums beating, colours flying, and all the ſplendour of military triumph.

It was above a week after this time before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but this delay was amply compenſated by the voyage to Halifax, which was ſhorter and more ſucceſsful than could have been expected. Several ſhips of war were left behind to protect the veſſels which ſhould arrive from England; but the great extent of the bay with its numerous iſlands and creeks allowed ſuch advantages to the provincial armed boats and privateers, that they took a great many of thoſe veſſels, which were ſtill in ignorance that the town had changed maſters.

On the ſide of Canada, general Carleton conducted his operations with more ſucceſs. All the attempts of the Provincials to take Quebec by ſtorm were rendered abortive; nor did they ſucceed better in endeavouring by fire-ſhips and other ways to burn the veſſels in the harbour. Such was the conſtancy and vigilance of governor Carleton, brigadier M'Lean, and the activity of the garriſon, that the Americans intended to raiſe the ſiege, which was prevented from being carried ſucceſsfully into execution by the ſpirit and vigour of the officers and crews of the Iſis man of war and two frigates, which were the firſt that had ſailed from England with ſuccours, and which having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the paſſage was deemed practicable. The unexpected appearance of the ſhips threw the beſiegers into the utmoſt conſternation, and the command which they obtained of the river cut off all communication between the different detachments of the enemy. General Carleton loſt no time in ſeizing the advantages which the preſent ſituation afforded. May 6th, he marched out at the head of the garriſon, and attacked the rebel camp which he found in the utmoſt confuſion. Upon the appearance of our troops they fled on all ſides, abandoning their artillery, military ſtores, and all their implements for carrying on the ſiege. During this tranſaction our ſmaller ſhips of war proceeded up the river with great expedition, and took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the enemy, as well as the Gaſpee ſloop of war, which had, a few months before, unfortunately fallen into their hands.

The ſucceſs at Quebec tended greatly to facilitate the reconqueſt of Canada, and the invaſion of the back part of the colonies by the way of the lakes, which was the firſt of the three principal

principal object proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the ensuing campaign. The second was the making a strong impression on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least have been attended with the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New York.

It had for some time been the fate of the fleets, transports, and victuallers which sailed from England to meet with such difficulties, delays, and so many untoward circumstances, as in a great degree frustrated the end of their destination. Sir Peter Parker's squadron which sailed from Portsmouth at the close of the year, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various causes till the end of the month. There they found general Clinton, who had already been at New York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had seen Lord Dunmore, and, finding that no service could be effected at either place with this small force, came thither to wait for them. After this junction, the fleet and army were both sufficiently powerful to attempt some enterprize of importance. Charlestown in South Carolina was the place destined for their attack. The fleet anchored off the bar the beginning of June; but the passing this obstacle was a matter of no small difficulty, especially to the two large ships, which notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and the using every other means to lighten them as much as possible, both struck to the ground. When this difficulty was overcome, our fleet attacked a fort lately erected upon the south-west point of Sullivan's island, and commanding the passage of Charlestown. The troops commanded by general Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and brigadier-general Vaughan, were landed on Long-Island which lies to the eastward of Sullivan's. The Carolinians had posted some forces with artillery at the north-eastern extremity of the latter, at the distance of two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the breach. General Lee was encamped with a large body of troops on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the island, with which he held a communication open to the bridge of boats, and could by that means at any time march the whole, or any part of his force, to support the post opposed to our passage from Long Island. This island is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered much from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun; and both fleet and army were much distressed through the badness of the water, and the defect or unwholesomeness of the provisions.

These inconveniencies rendered dispatch of the utmost importance; but it was not till the 28th of June that, every thing being settled between the commanders by sea and land, the Thunder

Thunder bomb took her ſtation, covered by an armed ſhip, and began the attack by throwing ſhells at the fort. The Briſtol, Solebay, Experiment, and Active, ſoon after brought up, and began a moſt furious and inceſſant cannonade. The Sphinx, Syren, and Actæon, were ordered to the weſtward, between the end of the iſland and Charleſtown, partly with a view to enfilade the works of the fort, and, if poſſible, to cut off all communication between the iſland and the continent, and partly to interrupt all attempts by means of fire ſhips, or otherwiſe, to prevent the grand attack. But this deſign was rendered unſucceſsful by the ſtrange unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the ſhoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all ſtuck faſt; and though two of them were ſpeedily diſengaged, it was then too late to execute the intended ſervice. The Actæon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and ſtores from falling into the hands of the enemy. Amidſt the dreadful roar of artillery and continued thunder from the ſhips, the garriſon of the fort ſtuck with the greateſt firmneſs and conſtancy to their guns, fired deliberately and ſlowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ſhips ſuffered accordingly; and never did our marine, in an engagement of the ſame nature with any foreign enemy, experience ſo rude an encounter. The ſprings of the Briſtol's cable being cut by the ſhot, ſhe lay for ſome time ſo much expoſed to the enemy's fire, that ſhe was moſt dreadfully raked. The brave captain Morris, after receiving ſuch a number of wounds as would have ſufficiently juſtified a gallant man in retiring from his ſtation, ſtill diſdained, with a noble intrepidity, to quit his ſtation, until his arm being ſhot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a poſſibility of recovery. It is ſaid that the quarter-deck of the Briſtol was at one time cleared of every perſon but the commodore, who ſtood alone, a ſpectacle of daring, intrepid firmneſs, which has never been exceeded, ſeldom equalled. The others on that deck were either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dreſſed. The fortifications being extremely ſtrong, and their lowneſs preſerving them from the weight of our ſhot, the fire from the ſhips produced not all the effect which was hoped or expected. The fort, indeed, ſeemed for a ſhort time to be ſilenced, but this proceeded only from a want of powder, which was ſoon ſupplied from the continent. The land forces all this while continued inactive; and night at length put an end to the attack of the fleet. Sir Peter Parker finding all hope of ſucceſs at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly ſpent, called off his ſhattered veſſels, after an engagement of above ten hours. The Briſtol had 111, and the Experiment 79 men killed and wounded; and both ſhips had received ſo much damage, that the Provincials conceived

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ſtrong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not leſs diligent in the performance of their duty, being leſs pointed at than the great ſhips, did not ſuffer a proportionable loſs.

During theſe tranſactions the General Congreſs took an opportunity of preparing the people for the declaration of independency, by a circular manifeſto to the ſeveral colonies, ſtating the cauſes which rendered it expedient to put an end to all authority under the crown, and to take the powers of government into their own hand. The cauſes aſſigned were, the contempt of their petitions for redreſs of grievances, the prohibitory bill by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown, and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries for their deſtruction. The colonies of Maryland and Pennſylvania at firſt teſtified a diſinclination to the eſtabliſhment of a new government. Their deputies, however, were at length inſtructed to coincide in this meaſure, and on the 4th of July, 1776, the Thirteen United Provinces declared themſelves free and independent ſtates, abjuring all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and all political connection with their mother country. A few weeks after this declaration, lord viſcount Howe arrived at Halifax, at the head of a powerful ſquadron, and ſuch a number of land forces as had never before appeared in the new world. Beſides the national troops there were 13,000 Heſſians and Waldeckers, commanded by able officers of their own country. The whole, compoſed of the new reinforcements and the troops formerly in America, amounted to an army of 35,000 men; which was ſuperior in number, diſcipline, and proviſions of every kind, to any force the Americans could bring into the field. General Howe had left Halifax a fortnight before his brother's arrival; the latter being impatient of remaining in a place where nothing eſſential to the ſervice could be performed, and where proviſions began to grow ſcarce, had embarked his troops on board the fleet commanded by admiral Shuldham, and ſailed to Sandy Hook, the firſt land that is met with in approaching New York from the ſea. On his paſſage he was met by ſix tranſports with Highland troops on board, who had been ſeparated from ſeveral of their companions in the voyage. It appeared ſoon after that moſt of the miſſing ſhips, with above 450 ſoldiers and ſeveral officers, had been taken by the American cruizers. The general found every part of the iſland of New York ſtrongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by a conſiderable army. The extent of Long Iſland did not admit of its being ſo ſtrongly fortified or ſo well guarded; it was, however, in a powerful ſtate of defence, having an encampment of conſiderable force on the end of the iſland near New York, and ſeveral works thrown up

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on the moſt acceſſible parts of the coaſt, as well as at the ſtrongeſt internal paſſes. Staten Iſland, which was of leſs value and importance, was leſs powerfully defended; and on this the general landed without oppoſition. Here he was met by governor Tryon, who like the other gentlemen inveſted with chief authority in North America, had been obliged to eſcape on ſhipboard. Some hundreds of well affected inhabitants from the neighbouring parts alſo joined the royal ſtandard.

Lord Howe did not arrive at Staten Iſland till the 14th of July; when he ſent to the continent a circular letter ſetting forth the powers with which he and his brother were inveſted by the late act of parliament for granting general or particular pardons to all thoſe who, in the tumult and diſaſter of the times, might have deviated from their juſt allegiance, and who were willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour. Theſe letters were treated with as little reſpect as every other propoſition of a ſimilar kind, the Americans contemning the idea of granting pardons to thoſe who were not ſenſible of any guilt. Meanwhile the Britiſh armament was joined by the fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, as well as by ſome regiments from Florida and the Weſt Indies. The greateſt part of the forces being now united, an attack againſt Long Iſland was determined, as being more eaſy of execution than againſt the iſland of New York, and as the former abounded more with thoſe ſupplies which ſo great a body of men as were now aſſembled by ſea and land demanded.

The neceſſary meaſures being taken by the fleet for covering the deſcent, the army was landed without oppoſition on the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland. Soon after this was effected, general Clinton, in the night of the 26th of Auguſt, at the head of the van of the army conſiſting of light infantry, grenadiers, light horſe, reſerve under lord Cornwallis, with fourteen field pieces, advanced towards the enemy's encampment, and ſeized an important paſs which they had left unguarded. The way being thus happily open, the whole army paſſed the hills without noiſe or impediment, and deſcended by the town of Bedford into the level country. The engagement was begun early in the morning, while the ſhips made ſeveral motions on the left, and attacked a battery at Red Hook, which diſtracted the attention of the enemy, and called off their attention from their right and rear where the main attack was intended. Nothing could exceed the ſpirit and alacrity ſhewn by all the different corps of which the Britiſh army was compoſed. They made the enemy retreat on every ſide, purſued them with great ſlaughter, and ſuch was the ambition between the Britiſh and foreign troops, that it was with difficulty general Howe could reſtrain their impetuoſity in breaking through the American lines,

lines, and cutting to pieces or taking prisoners all those who had escaped the danger of the battle and the pursuit. The victors encamped in the front of the enemy's work on the evening after the engagement, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at 600 yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

During the battle general Washington had passed over from New-York, and saw with great mortification the unhappy fate of his bravest troops. The remainder were as much inferior in number and discipline to the British army, as their inconsiderable batteries were unequal to the assault of the royal artillery. No hopes of safety remained but in a retreat, which might well have appeared impracticable in the face of such a commanding force by land, and a fleet at sea which only waited a favourable wind to enter the East River, which would effectually cut off all communication between the islands. This arduous task, however, was undertaken and carried into execution by the singular ability of General Washington. In the night of the 29th, the Provincial troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, stores, and artillery, conveyed to the water side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New York. This was conducted with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprised in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear guard in the boats and out of danger. By this successful manœuvre, general Washington not only saved the troops on Long Island from captivity, but fortified the courage and strength of his army at New York, and enabled the Americans to continue the war with unabating ardour. Yet this measure he could not have effected, had the English general allowed his troops to force the enemy's lines, had the ships of war been stationed in the East River, or had the vigilance of the British soldiers watched and intercepted the movements of the Provincials.

After the success attending the superior bravery of the English in the engagement, and that attending the superior wisdom of Washington in the retreat, the commissioners renewed their proposals of conciliation, which were still as fruitless as before. Laying aside, therefore, their pacific character, they again had recourse to their military. The British troops were impatient to meet the enemy, who had escaped so unexpectedly from their hands. A river only divided them, along the banks of which they erected batteries, while a fleet of 300 sail, including transports, hovered round the island of New York, and threatened destruction on every side. The small islands between the opposite shores were perpetual objects of contest, until by dint of a well-served artillery, and the aid of the ships, those were secur-

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ed which were moſt neceſſary to their future operations. At length, every thing being prepared for a deſcent, the men of war made ſeveral movements up the North river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter of the iſland. Other parts ſeemed equally threatened, and increaſed the uncertainty of the real object of the attack. While the rebels were in this ſtate of perplexity, the firſt diviſion of the army, under the command of general Clinton, embarked at the head of Newtown Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Iſland, and where they were entirely out of view of the enemy. Being covered by five ſhips of war upon their entrance into Eaſt River, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, where, being leſs expected than in ſome other places, the preparation for defence was not ſo conſiderable. The works, however, were not weak, nor deſtitute of troops, but the fire from the ſhi s was ſo inceſſant and well directed that they were ſoon abandoned, and the army landed without farther oppoſition. The enemy immediately quitted the city of New York, and retired towards the north, where their principal ſtrength lay, particularly at King's Bridge, by which their communication with the continent of New York was kept open. General Howe thought the works here too ſtrong to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and therefore determined either to bring the rebels to an engagement on equal terms, or to incloſe them in their fortreſſes. While he made what appeared to be the proper diſpoſitions for this purpoſe, with a fleet and army ſufficient to cover and ſurround the whole iſland, general Waſhington, by a moſt judicious manœuvre, formed his troops into a line of ſmall detached encampments, which occupied every high and ſtrong ground on the land oppoſite to King's Bridge. He left a garriſon to defend the lines there, and Fort Waſhington; which, after a vigorous reſiſtance, fell into the hands of the Britiſh forces. But general Howe could not bring Waſhington to an engagement, who availed himſelf of his ſkill and addreſs while he fled before a ſuperior force, retreating from one poſt to another, but always occupying more advantageous ground than his purſuers.

