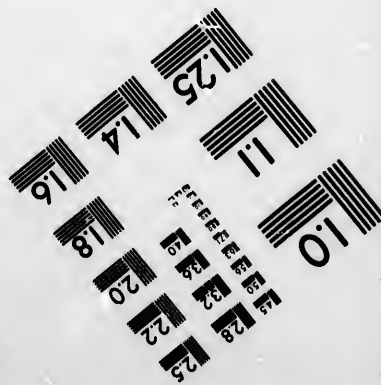
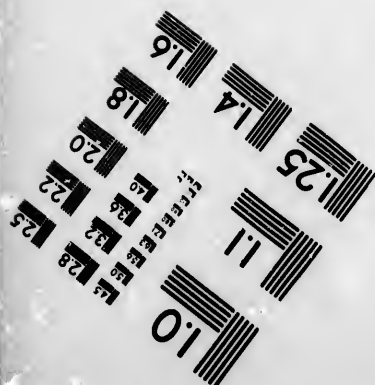
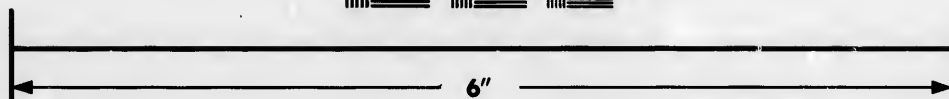
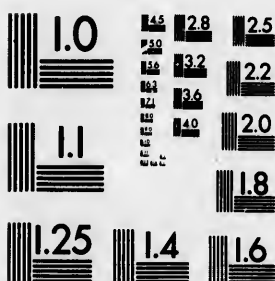


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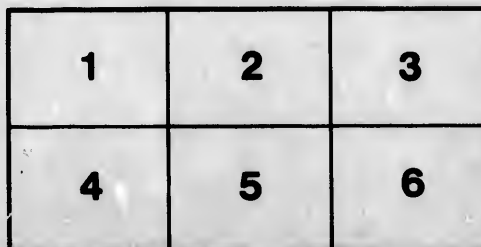
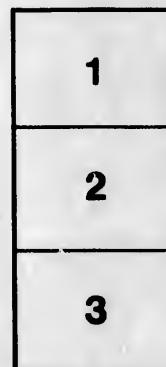
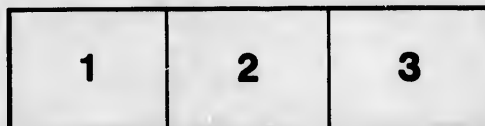
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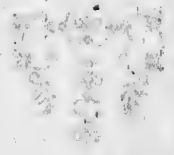
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Mr. PITT's Administration.

He wishes to lay open and reveal to the unerring Public,
both the motives and actions of every part of his Administration.

Observations on the Spanish papers.

The SECOND EDITION,

With several Alterations and Additions.

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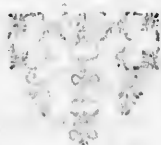
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MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION.

He wishes to lay down and record to the nation, both the motives and reasons of every part of his Administration.
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Of the nature of the Spanish papers.

THE SECOND EDITION.

WITH NEW AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS.



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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

R I C H A R D,

E A R L T E M P L E.

MY LORD,

THE glories of Mr. Pitt's administration are the successes of the war, conducted under his auspices, accomplished by the wisdom of his plans, and the intrepidity inspired by his spirit. They will shine in the annals of England beyond the lustre of former ages. They will be eternal monuments of his amazing genius, resolution and sagacity. They will prove him not only the boldest, but also the wisest minister England ever saw. To enumerate the objects of our praise would be to recapitulate the

the transactions of his administration. Such a recapitulation is attempted in the following sheets; but in a manner, I fear, so inadequate to the theme, that the work must derive its only merit from its subject. Mr. Pitt's best historical eulogium will be the plainest truth; nor can faction or artifice sully the lustre of his eminent services. A whole people are neither to be bribed or imposed upon. Envy may revile, and self-interest may seek to blacken; but his fame, in spite of every effort to blast it, in spite of all the assaults of low and little minds, will flourish while this kingdom or its language shall endure. He raised the power and grandeur of England to the highest summit of glory and respect; he confounded and defeated her enemies in every quarter of the world; he strictly adhered to the letter of her engagements abroad, and he effected and preserved unanimity at home. The people daily testify their high sense of his many eminent services, and distinguish him with an affection that does honour to their gratitude.

By the war carried on during his administration, we gained all the French settlements and towns on the continent in the East-Indies; Senegal and Goree in Africa; Cape Breton and St. John's, by which we extirpated the French from

from the fishery; all Canada, Guadalupe, Martinico, Mariegalante, Desirade, and the neutral islands, in America; baffled the mighty efforts of France in Europe; insulted and stripped her coasts; burned her shipping; ruined her navy by repeated victories; blocked up her harbours; almost annihilated her trade; took Belleisle, and reduced her to bankruptcy. By the peace, which succeeded these most glorious conquests, we restored every thing in the East-Indies; Goree in Africa; granted the French an almost unlimited fishery in America; and for the loss of Cape Breton and St. John's, which were dismantled, we gave them the islands of St. Peter's and Miquelon, which another French king may fortify at pleasure; we restored Belleisle, Guadalupe, Martinico, Mariegalante, and Desirade, together with St. Lucia, the only valuable neutral island. Other conquests were made in consequence of his plans, and they were restored also. Could our enemies have required more? Ought they to have hoped so much?—What then did England gain by the honesty, the vigilance and wisdom of Mr. Pitt; the expence of many millions, and the loss of many thousands of brave men?—Canada, an almost barren province; Florida, a sandy desert; Senegal, which, without

without Goree, does not in the least injure the French slave trade; three of the neutral islands, which are scarce worth our peopling; Granada, which is too unwholesome to live in; and the Grenadines, which no nation ever thought worth possessing. *O may the conditions of such a peace be engraved on the tombstones of its advisers!*

When Mr. Pitt had reduced the French to their last resource, and had obliged them to seek refuge in the assistance of another state; when by his masterly penetration he discovered the joint design, and would have effectually frustrated it by a timely and vigorous exertion of our national power, he was opposed in so salutary and necessary a measure. Events soon justified the counsels which he gave. But as he had no other motive than the welfare of his country, and finding he could not promote that by such measures as he was convinced were right, he struggled not for a continuance of employment, *but bravely and peaceably resigned.* Your Lordship accompanied him. Both departed from the helm of state, not like the factious leaders of a party, but the staunch and glorious friends of your country's honour and interest, and as
such

such have, if possible, become more rooted in the affections of an uncorrupted people.

Your resignations were soon followed by the most worthy friends to this constitution, who in common are sharers of public veneration, and are considered as the advocates of English interests and English liberty. They have been eminently distinguished, as well by effecting the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in 1688, which rescued this nation from popery, tyranny and slavery; as by establishing and zealously supporting the illustrious HOUSE OF HANOVER on the throne of these realms, against the designs and the efforts of the Tories and their Pretender. They have ever continued in the same consistent conduct, justifying and espousing the interests and liberties of the people, and supporting the dignity and honour of the crown. They defeated the wicked rebellions of a faithless tribe in 1715 and 1745, and brought some of the instruments in them to their deserved punishment. ‘ They never flatter a king with more independency and prerogative than is really his due;—they sooner chuse to retire.’ Their principles are steadiness and uniformity in the defence of constitutional liberty, always valuing and respecting the voice of the people.

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The conduct of their enemies I need not remark upon. It is sufficient to observe, that though Marlborough and Godolphin were stripped of their power, they are *still revered* for their great and immortal services. Faction, 'tis true, might veil their reputation for *a day*, but the GLORIOUS VICTORIES of one, and the UPRIGHT ADMINISTRATION of the other, could never be effaced, and the more they were attempted, the more they shone with resurgent lustre; while Harley and Bolingbroke, those heads of a faction and a Tory ministry, are only remembered from being impeached of high treason.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

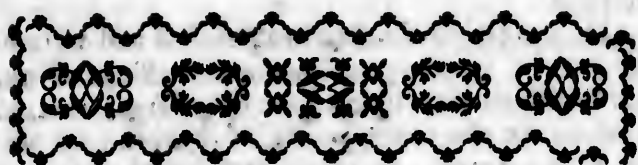
My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble Servant,

Westminster,
January 3, 1763.

The AUTHOR.



A

R E V I E W

O F

Mr. P I T T's Administration.

*** T ***
 HERE is no period in our history more interesting than Mr. Pitt's administration; nor any that has been more glorious. It exhibits an unparalleled series of surprizing events; a wonderful and extensive scene of victory and success; an amazing view of ministerial abilities and penetration; a full exertion of all the secret springs of action, in both offensive and political measures; an indefatigable attachment to business, prompted and guided by the strictest principles of duty, honour and integrity; and a patriotic zeal, that diffused a noble thirst for glory and conquest wherever the British arms adventured.---This is the public opinion; the opinion of all candid and independent men, who are not attached to any party, nor have any interest to gratify; but speak their sentiments as naturally arising from a reflection of the many

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services

services this nation has received during his administration.

He was early instructed in a political and virtuous knowledge of the principles and blessings of this constitution; and it was soon discovered, that his abilities for the management of government were of such a nature, as to make his assistance necessary; but his estate at that time did but barely qualify him to hold a seat in the house of commons. His friends procured him a commission in the army, and he was appointed a cornet of horse, which post he held, till having in 1737 supported a motion in the house of commons for augmenting the Prince of Wales's salary, he was dismissed; or, as he himself hath termed it, "corruption stood so low" as to take the standard out of the hands of a "cornet." Being divested of public pay, he virtuously circumscribed his expences within the limits of his income; for being descended from a good family, and allied to several noble ones, he thought it incumbent to preserve the lustre derived from both: in private he was frugal, temperate, honest, sincere and benevolent; he held luxury and parade in contempt, and he set himself in opposition to the degenerate manners of the times; in public, where is to be found his more substantial praise, he was naturally free, brave and uncorrupt, distinguished by his regard for religion, honour, and his country. —If it should be asked, how can such a man have enemies? it will be answered, the honest and well-meaning part of the nation are not his enemies: he is only noxious to certain callous hearts, who cannot withstand the force of truth. His spirit and abilities engaged him to revenge the unconstitutional insult offered to the liberties of his country, through his person. In those corrupt and dastardly times he stood

stood up with the few that were inspired by virtue, and poured forth such torrents of eloquence and patriotism, as struck dumb the tongues of those *instrumenta regni*, those tools of state, who had engaged to oppose the genius of Britain. By such powers having rendered himself particular and remarkable, it was considered and advised as a prudent measure, to bring over, or at least silence, such an orator, and to have the external affectation of employing men of undoubted honesty and abilities; therefore he was at that critical period (1746) when the two brothers and their coadjutors resumed their places, appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and soon after pay-master general of the forces, and sworn a privy-counsellor. In his office of paymaster he was still governed by his inflexible integrity, his steady and uniform adherence to honour and honesty; he refused certain gratuities common to his post, and he introduced a great reformation into it: even his warmest enemies do to this day acknowledge he behaved uncorruptly in office. It was by these acts of strict justice and virtue, that he acquired an unparalleled popularity and unlimited confidence; and hence he was adored by the honest and unprejudiced part of the nation.

The temporary peace of Aix la Chapelle was soon followed by a renewal of the war, which was both unskillfully and unsuccessfully conducted till the period we are going to treat of. When (in 1755) Sir Thomas Robinson resigned his post of secretary of state, his late majesty appointed Mr. Fox, who was then secretary at war, to succeed him. It must be observed, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt never agreed in any thing but in opposing Sir Thomas; therefore, upon Mr. Fox's promotion, Mr. Pitt

resigned his office of paymaster general, not chusing to serve when his antagonist was put over his head*: indeed it would have been next to a miracle, if his majesty had called in Mr. Pitt, who had so often, so long, and so strenuously opposed the favourite measures of the court. On these alterations in the ministry, parties became instantly inflamed, and much altercation ensued. In such a system of politics as was preserved throughout the late reign, it was impossible that Great Britain should enter into a war with France, in which Hanover would not become connected: therefore the ministry set about framing continental alliances for the preservation of that electorate: they made one with Russia; but the King of Prussia manifesting a dislike to it, another was made with him, and the former rendered void. Here the foundation of the German war was laid; a war with which the enemies of Mr. Pitt have endeavoured to wound his reputation, by making it chargeable upon him; but candid men will consider, that he cannot be blamed with doing what was done before he came into the administration. This treaty with Prussia was signed on the 16th of January 1756, and Mr. Pitt did not come into the administration till December following. The scheme of politics was even affixed, the conditions determined, the plan of operations laid down, and the house of commons first granted a million, and then 20,000*l.* in consequence of this treaty, six months before Mr. Pitt became secretary of state.

* This resignation has been thus accounted for by one of his friends:—"He relinquished this subordinate power, rather than co-operate with weak or wicked men, in schemes pre-judicial to the common interests of his country."

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The kingdom by mismanagement was soon brought into a state of danger, and the French threatened to invade it. As all was in confusion, division and anarchy, a body of troops from Hanover and Hesse were imported from the continent, to protect a kingdom, that had formerly struck terror into, and commanded respect from, almost every potentate in the universe; but now was so degenerated and dispirited by a few years vicious manners and principles among its leaders, as to call in foreign protection. At the sight of these foreigners resentment seemed to rouse, and all eyes stared with indignation. The inhabitants of this island, who are naturally brave, warm and impetuous, reflected with horror on their present dastardly condition, when compared with the glorious deeds performed by their ancestors; they exclaimed loudly and bitterly against connexions with the continent, and spared not those who had opposed the scheme of a national militia, which would have saved them from this disgrace. Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, having declared against continental connexions made for the defence of Hanover, was directed to withdraw from his post. In the midst of this exasperation news was brought of the island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean, being lost, and the fort of Oswego in America. The flame of discontent now became general, and every county, and every corner of the kingdom, echoed with complaints against the ministry, who saw they could not oppose, and therefore dreaded the vengeance of an injured people; while many of the cities and incorporated towns in the kingdom sent instructions to their representatives against the approaching session: those from the city of London the reader will see in the notes; they are not unworthy his notice,

as

as they convey a specimen of the spirit of the times*.
Mr. F. by some considered as the superstructure of
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** Instructions from the city of London to their Representatives in Parliament.*

To the Right Hon. Slingsby Bethell, Esq; lord-mayor; Sir John Barnard, Kat. Sir Robert Ladbroke, Knt. and William Beckford, Esq;

" We the lord-mayor, aldermen and commons of the city
" of London in common council assembled, justly alarmed at
" the critical and unhappy situation of these kingdoms, do most
" earnestly call you, our representatives, to exert your utmost
" ability towards procuring a strict and impartial parliamentary
" enquiry into the causes of these national calamities.

" An almost total neglect of our important fortresses in the
" Mediterranean, of such ineximable consequence to the trade
" and power of these kingdoms, and the permitted absence of
" their principal officers many months after the commencement
" of hostilities, the actual loss of Minorca, and apparent danger
" of Gibraltar, are circumstances which fill us with amazement
" and concern; but when we reflect on the great preparations
" for, and embarkations of, troops and artillery, and
" the equipment of a powerful fleet, publicly known to be
" carried on at Toulon, whose neighbourhood to Minorca was
" sufficiently alarming, we cannot impute these fatal events to
" neglect alone; and therefore conjure you to enquire, why
" a respectable fleet was not immediately sent from hence, and
" why at last so small a Squadron was ordered upon this important
" service, without any frigate, fireship, hospital ship,
" transport, or troops beyond their ordinary compliment, and
" this at a time when our naval force was confessedly superior
" to the enemy's.

" The cruelties suffered, and the losses sustained by our fellow
" subjects in North-America, having long called for redress,
" whilst the mismanagements in the attempts for their
" support, and the untimely and unequal succours sent to their
" relief, have only served to render the British name contemptible:
" We therefore require you to use your utmost endeavours
" for detecting all those, who by treachery or misconduct
" have contributed to those great distresses, his majesty having
" been graciously pleased to assure us, that he will not fail to
" do justice upon any persons, who shall have been waiting in
" their duty to him or their country.

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this m—y, resigned near the latter end of October 1756. On the removal of this principal prop the m—y naturally fell to pieces; and for some time

“ To these interesting enquiries we have but too much reason
 “ to add our pressing request, that you use your earliest endea-
 “ vours to establish a well-regulated and constitutional militia,
 “ as the most honourable defence of the crown, and the most
 “ consistent with the rights of a free people : and this we are
 “ the more anxious to recommend to your particular care and
 “ attention, as every apprehension of danger has furnished a
 “ reason for encreasing the number of our regular forces, and
 “ for the introduction of foreign mercenaries ; the expence of
 “ which is insupportable : we therefore trust that you will
 “ pursue this measure before you consent to the grant of supplies,
 “ experience having convinced us, that your laudable endea-
 “ vours afterwards may prove fruitless.

“ At all events we recommend it to you to oppose the con-
 “ tinuance of any foreign troops within the kingdom ; a cir-
 “ cumstance which must ever be considered as a reproach to the
 “ loyalty, courage and ability of this nation.

“ We also hope that you will endeavour to limit the number
 “ of placemen and pensioners so remarkably encreased, and at
 “ a proper season to restore triennial parliaments, as we con-
 “ ceive it the only means to obtain a free representative of the
 “ people.

“ The immense sums so chearfully paid, when almost every
 “ measure reflects national disgrace, call upon you strictly to
 “ enquire into their application ; and we trust, that you will
 “ carefully watch and endeavour to prevent all unnatural con-
 “ nexions on the continent, in order to preserve the indepen-
 “ dancy of these kingdoms.

“ By rendering these necessary services to your king and
 “ country, you will give his majesty the strongest testimony of
 “ your duty and affection, and most effectually secure to his
 “ government obedience and respect.

“ At the same time we desire you thus publickly to accept
 “ our most grateful acknowledgments of your past conduct in
 “ parliament, and enjoin you at all times to hold sacred and
 “ inviolable the act made for establishing his majesty's right to
 “ the crown of these realms, and securing the rights and li-
 “ berties of the subject ; and that you oppose every measure
 “ tending to weaken that compact, which, under the divine
 “ providence, will ever prove the best security to his majesty's
 “ sacred person, and the succession in his illustrious house.”

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the business of the nation was at a stand: for to chuse a ministry was a difficult matter in this time of division and discontent. The chiefs of the party, by whose manœuvres the former ministry were displaced, at length succeeded to employment. The voice of the nation pointed them out; and the necessity of affairs called them into action. On the 4th of December Mr. Pitt was appointed secretary of state in the room of Mr. Fox, and Mr. Legge was replaced in his former station, and other promotions were made consistent with the same interest; but still these chiefs declared against continental measures and ministerial jobs: upon which the old servants of the — represented them as disloyal, obstinate, imperious and ignorant: and indeed they were honest enough and bold enough to pronounce their sentiments freely on every occasion without fear or dissimulation: such intrepidity no doubt gave great offence; but Mr. Pitt aimed at bringing the voice of the people to the ear of the sovereign, who he knew had been misled, and who unfortunately was surrounded by a weak and worthless crew, who only consulted the selfish passions of private avarice and ambition, and were therefore blackened with the curses of the whole nation. Although these promotions quieted the minds of the people, yet every one who knew any thing of the strength, connections and interest of the new ministers, expected but little from them. The — had been modelled by Mr. Pelham, and although he died before the el—ns commenced, yet his plan was followed: by this plan Mr. Pitt and his friends made but a small party in that assembly, and the rest, in consequence of —, were his opponents; therefore here they were to expect every check and opposition, that could embarrass or impede their measures. In the house of l — their state was

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was the same. And at court much worse: for having been forced into power by the voice of the people, they were looked upon as intruders, who had, by their assumption, weakened part of the prerogative. While this continued to be the case, the business of the nation in their hands could never be done without caballing; however they carried one point with surprizing resolution, that of a national militia; those who would have opposed it were afraid; the object was too popular to meet with opposition, even from the most inveterate enemies of the new ministers; and it was not interest, but a fear of the people, that suffered a few patriots, in the midst of a violent faction, to execute so bold a step. It could not be asserted by those who were against this salutary measure, that an English militia was dangerous as in former times, because there were now no leaders of influence to unite the people in seditious purposes; nor was it believed or suspected, that there were any enemies to the reigning family in the kingdom; therefore, not having any arguments to offer, they were constrained to be silent, and vote for a law to put arms into the hands of the people; a measure they had always dreaded, as much as an enquiry into their own conduct. By thus arming the people for the defence of their own lands and liberties, it is easy to discover what were the intentions of the new administration: they resolved to act with vigour, and to exert the military strength of the kingdom in annoying the enemy *abroad*. The officers of the army had been suffered to abuse their leisure in dress, cards, tea, and milliners shops: such conduct among the bravest men will in a short time introduce effeminacy, destroy the strength and vitals of a state, and bring a train of evils which are ever fatal to the purposes of an army. They therefore resolved to put the

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troops

troops into actual service at a distance from such luxuries and debilities. First they were intended to be employed against Louisbourg, and a squadron of ships was equipped in the proper season, and the command designed for admiral Hawke; but this expedition did not sail till it was too late, when another administration had been appointed, and the command of the ships given to admiral Holbourn. Every man instantly saw the benefits that would arise from the wisdom and prudence of Mr. Pitt's administration, and all degrees of the kingdom, who had been sunk in a miserable state of despondency, gave themselves up to hope; and while honour and honesty seemed to check the brows of the new servants, a cheerful bloom of spirit and joy revived in the countenance of every individual. Three days preceding the choice of these ministers, his majesty gave orders for the return of the Hanoverians to Germany. He had early foreseen that his German dominions would be attacked by France on account of his war with that power, and he therefore resolved to form an army of observation in Westphalia for the defence of those dominions. For this purpose were those troops sent back to their own country; and soon after, his royal highness the duke of Cumberland was appointed to the command of that army. On the 17th of February, 1757, his majesty sent a message to the house of commons by Mr. Pitt, informing them of the formidable preparations made by France, and as they were bent against his electoral dominions, he confided in them to assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation, and to enable him to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia, both of which they immediately complied with. But notwithstanding this compliance, Mr. Pitt and his adherents still continued against the German