The Britiſh commander thus diſappointed in his deſign of making any vigorous impreſſion on the main body of the enemy, detached, on the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis to take Fort Lee, and to advance farther into the Jerſeys. The garriſon of 2000 men abandoned the place the night before his lordſhip's arrival, leaving their artillery, ſtores, tents, and every thing elſe behind. Our troops afterwards over-ran the greater part of the two Jerſeys, the enemy flying every where before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunſwic to the Delaware. In the beginning of December general Clinton, with two brigades of Britiſh, and two of Heſſian troops, with a

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ſquadron of ſhips of war commanded by Sir Peter Parker, were ſent to make an attack upon Rhode Iſland, in which they ſucceeded beyond expectation. The general took poſſeſſion of the iſland without the loſs of a man; while the naval commander blocked up the principal marine force of the enemy, commanded by Hopkins, the admiral of the Congreſs, who then lay in the harbour of Providence.

On the ſide of Canada we left general Carleton driving the rebels towards the Lakes Champlain and St. George, of which they had formerly obtained poſſeſſion, as well as of the important fortreſs of Ticonderago. If the Britiſh troops could recover theſe, and advance as far as Albany, before the ſeverity of the winter ſet in, they might pour deſtruction into the heart of the middle or northern colonies, as general Waſhington could not attempt to hold any poſt in New-York or the Jerſeys againſt ſuch a ſuperior force as already oppoſed him in front, and general Carleton's army at his back. Notwithſtanding the moſt unremitting induſtry in preparing this northern expedition, it was not until the month of October that the Engliſh fleet was in a condition to ſeek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The ſhip Inflexible, which may be conſidered as admiral, had been re-conſtructed at St. John's, from which ſhe ſailed in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One ſchooner mounted 14, and another 12 ſix pounders. A flat-bottomed radeau carried 6 twelve pounders, beſides howitzers; and a gondola 7 nine pounders. Twenty ſmaller veſſels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried braſs field-pieces from nine to twenty-four pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Several long-boats were furniſhed in the ſame manner, and an equal number of long-boats acted as tenders. All theſe appertained to war; and there were beſides an immenſe number of tranſports and victuallers deſtined for the ſervice and conveyance of the army. The armament was conducted by captain Pringle, and navigated by above 700 prime ſeamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the tranſports, who after having rivalled thoſe belonging to the ſhips of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The fleet of the enemy was not of equal force, and amounted to only fifteen veſſels of different kinds, conſiſting of two ſchooners, one ſloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal ſchooner mounted 12 ſix and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to ſupport upon a new element the glory which he had acquired by his atchievements as a general.

The Britiſh armament proceeding up the lake the 11th of October, 1776, diſcovered the enemy drawn up with great judgment, in order to defend the paſſage between the iſland of

Valicour and the weſtern main. A warm action enſued, and was vigorouſly ſupported on both ſides for ſeveral hours. The wind being unfavourable, the ſhip Inflexible and ſome other veſſels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, ſo that the weight of the action fell on the ſchooner Carleton and the gun-boats. As the whole could not be engaged, captain Pringle, with the approbation of the general, withdrew his advanced veſſels at the approach of night, and brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, as near as poſſible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat.

Arnold being now ſenſible of his inferiority, took the opportunity which the darkneſs of the night afforded to ſet ſail, unperceived, hoping to obtain ſhelter and protection at Crown Point. Fortune ſeemed at firſt favourable to his purpoſe, for he had entirely loſt ſight of the enemy before next morning. The chace, however, being continued both on that and the ſucceeding day, the wind, and other circumſtances peculiar to the navigation of the lake, which had been at firſt advantageous to the Americans, became at length otherwiſe, ſo that on the 13th at noon they were overtaken, and brought to action a few leagues ſhort of Crown Point. The engagement laſted two hours, during which thoſe veſſels of the enemy that were moſt a-head puſhed on with the greateſt ſpeed, and, paſſing Crown Point, eſcaped to Ticonderago; while two gallies, and five gondolas, which remained with Arnold, made a deſperate reſiſtance. But their obſtinate valour was at length obliged to yield to the ſuperiority of force, ſkill, and weight of metal by which it was aſſailed. The Waſhington galley with Waterburg, a brigadier-general and the ſecond in command, aboard, ſtruck, and was taken. But Arnold determined that his people ſhould not become priſoners, nor his veſſel a prey to the Engliſh. With equal reſolution and dexterity he run the Congreſs galley, in which himſelf was, with the five gondolas, on ſhore, in ſuch a manner as to land his men ſafely and blow up her veſſels, in ſpite of every effort that was uſed to prevent both. Not ſatiſfied with this ſubſtantial advantage, which in his ſituation was more than could have been expected from an experienced commander, he inflexibly perſiſted in maintaining a dangerous point of honour, by keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till ſhe was in flames, leſt the Engliſh ſhould have boarded and ſtruck it; an attention which greatly raiſed his reputation in America.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly deſtroyed, a galley and three ſmall veſſels being all that eſcaped to Ticonderago. The Provincials, upon the rout of their fleet, ſet fire to the houſes at Crown Point, and retired to their main body. Carleton took poſſeſſion of the ruins, and being joined

edby his whole army, pushed on towards the enemy. But the post of Ticonderago was too strongly fortified to be taken without great loss of blood; and the benefit arising from success could not be considerable, as the season was too far advanced to think of crossing Lake George, and of exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhospitable wilds to the southward. General Carleton, therefore, reimbarked the army without making any attack upon this place, and returning to Canada, cantoned his troops there for the winter.

The Americans seem to have been guilty of an unpardonable blunder in not maintaining a more powerful squadron on the lakes, which laid open the heart of their country. But besides the want of timber, artillery, and other materials necessary for such an equipment, the carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of shipping, were fully engaged in the sea-ports in the construction and fitting out of privateers. To this the force of the rebels was principally bent; and the interest of individuals which was more immediately concerned in the success of particular cruizers, than in supporting the marine strength of the nation, gave redoubled vigour to all the operations of the former.

The West Indies, which in the want of food, and of staves, the article next in necessity to food, experienced the first melancholy effects of the American war, also suffered the most from the Provincial privateers. The fleet which sailed from Jamaica in August, 1776, being scattered by bad weather, fell a prey to the activity of their cruizers, who had seized the proper station for intercepting their passage. Nor was the trade from the other islands more fortunate. So that though the Americans did not begin their depredations till late in the year, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store-ships, was estimated considerably higher than a million sterling. Some blame was thrown on the convoy, and much indignation felt that the superintendence of our naval affairs, on which the glory and security of the nation depend, should be entrusted to hands unworthy to hold it. Such a sacred deposit required, it was thought, not only pure but steady hands; the duties of the important office to which it belongs calling for unremitting vigilance and activity, and being totally incompatible with a life of licentious and degrading pleasure. Religious men were not surprized, that under such an inauspicious influence the dignity of the nation should suffer a total eclipse, while the American cruizers swarmed in the European seas, and replenished the ports of France and Spain with prizes taken from the English. These prizes were sold in Europe without any colour of disguise, at the same time that French ships in the West Indies took American commissions, and carried on with impunity a successful war on British trade and navigation.

Mean while the time of the meeting of parliament approached, when it was expected that the line of conduct neceſſary for a total conqueſt, or happy conciliation with the colonies, would be clearly pointed out and explained. The great armaments which were continually increaſing in the French and Spaniſh ports, and many other ſuſpicious appearances during the receſs, rendered it neceſſary to put into commiſſion ſixteen additional ſhips of the line, and to increaſe the bounty to ſeamen for entering the ſervice to five pounds *per* man. The expences of the navy for the year 1777, including the ordinary at 400,000l. and the building and repairing of ſhips which was voted at 465,500l. amounted to no leſs than 3,205,500l. excluſive of 4000l. which was afterwards voted to Greenwich Hoſpital. The ſupplies for the land-ſervice fell little ſhort of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the preceding year which exceeded 1,200,000l. were not yet provided for. In whatever manner adminiſtration might employ the force by ſea and land, the nation had provided for the ſupport of both, with ſuch liberal magnificence as equalled the ſupplies during the laſt war, when the fleets and armies of Britain oppoſed and defeated the united efforts of the greateſt powers in Europe. Soon after the Chriſtmas receſs a bill was paſſed, enabling the admiralty to grant letters of marque and repriſal to the owners or captains of private merchant-ſhips, to take and make prize of all veſſels with their effects belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen United Colonies. All the powers of the kingdom were thus called forth, affording, as it would ſeem, a force infinitely more than ſufficient, had it been properly directed, to cruſh this aſpiring rebellion.

But unfortunately the ſtar of America ſtill maintained the aſcendant. The Britiſh troops whom we left in apparent ſecurity in their cantonments were aſſailed on all ſides, in the middle of winter, by general Waſhington, who remedied the deficiency of his force by the manner of applying it, and by attacking unexpectedly and ſeparately thoſe bodies which he could not ventu re o encounter if united. By ſome well-concerted and ſpirited actions this American Fabius, after a retreat which would have done honour to the judgment of the moſt circumſpect of all the Romans, not only ſaved Philadelphia and delivered Pennſylvania from danger, but recovered the greateſt part of the Jerſeys, and obliged an army greatly ſuperior in number as well as in diſcipline to act upon the defenſive, and for ſeveral months to remain within very narrow and inconvenient limits.

The Britiſh nation, how much ſoever they were afflicted with thoſe misfortunes, ſtill expected that notwithſtanding this war of poſts, ſurprizes, and detachments, which had been ſucceſsfully carried on by the Americans during the winter, the regular forces would

would prevail in the end. They waited, therefore, with much impatience for the approach of ſpring, when the mighty armaments which they had raiſed with ſo high expectation of victory, might be brought into action. When the time at length arrived, with equal aſtoniſhment and indignation, they learned that from ſome improvidence or inattention, unaccounted for at home, the army was reſtrained from taking the field for want of tents and field-equipage. The months of March and April, therefore, inſtead of being employed in ſuch deciſive enterprizes as might terminate the war, were confined to ſome ſubordinate expeditions in which the naval ſuperiority of Britain was crowned with ſucceſs. The Provincials had erected mills and eſtabliſhed magazines in a rough and mountainous tract called the Manour of Courtland, to which a place called Peek's Kill, lying fifty miles up Hudſon's river from New York, ſerved as a kind of port. Courtland Manour was too ſtrong to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs; but Peek's Kill lay within the reach of the navy. On the 23d of March, colonel Bird was ſent with 300 men under the conduct of a frigate and other armed veſſels, up the North River to deſtroy the works of the enemy at this place. Upon the approach of the Britiſh armament, the Americans thinking themſelves unequal to the defence of the port, and being convinced that there was not time to remove any thing but their perſons and arms, ſet fire to the barracks and principal ſtore-houſes, and then retired to a ſtrong paſs about two miles diſtance, commanding the entrance into the mountains, and covering a road which led to ſome of the mills and other depoſits. The Britiſh troops landed and completed the conflagration, which had already gone too far to allow any thing to be ſaved. All the magazines were thus deſtroyed, and the troops, having performed this ſervice, returned after taking ſeveral ſmall craft laden with proviſions. Another expedition of a ſimilar kind was undertaken againſt the town of Danbury on the borders of Connecticut, and attended with equal ſucceſs.

Theſe petty advantages were nothing, compared to the infinite benefit which the Americans derived from the delay of the Britiſh army in taking the field. The Provincials were greatly augmented by reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerſeys. Thoſe who ſhuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in ſummer; and the certainty of a future winter had no greater effect than diſtant evils uſually have. When general Howe paſſed over from New York to the Jerſeys the middle of June, he found Waſhington's army, which ſix weeks before had been nothing to his own in point of force, greatly increaſed, and ſtationed in ſuch advantageous and inacceſſible poſts as defied every aſſault. All his attempts to bring Waſhington to an engagement, or to make him quit his defenſive plan of conducting the war, proved abortive;

tive; and it appeared the height of temerity to attempt advancing to the Delaware, through so strong a country entirely hostile, and with such an enemy in his rear. Nothing remained, therefore, for general Howe but to avail himself of the immense naval force which co-operated with the army, and which in a country like America, intersected by great navigable rivers, gave him an opportunity of transporting his forces to the most vulnerable parts of the rebellious provinces. The Americans had no force to resist the navigation, and it was impossible for them to know where the storm would fall, or to make provision against it. General Howe, accordingly, passed over with the army to Staten Island, from which it was intended that the embarkation should take place.