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war, and on account of his warm and inflexible opposition to it, and a false representation of his patriotism and intentions, he was on the 5th of April commanded to resign the seals of his office. Some of the leaders of the late a—— assumed the reins of government: the motives which impelled them were, regret for lost power, emulation for fame, and ambition for rule. Mr. Pitt during his short administration dispatched a Squadron to the East-Indies, under the command of commodore Steevens; and another for Jamaica, under the command of admiral Coates: he likewise prepared a powerful supply for America, and it was ready to be sent when he was dismissed: in his administration the militia bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent; he promoted a parliamentary enquiry into the conduct of the late ministry, but it produced nothing;—we before hinted the model of the p—, and the reader who considers that will easily find a key to this enquiry. His resolution was to employ the whole fleet of Britain; and it was by this principle that he rivetted himself in the hearts of the people: on the naval commanders he new he could depend, even in the most desperate and hazardous enterprize; for their way of life and natural ferocity of manners secured them from luxury and effeminacy, and instilled into them a spirit of obligation to glory and their duty. The fleet is what may be called the natural strength of these kingdoms; the same thirst for conquest and fame reigns there as among the people at home, who are uncorrupted by a vicious practice of false principles and manners; such as destroyed ancient Rome, and had nearly brought Britain to the brink of ruin; therefore his resolution to employ this great natural power gave infinite pleasure; but his resignation destroyed the fondest hopes, and

dispirited the warmest hearts that Britain had to boast as her true friends. In a few days after Mr. Legge also resigned his post of chancellor of the exchequer, and other offices were likewise vacated. Once more the kingdom was without a ministry, and again resounded with complaints, that, in spite of the power and cunning of faction, pierced the ears of the sovereign. What was intended to disgrace Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out the greatest honour that could have been bestowed upon them; the people entertained such a high esteem of their virtue and abilities that they were proud to present them with the freedom of their several cities and corporations in boxes of gold, silver, or other valuable materials, accompanied with elegant and patriotic addresses of thanks for their integrity and services. A new board of admiralty was appointed, and the earl of Winchelsea placed at the head of it; lord Mansfield succeeded Mr. Legge, but Mr. Pitt's office remained vacant. In a few days after, the duke of Cumberland set out for Germany; and admiral Holbourne sailed for America on the 8th of May, with a number of troops to be commanded by lord Loudon, who was in America.

During this confusion and anarchy at home, the king of Prussia vigorously pursued his own war against the Austrians. In the year 1756 he defeated their army at Lowoschutz. This was the first action that entitled him to the favour of the English: they saw him in vigour, activity, and success, and became instantly enamoured with his possession of these qualities. It is no wonder that they began to admire and extol his abilities and valour, because their own affairs teemed with disgrace and ruin; they therefore naturally beheld and bestowed their praises on another, who acted with
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more wisdom and good fortune ; and since there was no prospect of amendment at home, they as naturally began to wish, and even claim, an alliance with a power, that was every day exhibiting proofs of foresight and bravery. They were in hopes that such an example of spirit and victory would rouse their lethargic rulers from their beds of sloth and prostitution. The treaty with Prussia that was already made, was a convention of neutrality for the defence of each others German dominions ; but what they now wished for, and publicly desired, was a treaty of alliance with that monarch, whereby his arms, in consideration of a subsidy, might be brought against France ; for during the war hitherto we had been losers, and the repeated successes of the French bid fair for wresting all North America out of our hands ; they therefore eagerly desired the assistance of Prussia, in order to find employ for the French arms at home. Thus the former administration not only laid the foundation of an alliance with Prussia, but, by the ill success of our affairs under their direction, so dispirited the people, as to make them call out for an alliance with that monarch, who had been hitherto attended with success, in hopes that then they should be attended with success also. If the alliance, which was afterwards made in consequence of this humour, has proved prejudicial to the interests of Great-Britain, that prejudice ought to be accounted for by those, who by their mismanagement obliged the people in exasperation to call for such alliance, as the only hope of retrieving the ill state of their affairs.

In April, 1757, a body of Prussians, commanded by Prince Charles of Bevern, defeated a corps of the Austrians at Richenberg, a pass which opened his way into Bohemia ; while the King of Prussia, with the main body of his army, entered that king-
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dom by another pass, and pursued the Austrians to Prague, where he gained a complete victory over their whole army: he laid siege to that great city; but while his operations were carrying on, the fugitives of the enemy were collected and strengthened with a considerable number of fresh troops, and put under the command of count Daun, who chose such a situation, as gave the king of Prussia much uneasiness. The king resolved to dislodge him; but in the attempt he met with such a repulse, as obliged him to abandon Prague, and retreat in the best manner he could into Saxony. The face of affairs having thus taken a new turn, the Russians, Swedes, and Imperialists (or the states of the empire) who were all confederates to annihilate the power of the king of Prussia, and had hitherto acted with languor, now began to march with vigour, and to press him hard on all sides. The world had some time ago been alarmed with this confederacy against the house of Brandenburg; but the people of England, when they saw the storm gather so fast in order to destroy that king, began to pity and commiserate him in his misfortunes; and such was their sincere feelings for his distress, that nothing will be hazarded in saying, if the alliance had not been made, they would cheerfully have made a voluntary subscription for his relief. This is an act of benevolence peculiar to the English nation; they cannot bear to see any power in distress, if at that time they have any connexions with it, without generously bestowing their aid to alleviate its misfortunes. But the case of Prussia, so far as it concerned England, was singularly affecting: the house of Austria, who had been for many years supported and protected by their generous and compassionate assistance, had not only ungratefully joined in league with France, at this time
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their declared enemy, but was the principal of the confederacy formed to seize the Prussian dominions; therefore a passion of resentment to such ingratitude, as well as pity to the Prussian monarch, began now to inflame their breasts. This was the state of their humours, when the subsidiary treaty with Prussia was made.

With respect to the duke of Cumberland's army, the popular heads of party had declaimed so strenuously against continental connexions, that, contrary to the inclinations of the court, it was composedly *entirely* of Germans, who in number were so much inferior to the French army commanded by the marshal D'Etrees, that his royal highness was obliged to retreat as the enemy advanced.

The hopes that had been formed early in the year of acting at the proper season with vigour against the enemy in America, began now to vanish. The plan for taking Louisbourg had been communicated to the enemy, perhaps as soon as it was laid down in England; the importance of the place was sufficient to stimulate the French ministry to immediately provide for its security: accordingly M. de Beaufremont sailed from Brest on the 30th of January with a squadron of nine ships, having on board a body of troops; but as the harbour of Louisbourg could not be free of the ice by the time he might be there, he was directed to steer for the West-Indies, and reinforce their garrisons in that quarter, which he did, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 5th of June, from whence he sent a reinforcement of men and arms to Monsieur de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops in Canada. About the beginning of April M. du Rivest sailed from Toulon with five ships, having also on board a number of troops, warlike stores and provisions: he slipped through the gut of Gibraltar

Gibraltar after a small encounter with admiral Saunders, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 4th of June. On the 3d of May M. du Bois de la Mothe, with fourteen ships, having likewise on board a number of troops and presents for the Indians, sailed from Brest, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 29th of June. Such was the vigilance and prudence of the French ; while, on the other hand, the English under admiral Holbourne did not sail from Cork till the 8th of May, nor arrive at Halifax, the appointed place of rendezvous, till the 9th of July. — Here it must be observed, that our fleet sailing so late was the sole cause of the disasters and misfortunes, which beset us this year in America. Delays are always dangerous ; but much more so, when they give the enemy an opportunity to counteract our schemes.

Such was the disconsolate face of affairs, when the general voice of an abused people roused the great into fear ; even those who had treated the general voice of the people with contempt, dreaded the rod of national vengeance ; and therefore when the cries of injury became louder and louder every day from all parts of the kingdom, they thought it high time to quit their gaming tables, and suffer a few honest, wise, and vigilant men, who had spirit enough to save this country from the destruction into which the others were going to tumble it, to approach the throne. It will reflect eternal infamy on some characters, who at this time spoke and wrote against all principles of morality and virtue : such men will never act honestly to their country or their sovereign, who hold honour in so low an estimation, and assert, that by the most base acts of corruption, villainy and deceit, a state or commonwealth can only be managed. It is no wonder therefore that the people were injured, and it is no wonder

der that they cried aloud for redress, and vigorously supported a few, in whose honesty, wisdom, and integrity they could safely confide. Here were exhibited strong proofs of the natural spirit of a brave and free people, who had been treated like slaves, as well by the most base acts of villainy, as by language from the most wicked hearts: stimulated by these injuries and abuses, they forced well-meaning men into power. It is true such conduct was presumptuous; but being dictated by preservation, it became noble and laudable, and it proved the most humiliating stroke to our enemies. It is a lesson that ought to be precious to princes, especially of this island; while such men were in power as the people disapproved, misfortune followed misfortune, and the nation was divided and distracted; but when such men were employed as they did approve, unanimity, vigour and success crowned their efforts. Thus a king acting with his people is all power and glory; but without them he is nothing. It is true a king possessed of his kingdom cannot be said to be deserted, because there are always some sycophants, who will haunt his heels and his court; but these may be considered as so many wretches preying upon their country, because they are in general men without any kind of good principle: what is here meant is the body of the people, for it is they who give strength to a king, compose his power, and give him his only substantial praise; and in return he ought always to act, and to chuse his servants, for their general satisfaction and welfare.

The failings of a master, whose affections were naturally warped to his native country, were overlooked, when he condescended to receive his servants on the choice of his people; and even these

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servants, who had exposed those failings in all the glare of exaggeration, began to consider of making a virtue of necessity, as soon as they were received into the royal favour; that is, they resolved to take such measures as should turn the local attachments of a master at least to some advantage, in order to profit by a channel which must inevitably be pursued. On the 29th of June, 1757, Mr. Pitt was re-appointed secretary of state; and three days after the ministry was arranged in the following manner. The duke of Newcastle, first lord of the treasury; Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, lord Anson, first lord of the admiralty; Mr. Fox, paymaster of the forces; and lord Temple, lord privy seal. This was the only healing measure that could be pursued; the parties themselves were satisfied, and so were their numerous friends; part of whom were put in offices of less importance. The ministers condescending to an amicable capitulation in their several opinions, which they had violently pushed in different extremes; and from that moment the nation began to hope, the counsel to be unanimous, and spirit to revive among the people. It may be wondered how men who seemed so inflexibly opposite to each other, should at length unite; but it is best accounted for in the words of Sir William Temple; ‘ Quarrels with the age and pretences of reforming it, end commonly like the pains of a man in a little boat, who tugs at a rope that is fast to a ship. It looks as if he meant to draw the ship to him; but the truth is, he draws himself to the ship, where he gets in, and does like the rest of the crew.’ The application is obvious and just, and perhaps the allusion may not be thought unpleasant. Although this was the case, yet the people did not lessen in their confidence in

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Mr. Pitt ; they did not fear neglect where his vigilance and capacity were to be exerted ; and as they knew he entertained an inveterate hatred to France, they trusted to his wisdom for the measures to humble that power. The ministry was not only established in outward form, by the happy arrangement abovementioned, ' but even in the ' hearts of men,' as Bolingbroke says ; by Mr. Pitt being allowed to be the principal director of affairs, without his assuming to become a premier. The genius of England seemed to rise with the administration, and a new soul diffused itself through all ranks of people ; their hearts burned with resentment to wipe out past disgraces, to restore the glory, the honour, and the true character of their country.

HERE his administration properly begins ; what has hitherto been said, may be considered as a deduction of the causes which gave birth to his power. It will be proper, before we proceed any further, to preface the remaining sheets with some account of those notions of government which were the source of all our future successes. As he never could perceive such a mystery in politics, which has been long pretended, so he found the best policy to be consulting the good of the community, by pursuing short, easy, honest, and lawful means, which are certain, if directed by wisdom and prudence, to obtain the best and safest end. The few ministers who have trod in the plain direct road, have never failed gaining their point, and will be revered to all ages ; whereas on the contrary, those who have been noted for selfish views, for men of deep intrigue, and artful managing of parties, ever going the farthest way about, and eternally involved in bye paths and in-

tricate labyrinths of their own contrivance, have often brought the nation to the brink of ruin, and entailed indeliable infamy on themselves. These assertions are verified by facts; what facts perhaps it would be *dangerous* particularly to say. It is sufficient to observe, that from the conduct of intriguing ministers national disunion and discontent will proceed, and they will weaken the consistency, the vigour, and expedition of all public measures. On the contrary, from the conduct of Mr. Pitt proceeded union, joy and hope; which produced happiness and success: affection in every enterprise, arising from a perfect confidence in him, impelled the mind to honourable action.—From this union every public and private advantage was derived; by it our commerce was enlarged, the state strengthened, and the nation became powerful and respected. He who effected these, and established virtue on the ruins of corruption, was justly entitled to the appellation of THE MINISTER OF THE PEOPLE; a title by far more honourable than any which a court can bestow.

Mr. Pitt did not at first acquiesce in the German war, but he resolved on an expedition to the coast of France, that should at once serve both Germany and Britain. The scheme of a littoral war against France was undoubtedly a good one, according to the present system of affairs. France had embarked in the quarrels of the empire, and was marching great armies to increase those disturbances; an attempt therefore to annoy her coast, and destroy her maritime stores, would serve Britain, by annihilating her rival strength, and serve Germany, by obliging her to keep her troops at home for the defence of her maritime places. Some few, who were against this kind of war, urged it was cowardly, weak, and immethodical; but

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but they were soon over-ruled by others, who asserted, that it was no matter which way the enemy was annoyed, provided she was but sensibly hurt.

The British connexions in Germany, at this time, had need of such assistance. The Austrians had penetrated into Saxony and Silesia, had taken several strong places, and defeated several of the Prussian detachments. The Russians had invaded Prussia; the Swedes, Pomerania; the Imperialists and French, Saxony; and the other French army had seized Embden, and other places of consequence, and having united the detachments made from this army, they followed the duke of Cumberland over the Weser, and defeated his army at Hastenbeck; his Royal Highness finding the electorate no longer tenable against such superior numbers, retreated to Stade, where, under the mediation of Denmark, he obtained a cessation of hostilities, and prevented his whole army being made prisoners, by agreeing to a convention of neutrality, which ordered his troops to be distributed into quarters of cantonment.

The convention was signed on the very day that the expedition fleet set sail: the ships were commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, and the troops by Sir John Mordaunt; who, agreeable to their instructions, proceeded to Basque road, in order to attack the town of Rochefort. A concurrence of evils frustrated this expedition: it will be hard to determine whether they were purposely framed, or accidentally fell out. The French nation is said to have been alarmed by the troops lying on the Isle of Wight some time before they sailed, and by very good intelligence from England. Two days after the fleet made the enemy's land, the Viper sloop was dispatched from England, with the following letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt to Sir Edward

ward Hawke, and to Sir John Mordaunt, dated Whitehall, September 15, 1757, and received by them on board the *Ramilies* on the 22d day of September.

‘ S I R,

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

‘ afford a competent time, for the completion of
 ‘ any operation under the above circumstances ;
 ‘ after which you are to take care to return, with
 ‘ the fleet under your command, and the forces
 ‘ on board, in the manner directed by your former
 ‘ instructions.

‘ I am, &c.

‘ W. PITT.’

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

On the 23d of September the little isle of Aix was taken. At the time this little conquest was made, it was expected the troops were to be immediately landed; but on the 25th the military officers resolved in a council of war, that an attempt upon Rochefort was neither adviseable nor practicable. On the 8th of October, after having most effectually alarmed the French coast, it was resolved to land at the mouth of the river Charente, and at 12 o'clock at night the troops were put into the boats, where they remained four hours on a boisterous sea, and then were ordered back again; upon which admiral Broderick acquainted Sir Edward Hawke, ‘ That having prepared all the
 ‘ boats with proper officers to land the troops,
 ‘ he was now to acquaint him, that the generals
 ‘ were come to a resolution not to land to-night,
 ‘ but to wait till day-light, when they can have a
 ‘ full view of the ground whereon they are to
 ‘ land.’ Sir Edward then desired Mr. Broderick to enquire of the general officers, whether they had any further military operations to propose, that the squadron might not be unnecessarily detained: to which the commander of the land forces sent this
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answer, ' We all agree in returning directly to ' England.' Upon which Sir Edward sent a letter to Mr. Pitt, the conclusion of which is thus : ' It was the *daily* expectation of their undertaking something, which induced me to stay here so long. As I have got their final resolution, I ' shall sail for England to-morrow morning." When the fleet arrived, the whole nation was in a ferment ; they exclaimed against the commanders, and cried aloud for justice on the delinquents. The officers blamed the ministry ; who, to acquit themselves, directed an enquiry to be made into the causes of the miscarriage. The officers appointed to make this enquiry, whose penetration will ever be applauded, gave it as their opinion, that the causes of the miscarriage were, ' Not attacking fort ' Fouras by sea, * at the same time that it could ' have been attacked by land : and, coming to a ' resolution on the 25th of September, that an ' attempt on Rochefort was neither adviseable nor ' practicable, though at that time there were no ' troops nor batteries on shore to prevent a descent.' From hence it appeared, that the of-

* It is proper to explain this matter. Sir Edward Hawke first proposed laying a 60 gun ship against Fouras, in order to facilitate the landing of the troops ; and Thierry, a noted French pilot, who gave much of that information on which the expedition was planned, undertook to conduct such a ship for that purpose ; but it was laid aside upon a representation from vice-admiral Knowles, that even a bomb-ketch had run aground at above two miles distance from the fort. As it is probable those who conducted the bomb-ketch missed the channel through ignorance, it excited wonder and astonishment, that Thierry, who Sir Edward Hawke, in his letter to Mr. Pitt, says, behaved with great bravery and skill, and who declared he could carry the *Magnanime*, which is 74 guns, within a quarter of a mile of Fouras, was not permitted to try his skill.—Might not a sloop be driven on a sand at the mouth of the Thames, by a pilot ignorant of the navigation of that river ?

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ficers had been guilty of disobedience of orders. The reader may perhaps startle at this assertion, but we will give him a part of such of the evidences as tended to prove the attempt *was practicable*. Lieutenant colonel Clark said, that he, with three more officers, went on shore, and walked two miles, over a spungy neck of land, called Isle Denis, to the solid continent, *without molestation*; and he said the army might easily have landed at Chatelaillon bay. This opinion he formed on the spot. Colonel Wolfe (who afterwards took Quebec) confirmed his opinion, viz. that a landing on that bay might have been made entirely out of the reach of the enemy's artillery. Admiral Broderick described this landing place to be a fair, hard, sandy beach, and in his opinion a landing might have been made here with ease, for the transports could come within half a mile of the bay. The board of enquiry, by their opinion, having attributed a principal cause of the miscarriage to the military officers, the commander of the land-forces, in order to vindicate his character, applied for a court martial, which was granted: the charge was disobedience of orders; but after the same evidences were again examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke, he was adjudged not guilty. However, the public discontent did not appear in the least appeased. There seemed to be a suspicion, that the real cause of the failure were to be attributed somewhere else. In this point the minister could not be to blame: for he intended the expedition to annoy the enemy, to make him susceptible of wounds upon his own coasts, to strike terror and dismay throughout all his subjects, to enervate and dispirit his arms, and to threaten his destruction as a maritime power: and on the other hand, to elate the hopes and spirits of the British

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nation, and to stimulate them to successive actions of glory and conquest. But he had the misfortune to find the consequences of the expedition directly opposite; and to sweeten this bitter pill, to see an attempt in the city for sifting out the true cause, by proposing to obtain a parliamentary enquiry, over-ruled by a message from the King*. Do not all these things concur to support the suspicion of a *secret cause* for the failure of the expedition?

Although the design of this expedition was frustrated, yet the European powers interested in the sea, penetrated into the spirit of the new minister, and began instantly to change their former opinion of the British councils. They saw with surprise, a man placed at the head of, and giving directions to, a warlike people; a man who admitted no other rule for his operations against the enemy than convenience; they were alarmed at his resolution and new system; and though he had failed in his first attempt, they saw plainly he was not discouraged by it. Sweden and Denmark concluded a treaty, purporting the defence of their commerce in the Baltic; and they sent their united squadrons to

* November 5, 1757. At a court of common council at Guildhall, a motion was made to address his majesty on the miscarriage of the late expedition to the coast of France; and after some debate the lord mayor was asked by a member of the court, if any information had been given to his lordship of an enquiry being intended to be made, he answered, that on Monday evening [October 31.] William Blair, Esq; one of the clerks of his majesty's most honourable privy council, came to the Mansion-house, and acquainted him, that his majesty had given proper directions for an enquiry to be forthwith made into the behaviour of the commanding officers of the said expedition, or to that effect; whereupon the motion was immediately withdrawn. [The public newspapers.]

cruise in that sea, fearing he should send a fleet into the north. The Dutch proposed to augment their ships from the same fear; and the Italian states, in conjunction with the king of Naples, took every precaution that was in their power for the security of their ports. Spain and Portugal trusted their security to their important commercial connexions with Great Britain. France was not prepared for such an enemy, who braving every method, and adopting new schemes, prepared to attack her desperately. At home he was unanimously applauded; and having roused the spirit of the nation from that stupid lethargy in which he found it, was deservedly and highly esteemed by all ranks of people; and, for the first time, popularity and the administration were seen united: a measure which is so essential in a country like England, that a *minister*, unless he has the power and confidence to gain it, can never act with the strength of the whole nation, nor invigorate a true spirit into the people, who abhorring or not chusing to confide in him, his administration will be found to be one continued scene of disgrace abroad, and distraction at home. Happily the people had reason not to think their confidence misplaced in Mr. Pitt*, they had experienced his honesty, and found him neither influenced by lucrative nor ambitious views; ever steadily pursuing their interests and happiness, and eagerly seizing every opportunity to gratify all their wishes, and preserve unanimity, which he knew was his only support, and would

* Even the *Tories* placed *their confidence* in him, and concurred in the promotion of ALL his measures, pleading that his *disinterestedness* was the cause of it. He was indeed disinterested, for he had all the trouble of power, without the pleasure of gratifying his friends.

carry him through every measure for humbling the enemy with success. Thus did *one* man change the face of affairs in the British nation, and fill with alarm all the potentates in Europe, who had hitherto entertained but a despicable opinion of our national wisdom and strength; and revived the ancient spirit and military virtue of the people, to be, as they often have been, the terror of the French.