For the success of this grand expedition nothing was more requisite than dispatch; yet, notwithstanding the assistance afforded by the crews of 300 vessels, it was not till the 23d of July that the fleet and army were ready to depart from Sandy Hook. The force embarked consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New-York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the New-York corps, were left for the protection of that and the neighbouring islands; and Rhode Island was occupied by seven battalions.

Philadelphia, the original seat of the General Congress, but from which that body had retired to Baltimore, was the object of these mighty preparations. The weather being unfavourable, it cost the fleet a week to gain the capes of the Delaware. The information which the commanders received there of the measures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, engaged them to alter their design of proceeding by that way, and to undertake the passage by Chesapeak Bay to Maryland, the southern boundary of which is at no great distance from Philadelphia. The middle of August was passed before they entered this bay, after which, with a favourable wind, they gained the river Elk near its extremity through a most intricate and dangerous navigation. Having proceeded up this river as far as it was possible for large vessels, the army were relieved from their tiresome confinement on board the transports, which was rendered doubly disagreable by the heat of the season, and landed without opposition at Elk Ferry on the 25th of August. Whilst one part of the army advanced to the head of the Elk, the other continued at the landing-place to protect and forward the artillery, stores, and necessary provisions.

Mean

Mean while general Washington returned with his army from the Jerseys to the defence of Philadelphia. Their force, including the militia, amounted to 13,000 men, which was still considerably inferior in number to the royal army. General Howe, after publishing such proclamations as he thought necessary for quieting the minds of the inhabitants, and inducing them to return to the protection of the crown, began on the 3d of September to pursue his course to Philadelphia. Washington lost no opportunity of harassing him in his march, by every possible means which did not involve the necessity of risquing a general engagement. But several considerable actions took place between the troops both before and after general Howe had entered Philadelphia, of which the army became possessed the 26th of September. In these actions victory always inclined to the side of the king's troops, who shewed as much ardour in the attack as Washington discovered wisdom in the retreat, and in avoiding a general engagement. The Provincials had great disadvantage in the use of the bayonet, with which instrument they were ill provided, and which they knew little how to manage. And when this circumstance is considered, it will not appear surprising that the disproportion between their number of slain and that of the king's troops should in every action have been considerable.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first employment was to erect batteries which might command the river, and protect the city from any insult by water. This was so necessary a measure, that the very day of the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade, which lasted for several hours. Upon the falling of the tide, however, the Delaware grounded, and was taken; and the batteries newly erected were played with such effect against the other vessels, that they were fortunate to be able to retire.

Mean while Lord Howe being apprized of the determined progress of the army to Philadelphia, took the most speedy and effectual measures to convey the fleet and transports round to the Delaware, in order to supply the army with the necessary stores and provisions, as well as to concur in the active operations of the campaign. After a dangerous and intricate voyage, the fleet arrived in the western or Pennsylvania shore, where they drew up and anchored. The passage to Philadelphia, however, was still impracticable, for the Americans had constructed great and numerous works with wonderful labour and industry to interrupt the navigation of the river. The principal of these were the strong batteries on a low and marshy island,

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or rather an accumulation of mud and ſand at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill; a conſiderable fort or redoubt at a place called Red Bank on the oppoſite ſhore of New Jerſey; and in the deep navigable channel between theſe forts there had been ſunk ſeveral ranges of frames or machines, which from reſemblance of conſtruction were called chevaux de frize. Theſe were compoſed of tranſverſe beams, firmly united, and of ſuch weight and ſtrength as rendered it equally difficult to penetrate or remove them. About three miles lower down the river they had ſunk other machines of a ſimilar form, and erected new batteries on ſhore on the Jerſey ſide to co-operate in the defence. Both were farther ſupported by ſeveral gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed veſſels and ſmall craft of various kinds, and ſome fire-ſhips.

The firſt thing requiſite for opening the channel was to get the command of the ſhore. Accordingly, upon the repreſentation of captain Hammond of the Roebuck, which, with ſome other ſhips of war, had arrived in the Delaware before lord Howe, the general detached two regiments to diſlodge the enemy from Billingsfort, the principal place of ſtrength on the Jerſey ſhore. This ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed; and captain Hammond, after a vigorous conteſt with the marine force of the enemy, was able with much labour to weigh up as much of the chevaux de frize as opened a narrow and difficult paſſage through this lower barrier.

It was not attempted to remove the upper barrier, which was much the ſtronger, until the arrival of lord Howe, who concerted meaſures for this purpoſe with the general. The latter ordered batteries to be erected on the Pennſylvania ſhore, to aſſiſt in diſlodging the enemy from Mud Iſland. He alſo detached, (22d October,) a ſtrong body of Heſſians to attack the redoubt at Red Bank; while lord Howe ordered the men of war and frigates to approach Mud Iſland, which was the main object of the aſſault. The operations by land and ſea were equally unſucceſsful. The Heſſians were repulſed with great ſlaughter by the garriſon at Red Bank, as well as by the floating batteries of the enemy. The ſhips could not bring their fire to bear with any conſiderable effect upon the iſland. The extraordinary obſtructions with which the Americans had interrupted the free courſe of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought ſome alteration on its known and natural channel. By this means the Auguſta man of war of 64 guns, and Merlin ſloop were grounded ſo faſt at ſome diſtance from the chevaux de frize, that there was no poſſibility of getting them off. In this ſituation, though the ſkill of the officers, ſeconded by the activity of the crews, prevented the effect of four fire-ſhips ſent

to

to deſtroy the Auguſta, ſhe unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which obliged the others to retire at a diſtance from the expected exploſion. The Merlin alſo was deſtroyed, but few lives were loſt.

Theſe untoward events did not prevent a ſecond trial on the 15th November to perform the neceſſary work of opening the communication of the river. While the enemy left nothing undone to ſtrengthen their defences, the Britiſh fleet were inceſſantly employed in conveying heavy artillery and ſtores up the river to a ſmall moraſſy iſland, where they erected batteries which greatly incommoded the American works on Mud Iſland. At length every thing being prepared for an aſſault, the Iſis and Somerſet men of war paſſed up the eaſt channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; ſeveral frigates drew up againſt a newly erected fort near Manto Creek; and two armed veſſels, mounted with 24 pounders, made their way through a narrow channel on the weſtern ſide, in order to enfilade the principal works. The fire from the ſhips was terrible, and returned during the whole day with equal vivacity. Towards the evening the fire of the fort began to abate, and at length was totally ſilenced. The enemy perceiving that meaſures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, ſet fire to every thing that could be deſtroyed, and eſcaped under favour of the night. The forts on the main land did not afterwards make much reſiſtance, and, as well as that on the iſland, afforded a conſiderable quantity of artillery and military ſtores to the victors.

The American ſhipping having now loſt all protection on either ſide of the river, ſeveral of their gallies, and other armed veſſels, took the advantage of a favourable night to paſs the batteries of Philadelphia, and fly to places of ſecurity farther up the river. This was no ſooner diſcovered than the Delaware frigate, then lying at Philadelphia, was manned and ſent in purſuit of them; and other meaſures were taken which rendered their eſcape impoſſible. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and ſet fire to their veſſels, which were all conſumed to the number of ſeventeen, including the two floating batteries and fireſhips: with all theſe advantages, the advanced ſeaſon of the year and other impediments rendered the clearing of the river in any conſiderable degree impracticable; ſo that the making ſuch a channel as afforded a paſſage for tranſports and veſſels of eaſy burden, with proviſions and neceſſaries for the army, was all that could be effected by the fleet; while the whole ſucceſs of the army amounted only to their ſecuring good winter quarters at Philadelphia.

If the conſequences of victory were little calculated to remove the uneaſineſs which began to be felt in England, as to the nature

nature and refult of the American war, the effects of defeat in the army of the north, intended to co-operate with the grand expedition, occafioned the moft gloomy apprehenfions. It had been refolved in the cabinet, where all the future operations of the campaign had been fettled with a painful and minute accuracy, that while general Howe made a fevere impreffion on the heart of America, the extremities fhould alfo feel the cruel effects of hoftility. General Carleton, who had fucceeded fo well in this attempt in the former campaign, and to whofe un-remitting activity, directed by experienced wifdom, the nation are indebted for the prefervation of Canada, was fuperfeded in the command, which was beftowed by government on general Burgoyne. With an army of above feven thoufand regular troops, provided in manner the moft complete, and furnifhed with the fineft train of artillery ever feen in the new world, that general proceeded to Canada, when being joined by the provincial militia of the country, he took meafures according to his inftructions for being reinforced by a powerful band of favages. About the middle of June, he met the Indians in Congrefs on the bands of Lake Champlain, where he faid every thing that appeared moft effectual for raifing the valour, and bridling the ferocity of our new allies. Soon after he publifhed a manifefto to the inhabitants of the northern provinces, fetting forth the magnitude of his preparations, and denouncing againft the rebellious all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in the moft terrific forms. Encouragement and employment were affured to thofe, who, with a difpofition and ability fuited to the purpofe, fhould cheerfully affift in redeeming their country from flavery, and in re-eftablifhing legal government. Protection and fecurity, clogged with conditions, reftricted by circumftances, and rather obfcurely and imperfectly expreffed, were held out to the peaceable and induftrious, who continued in their habitations.

After thefe previous fteps, which the general judged neceffary, it was intended, that the army, in concert with the naval force on the lakes, fhould proceed to the fiege of Ticonderago, and after fecuring that important fortrefs, advance fouthward on the frontiers of the provinces, where they would at length join the force conducted by Sir Henry Clinton, and commodore Hotham, which, advancing northward from New York, deftroyed the works, towns and country of the enemy on both fides of the river. At firft every thing fucceeded with general Burgoyne that could gratify the moft fanguine hopes of thofe who employed him. Ticonderago was taken, the remainder of the rebel fquadron on Lake George was purfued and defeated, and the enemy every where fled before the victorious troops, whom they had neither ftrength nor fpirit to withftand. The firft impreffions of

of despair produced on the minds of the rebels had time to wear off by the delays of the march, in a country so impracticable, that in some places it was hardly possible to advance a mile in a day. The New England governments, the most immediately threatened, had time to recollect themselves, and to take every measure that seemed most necessary for their defence. Arnold, who alternately acted the part of a general and commodore, with equal skill and bravery, was sent to reinforce the declining courage of the American troops, and carried with him a considerable train of artillery. The terror excited by the savages, who were guilty of various enormities too shocking to be described, produced at length an effect directly contrary to what had been expected. The inhabitants of the open and frontier country were obliged to take up arms to defend themselves against this barbarous race; and when the regular army of the Provincials seemed to be nearly wasted, a new one and more formidable was poured forth from the woods, mountains and marshes, which in this part are thickly sown with plantations and villages. General Gates, an officer of tried ardour, and of a regular military education, took the command of this force, in which he cooperated with Arnold with the most singular unanimity. The consequence is well known, and will be long remembered. Burgoyne had gone too far to retreat to Canada, nor could he proceed to Albany, without forcing his way through the rebel army. After a number of skirmishes, marches, and two bloody engagements, he entered into the convention of Saratoga the 17th October, by which the British troops laid down their arms, and engaged never to assist more in attempting to subdue America.

During the operation of the causes which led to this humiliating transaction, Sir Henry Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River with uncommon success. Having embarked 3000 men for that expedition, accompanied by a suitable naval force, consisting of frigates, armed gallies, and smaller vessels, he attacked the Forts of Montgomery and Clinton. Several necessary motions being made to mask the real design, the troops were landed in two separate divisions, at such a distance as occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the mountains, which was conducted so skilfully, that they arrived at the forts, and began their respective attacks at the same moment of time. The surprise and terror of the garrison was increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallies, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. Both forts were carried by storm, and the slaughter of the enemy, occasioned by the obstinacy of their resistance, was very considerable. Those who escaped set fire to two fine frigates and several other vessels, which,

which, with their artillery and ſtores, were conſumed or ſunk. Another fort called Conſtitution, was, in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined naval and land forces, ſet on fire and abandoned. The artillery taken in all the three amounted to 67 pieces of different ſizes. A few days afterwards Continental Village, containing barracks for 1500 men, and conſiderable ſtores, was deſtroyed. A large boom or chain, the expence of which was eſtimated at 70,000l. and which was conſidered as an extraordinary proof of American induſtry and ſkill, was ſunk or carried away: and the whole loſs was the greateſt which the enemy had hitherto ſuſtained. The navy continued to purſue the advantage. Sir James Wallace, with a flying ſquadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan, with a conſiderable detachment of troops, made various excurſions up the river, carrying terror and deſtruction wherever they went. At the very time that general Burgoyne was negociating conditions for his ruined army, the thriving town of Eſopus, at no very great diſtance, was reduced to aſhes, and not a houſe left ſtanding. The troops and veſſels did not retire to New York until they had diſmantled the forts, and left the river totally defenceleſs. Thus it muſt be confeſſed that, amidſt all our misfortunes, the navy carried on every operation in which they were concerned with their wonted ſpirit and ſucceſs.