In America the effects of his *first* administration were felt by this time. Admiral Coates, who had been sent with a squadron to Jamaica in February last, detached captain Forrest, with three ships, to cruize off Cape Francois, in order to intercept the French trade bound for Europe. At this time there lay in the harbour four French ships of the line, and three frigates, the commander * of whom, in order to drive the English ships off that station, strengthened his crews and quarters with an additional number of sailors and soldiers, and put to sea. When captain Forrest descried the enemy, he called his two captains on board him, and said, 'Gentlemen, you know your own strength, and see that of enemy: shall we give them battle?' They answered in the affirmative. 'Then, said he, fight them we will; there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging.' The English bore down upon the enemy with uncommon spirit, and began the action, which raged with the utmost fury above two hours and an half, all the while in sight of the Cape; when the French finding themselves greatly damaged, and notwithstanding their

* M. Kerfaint, who, in the month of November, 1756, sailed from France on an expedition to scour the English settlements on the coast of Guinea, which he executed with tolerable success.

vast superiority, unable to take any of the British ships, ran away, and sought their preservation in the harbour. Captain Forrest returned to Jamaica to refit his ships *.

During the summer, the effects of his having been *turned out* of the administration were also felt in America. We before mentioned admiral Holborn's being sent too late ; it now remains to speak of the consequences. Lord Loudon † drew the troops from the northern frontier of the British settlements adjoining to Canada, and he continued to call the troops from the other parts, till he

* Another gallant action of this brave officer deserves to be mentioned : he in a subsequent cruize, near the island of Hispaniola, took (by a well-concerted project) a whole fleet of nine French merchantmen, richly laden, with a single ship, in the neighbourhood of five harbours, into any of which, could the enemy but have escaped, they might have been secure, and carried them into Jamaica, where they were all condemned. This was the first stroke given to the enemy's trade in Mr. Pitt's administration.

† Unfortunately for his lordship's popularity, and the happiness of this nation, an embargo was laid on all ships in North America on the third of March, in order that the enemy might not receive any intelligence of his designs, and to make provisions plenty and cheap for the army and navy ; although he might have known that the exports would never exhaust the great quantities of provisions which the British colonies produce, and the enemy might receive intelligence by other channels. The country was greatly injured by this embargo, which made the staple commodity a drug ; for the merchant, the farmer, and the labourer all suffered, while the contractors put immense sums into their pockets. Unfortunately likewise, there was a great defect in the last year's crop in England, and bread was so excessive scarce, that the nation was in dread of a famine, without being able to procure relief from its colonies, where there was a great plenty : but the government wisely took away this authority of laying future embargoes. It is proper to observe, that a little before the embargo was laid, advice was received at New York of the great scarcity of corn in England.

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

* Alluding to a hasty expression of lord Charles Hay, who was a major-general in this armament, and who in one of the frequent councils which were held at this place, was put under an arrest for some public reflexions on the conduct of affairs. In the year 1759 he solicited a court martial, in order to clear his character from the consequences of a disagreement between him and the commander in chief, which was granted, and held in London: the charge was contempt of orders; but his lordship died before the proceedings were closed. However, it is necessary to observe, in justice to his memory, that the uneasiness which he shewed to some transactions in America, displayed a becoming ardour in him, whose courage and zeal were known to the world, and had been distinguished by the applauses of the enemy: and nothing will be hazarded in saying, he was one of the bravest and best officers on this service.

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‘ and country in reality.’ At length, on the first of August, the troops were embarked to go against Louisbourg; but on the fourth a supposed French packet, † from Louisbourg to France, was taken and brought in. By the letters found on board this packet it appeared, that there were then in the harbour of Louisbourg 17 ships of the line, three frigates, 6000 troops in garrison, with 3000 natives, and 1300 Indians: the place well supplied with all kinds of military stores, and the people all in high spirits, and wishing for an attack. On the receipt of this intelligence, the whole plan of operations was laid aside. Lord Loudoun with the troops returned to New York, where he arrived August 30, and admiral Holborn cruized off Cape Breton, hoping that as the season advanced, when the French fleet must leave their harbour and return to Europe, he should be able to carry some of them to England, in recompence for an inactive campaign; but on the 24th of September his fleet was terribly shattered and dispersed by a violent storm, which forced him off his station, and some of the ships, in great distress, to return to England. The French fleet having now an opportunity, returned to Europe unmolested.

The sagacity which drew the troops from the northern frontier of the English provinces, in so doing, exposed them to the incursions of the French troops in Canada; for during the absence

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

of lord Loudoun, fort William Henry, which stood on lake George, fell a prey to the French arms; though one would have thought our people might have taken warning from a recent alarm* given to that fort before his lordship's departure, and therefore it could not have been imprudent to have left a strong succour for its relief, in case of a second attack. However so it was, that while his lordship was gone on the expedition against Louisbourg, the marquis de Montcalm laid siege to the fort on the third of August, with 10,000 men, and a train of artillery; and on the ninth colonel Monro, the commander, was obliged to surrender, having expended all his ammunition. The garrison obtained, by their gallant defence, an honourable capitulation; but many of them were cruelly butchered by the French Indians, together with the women and children. A scene of such savage cruelty, and horrid barbarity, was never acted as at the gates of this fort: the infants and children were seized by the heels, and their brains beat out against stones and trees; the throats of some of the women were cut; and the bodies of others were ript open, and their bowels torn out and thrown in their faces; and other more shocking marks of rage, horror, and cruelty were committed, but which, for the sake of the humane reader, we shall not mention. All these were done in sight of the French regulars, and their inhuman commander,

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

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who, contrary to the articles of the capitulation, never ordered them to restrain the barbarity of the Indians. Part of the garrison, however, escaped to fort Edward, in a miserable condition, after being pursued seven miles by the enemy's savages. General Webb, with near 4000 men, was an indifferent spectator of the operations of the siege;—perhaps he thought his numbers not sufficient to hazard a battle with Montcalm, nor to relieve the place.

Now we will return to the transactions in Europe. The king of Prussia, hemmed in by his enemies on all sides, knew not which of them to attack first: at length, after many marches and stratagems, he brought the army of the Empire to a battle on the fifth of November, near Rossbach, and, after a short conflict, gained a complete victory. The consequence of this battle was such, that it not only freed him on that quarter, but likewise prevented the French, who had overrun Hanover, from penetrating into Magdeburg.—Being relieved in these two very material parts, by one decisive stroke, he turned his arms against the Austrians; who, in his absence, had almost wrested Silesia out of his hands, and entirely forced his Troops from their intrenchments, under the command of the prince of Bevern; he totally overthrew their grand army on the fifth of December, near Breslau; and before the end of the year, regained all Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, and had more prisoners in his possession than the amount of his whole army. These brave actions, so glorious and so rapid, endeared him to the friendship of the people of England, who had but just before given him up as a prey to his numerous enemies; they now beheld with astonishment and admiration, his activity and gallantry, in extricating

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himself out of so many difficulties; and every man at that time said, it was a pity so brave a monarch should be unsupported, or permitted to be crushed by a such a powerful, yet cowardly, confederacy; and so warm were the whole people in his behalf, and so eager to shew all testimonies of their good wishes to his cause, that on the anniversary of his birth day, (Jan. 24, 1758.) which happened while these great exploits were recent in every body's memory, that the most extraordinary, or rather (considering he was a foreign prince, the most extravagant rejoicings were made throughout the kingdom.

But to the battle of Rosbach, it was that he principally owed his good fortune and glory; the spirits of his troops, which had been sunk into a state of despondency, by surrounding evils and miseries, instantly revived after that action; and the hopes and thoughts of liberty* stimulated them to future deeds of valour: and to speak impartially, which is our professed design, among the other consequences of this battle must be numbered the Hanoverians resuming their arms; for had the king of Prussia lost it, they would have remained in a state of quietude.

On the first of December the parliament met, when there appeared, what had not been seen for many years, a perfect unanimity throughout the whole house; which gave infinite pleasure to every individual without doors, and instilled a pleasing hope and prospect of the affairs of the nation being likely to go on well, when the great were unanimous to humble the enemy: indeed the true case was, the old ministers were reconciled to the new ones; at least both parties came to a kind of capi-

* i. e. Clearing their country of the enemy, and rescuing their habitations and families from plunder and massacre.

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tulation, and while they were unanimous in counsel, it was not very probable that their adherents should differ in parliament. Added to all this, the King became better reconciled to Mr. Pitt, (who may be considered as sole acting minister; for every thing seemed to move by his direction, and every body to acquiesce in his advice and plans) because they perfectly agreed in one very principal point, which was that of an inveterate hatred to the French; and the whole nation agreed with them also: but the difficulty was in the means to exert this passion, or rather to give it its full force with the strength of the whole nation; each were wedded to opposite principles: his Majesty was for a continental war, on account of his native and electoral dominions; Mr. Pitt was for a naval war, as the only method of ruining the French trade, and aggrandizing this nation, and securing its dependencies. It would be neither easy nor prudent to carry this nice point any further; the reader's penetration will enable him to conceive what else is not proper to explain. We will only add, that no favour was used by one, nor any low-cunning by the other; both were desirous of acquitting themselves with noble actions, and laudable arguments were made use of; they were equally above baseness, and equally desirous of reducing the enemy. Mr. Pitt neither wanted nor sought closet favour, in order to undermine his fellow servants; and his majesty equally detested being led by the nose: he was a warrior himself, and fond of resolution and spirit: he had not been nurtured on the lap of luxury, nor accustomed to dangling among women, but bred to the camp, and to real business. Hence arose that noble independency of spirit, which crushes the very embryoes of intrigue, and all the little arts of narrow minds: hence it was, that after the ministry were settled, the national business

went on with success, and without interruption: no bubbling tales of courtiers, no rascals in the enemy's pay, could either divert Mr. Pitt, or impede the operations of the war.

At this time the French were over-running the electorate of Hanover, which, as it is natural to suppose, in a very particular manner affected his majesty; and it may as naturally be judged, that he wished for nothing more than to force them out again. As the battle of Rosbach extricated the king of Prussia from a gaol, which the confederate powers had formed about him, and at the same time furnished the Hanoverians with an opportunity for resuming their arms, and revenging the injuries of the electorate on its plunderers, will it be thought incredible, that they, as well as their sovereign, were for beginning this laudable work? The French had broke the articles of the convention; they had committed hostilities in several places, and in particular in taking by assault, the castle of Scharzfeld, which they plundered, and carried off the garrison prisoners of war; they refused to restore the prisoners made before the convention was signed, and after it was, they doubled their heavy and enormous exactions on the inhabitants. It will not be doubted, but the troops out of their love for their country, burned to revenge these acts of rapine. But there wanted a commander in chief: the duke of Cumberland had returned to England, where not meeting with a reception due to his abilities, well-meaning, and endeavours, he resigned all his military employments, and retired to Windsor; regretted by all the sensible part of the nation, who have always found him a steady and uncorrupt friend to the interest of England, possessed of the entire affection of the troops, and known to have been a brave officer. Another commander was of course looked out for; the king of Prussia furnished one.

one. It was the interest of that monarch to bring the Hanoverians again into the field; for by driving the French out of Hanover, they would thereby cover one part of his dominions; he therefore sent his best officer, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. This affair was managed so secretly, that the French general knew nothing of it; the first intelligence he had was, that the Hanoverians were actually assembled under arms, with prince Ferdinand of Brünswick at their head.

Some people say, that the convention of Closterseven was a fine opportunity for breaking the links which bound us to the continental war, and they blame the ministry for consenting to the Hanoverians resuming their arms; but these people should observe, that it was not in the ministry's power to hinder the Hanoverians resuming their arms; his majesty, as elector of Hanover, was not obliged to act by consent of his British privy council relative to the affairs of Hanover; they had no authority over his electoral subjects; he is in that capacity without controul, and if he chose to order his Hanoverian troops to take up arms, it was not in the power of a British ministry to prevent it. But the fact is, the people of England themselves, at that time, were not against it; they humanely considered the Hanoverians as sufferers on their account: the French had entered the electorate, merely because of the war with England, and every one pitied the unhappy calamity which fell in a manner particularly heavy on them, who were innocent sufferers in another's cause, and who had given no room for offence. The people of England, with a spirit of true benevolence, dispassionately reflected on the whole state and hardship of their unhappy condition, and the cause which brought upon them the worst of all miseries, that of their country being made the scene of war, and were as much rejoiced at the Hanoverians

rians resuming their arms as the Hanoverians could be themselves; and the parliament unanimously voted 100,000*l.* for their present support. The first operations of the allies, were on the castle and town of Harburg, near Stade, which they reduced in a short time.

In January 1758, they moved into the country of Bremen, and dislodged the French from their posts there. About the middle of February, they were reinforced by a body of Prussian horse, and then they began to act with vigour; they seized Hoya, and Minden. The French finding they could not stop the progress of the allies, wantonly set fire to the orphan house at Zell, while the children and people were in it, and again plundered the electorate in many places; but prince Ferdinand followed the dispirited and cruel enemies so close, that they abandoned the electorate as fast as possible, and retired to the Rhine. This good fortune of the allies was not only particularly pleasing to the king, but was likewise so to all his subjects; and from the same causes which induced them to grow fond of the king of Prussia, they began to extol prince Ferdinand. This humour (so different from that which appeared last year) was improved; for as soon as the marks of it were perceived commodore Holmes was sent with a small squadron to retake the port town of Embden, which he performed without loss. This little exploit had its desired effect. The people of England, who are always glad to see the French distressed, were so far from being displeased with their navy acting a part for the assistance of their German friends, that they rejoiced to see the honour of the navy beginning to revive, which had hitherto been either inactive, or unsuccessful. The scheme of taking Embden was no other than the securing a port to land British troops at, to reinforce the allied army; for the plan of sending
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British troops to Germany was designed as early as the taking of Embden. The people at first did not know this, but they were brought to it by degrees.

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

* He was chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the last campaign in America, and he on a very solemn occasion declared, ' That he believed there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of their country. He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found, with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of any danger, could

with a fleet of men of war, and a considerable number of land forces, set sail from England on the 19th of February. This was timing things in a proper manner; the enemy had yet no force in America equal to what admiral Boscawen carried, nor any commander of equal capacity and reputation. However, as soon as they were acquainted of that brave officer's destination, they equipped two fleets at different ports for the relief of Louisbourg. One at Toulon, the commander of which was M. de la Clue; but Mr. Pitt had prepared every thing in order to frustrate these designs; an English fleet, under the direction of admiral Osborn, was stationed at the straits of Gibraltar: the French court equipped a second squadron at Toulon, to strengthen de la Clue, and enable him to force his way through the straits; the command of this second squadron was given to M. du Quesne. De la Clue had sailed before the other was ready, and was blocked up by admiral Osborn in the Spanish port of Carthagena. Du Quesne came to relieve him, and fell in with the English fleet. The Monmouth of 64 Guns, captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant of 80 Guns, commanded by du Quesne in person, for a considerable time, and it

could with confidence be trusted. He particularized the inactivity of one gentleman in North America, from whom the nation had conceived great expectations; he complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit for a considerable length of time any other advice of his proceedings, but what appeared on a written scrap of paper. He observed, that with a force by sea and land, greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal, than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries.

is thought would alone have taken her, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's force; but two other English ships coming up, du Quesne struck to the Monmouth, the captain of whom was killed, but the ship was bravely fought by the first lieutenant, Mr. Carkett. The Orphée another of the enemy's ships was likewise taken; and a third, called the Oriflamme, was drove ashore on the coast of Spain. The only remaining vessel of this squadron was a frigate, named the Pleiade, which being an excellent sailor, escaped back to Toulon, and carried the tidings of this disaster. Thus was *this* scheme of relieving Louisbourg frustrated, for M. de la Clue, not being able to force his passage through the straits, returned to Toulon, where his ships were laid up. The *other* fleet, designed to succour North America, was equipped at Rochfort; it consisted of six ships of war, two frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops; but Sir Edward Hawke was sent in April with a fleet to prevent their sailing. As soon as the enemy saw him approach, they ran their ships ashore, and threw their guns, stores, lading, and even ballast overboard, in order to lighten them and run them farther out of his reach. Thus the design and the equipment were totally defeated; and it has been said, that the guns, stores, and lading, were entirely lost. A number of small craft were employed to drag the ships through the mud, by which they were preserved; but they did not attempt to venture out to sea again. In the mean time admiral Boscawen arrived in America, where the plans of three different operations were to be executed for the speedy reduction of the enemy. The conduct of lord Loudon, who was last year commander in chief in America, had not given that satisfaction which was expected from him; it had been considered as inactive; therefore he was called home,

and the command devolved on major general Abercrombie, who afterwards pursued, or nearly pursued, his lordship's plans. The first, and indeed principal plan of these operations, was an expedition against Louisbourg, the fleet under the direction of admiral Boscawen, who was arrived at Halifax, together with the troops, in number about 12000, commanded by major general Amherst, assisted by brigadier general Wolfe. On the 28th of May this armament departed from Halifax, and on the 2d of June the fleet appeared off Louisbourg, but such a prodigious surf swelled all along the shore, that they were six days off the coast before a landing was found practicable. The governor of Louisbourg in the interim exerted all his skill to prevent their landing; he established a chain of posts that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the beach, and he threw up intrenchments and erected batteries: the harbour was defended by five ships of the line, and five frigates, three of which he ordered to be sunk at the mouth, to prevent the English fleet getting in; but all these precautions and endeavours were not sufficient to check the ardour and resolution of the English officers, who, as soon as the surf was somewhat abated, lost not a moment's time in landing. Brigadier-general Wolfe, to his immortal honour, with an intrepidity unparalleled, gained this material point, in spite of the enemy's utmost efforts. The rest of the troops followed him. The enemy fled, and the town of Louisbourg was invested. But the siege could not be prosecuted with safety until the enemy's ships in the harbour were taken, as they could bring their guns to bear upon the English camp: therefore general Wolfe immediately secured a place called the Light-house Battery, and another more material, called the Island-Battery; when by the bombs, one
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of the enemy's great ships was set on fire, which communicated to two others, and all three were consumed. Only two now remained, which the admiral undertook to secure, in order to gain possession of the harbour; he manned the boats of the squadron, and in two divisions, under the command of two young Captains, Laforey and Balfour, he sent them into the harbour in a dark night. These gallant heroes boarded the enemy's ships sword in hand, and one, being a-ground, they set her on fire, and towed the other out in triumph. The governor of the town having now no resource, nor the English any impediment to hinder their operations, he next day (July 26) surrendered the whole island of Cape Breton. The garrison were made prisoners, amounting in the whole, including such of the inhabitants as bore arms, the irregulars, seamen, &c. to 5637. It is well worthy observation in this place, that now we behold the *real* number of that *formidable* garrison, which the year before, when other commanders were on that station, it was not deemed prudent to attack*. When this conquest was achieved, admiral Boscawen detached lord Rollo to take possession of the island of St. John's, which instantly submitted to the British government. When the news of these glorious and inestimable conquests arrived in England, a general joy diffused itself throughout the whole kingdom: the wisdom of the minister, and the courage of the commanders, every Englishman was proud to extol; and addresses of congratulation from all parts were presented to the throne†.

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* See page 37.

† The possession of Cape Breton was a valuable acquisition to Great Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalry from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. When the plan of this conquest was originally laid down during the

The other plans of operation in America were : brigadier general Forbes was to go with about 8000 men to attack Fort Du Queine near the Ohio, and seize the lands which the French had usurped : and general Abercrombie, the commander in chief, with about 16000 men, was to reduce Crown Point, in order to open a road to the frontiers of Canada. The latter of these plans did not succeed. The vanguard of the army, in its rout to Ticonderoga, a place which the general intended first to reduce before he attempted Crown Point, fell in with a party of the enemy's Indians, upon which a skirmish of bush-fighting ensued, in which the gallant and admired lord Howe was slain. Notwithstanding this little disaster the army marched up to Ticonderoga (July 9) before which they found the enemy had felled a great number of trees, and placed other things, to prevent the British troops approaching in regular order ; the enemy had likewise thrown up intrenchments, and raised a breast-work eight feet high : however, the troops advanced in the best manner possible, and with an undaunted resolution mounted the works sword in hand, unsupported by their artillery (which was not brought up) or any thing that could give them the least hopes of success, except what they could derive by their own personal prowess. In this naked manner they for four hours maintained a most bloody and unequal conflict. The enemy's fire was terrible, as it was both from musquetry and cannon, and discharged in such volleys, the weight of which

the preceding war, it was demonstrated, that it would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations ; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public ; increase the shipping and marines ; and greatly extend navigation.