When the news of the various events which had marked and chequered this important year of the American war were brought to England, the nation were agitated by a tumult of paſſions which it is not eaſy to deſcribe or analyſe. The boaſted preparations which were to bring America at our feet, and which ſeemed capable, inſtead of ſubduing the rebels by open force, to look them into unconditional ſubmiſſion, produced none of the great effects which had been ſo firmly expected. The armament conducted by the Howes, had not been able to gain any deciſive advantage over the force of the Provincials; the northern army, whether through the incapacity of the miniſter, or the raſhneſs of the general, had been delivered up or rather abandoned a miſerable prey into the hands of our enemies. Great part of the ſhipping of the Americans had, indeed, been deſtroyed; ſome of their towns were in our poſſeſſion; their country had felt the calamities of war; their works of defence, raiſed with great art and induſtry, had been weakened or demoliſhed; but the ſpirit of the people was ſtill unſubdued, and their unremitting activity in a cauſe which they adored, animated by the firſt gleams of ſucceſs, would naturally prompt them to more vigorous and daring efforts than they had yet exerted.

Notwithſtanding theſe fatal appearances, the Engliſh miniſtry were ſo entwined in the American war, that it was impoſſible for them conveniently to be diſengaged from it: their meaſures, it

it ſeemed, could only be juſtified by ſucceſs, which, had it depended on the liberality of the ſupplies, muſt doubtleſs have been obtained. On the 27th of November, 1777, 60,000 ſeamen, with 11,000 marines were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The maintaining of thoſe, with the building and repairing of ſhips, the ordinary of the navy and half-pay, and the diſcharge of a million of debt, made the whole expence of the fleet for the year 1778, amount to above five millions ſterling. Yet this immenſe ſum exceeded only by about half a million the expence of the land forces; for beſides the national troops, we had taken into pay about 25,000 Heſſians, Hanoverians, Brunſwickers, and other Germans: and many corporations, as well as individuals, ſubſcribed largely for raiſing new regiments to reinforce the ſtanding military ſtrength of the country. This meaſure which, in any other war, would have been univerſally approved as a mark of the higheſt public ſpirit, was loudly condemned by oppoſition, as furniſhing troops to the king without conſent of parliament; and the effect produced on the public by the factious clamours againſt the new levies, clearly ſhowed the prevailing indifference, or rather diſinclination to the continuance of a war, in which we had hitherto met with little elſe but diſappointments and diſgrace.

Mean while the news of the defeat and ſurrender of general Burgoyne's army were received in France the beginning of December, and began totally to change the views and behaviour of that court with regard to the Americans. The agents whom the Congreſs kept at Paris had hitherto been coolly received by the French miniſtry, though idolized by the levity or diſintereſtedneſs of the nation; but upon ſo favourable a turn in the affairs of their conſtituents, they renewed with more ſucceſs their propoſals for negotiating a treaty, while the French king received the compliments of his nobility on the misfortune of the Britiſh troops, with as much complacence as if his own hand obtained a ſignal victory. In conſequence of theſe circumſtances, ſo advantageous to the credit of the Americans, Monſieur Girard, royal ſyndic of Straſbourg, and ſecretary of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's council of ſtate, waited on the American agents by order of his majeſty, the 16th December, and acquainted them, that, after long and full conſideration of their affairs and propoſitions in council, his majeſty was determined to acknowledge the independence of the Americans, and to make a treaty with them of amity and commerce. That in this treaty no advantage ſhould be taken of their preſent ſituation to obtain terms which otherwiſe could not be convenient for them to agree to, his majeſty deſiring that the treaty once made ſhould be durable, which could not be expected unleſs each nation found

found its intereſt in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it. It was therefore his intention to enter into ſuch an agreement with them as they could not but approve, had their ſtate been long eſtabliſhed, and attained the fulneſs of ſtrength and power. That his majeſty was determined not only to acknowledge, but ſupport their independence, even at the riſque of a war; and, notwithſtanding the expence and danger attending this meaſure, he expected no compenſation on that account, as he pretended not to act wholly for their ſakes, ſince, beſides his real good-will to them and their cauſe, it was manifeſtly the intereſt of France that the power of England ſhould be diminiſhed, by ſeparating America from it for ever. The only condition which he required, therefore, on the part of the Americans was, "That in no peace to be made with England "they ſhould give up their independence, and return to the "obedience of that government." Upon this foundation the treaty was drawn up and ſigned, and ſoon after diſpatched to receive the ratification of Congreſs.

It appears not from any thing laid before the public, that the Britiſh miniſtry were officially informed of this important tranſaction. Above two months afterwards the firſt lord of the treaſury, and the miniſter for the ſouthern department, declared they knew nothing for certain concerning any treaty between France and America. If this was really the caſe, the ambaſſador at Paris ſcarcely deſerved thoſe honourable and lucrative marks of royal approbation, which have been ſince ſo liberally beſtowed on him; but if the fact is otherwiſe, and if we may give entire credit to the defence of that nobleman when called to account in the houſe of peers, it will be difficult to ſave the honour of miniſters, whoſe character and veracity is of leſs importance to the public, than the humiliating and diſgraceful condition in which this once great and reſpectable nation muſt appear in the eyes of Europe. In former times we ſhould, inſtead of diſſembling the treaty, have demanded a full communication of all its contents; but, to uſe the words of an ingenious author, "when people are dejected by frequent loſſes, torn by inteſtine "factions, or any other way internally diſtreſſed, their delibe-"rations are confuſed, their reſolutions ſlow, and an apparent "languor is viſible, when they attempt to carry their reſolu-"tions into execution."

However this queſtion may be decided between the miniſtry at home, and their ambaſſador at Paris, (for the tameneſs of the public has not yet brought this affair to a full explanation), it was generally believed that adminiſtration knew of the propoſed treaty between France and America, and that the plan of conciliation propoſed by Lord North the 17th of February, was intended to counterwork the negotiations of our rivals.

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The propoſition of his lordſhip was for two acts of parliament: the firſt, a bill for enabling his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat, conſent, and agree on the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies. The ſecond, a bill declaring the intention of parliament concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes on the provinces of North America. Both bills were paſſed; and, notwithſtanding the nice diſtinctions which are made in his lordſhip's ſpeech, it appeared to common underſtandings that we gave up, by the latter bill, not only the power of taxing America, but all that national pre-eminence and ſupremacy which had been ſo pompouſly deſcribed. We thus renounced the original ground of the quarrel, and more than America ever deſired us to renounce; but ſince the declaration of independency, and the concluſion of the treaty with France, it was little to be doubted that our preſent conceſſions would be attended with no better ſucceſs than our former pretenſions. In fact, the moderation of government, the unſeaſonableneſs of which prevented its having any effect on the reſolutions of the rebels, ſerved only to damp the ſpirits of thoſe who had entered moſt heartily into all the meaſures of government and coercion; and had not France, by throwing aſide the veil through which our miniſters were ſtill fond to view her, rouzed the indignation and reſentment of the Britiſh nation, the military ardour which had been ſo happily excited would have begun to ſubſide, and the people would have again fallen back into a lethargic languor and inactivity. But, on the 13th of March, the marquis of Noailles, ambaſſador from France, delivered the following declaration, by order of his court, to lord viſcount Weymouth; "That the United States of America, who are in full poſſeſſion of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having propoſed to the king to conſolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be eſtabliſhed between the nations, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence. His majeſty being determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his ſubjects, thinks it neceſſary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality. In making this communication, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty obſerves, that the Britiſh miniſtry will find new proofs of his conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace,

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and he therefore hopes they will take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between France and America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be in this respect preserved. In this just confidence he thinks it superfluous to acquaint them, that he has taken eventual measures, in concert with the United States of America, to maintain the dignity of his flag, and effectually to protect the lawful commerce of his subjects." This declaration was immediately laid before the house of lords, with a message from the king, setting forth the perfidy of France, and contrasting it with his own steady adherence to the faith of treaties. The message was answered by both lords and commons in a high strain of indignation and resentment against the restless ambition of the French court. The British ambassador at Paris was recalled, and the marquis of Noailles left London. The immediate consequences of these steps were an embargo laid on the shipping in the French and English ports; the warmest impress almost ever known; and the embodying and calling forth the militia to the number of thirty thousand men.

A war with France can never be unpopular in this country; and by bringing matters to such a point that the French appeared evidently to be the aggressors, and wantonly to provoke the hostility of Great Britain, the ministry, had this been their own work, would have possessed the merit of using the surest means of rouzing the latent resentment and inherent antipathy of the English against their natural enemies. The great body of the people talked of nothing but violation of treaties, treachery, war and vengeance. The new levies were carried on with redoubled vigour, especially in Scotland. A majority of both houses redoubled the sentiments and language of the vulgar. A few only ventured to think that France had done nothing inconsistent with the universal practice of nations, and must have been deaf to every call of interest, if she had not availed herself of the misfortunes or misconduct of Great Britain to aggrandize her own power. Upon the same principle that Queen Elizabeth assisted with her troops and treasure the United States of the Netherlands to throw off the yoke of a monarch then formidable to all Europe, the French could not fail, in a more enlightened age, greedily to seize the occasion of supporting the independence of British America. If ever the French gave us fair play, it was surely on the present occasion; they allowed us to negotiate and to fight; to hesitate between war and peace; and to throw away many precious years in armed truce and pacific hostility; and it astonished all Europe, not that they interposed at length, but that they did not interpose sooner. Besides, as they had long assisted the Americans in an underhand manner, the open avowal of this assistance was the greatest advantage

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that, in our present circumstances, we could possibly obtain. It revived the decaying ardour of the nation, united every well-wisher to his country in a common cause, and called forth the most vigorous efforts, both public and private, that the hopes of plunder, interest, resentment, and a sense of national honour could inspire.

The effects of this spirit in augmenting our armaments by sea and land were soon visible. If we may credit the words of those who presided over the navy, in a short time we had, besides a vast number of armed vessels and privateers, 228 ships of the line, frigates and sloops in commission. Of these, 50 ships of the line were employed for the protection of Great Britain; the whole number of vessels on the coast of America amounted (as it was said by men in office) to 130; admiral Barrington was stationed at the Leeward Islands; Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica; the men of war appointed to attend the Senegal fleet, were ordered to remain on that coast for the protection of trade; and admiral Duff's squadron in the Mediterranean was reinforced with several capital ships. Nor were the French slow in their preparations. They had assembled a powerful squadron at Brest, and another at Toulon; and their troops crowded the sea-ports, and covered the northern parts of the kingdom.

While these preparations were going forward in Europe, nothing decisive had happened in America. The king's army had remained quiet in their winter quarters tolerably well supplied with provisions; and general Washington's troops continued hutted at Valley Forge, where it is said they suffered intolerable hardships. The greater part of the fleet remained at Rhode Island, from which detachments were sent to cruize before the principal sea-ports of the continent, where, as well as in the West-Indies, they were successful in making a great number of captures. As the spring approached, and the navigation of the Delaware became practicable, general Howe sent various detachments to range the country round Philadelphia, in order to open the communication for bringing in provisions, and to collect forage for the army. All these expeditions were successful; and on the 7th May major Maitland was detached with the second battalion of light infantry in flat boats, protected by three gallies and other armed vessels commanded by captain Henry of the navy, to destroy the American ships lying in the river between Philadelphia and Trenton; which was effected with great success. On the 25th of the same month was carried on a similar expedition from Rhode Island, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and captain Clayton of the navy. They destroyed 125 boats, collected by the rebels in Hickamanet river, together with a galley under repair, destined for an invasi-

on of that island. Another detachment from the men of war destroyed the rebel vessels in Warren Creek; and a third burnt the saw-mills on a creek near Taunton river, employed in preparing materials to build boats and other suitable craft for the purpose of the before-mentioned invasion.

These operations of the *petite guerre* closed the military career of general Sir William Howe, who resigned the command to Sir Henry Clinton, and returned to England. The first operation of the new commander was to evacuate Philadelphia, pursuant to the instructions which he had received from the minister. This measure, though atteded with great danger on account of the neighbourhood of Washington's army of 20,000 men, and, though accompanied with a certain degree of disgrace, necessarily attached to the abandoning of a town, the possession of which had been acquired at such an expence of blood and treasure, was yet deemed necessary to enable his majesty's forces to resist the united efforts of the Americans, and their new and powerful allies. On the 18th of June the army began their march, and proceeded to Gloucester Point, and from thence crossed the Delaware in safety, through the excellent disposition made by the admiral to secure their passage. They continued their march towards New-York till the 28th, without any interruption from the enemy, excepting what was occasioned by their having destroyed every bridge on the road. Then the rebels began to approach nearer the royal army, not in order to risk a general engagement, but to harrass their march, and if possible to seize their baggage, which, as the country admitted of but one route, consisted of a train extending near twelve miles. The judicious dispositions made by general Clinton, and the bravery of his troops, compelled the assailants to retire on every side. The army marched without farther opposition to Navesink, where they waited two days, in hopes that general Washington might be induced to take post near Middletown, where he might have been attacked to advantage. But as he still declined affording an opportunity of coming to a general action, preparations were made for passing to Sandy-Hook Island by a bridge of flat boats, which by the extraordinary efforts of the navy, was soon compleated, and over which the whole army passed in about two hours time on the 5th of July, the horses and cattle having been previously transported. They were afterwards carried up to New-York; while the fleet, the proceedings of which had been regulated by the motions of the army, anchored off Staten-Island. This station was less disadvantageous than that of the Delaware, in case the French fleet at Toulon should escape to America. This unfortunately had happened; M. D'Estaing having sailed from Toulon the 13th of April with twelve ships of the line, besides frigates and store ships.