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it was impossible to sustain. The enemy being securely covered by their works, which had been vainly attempted to be stormed, and there being no prospect of any thing but an increase of slaughter, the general ordered the troops to be drawn off, and to retreat, after a loss of about 2000 men; which was accordingly done without any molestation from the enemy. More fortunate, however, was an enterprise, which general Abercrombie detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet to undertake. This officer, with 3000 men, was ordered to attack Fort Fronteniac, situated on the river St. Lawrence, which, when he approached, surrendered at discretion (Aug. 27) notwithstanding there were in it 60 pieces of cannon and 16 mortars: he likewise took all the enemies armed vessels on Lake Ontario. Brigadier Forbes in the mean time marched towards Fort Du Quesne; but when his vanguard, under the command of major Grant, who designed to take the place by surprize, had approached within a few miles of the fort, he was surrounded by a greatly superior party of the enemy's troops and Indians; on which an obstinate and cruel engagement began, which the English with their usual courage maintained near three hours, when being almost all cut to pieces, and major Grant, with 19 other officers, and a body of troops, made prisoners, they retreated and joined the main army. Notwithstanding the loss of this skirmish, brigadier Forbes advanced; but the enemy reflecting that their works could not withstand regular approaches, prudently abandoned the fort in time, and retired to their settlements on the Mississippi. Next day (Nov. 25) the English troops, without opposition, took possession of the fort; the contention for which, with the lands contiguous to it, had kindled up the flames of war. The troops and officers emulated by their success, and glorying

glorying in the minister who directed their operations in so wise and effectual a manner, instantly changed the name of the fort, and, with a propriety and compliment which need not be pointed out, gave it the name of *PITTSBURG*.—Thus ended the first campaign in America under the auspices of Mr. Pitt*.

As it ever had been, and still was, Mr. Pitt's great aim, to exert, in its full force, the naval strength of the kingdom, the whole was put into employ: no squadrons, ships, or commanders, were suffered to let the enemy rest in any part of the world; and notwithstanding so many ships were at this time abroad making conquests, protecting the British dominions, scouring the seas, and convoying

* • Whilst the French arms suffered such disgraces abroad, they endeavoured, by an alteration of their councils at home, to restore their credit. Their ministers had long been the sport of female caprice; it was their power of pleasing a mistress, who governed their king, that alone qualified them to serve their country. Some of the most able men were turned out of their employments with disgrace; others retired from the public service with indignation; a certain low character had for a long time appeared in all the proceedings of France, both within and without. Even in their domestic disputes, and where something of a free and manly spirit appeared, this spirit evaporated and spent itself upon unworthy and despicable objects. These contests, which involved the church, the law, and the crown, weakened them all; and the state felt all the ill effects of a disunion of its orders, without seeing an augmentation of power thrown into the scale of any. But now taught by their misfortunes and disgraces, they were obliged to make an alteration in their conduct; they were obliged to call men to the public service upon public principles; at a time indeed when, in many respects, things could be only altered, not mended; and wise and able ministers could do little more by their penetration and public spirit, than to see and lament the ruin caused by the want of those virtues in their predecessors. The duke de Belleisle, known to all Europe for his great abilities and his great exploits, was at length placed at the head of the military department as secretary at war.

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our trade ; yet he had enough at home to renew the project of harassing the coast of France, and thereby employing her troops at home, to prevent their being sent to Germany, or to the assistance of her colonies. He was not disheartened by the unsuccessful expedition against Rochfort ; he saw there *was* a practicability of distressing the French by a littoral war ; and soon after admiral Boscawen was sailed for America, he began to set on foot the scheme for annoying the coast of France. At this time there were some in the administration, who from the ill success of the Rochfort expedition, or an implicit adherence to former plans, were for making their push in Europe against the French on the side of Germany : it was their opinion, that the allied army ought to be reinforced, that Prince Ferdinand might be enabled to pursue the French, and gain some considerable advantage over them, while they were in a distressed condition ; and as the French were nearly upon their own frontiers, such a blow, if he had a reinforcement of British troops, might enable him to carry the war into France itself, and thereby bring matters to a conclusion : they added, that by this plan a diversion on the coast of France was not excluded, but would be attended with consequences infinitely more important, than if that diversion was attempted alone without any co-operation ; and they affirmed, that his duplicate plan of engaging the attention of the French ministry, was the most effectual way to embarrass and confound their distracted counsels. However plausible and advantageous this project may appear, Mr. Pitt did not at first acquiesce in it. He was still attached to British measures only. He directed two squadrons to be equipped, which was done by the latter end of May. The command of the greater was given to the late lord Anson, and that of the lesser to commodore Howe : their destinations

tions were kept an entire secret, which filled France with terror and alarm *. A considerable body of troops,

* The French ministry had some time before been deprived of the assistance of one of their spies in England, who being discovered, was committed to Newgate on the 9th of March. This was Florence Henfey, a native of Ireland, who was educated in the university of Leyden, where he studied physic, and obtained a diploma. He afterwards travelled through Switzerland, from thence to Italy, from Genoa by sea to Lisbon, and traversed Spain in his way to France, where he lived some time: he had acquired in the course of his travels a competent knowledge of the Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and French languages.

During his travels he supported himself in quality of a physician, and came over to England in order to settle in that character; but his success was not equal to his hopes, as he had but few patients of consequence; and yet it so happened, that his prescriptions, few as they were, were instrumental in his detection.

Having continued a correspondence, since his leaving Leyden, with a fellow student who resided at Paris, and had lately got into the secretary of state's office for foreign affairs; Henfey wrote to him, that he should be glad of an opportunity of doing him any service, and executing any commissions he might have in London; to which his correspondent answered, 'that he was infinitely obliged to him for the service he offered, and that, if he understood him rightly, their correspondence might be rendered more advantageous to both, by changing their topics from literary to political.' The doctor in a second letter commended his friends discernment, adding, 'that if he could obtain for him a suitable recompence, he would endeavour to make his intelligence of the utmost importance.' By the next post, he received an answer containing instructions and directions, and an appointment of 500 livres (about 25 l. sterling) a quarter. His instructions were, to send lists of all his majesty's ships, in and out of commission; number of men; when they sailed; the commanders names; from what port, and their destination; the state of our land forces, where quartered or garrisoned; the earliest account of enterprizes against France; plans of fortified places in England, America, &c. which intelligence was to be directed to some persons at Cologne, the Hague, and Bern, who were to forward his letters from those places to Paris.

The

troops, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, was embarked on board commodore Howe's

The doctor, however, was not much satisfied with his stipend; yet he accepted of it, in hopes by his merit to obtain a larger salary. With this view he endeavoured to insinuate himself into the favour of some of the clerks of the public offices, in order to obtain an early acquaintance of the British naval and military affairs; but this not answering his end, he passed his time chiefly in such coffee-houses, as were most likely to furnish intelligence of the kind he wanted; and under the sanction of his character as a physician remained unsuspected.

The plan for carrying on this correspondence was the following: the doctor wrote a common letter with ink, and between each line the secrets of England in lemon juice. This was inclosed under three or four different covers, directed to the different persons in the secret, who conveyed them from one hand to another, till the first inclosed came to the principal for whom it was designed.

He continued his correspondence from the beginning of 1756, without any material interruption. At length his employers complained of the insignificance of his intelligence, threatened to discontinue his appointment, and to deduct a guinea for every letter that did not contain some advice of importance. This letter, which was transmitted from Paris to the Hague, contained nothing seemingly but a few wide lines on trifling complimentary subjects. The doctor's answer to this was sent by Holland to Paris, and contained a representation of the smallness of his income; and, as an argument in his favour, he said he belonged to a club in the Strand (from which he could gain great intelligence) at which they always drank French wine at dinner. These wide wrote letters had their desired effect, by passing unnoticed for some time at the post-office. The discovery was owing to his brother, a jesuit, who was chaplain and under-secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, from whom our resident at that court gained a knowledge of some secrets relating to England, even before he had received any account thereof from his own court; for all letters of importance Hensley directed to his brother for the greater safety and dispatch. This put him upon an enquiry, and he soon learned that the secretary had a brother, a physician in London, from whom possibly he might get his intelligence: suspicion being thus raised, the doctor was watched, and twenty-nine of his letters stopped.

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Howe's Squadron; and on the 1st of June the two fleets put to sea. The commodore, with the troops, bore

From these letters it appeared, that he gave the French the first account of admiral Boscawen sailing to North America, and of the taking the Alcide and Lys, with every minute circumstance relating to it; and from that time, of the sailing of every fleet, and its destination; and was so minute as to give an account even of the launching of a man of war; he also gave an account of all difficulties relating to raising money. In one of these letters, dated July 29, 1757, it was confidently asserted, that a resolution was taken to attack Rochfort; though at that time neither admiral Hawke nor general Mordaunt were acquainted with any such resolution. In another letter, dated from Twickenham, the doctor, after giving an exact account of the state of our affairs, the condition of our fleet and army, their disposition, how many ships guarded, and how many troops lined the coast of England, concludes with asserting, 'that the only means of preventing the success of the expedition to Rochfort, would be to make a powerful diversion upon the coast of England; that by thus attacking us in our very vitals, we might be engaged at home, and so prevented from sending a number of troops abroad sufficient to give them any real annoyance.' And in another of his letters he particularly advised a descent of the French upon our coast, as the most certain method of distressing the government by affecting public credit, and mentioned the time when, and the place where it would be most proper.

But his principal or best intelligence seems to have been that of admiral Holbourne's destination to America, a few days after the admiral's instructions were signed, in which he was so very minute, as to mention the number of ships and troops on board, with the day of their departure, &c.

In consideration of this piece of intelligence, and the complaints which he had made of the smallness of his salary, it was agreed, that he should have 25 guineas per month, on condition of sending intelligence every post, or to forfeit a guinea for every omission. But he only received one payment before he was taken; nor is it probable he would have received any more; for complaints were again made, that his intelligence was insignificant, and contained nothing but extracts from the news-papers.

When the discovery of the first letter was made, all the rest were stopped at the post-office; and Dr. Henley was soon detected, though he was directed to under a fictitious name, and his

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bore for Cancalle Bay, near St. Malo, where they were landed on the 5th, at a small distance from the city, without opposition; while Lord Anson

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his letters appointed to be left at a coffee-house. He was waylaid on a Sunday coming from the Spanish minister's chapel in Soho-square, by two of his majesty's messengers, who followed him to different places, then seized him in St Martin's-lane, and conducted him to one of their houses in Germyn-street. His lodgings in Arundel-street were searched, where several letters were found; from which, together with those intercepted at the post-office, the above account is compiled. His correspondents signed themselves La Roche and P. de France.

On the 9th of March, 1758, he was committed to Newgate; and the 12th of June was conducted from Newgate to the Court of King's-Bench in order to be tried; when he pleaded *not guilty*, and excepted to eleven of the jury before they came to be sworn. Upon the trial the identity of his hand-writing was the principal point to be proved, which was done by creditable witnesses; namely, Mr. M--d--z, on whom he had several bills of exchange; Dr. W---m, of Westminster; and several apothecaries, who had received prescriptions from him for patients under his care, which they had kept on their files. After a trial of ten hours, the jury brought him in guilty of high treason: upon which he was asked by the judge (Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, the Judges Dennison, Forster and Wilmot were upon the Bench) whether he chose any particular time for receiving sentence; he desired the Wednesday following. Accordingly, on the 14th of June, he was brought to the bar, and there received sentence, 'To be drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, and there to be hung up by the neck, but cut down before dead, have his bowels taken out, and his heart thrown in his face, and his body quartered.' He held his handkerchief up to his face while his sentence was read; and being asked if he had any thing to offer in his behalf, he desired a fortnight to prepare for his end, which the court granted, and allowed him till the 12th of July; but early that morning a reprieve was brought to Newgate, to respite him for a fortnight longer. After which he was several times respited from time to time, and at length pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile.