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The fact was known to the miniſtry the 27th of the ſame month; but no effectual meaſure had been taken in conſequence of it. It was ſeveral days even before a council was called to take this important matter into conſideration. The ſucceeding month was ſpent in national reviews, and in parliamentary debates, in the courſe of which the miniſters acknowledged that it was judged improper to detach any part of our fleet, until the internal ſafety of Great Britain was ſufficiently provided for. Mean while D'Eſtaing's ſquadron rode miſtreſs of the ſea, and purſuing their courſe to America, arrived on the coaſt of Virginia the 5th of July. On the 8th they anchored at the entrance of the Delaware, and on the 11th arrived on the northern coaſt of New-Jerſey.

Lord Howe made no delay in taking the neceſſary meaſures to oppoſe their attempts, until the expected reinforcement under the command of admiral Byron ſhould arrive from England. But nothing could be more blameable than the late departure, or more unfortunate than the tedious voyage of that admiral. He ſailed the 5th of June, and worked out of the channel againſt a freſh wind at ſouth weſt. Nothing very material happened till the 3d of July, when the ſquadron was ſeparated in 49 degrees 4 minutes north latitude. and 26 degrees 48 minutes weſt longitude from the Lizard, in a moſt violent gale at north, accompanied with heavy rains. At eight o'clock next evening the ſtorm abated, and of a ſquadron of 14 veſſels ſhewed only the Princeſs Royal, Invincible, Culloden, and Guadaloupe. On the 6th the Culloden was ordered to look out to the north-eaſt quarter, and the Guadaloupe to the ſouth-weſt. The Guadaloupe joined again the next afternoon, and kept company till the 21ſt, when ſhe and the Invincible ſeparated in a thick fog on the banks of Newfoundland. On the 5th of Auguſt the admiral fell in with the Culloden, after being ſeparated a month, but ſhe parted company again in the night of the 11th. The Princeſs Royal being thus left by herſelf, the admiral continued his beſt endeavours to get to Sandy Hook, but the prevailing wind being from the ſouth-weſt to weſt, he made very ſlow progreſs. On the 18th of Auguſt the crew of the Princeſs Royal perceived 12 ſail of ſhips at anchor to leeward, diſtant about eight miles. Theſe were ſoon diſcovered to be part of D'Eſtaing's ſquadron, and as the admiral could neither get into the road of Sandy Hook, nor of New-York, without paſſing through the midſt of the enemy, he bore away for Halifax, where he arrived the 26th of Auguſt, and found the Culloden, which had reached that port before him. The reſt of the ſquadron afterwards dropped in gradually there, or into the harbour of New-York, their crews very ſickly, and their furniture much impaired.

Mean while D'Estaing's squadron had, on the afternoon of the 12th of July, come to anchor off Shrewsbury Inlet, about four miles from Sandy Hook. They consisted of 12 sail of two decked ships, and 3 frigates. One of the large ships had 90 guns, one 80, six were of 74, three of 64, one of 50; the least of the frigates mounted 36 guns; and their complement in men was above 11000. To oppose this formidable squadron lord Howe had only six sail of 64 gun ships, three of 50, two of 40, with some frigates and sloops, for the most part poorly manned. In this great disparity of force the spirit of British seamen blazed forth with more than its usual lustre. A thousand volunteers from the transports presented themselves to man the fleet. Such was their ardour, that many who had been detained as necessary for the watch in their respective ships, were found concealed in the boats which carried their more fortunate companions on board the several men of war. The army were equally forward and impatient to signalize their zeal in a line of service, which independent of the spirit that animated them, would have been extremely disagreeable to men unaccustomed to a sea life. Though scarcely recruited from the fatigues of a long, toilsome, and dangerous march, they were eager to cast lots to decide which should be appointed to embark as marines. The masters and mates of the merchantmen shewed equal alacrity; several taking their stations at the guns with the common sailors, others putting to sea in their small swift sailing shallops, to alarm such ships as might be bound for this port, and to look out for the long expected arrival of Byron's reinforcement. One, of the name of Duncan, with a spirit of disinterested patriotism, that would have done honour to the first names of Greece or Rome in the most brilliant period of those celebrated republics, wrote for leave to convert his vessel, the whole hopes of his fortune, into a fire-ship, to be conducted by himself; rejecting all idea of any other recompence than the honour of sacrificing his life, services and expectations, to an ardent love of his country.

Lord Howe, encouraged by the noble enthusiasm of every one who bore the name of Briton, and which could never have been executed under a commander who was not universally beloved and respected, lost not a moment in forming the disposition of his fleet, with determined purpose to resist the most vigorous exertions of the enemy. While the French admiral was employed in sounding the bar, his lordship placed his ships in the strongest situation the channel within the Hook would admit. He sounded its several depths in person; he ascertained the different setting of the currents; communicated his discoveries to the officers of the most experience, and after hearing their several opinions, formed such plans of arrangement as seemed

feemed beft adapted to counteract the enemy's defigns. He lengthened his line which was already formed of the Ifis, Eagle, Somerfet, Trident, Nonfuch and Ardent, by adding the Leviathan ftorefhip, manned by volunteers for the occafion, and fupplied with cannon from the train. One battery of two howitzers, and another of three eighteen pounders, were erected on the point, round which the enemy muft have paffed, to enter the channel.

During thefe vigorous preparations, the admiral had the daily mortification to fee feveral of the Englifh traders fall into the hands of the French. The Stanly armed brig, with five prizes, unfortunately anchored in the middle of their fleet, the darknefs of the night concealing their enfigns, and was boarded before fhe difcovered her miftake. If fome traders and advice-boats had not efcaped over the flats, the Hope, with a convoy from Halifax, would likewife have been taken and added to the general lofs and indignation.

The French fquadron had maintained a conftant intercourfe with the fhore, by means of boats and fmall veffels; which was obferved to ceafe on the 21ft of July. On the day following, they appeared under way. The wind was favourable for crofing the bar, the fpring tides were at the higheft, and every circumftance concurred for attacking the Britifh fleet to the greateft advantage. The admiral, therefore, had reafon to expect one of the hotteft actions ever fought between the two nations. Had the Englifh men of war been defeated, the tranfports and victuallers muft have been an eafy acquifition; and the army, of courfe, compelled to furrender on any terms the enemy might impofe. But D'Eftang feems not to have poffeffed fufficient courage to contend for fo great a ftake; and at three o'clock in the afternoon he bore off to the fouthward, to the great mortification of our gallant feamen, who, confident of victory, only longed for a battle.

Inftructions were immediately difpatched to the advice-boats ftationed without on the flats, to follow and obferve the motions of the French fleet. It was generally fuppofed that the enemy's defign was to force the port of New York, and that their bearing to the fouthward, was owing to the circumftances of the weather. But advice was received, that they were feen on the morning of the 23d, in the latitude of the Delaware. Soon after this intelligence, the Englifh fleet received an unexpected acceffion of force by the arrival of the Renown from the Weft Indies; and fo extremely inferior were they in every refpect to the enemy, that the addition of a fingle fifty gun fhip was a matter of general exultation. Such was the mortifying debility of the Britifh fleet, while the firft lord of the admiralty triumph-

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ed in parliament in the superiority of lord Howe's squadron over that of M. D'Estaing.

The Dispatch arrived from Halifax, the 26th of July, which brought no intelligence to Byron, but informed the admiral that the Raisonnable and Centurion, were both on their way to New York. These, as well as the Cornwall, formed a most seasonable reinforcement.

It was now known for certain, that the French fleet had sailed for Rhode Island. On the 29th, they had been seen off Newport harbour; the same day two of the frigates had entered the Seconnet passage; next morning two line of battle ships had run up the Naraganset passage; and the remainder of the squadron were at anchor without Brenton's Lodge, about five miles from the town. In this divided state of the enemy, Lord Howe, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force even after the reinforcement, determined to save the British garrison at Rhode Island. Two additional fire-ships were constructed by his orders, and all his squadron was ready for sea by the first of August. The weather prevented, however, his arrival at Rhode Island, till the evening of the 9th. By this time D'Estaing had entered the harbour under an easy sail, cannonading the town, and batteries as he passed. His situation, therefore, was much stronger than that on which the English had depended at Sandy Hook. The rebels also were possessed of the left-hand shore, the whole length of the harbour, which gave them an opportunity not only to annoy the British fleet from the heights of Conanicut, near to which it must have approached, but, during the attack against D'Estaing, to bring all their guns to bear upon the English ships from the northern extremity of that island.

Next morning the wind blew directly out of the harbour, and in a short time the French squadron appeared standing out to sea with all their sails on board. Lord Howe immediately made the signal to get under way, and endeavoured by several masterly manœuvres to throw the enemy to leeward. The weather-gage was a matter of the utmost importance, as, unless he could obtain that, the fire-ships, in which were placed the greatest hopes in contending with such a superior force, could not be brought into action; and the frigates which had charge of them would likewise have been prevented from engaging. But the attention of the French was as great to preserve this advantage, as the solicitude of the English to acquire it. Night put an end to the manœuvres on both sides, and the next morning presented the two fleets in the same situation with regard to the weather, but at somewhat greater distance. The wind still being to the eastward, blowing fresh, and there appeared no prospect of change, Lord Howe, therefore, ordered the frigates which had the

the charge of the fire-ſhips, to be informed, that ſhould the enemy continue to preſerve the weather-gage, he would wait their approach with the ſquadron formed in a line of battle ahead, from the wind to the ſtarboard. At the ſame time he took a ſtep upon which no officer could have ventured, whoſe character for perſonal bravery was leſs fully eſtabliſhed. It is well known that a commander in chief, ſtationed in the line, cannot, after the action is commenced, obſerve the general conduct of the battle. His ſervices are then of no more avail than thoſe of any other officer, equally brave and expert in the management of a ſingle ſhip. But as Lord Howe had on this occaſion to engage under ſo many diſadvantages, it was neceſſary to ſeek reſource in his ſuperior ſkill and activity, to be ready to profit of every fortuitous occurrence, and to compenſate for the inferiority of his force by his addreſs in applying it. He therefore ſhifted his flag on board the Apollo frigate, leaving the Eagle in the center, and moved to a convenient diſtance to take a view of the whole line. Having by this gained a nearer view of the French fleet, and obſerved that they had placed their ſtrongeſt ſhips in the van, he ſtrengthened the rear of the Britiſh to receive their attack. About four o'clock the French admiral altered his bearing, and new-formed his line to engage to leeward. Lord Howe croſſed through the interſtices of the Engliſh line with the frigates and fire ſhips, and in a few minutes after made a ſignal for his ſhips to ſhorten ſail, and cloſe to the center. The engagement ſeemed now to be decided on by the commanders of both ſquadrons; but in a ſhort time the French again altered their courſe, and bearing to the ſouthward were ſpeedily, from the ſtate of the weather, entirely out of ſight.

The wind blew ſo hard that it was neceſſary for the Britiſh to lie to all night to prevent the ſeparation of their fleet. But the gale increaſed to ſuch violence, that notwithſtanding this precaution, the Blue diviſion was totally ſeparated from the reſt; the center and van with moſt of the frigates ſtill keeping together. The Apollo, in which the admiral was embarked, having loſt her foremaſt in the night, he ſhifted his flag the next day on board the Phœnix, captain Hammond, then in company with the Centurion, Ardent, Richmond, Vigilant and Roebuck. The whole fleet was greatly diſabled by the ſtorm, their ſails ſhattered, their maſts ſprung, and the fire-ſhips rendered by the wet totally unfit for ſervice. But, though the elements warred againſt them, they failed not to aſſail their enemies wherever the opportunity offered. On the evening of the 13th, captain Dawſon, in the Renown of fifty guns, fell in with the Languedoc, carrying M. D'Eſtaing, totally diſmaſted. Having run cloſe under her lee, he gave her all his upper-deck guns; then ſtanding

ſtanding off to windward, opened his lower ports, and, at half a cable's length, poured in three broadſides. The darkneſs obliged him to lie to for the night, in the reſolution of renewing the attack next morning: but at the firſt dawn ſix French ſhips hove in ſight, three of which remained with the wreck, and the other three gave him chace. The ſame evening commodore Hotham would have taken the Tonant, had it not been for the intervention of other French ſhips. A circumſtance of another kind prevented the Cæſar, a 74 gun ſhip, from becoming a prize to the Iſis, after an action as brilliant as any on record in the hiſtory of the Engliſh navy. Captain Rayner of the Iſis, diſcovering the force of his opponent, at firſt endeavoured to eſcape her; but ſhe proved to be the faſteſt ſailer. In a ſhort time they were cloſe on board each other, and engaged for an hour and a half within piſtol-ſhot. Notwithſtanding the extraordinary diſproportion of force, the addreſs and intrepidity of the Engliſh captain was ſo happily ſeconded by the ardour of his officers and men, that the Frenchman was forced to put before the wind. The Iſis was incapable of purſuing him, being ſo much ſhattered in her maſts and rigging. Mr. Bougainville, the French captain, loſt his arm, the firſt lieutenant his leg, and they acknowledged ſeventy men killed, and fourteen wounded. After theſe honourable but partial engagements, the Engliſh ſhips ſailed for the general rendezvous, which the admiral had appointed at the Hook, where they found their conſorts almoſt as much ſhattered by the ſtorm, as they had been by the ſtorm and the French fleet together.

During the time requiſite for repairing the diſabled ſhips, the Experiment, being ſent to explore the ſtate of affairs at Newport, brought intelligence, the 23d of Auguſt, that D'Eſtaing's ſquadron had again returned to Rhode Iſland. Lieutenant Stanhope arrived next day, having with great gallantry paſſed through the body of the French fleet in a whale-boat, conveying more complete information of the ſituation of the enemy. He had left them at anchor at the harbour's mouth, which it was not probable they had entered, as the wind had all along continued at eaſt. The rebels, to the number of twenty thouſand, had advanced within fifteen hundred yards of our works. From them, however, Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded the Engliſh garriſon, apprehended little danger; but ſhould the French fleet come in, the governor ordered his meſſenger to ſay it would make an alarming change.

Lord Howe loſt not a moment, upon this information, to ſet ſail for the relief of the place. But he was met at ſea by the Galatea with diſpatches from general Pigot, acquainting him that D'Eſtaing had ſailed from his anchorage, and ſteered in a courſe for Boſton. His lordſhip, therefore, detached the Nautilus,

tilus, Sphinx, and Vigilant to Rhode Island, and proceeded with the remainder of his squadron in quest of the enemy. As it was not probable the French would attempt to navigate their large ships in their disabled state through the south channel, within George's Bank, his lordship was in hopes that, by following that course, he might intercept their passage to Boston Bay. But on entering that bay the 30th, he found to his great mortification that the enemy had anticipated his arrival. The next day he endeavoured to take advantage of a leading wind to view their position, but was prevented by the St. Albans running on shore near the point of Cape Cod. He effected his purpose, however, on the 1st of September, and judging that no attempt could be made against them in their present situation with the smallest prospect of success, he stood off to sea, in order to disengage his ships from the navigation of the coast, which was extremely dangerous, the wind blowing fresh from the east, and the appearance of the weather in other respects unfavourable. When he arrived at Newport, he found that the measure which he had taken, had been effectual in relieving that important garrison; the rebel general Sullivan, on the unexpected retreat of D'Estaing, having retired from before the place, after uttering many bitter reproaches against the brittle faith of his new allies. Lord Howe afterwards returned to Sandy Hook, and his health being infirm, surrendered the powers with which he was intrusted to rear-admiral Gambier, and set sail for England, where he arrived the 25th of October.

The naval operations in Europe, though far less complicated, were not more decisive than in America. The French, as early as the month of May, had in the road of Brest nineteen ships of 74 guns, three of 80, and fourteen frigates, commanded by the count D'Orvilliers, lieutenant-general of the marine. The duke of Chartres, eldest son of the first prince of the blood, commanded an eighty-gun ship, and gave the splendour of his name to this formidable equipment. The British fleet, destined to act against the main force of the enemy, was committed to admiral Keppel, who sailed from St. Helen's the 8th of June. Nothing particular happened until the 17th, when the English fleet being in line of battle, 25 miles distant from the Lizard, they perceived two ships and two tenders, which seemed to watch their motions. The admiral immediately directed the whole fleet to chase; and between five and six in the evening the Milford had got close along-side the leeward ship which proved to be a large French frigate called the Licorne, of 32 guns and 230 men. Her commander could not be persuaded by civil words to bring his vessel to the English fleet, so that it was necessary to fire a gun, which made him prepare to obey the English officer's request. The other French ship was pursued by the Arethusa and

and Alert cutter, and at ſome diſtance aſtern, the Valiant and Monarque. Mean while the French frigate which had been overtaken by the Milford, and was now attended by the America, changed her courſe, and went upon a different tack with a view to eſcape. One of the Engliſh ſhips attending her, fired a ſhot acroſs her, which was immediately followed by the French frigate's diſcharging a whole broadſide into the America, at the very moment lord Longford was upon the gunwale talking to the French captain in the moſt civil ſtrain. The latter then ſtruck his colours; and though his conduct merited the fire of the America, lord Longford's magnanimity diſdained to take vengeance of an enemy whom he had entirely in his power. On the 19th the Valiant and Monarque who had chaſed the other French ſhip, were ſeen making for the fleet with a diſabled ſhip in tow, which was ſoon perceived to be the Arethuſa with her main-maſt gone, and much ſhattered in other reſpects. The Arethuſa had, on the night of the 17th, come up with her chace, which proved to be the Belle Poule, a large French frigate with heavy metal. The French captain peremptorily refuſed to bring to, which obliged captain Marſhall of the Arethuſa to fire a ſhot, which was immediately returned by a whole broadſide from the French frigate. This brought on an engagement, which laſted upwards of two hours. In this conflict the Arethuſa was much ſhattered in her maſts, ſails, and rigging; and there being little wind to govern her, ſhe could not prevent the French ſhip from getting into a ſmall bay, where boats at day light came out and towed her into ſafety. Captain Fairfax of the Alert cutter was more fortunate, having taken a French ſchooner of ten carriage-guns and ten ſwivels that attended the Belle Poule. And on the 18th the Foudroyant, Courageux, and Robuſte, had chaſed and taken the Pallas, a French frigate of thirty-two guns and two hundred men.

Theſe actions were preludes to a general engagement. In the month of July the French ſhips ventured to quit their harbours in greater numbers. On the 23d a great fleet appeared, which the admiral purſued the following days. Until the 27th the winds were conſtantly in the ſouth-weſt and north-weſt quarters, and the French fleet always to windward; ſo that the admiral in vain endeavoured to attack them, as they anxiouſly declined permitting him to bring up his veſſels to a regular engagement. But on the morning of the 27th the change of the wind allowed the van of the Engliſh fleet to lead up, and to cloſe in with the rear and centre of the enemy. In the account of this engagement publiſhed by authority, no material circumſtance of which has yet been diſproved, we are told, that the French began firing upon the headmoſt of vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, and other ſhips as they led up; which cannonade was

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ſoon returned by the leading ſhips, and by all the others, as ſoon as they could approach near enough to the French fleet. The main object of the latter ſeemed to be the diſabling of the Engliſh ſhips in the maſts and ſails, which were ſo far accompliſhed, that many of them were unable to follow the admiral when he wore to ſtand after the enemy. This obliged him to wear again in order to join thoſe ſhips, during which the French had time to range their ſhips in line of battle to leeward of the Engliſh fleet. As it was near the cloſe of the day, the admiral allowed them to do this without firing upon them, thinking they meant handſomely to try their force with him next morning: but they had been ſo beaten in the day, that they took advantage of the night to go off. The wind and weather not affording the ſmalleſt proſpect of coming up with them before they reached their own ſhore, and the Engliſh ſhips being much ſhattered in their maſts, yards, and ſails, the admiral had no choice but to return and refit. In the engagement he had 113 men killed, and 373 wounded. The French loſs has never been exactly aſcertained, but even from their own accounts it was infinitely greater than ours.

It is certain the contents of this letter by no means anſwered the expectations of the public. An equality of ſucceſs could not be ſuppoſed to ſatisfy thoſe who had been thought to arrogate to themſelves the moſt decided naval ſuperiority. At ſea every thing appeared a victory to the French which was not clearly a defeat; and therefore, while many who were totally unacquainted with the nature of naval engagements, accuſed the conduct of the admiral; while others only imagined that his letter to the admiralty was judiciouſly drawn up, as it expreſſes an opinion that the French after being beaten, would riſk an engagement, which, he ſays, they had cautiouſly declined when their force was entire; the wiſer part were ſeized with very gloomy apprehenſions when they conſidered that there had been ſuch a general engagement of the ſhips on both ſides, without the loſs of one veſſel taken or deſtroyed on the part of the enemy. They reflected on the advantages which the French derived from having their fleet manned with a proportion of American ſailors. A few brave men, it is well known, can inſpire courage into a whole fleet or army. The French in the late engagement were obſerved to keep to their guns better than they had done on any occaſion in the laſt or preceding war, and they had laid aſide the awkward mode of managing them, and adopted the ſame method that had been long and ſucceſsfully practiſed by the Engliſh. Theſe circumſtances, however mortifying to pride, or painful to patriotiſm, cannot eaſily be denied; and in them, united with the accidents of wind and weather, we muſt ſeek the cauſe of the unexpected and little favourable iſſue of the late engagement;

engagement; especially as, in the opinion of the best seamen, the conduct of the English admiral was unexceptionable.

The commissioners appointed to settle matters amicably with the Americans had so little effect in suspending the military or naval operations across the Atlantic, that it was not necessary to interrupt the thread of our narration by giving an account of their proceedings. But as the proposals which they were empowered to make altered entirely the object of the war, it is necessary to explain the purport of their commission, the means used for giving it effect, and the sentiments with which it was received. They sailed the 21st of April in his majesty's ship the Trident, and their arrival in America was notified the 9th of June, in a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to general Washington, intimating that the earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnston, three of the commissioners for restoring peace between Great Britain and America, were then at Philadelphia, and requesting a passport for their secretary Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to Congress. General Washington declined granting this request until the pleasure of Congress should be known; but while that assembly were deliberating on the expediency of the measure referred to them, an express arrived from the general, carrying a letter from the commissioners addressed to his excellency Henry Laurens the president, and other members of the Congress. This letter, after much debate, was read It contained the powers with which the commissioners were furnished to suspend hostilities, to remove grievances, and to grant the requests which the colonies had frequently made on the subject of acts of parliament passed since the year 1763, and to settle a plan of policy for the future government of America, which should obtain force, when ratified by the parliament of Great Britain: the whole strain of the letter is highly respectful. The commissioners declare it is their inclination "to establish the powers of the "legislatures in each particular *state* of America, to settle its "revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to allow it "the exercise of a perfect freedom of legislation and internal "government." They also declare themselves ready "to con-"cur in measures towards extending every freedom to trade "that the respective interests of Great Britain and America can "require: to agree that no military force shall be kept up "in the different states of North America without the con-"sent of the General Congress, or particular assemblies; "and to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts "of America, and raise the value and credit of the paper cir-"culation." To these advantageous and condescending propo-

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ſals the Congreſs anſwered in terms of great haughtineſs. The commiſſioners proceeded on a ſuppoſition, that the Americans were ſubjects of Great Britain, an idea utterly inadmiſſible. The commiſſioners mentioned the inſidious interpoſition of France, an expreſſion ſo diſreſpectful to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the good and great ally of the United States, that nothing but an earneſt deſire to ſpare the farther effuſion of blood could have perſuaded Congreſs to allow the reading of a paper drawn up with ſuch bold indecency of language. They obſerve, however, that, " they will be contented to enter upon a conſidera-" tion of a treaty of peace and commerce with Great Britain, " not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when his " Britannic majeſty ſhall demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for " that purpoſe. The only ſolid proof of this diſpoſition will " be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of theſe " ſtates, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies." Such were the fruits of a negotiation, propoſed with much triumph by miniſters, and accepted with great unanimity by parliament. By the ſame fatal miſconduct, or the ſame unexampled misfortune, which had marked every ſtep of the proceedings of the Britiſh adminiſtration with regard to the colonies, the army had orders to evacuate Philadelphia at the time of the arrival of the commiſſioners. At the moment that we held out terms of peace, we diſcovered our inability to continue the war with effect. Such a remarkable coincidence naturally damped the hopes of our negotiators as well as of all thoſe who were ſtill attached to the intereſts of the mother country. The Engliſh general had expected to receive a powerful reinforcement of troops; he received commiſſioners who had powers to negotiate away the principal objects for which he fought. The commiſſioners expected to add weight and perſuaſion to their propoſals by being ſeconded by the active operations of the army. They were obliged to retire with that army, which now abandoned its conqueſts, and, inſtead of aſpiring at advantage, diſcovered great merit in being able to make a retreat without ſuſtaining any irreparable loſs.

Thus it happened by a fatality unknown in any other age or country, that the propoſals of the commiſſioners damped the ſpirits and checked the ardour of the troops, while the conduct of the troops, however neceſſary and proper in itſelf, weakened, diſgraced and vilified the propoſals of the commiſſioners. After this inauſpicious beginning, it could ſcarcely be expected that any future meaſures ſhould be attended with better ſucceſs. The commiſſioners, however, continued in America for four months, publiſhing proclamations of grace and pardon to thoſe who deſpiſed their power; offering friendſhip and union to thoſe who

avowed

avowed that they were not only divided from us for ever, but leagued with our worſt enemies; and endeavouring to treat with aſſemblies, or correſpond with private perſons, all which endeavours were rejected with marks of ineffable contempt. At length, after being expoſed to ſuch indignities as we do not recollect that the miniſters of any independent nation ever ſubmitted to among a civilized people, and after condeſcending to ſuch degrading language of their conſtituents, as was never held by the repreſentatives of any kingdom upon earth, they determined to return home, previous to which they publiſhed a manifeſto dated at New York the 3d of October, 1778. This contained a recapitulation of the advantages which they were empowered to confer, with an appeal from the reſolutions of the Congreſs to the inhabitants at large, and a denunciation of a more deſtructive war than had hitherto been carried on, ſince, if the Britiſh colonies were to become an acceſſion to France, prudence would dictate to Great Britain the neceſſity of rendering that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible to her enemy: Soon after the publication of this paper, which was not more effectual than the reſt of their proceedings, they ſet ſail for England.

The military and naval operations, it has been obſerved, were little interrupted by this extraordinary negotiation. The advanced ſeaſon of the year, however, prevented thoſe active and powerful exertions which alone could produce any deciſive effect, the ſpirits and vigour of the troops and ſeamen ſeemed gradually to languiſh; and their operations naturally degenerated into the *petite guerre*. In thoſe partial hoſtilities the king's troops were generally ſucceſsful. They deſtroyed ſeveral magazines belonging to the enemy; laid waſte the poſſeſſions of ſome of the moſt obſtinate of the rebels; and demoliſhed by the aſſiſtance of the ſhips, ſome villages which were built for the reception of prize goods, and the accommodation of the ſailors belonging to the American privateers. But no general engagement took place; nor was any thing deciſive performed by the Engliſh or French ſquadrons, both of which ſuffered greater injury from the weather, than from the aſſaults of the enemy. The ſurrender of Dominica by the Engliſh, was in ſome meaſure compenſated by the taking of the Iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were the only ſettlements the French poſſeſſed in the northern parts of America. Thus every thing ſeemed to tend to an equality; and we had the mortification to mourn over our loſs in the courſe of the war, without any proſpect of being ſoon able to repair it. We had already loſt two ſhips of the line, thirteen frigates, and ſeven ſloops of war. The merchant ſhips taken by the American privateers, were near a thouſand in number, and valued at nearly two millions ſterling. We had not one

one capital ſhip from the French, nor excepting the Pallas and Licorne frigates, any man of war worth mentioning. After the naval force of the Americans ſeemed to be totally deſtroyed, it aroſe more than once from its ruins, and harraſſed our trade as much as before. The value of American captures, however, made by Engliſh veſſels, exceeded, by ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds, the loſs which the Britiſh merchants had ſuſtained; and when we take into the account the captures from the French, particularly the Modeſte and Carnatic Indiamen, each of which were worth near half a million, the balance will appear to be conſiderably in favour of Great Britain. But in eſtimating national advantages, we muſt not compenſate the loſs of Engliſh merchants by the gains of Engliſh ſeamen. The latter being chiefly the profit of a few individuals, is not to be put in competition with the benefit of the great body of merchants and manufacturers; nor does it even indemnify the public for the damage and diminution which the navy itſelf has ſuffered by the misfortunes of the ſea, and ſuſtained from the efforts of the enemy.

In taking a general retroſpect of the conduct of the war, in as far as the navy is concerned, it appears that the commander in chief, as well as the captains of particular veſſels, have for the moſt part acted with their uſual bravery and wiſdom. Whatever aſperſions may be thrown on thoſe who ſuperintend the management of our marine, no diſhonour has been fixed on the Britiſh flag, nor has the ancient glory of our ſeamen been tarniſhed. Hitherto, indeed, their ſpirited ardour and intrepidity have not produced the effects that uſually reſult from them. But we are not to account for this, by ſuppoſing any diminution of thoſe eminent qualities for which they have been long diſtinguiſhed. The inauſpicious and fatal influence which prevails in a high department has continued to give us one proof after another, that no people can be great without being virtuous. The iniquities of the miniſters have been viſited on the nation———

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

But that very circumſtance which has hitherto occaſioned our perplexity and diſtreſs, the unhappy ſuperintendence of our naval affairs, is what ought at preſent to afford us juſt grounds of conſolation. If our boundleſs ſupplies and powerful armaments had been managed and directed by the wiſdom and virtue of miniſters, and if, notwithſtanding this moſt favourable circumſtance, the exertions of our forces by ſea and land had been unable to maintain with honour the cauſe in which we are engaged, we ſhould have juſt reaſon to deſpair; becauſe it is plain, that,

that in ſuch a caſe we could not expect, by any alteration of management, to defeat the malignant purpoſes of our natural and inveterate enemies. But if our fleets and armies were condemned to reluctant inactivity at the beginning of the war; if while we had the Americans only to contend with, we took no reſolutions becoming the dignity of a great nation; if while our enemies prepared for hoſtility, by augmenting their troops and equipping their ſquadrons, our own were allowed to rot, languiſh, and moulder away in a ſtate the moſt deplorable; if after the meſſage delivered by the French ambaſſador, which was in effect a declaration of war, had rouzed the ſpirit of the nation, our miniſters ſtill remained profoundly ſunk in lethargic ſecurity, totally incapable of thoſe vigorous meaſures which their ſituation required, and in every inſtance behind hand with our enemies; what could we poſſibly expect from ſuch a conduct, but misfortune, diſgrace, and complicated calamity? A French fleet was equipped at Breſt, and another at Toulon. The deſtination of the latter appeared plainly to every body, not concerned in adminiſtration, to be for America. But the firſt lord of the admiralty remained in doubtful ſuſpence. He knew not what part of the empire might be attacked. He continued motionleſs himſelf, and received patiently the hoſtile aſſault; like an unſkilful boxer, intending to cover the part on which he had already received a blow, and then ſhifting his hand to another part juſt wounded; but poſſeſſing neither ſpirit nor addreſs ſufficient to ward off the impending ſtroke. Even after D'Eſtaing's ſquadron had ſailed, the account of which we obtained by the vigilance of a foreign reſident, without any thanks to the court of admiralty, the important paſs of the Mediterranean was left unguarded. It was ſtill pretended, that the deſtination of this fleet was uncertain: their ſailing in an American direction might be a ſeint; if a ſquadron ſhould be detached from our fleet in purſuit of them, they might perhaps return, and form a junction with D'Orvilliers, which would give him a deciſive advantage over admiral Keppel. Then the diſgrace of the nation burſt forth with irreſiſtible evidence. Notwithſtanding the boaſted declarations that our fleet was ſuperior to the united power of France and Spain, it happened that the fleet of France alone commanded more than our reſpect. The immenſe ſums voted for the navy ſupplies for theſe three years paſt, could not furniſh us with ſhips to follow D'Eſtaing without leaving our own coaſt defenceleſs.

The conſequence of this was, that while we employed ſeveral months in gleaning the old ſtores, that had lain for years rotting in the different dock yards, ſplicing and knotting cordage that had long been condemned as unſerviceable, and patching up maſts and yards from the remnants of a fleet once the terror

terror of the world, D'Estaing rode the waves in triumph, carrying protection and independence to America. If the fortune of Lord Howe had not been equal to his activity, his fatigued vessels, considering part of which, from the nature of the service in which they were engaged, lay dispersed over the wide-extended coast of North America, must have been attacked in detail, and defeated by piece-meal. The admiral himself, with the main force of his squadron, narrowly escaped destruction in the Delaware; for had the French fleet arrived a few days sooner, he would have been surprized in that river with two ships of 64 guns, one of 50, two of 40, and a few frigates, encumbered with a fleet of transports, victuallers and private traders, laden for the most part with the refugees from Philadelphia, who seized this last opportunity of transporting their families and the wreck of their fortunes.

Thus was the main force of Great Britain on that side of the Atlantic left to be the sport of contingencies. It was saved by something that nearly resembles a miracle. Lord Howe resisted until Byron's fleet, which had long been kept waving in the harbour of Portsmouth, to the no small entertainment of the populace, at length arrived in America. But this squadron had been equipped in such a manner as rendered it fitter for a naval review than for any effective service. It was unable to weather a summer's storm, and approached the coast of America, having more need of protection than ability to yield assistance. Among these and all the other multiplied errors which disgrace every part of our naval administration, we find the great source of our present calamities. If the same administration, or any thing like it, should continue, still greater misfortunes await. But if we make a thorough reformation in this important department, we shall soon see that there is no reasoin to despair, until the whole mass of citizens become as corrupt as those men who have brought disgrace and calamity upon their country.

Before concluding this chapter, we have thought proper to wait for the judgment of the court martial concerning the conduct of admiral Keppel in the action of the 27th of July. Though the period of this decision extends beyond the limits assigned to the present work, yet as it tends to clear up an important transaction, the principal circumstances of which have been already related, we have thought it essential to the naval history of the year 1778. Soon after the action, the newspapers were filled, as usual, with encomiums or satires on the admiral, according to the various opinions, inclinations, or humours of the different writers, who chose to celebrate or to arraign his character and conduct. As the admiral had little personal connection with the king's ministers, and belonged to a family which

had been diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of friendſhip from the late duke of Cumberland, whom they followed in oppoſition, it was evident that he owed the high command conferred on him, to his profeſſional abilities alone, without the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance from court favour. Thoſe who approved all the meaſures of adminiſtration were naturally, therefore, the loudeſt in condemning his behaviour, while the anti-miniſterial party not only juſtified his proceedings, but held him forth as an object deſerving the warmeſt gratitude and applauſe of his fellow-citizens. Various anonymous paragraphs were publiſhed and anſwered. The panegyric of Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral of the Blue, occaſioned a criticiſm on his conduct; it was ſaid that he diſobeyed orders by neglecting to pay any attention to the admiral's ſignals, and thereby prevented the deſtruction of the whole French fleet. Theſe invectives and recriminations might have paſſed on both ſides without any material conſequence, and the propriety of admiral Keppel's behaviour being blended with the prejudices of party, would probably have remained a matter of doubt, until the paſſions of contending factions ſubſiding, had left time for liſtening to the impartiality of ſome future hiſtorian. But Sir Hugh Palliſer took a deciſive ſtep on the 4th of November; and by giving his name to the public in a letter written for his own juſtification, conveyed an indirect inſinuation againſt his commander. In the beginning of December theſe imputations were reechoed in the houſe of commons, which called up the admiral to vindicate his profeſſional character. "If he was to go over "the buſineſs of the 27th of July again, he would conduct himſelf in the ſame manner. Every thing that could be done had "been done; and he was happy to ſay, the Britiſh flag had not "been tarniſhed in his hands. He felt himſelf perfectly eaſy "on that head, and ſhould never be aſhamed of his conduct on "the day alluded to. The oldeſt and moſt experienced officers "in his majeſty's navy, in every engagement, ſaw ſomething "which they were before unacquainted with; and that day "preſented ſomething new. He impeached no man of neglect "of duty, becauſe he was ſatisfied that the officer alluded to "had manifeſted no want of courage, the quality moſt eſſential "in a Britiſh ſeaman." He ſaid, "he was much ſurprized when "an officer under his command had made an appeal to the "public in a common newſpaper, ſigned with his name, before "any accuſation had been made againſt him, and which tended "to render him odious and deſpicable in the eyes of his countrymen." Sir Hugh Palliſer declared "he was ſo conſcious "of not having been any hindrance to a re-action with the Breſt "fleet on the 27th of July, that he was equally indifferent with "the honourable admiral how ſoon an enquiry were ſet on foot. "He had diſcovered from what the admiral had juſt ſaid, that

"the

ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

" the principal matter which weighed against him in the admi-
" ral's mind was the publication in the newspapers, which he
" had signed with his name, and by which he would abide. If
" it was imprudent, if it was wrong, the consequence was to
" himself. To say any thing against a friend was to a man of
" sensibility the most disagreeable thing in nature; but where an
" officer's reputation was at stake, the removing an unjust stig-
" ma was certainly the first object. If there was any reason of
" accusation, why not make it openly and fairly? If not, why
" insinuate that he had been wanting in point of conduct, though
" a testimony was given in favour of his courage? This," he
" said, was a language extremely different from that of the ad-
" miral's dispatch, containing an account of the action, in which
" he informed the admiralty board of the spirited and gallant
" conduct of all the officers under his command." Admiral Keppel acknowledged " he had given that approbation, and was
" ready to repeat it, and point the testimony particularly as well
" as generally. The vice admiral had alluded to signals, and
" said that it was no fault of his that the fleet of France was
" not re-attacked. As to that he could only say, that he pre-
" sumed every inferior officer was to obey the signs of his com-
" mander; and now when called upon to speak out, he would
" inform the house and the public, that the signal for coming
" into the Victory's wake was flying from three o'clock in the
" afternoon till eight in the evening unobeyed; at the same time
" he did not charge the vice admiral with actual disobedience.
" He doubted not but, if an inquiry should be thought necess-
" sary, that he would be able to justify himself, because he was
" fully persuaded of his personal bravery."

In consequence of this altercation, Sir Hugh Palliser drew up the following charge against admiral Keppel, which he exhibited at the board of admiralty on the 9th of December.

CHARGE *of* MISCONDUCT *and* NEGLECT *of* DUTY *against the Honourable* ADMIRAL KEPPEL, *on the 27th and 28th of July*, 1778, *in divers instances as under mentioned.*

" I. THAT on the morning of the 27th of July, 1778,
" having a fleet of thirty ships of the line under his command,
" and being then in the presence of a French fleet of the like
" number of ships of the line, the said admiral did not make the
" necessary preparations for fight, did not put his fleet into a line
" of battle, or into any order proper either for receiving or at-
" tacking an enemy of such force; but, on the contrary, al-
" though his fleet was already dispersed and in disorder, he, by

" making the ſignal for ſeveral ſhips of the vice admiral of the " Blue diviſion to chaſe to windward, increaſed the diſorder of " that part of his fleet, and the ſhips were in conſequence more " ſcattered than they had been before; and, whilſt in this diſ- " order, he advanced to the enemy, and made the ſignal for " battle. That the above conduct was the more unaccounta- " ble, as the enemy's fleet was not then in diſorder, nor beaten, " nor flying, but formed in a regular line of battle on that tack " which approached the Britiſh fleet, all their motions plainly " indicating a deſign to give battle, and they edged down and " attacked it whilſt in diſorder. By this unofficer-like conduct, " a general engagement was not brought on, but the other flag- " officers and captains were left to engage without order or re- " gularity, from which great confuſion enſued: ſome of his " ſhips were prevented from getting into action at all; others " were not near enough to the enemy; and ſome, from the " confuſion, fired into others of the king's ſhips, and did them " conſiderable damage: and the vice admiral of the Blue was " left alone to engage ſingle and unſupported. In theſe inſtan- " ces the ſaid admiral Keppel negligently performed the duty " impoſed on him.

" II. That after the van and centre diviſions of the Britiſh " fleet paſſed the rear of the enemy, the admiral did not imme- " diately tack and double upon the enemy with theſe two divi- " ſions, and continue the battle, nor did he collect them toge- " ther at that time, and keep ſo near the enemy as to renew " the battle as ſoon as it might be proper: on the contrary, he " ſtood away beyond the enemy to a great diſtance before he " wore to ſtand towards them again, leaving the vice admiral " of the Blue engaged with the enemy, and expecting to be " cut off.

" That after the vice admiral of the Blue had paſſed the " laſt of the enemy's ſhips, and immediately wore, and laid his " own ſhip's head towards the enemy again, being then in their " wake, and at a little diſtance only, and expecting the admiral " to advance with all the ſhips to renew the fight, the admiral " did not advance for that purpoſe, but ſhortened ſail, and hauled " down the ſignal for battle; nor did he at that time, nor at " any other time, whilſt ſtanding towards the enemy, call the " ſhips together in order to renew the attack, as he might have " done, particularly the vice admiral of the Red and his diviſion, " which had received the leaſt damage, had been the longeſt " out of action, were ready and fit to renew it, were then to " windward, and could have bore down and fetched any part " of the French fleet, if the ſignal for battle had not been haul- " ed down, or if the ſaid admiral Keppel had availed himſelf of " the ſignal appointed by the 31ſt article of the fighting inſtruc-

" tions,

" tions, by which he might have ordered thoſe to lead, who are " to lead with the ſtarboard tacks on board, by a wind; which " ſignal was applicable to the occaſion for renewing the engage- " ment with advantage, after the French fleet had been beaten, " their line broken, and in diſorder. In theſe inſtances he did " not do the utmoſt in his power to take, ſink, burn, or deſtroy " the French fleet that had attacked the Britiſh fleet.

" IV. That inſtead of advancing to renew the engagement, " as in the preceding articles is alledged, and as he might and " ought to have done, the admiral wore, and made ſail directly " from the enemy, and thus he led the whole Britiſh fleet away " from them, which gave them an opportunity to rally unmo- " leſted, and to form again into a line of battle, and to ſtand " after the Britiſh fleet. This was diſgraceful to the Britiſh flag; " for it had the appearance of a flight, and gave the French ad- " miral a pretence to claim the victory, and to publiſh to the " world, that the Britiſh fleet ran away, and that he purſued it " with the fleet of France, and offered it battle.

" V. That on the morning of the 28th of July, 1778, when " it was perceived that only three of the French fleet remained " near the Britiſh in the ſituation the whole had been in the " night before, and that the reſt were to leeward at a greater " diſtance, not in a line of battle but in a heap, the admiral did " not cauſe the fleet to purſue the flying enemy, nor even to chaſe " the three ſhips that fled after the reſt, but on the contrary " he led the Britiſh fleet another way directly from the enemy. " By theſe inſtances of miſconduct and neglect a glorious op- " portunity was loſt of doing a moſt eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, " and the honour of the Britiſh flag.

H. PALLISER."

This charge was ſent to the admiralty on the afternoon of the 9th of December, and intimation thereof was given by that board to admiral Keppel the ſame evening.

When the contents of the accuſation were laid before the public, the opinions of men, warped by a thouſand prejudices, and ſhaded by all the different gradations of knowledge and ignorance, were infinitely various, inconſiſtent, oppoſite, and contradictory. Thoſe who only knew that we had neither taken nor deſtroyed any of the French ſhips in the late engagement, a circumſtance which they could not heſitate in aſcribing to the miſconduct of our commanders, underſtood, or fancied they underſtood, the charges alledged againſt the admiral. They wiſhed that the man who had tarniſhed the ancient luſtre of the Britiſh flag might be brought to condign puniſhment; for never any criſis was more alarming than the preſent, or more loudly demanded every exertion of diſcipline and ſeverity, that to thoſe who,

who, ſheltered under great examples, negligently or ignorantly performed the ſervice required of them, might be rouzed to a ſenſe of their duty or inſufficiency, and either acquire ſuch talents as were beneficial to the public, or decline the weight of a command too heavy for their abilities.

This torrent of popular cenſure, which on another occaſion would have burſt forth with irreſiſtible fury, was effectually checked by two circumſtances, extremely honourable to the admiral. His candid, open, liberal behaviour had endeared him to the great body of Britiſh ſeamen, who loved his manners, and reſpected his courage. He was known to have little connection with the preſent miniſtry, and eſpecially to be no favourite with the firſt lord of the admiralty. This was ſufficient to occaſion a ſuſpicion that the miniſters in general heartily concurred in the accuſation, partly to divert the public from melancholy reflections on our preſent deplorable condition, and partly to ſhare with others the blame which muſt otherwiſe have laid entirely on their own ſhoulders. It was known that almoſt every officer intruſted with a principal command had fallen under their diſpleaſure; and although errors, doubtleſs, muſt have been committed by our commanders in the courſe of the war, yet a repeated ſeries of calamity could only be occaſioned by an error at head-quarters, a defect of preparation, a want of vigour, ſkill, or integrity in thoſe who fitted out, planned, and directed our naval and military expeditions.

The cauſe and reputation of admiral Keppel were ſtill further ſupported by a memorial preſented to his Majeſty, the 30th of December, and ſigned by the firſt names in the Britiſh navy. This paper, drawn up in the form of a petition, contained, in elegant and nervous language, a ſevere remonſtrance againſt the conduct not only of Sir Hugh Palliſer, but of the lords of the admiralty. The ſubſcribing admirals repreſented to the wiſdom and juſtice of his majeſty, that Sir Hugh Palliſer had withheld the accuſation againſt his commander in chief, from the twenty-ſeventh day of July to the ninth of December: that the avowed motive of the accuſation, was to recriminate againſt charges conjectured by Sir Hugh Palliſer, but which in fact were never made; that the commiſſioners of the admiralty, without conſidering theſe circumſtances, or giving any previous notice to the party accuſed, had, on the ſame day on which the charge was preferred, intimated their intention that a court-martial ſhould be held on him, after forty years of meritorious ſervice, in which the glory of the Britiſh flag had been maintained and increaſed in various parts of the world. The conſequences of ſuch meaſures are repreſented as dangerous to the honour of his majeſty's officers, ſubverſive of the diſcipline of the navy, and deſtructive to the public order of ſociety.

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This memorial occaſioned no alteration in the meaſures adopted by the lords of the admiralty, who iſſued their orders to Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the White ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet, to hold a court-martial at Portſmouth, the 7th of January, for the trial of admiral Keppel. The court accordingly was aſſembled on the day appointed, with the uſual formalities; and continued, by ſeveral adjournments till the 11th of February. In the courſe of the evidence brought by the proſecutor, no one fact was proved that could give the ſmalleſt ſupport to a ſingle article in the charge. Admiral Keppel, before bringing forward his witneſſes, made a particular reply to the various accuſations of his adverſary; and in this reply, ſome circumſtances are incidentally mentioned, which place the adminiſtration of the marine department in the ſame light, in which it muſt already have appeared to every one who conſiders with attention the naval hiſtory of the preſent period. In the month of March, 1778, the admiral was told that a fleet lay ready for him to command. Having reached Portſmouth, he ſaw but ſix ſhips ready, and, "on "viewing thoſe with a ſeaman's eye, he was not by any means "pleaſed with their condition." On the 30th of June, he ſailed with twenty ſhips of the line. Thirty-two ſhips of the line lay in Breſt water, beſides an incredible number of frigates. "Was "I to ſeek an engagement," ſays the admiral, "with a ſuperior "force? I never did, nor ſhall I ever fear to engage a force ſu-"perior to one I then commanded, or that I may hereafter com-"mand. But I well know what men and ſhips can do, and if "the fleet I commanded had been deſtroyed, we muſt have left "the French maſters of the ſea. To refit a fleet requires time. "From the ſituation of affairs, naval ſtores are not very ſoon "ſupplied. Never did I experience ſo deep a melancholy as "when I found myſelf forced to turn my back on France! I "quitted my ſtation, and courage was never put to ſo ſevere "a trial."

The admiral was permitted to ſail a ſecond time, without receiving official praiſe or blame for the part which he had acted. Having taken two French frigates, he was fearful that a war with France, and all its conſequences, might be laid to his charge. "This," he ſays, "for any thing I can tell, may be "treaſured up to furniſh another matter for future accuſation." He was ſurprized, on his return, to be threatened with the fate of admiral Byng, and ſtill more ſurprized to be charged with cowardice. "I am exceedingly ſorry that the admiralty have "refuſed me the liberty of producing my inſtructions. In all "former courts-martial, the inſtructions and orders have been "ſent with the charge to the members of the court. Although "on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and com-"pelled them to take ſhelter by returning into port, yet the ef-

"fort

" fort did by no means anſwer my wiſhes. I ruſhed on to re-
" attack the enemy; and why I did not accompliſh my deſign
" will be ſeen in the evidence which I ſhall produce."

When the admiral's witneſſes were examined, it appeared, that if he had waited for forming the line of battle, and had not immediately taken advantage of a change of wind to cloſe with the enemy, there could have been no engagement on the 27th of July. It was proved, that, having paſſed the French fleet, he wore ſhip in order to renew the engagement as ſoon as it was proper; as he could not have done it ſooner, had the ſtate of his own ſhip admitted of it, without throwing the ſhips aſtern into the greateſt confuſion. The Engliſh fleet at no time exhibited any ſigns of flying from the enemy; when the French after the engagement edged away, and made for ſome of our diſabled ſhips, it was neceſſary to wear again, in order to prevent thoſe ſhips from falling into their hands. The three French ſhips which were ſeen on the morning of the 28th of July, could not have been purſued with the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Theſe facts, which entirely deſtroyed the charge againſt admiral Keppel, were eſtabliſhed by the witneſſes on both ſides. The evidence brought by the admiral, and particularly the teſtimony of admiral Campbell, Sir John Lindſay and captain Jarvis, proved, that the reaſon why the Britiſh fleet did not reattack the French, was the diſobedience of Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral of the Blue, who diſregarded the admiral's ſignal for forming the line, which continued flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till the evening. The court having heard the proſecutor's evidence and the priſoner's defence, unanimouſly proceeded to give ſentence on the 11th of February, in the following terms: " That it is their opinion the charge againſt ad-
" miral Keppel is malicious and ill-founded, it having appeared
" that the ſaid admiral, ſo far from having by miſconduct
" and neglect of duty, on the days therein alluded to, loſt an
" opportunity of rendering eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, and
" tarniſhed the honour of the Britiſh navy, behaved as be-
" came a judicious, brave, and experienced officer." The preſident then delivered him his ſword, congratulating him on its being reſtored with ſo much honour, and hoped ere long he would be called forth by his ſovereign to draw it again in the ſervice of his country.

FINIS.

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