It has been fondly, or rather foolishly, thought, that he earned his forgiveness by some important discovery; but this was not the case, for it is certain that he owed it to foreign interposition.

stretched along the coast, to prevent any of the ships coming out of Brest, or other ports, to annoy the transports. St. Malo being found to be strongly situated on a peninsula, it was not judged prudent to attack it; therefore the troops destroyed about one hundred sail of shipping, many of them privateers, which lay under the cannon of the place, and set fire to several magazines filled with naval stores. The damage was considerable; yet the town never fired. The troops having nothing further to do were re-embarked on the 12th; and it was intended to make a descent near Cherbourg; but it blowing a hard gale, and provisions being short, it was found necessary to return home.

At this time the efforts for supporting the German war were brought to their nice criterion. Either England must support Prussia and defend Hanover, or both must fall; for the confederacy was so powerful against them, that without the assistance of England they could not be able to stand against their numerous enemies; and Mr. Pitt now saw, that he must either (with the rest of the king's servants, who were attached to Germany) enter into the trammels of Germanic measures, or quit the helm of the administration. Here was a strong conflict between the duty which he owed to his sovereign, and the principles which he had plighted to the people. It will be hard to distinguish, in a government like ours, whether it is greater patriotism in a minister to be continually opposing an aged monarch, in some alien, but favourite measures; or to acquiesce in them, and thereby procure harmony and unanimity among all his servants and subjects. In a despotic government, it is true, a minister is obliged to pursue, and endeavour to accomplish, whatever are his sovereign's political views; but in a royal republic (like

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Great Britain) a minister may oppose whatever he thinks is unconstitutional or prejudicial to the national interest. Mr. Pitt had long opposed German measures; he had opposed till he saw opposition was vain; and that whoever was sincerely desirous of pursuing the interests of England, must sacrifice some points and some opinions to Germany, to prevent British measures, in the other parts of the world, being impeded: he saw that the best way was to acquiesce; for while he adhered to British measures *only*, unanimity would never be established in the king's council: it was apparent, Britain must inevitably be connected with Germany, as long as the same person is king of England and elector of Hanover*. This channel being unavoidable, the only thing that a good

* * When we excluded from the throne the family of the Stuarts, we cast our eyes round Europe for a sovereign; but we could find no prince of the protestant religion, who had no foreign dominions: what then must we have done?—have submitted to absolute government, been torn to pieces by a civil war, or chosen a king who had political interests; it was thought best to chuse the latter, however distinct those interests might be from the good of this nation. If this misfortune was inevitable in its cause, it was impossible to prevent its being the same in its effect. The evil then of keeping considerable armies in Germany is (in some measure) engrafted in the establishment. Without doubt all Englishmen with the crown had no territory out of this island, that our strength might be kept within it; but secondary causes have disposed things otherwise, and how shall we alter them? it might be proposed the giving Hanover to one of the royal family: as it would (as far as human wisdom can be allowed to divine) be greatly for the interest of both Great Britain and Hanover, by taking away a pretence for invading it when at war with us. This measure is practicable, for by the feudal law, by which the fiefs in Germany are regulated, a vassal can give his land to whom he will; that is, the *dominium utile*, or the profits; the superior's consent is only necessary to establish what is called the *dominium directum*: there are many examples in Germany which shew that such alienations are agreeable to the Germanic constitution

good patriot could do, was to aim at making it serviceable to Britain : a short consideration pointed out the method ; it must be heartily entered into : the attention and troops of France must be diverted as much as possible that way, to make her employ more troops in Germany, than was consistent with her interest in America and the support of her marine, in order to furnish fairer opportunities for attacking her settlements abroad §, and thereby cut off

tion and practice. But as long as the same person is king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover, the evil will not be removed.

Every one knows that when we first entered into a war with France, in a cause that was purely national, France thought not of disturbing Germany, till she saw herself baffled in her hopes of succeeding in her single contention with us. She then turned her eyes towards the empire, and there saw and opening for new projects. The courts of Vienna and Berlin were then in a jarring state; the former having formed a grand alliance for dispossessing the latter of Silesia, which under our guaranty had been ceded to it by treaty. France stood ready, under pretence of joining either party in that quarrel, to make reprisals on the electorate of Hanover for her losses to the king of Great-Britain. The court of London was aware of this, and thereupon applied to that of Vienna for supporting, in a common cause, the unoffending electorate, at the time that it entered into a subsidiary treaty with Russia for effecting the same purpose. But the Empress Queen, bent only on prosecuting her own cause, refused to engage in so just a common one; which reasonably disgusted England; while Prussia, fearful of our Russian alliance, and doubtful of the effectual alliance with France, farther than in seizing the electorate of Hanover, proposed an alliance with Great-Britain; not with a design to draw her troops into the empire, but with a view to keep all foreign troops out of it, and thereby to confine the struggles in Germany, to the German powers only. But Russia, as well as France, having a particular point to carry, these two powers joined Austria and Saxony, and drew Sweden into the alliance, being all bent on public mischief for the promotion of their several private ends. Thus the misfortunes which have happened, where in fact found unavoidable."

§ The case was not now as it was when Mr. Pitt came into the administration, when there was a necessity of keeping a

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off the sources of her treasure and power both by sea and land. This was the outline. There yet remained many steps to be taken to accomplish this great end. Since it was impossible to separate Britain from the continent, those engagements entered into by the former administration, must be cemented in a still stronger manner. The confederacy against Prussia being too powerful for him, he in all probability, if not supported by England, would be crushed; and if he fell, Hanover would instantly fall likewise. The latter was the tender point, and at a peace it must be regained, even if it should be set at the high price of all the British conquests. According to this system, which every one knows

• sufficient force of regulars at home, instead of foreign auxiliaries, to repel any attempts that might be made by hostile invasions. Mr. Pitt would not, in those circumstances, consent to send any British troops into Germany, because it would expose Britain, and oblige him to relax his vigour to compleat the grand designs he had formed, which were necessary to be executed for the security of our trade, navigation and colonies; and for reducing the power of France by sea. The progress made by the French arms against our allies, in this interim, will testify, that their interests were not preferred to the interest of Great-Britain; but that they suffered greatly for want of that aid, which a wise and good minister could not then grant them, without deviating from the principal object of the British war: though France avowedly attacked Hanover on account of our American differences. But when affairs took such a turn in favour of Britain; that the fleets, which our enemy had equipped their several ports, to pour a numerous army into this island, were defeated and ruined: when the loss of their men of war, and of their sailors, brought into our ports, evinced the impossibility of executing any hostile attempts against the British isles, to effect: when his majesty had given his royal consent to the raising a regular and well-disciplined militia, for the internal safety of England: and when that institution enabled the ministry to spare a supply of British troops, to break the progress of France against territories invaded, plundered, burnt and destroyed, for no other reason, than their connections with Britain: then we could not, in justice, deny our allies such succours, as our national interest could spare".

was the system of those days, it was the interest of Britain to support the existence of Prussia, and reinforce the allied army with British troops: therefore, in order to ruin the Gallic scheme, (which was the making a conquest of Hanover, and with it purchase whatever the superiority of the British navy might acquire) the support of Prussia, and the defence of Hanover, became objects of the second importance. The people of England were unanimous in their desires of supporting the king of Prussia: the eclat of his victories had gained their esteem. It was at the time when this vein was swelled with the warmest blood, that the treaty with Prussia was made. We do not here mention this as any vindication of that treaty, because we just before explained the political motives, which induced Mr. Pitt to sign it, and the views which he had of making advantage result from it; but what a happy concurrence of events there had been to warp the people to German measures, and to continue the most favourable opinion of the minister, and to still repose unlimited confidence in his known honesty, vigilance and well-meaning. Here it will not be amiss to insert a translation of the convention between his majesty and the king of Prussia, concluded and signed at London on the 11th of April, 1758.

‘ Whereas a treaty between their Britannic and
 ‘ Prussian majesties was concluded and signed on
 ‘ the 16th day of January 1756, the stipulations
 ‘ whereof tended to the preservation of the general
 ‘ peace of Europe, and of Germany in particular:
 ‘ and whereas since that period France has not only
 ‘ invaded the empire with numerous armies, and
 ‘ attacked there aforesaid majesties and their allies,
 ‘ but has also excited other powers to act in like
 ‘ manner: and whereas it is so notorious, that the
 ‘ extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian majesty
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to defend himself against the number of enemies, who have attacked him on so many sides at once, have occasioned a very great and burthensome expence; whilst, on the other hand, his revenues have been greatly diminished in those parts of his dominions which have been the seat of war; and their majesties having mutually determined to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, for the protection of their allies, and the preservation of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic majesty has resolved, in consequence of these considerations, to give an immediate succour, in money, to his Prussian majesty, as the speediest and most effectual; and their aforesaid majesties have thought proper, that a convention should be made thereupon, in order to declare and ascertain their reciprocal intentions in this respect; for which purpose they have appointed and authorized their respective ministers, viz. In the name and on the part of his Britannic majesty, his privy counsellors, Sir Robert Henley, knight, lord keeper of the great seal of Great-Britain, John earl of Granville, president of his council, Thomas Holles duke of Newcastle, first lord commissioner of his treasury, Robert earl of Holderness, one of his principal secretaries of state, Philip earl of Hardwicke, and William Pitt, Esquire, another of his principal secretaries of state; and in the name and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the Sieurs Dodo Henry baron of Knyphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Britannic majesty, and Lewis Michell, his *charge d'affaires* at the said court; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

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

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

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

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

‘ In witness whereof, we the underwritten ministers of his Majesty the king of Great-Britain, and of his Majesty the king of Prussia, by virtue of our full powers, have signed this present convention, and have set the seals of our arms thereto.’

This convention was renewed annually much in the same tenor of expression, and exactly with respect

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spect to the terms. The house of parliament approved of this convention when it was laid before them, and on the 20th of April granted the money*.

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* The sum stipulated by this convention to be paid by Great-Britain, has been branded with the appellation of *a tribute, in the payment of which the honour and interest of the nation were scandalously prostituted.* ' This is a licentiousness of diction, which at once arraigns the king, lords and commons, of prostituting their power and authority, and of combining in a measure to dishonour and ruin the nation. ' Let us examine this allegation.—A tribute!—This is a token of bondage. Did the British parliament, when they granted an annual supply of money to the king of Prussia, give any reason to suspect, that therewith they surrendered to him their liberty, lives and fortunes? or did they act, as if they made that obligation through fear of what might be dreaded from the progress of his arms; or through that magnanimous principle of succouring the distressed; of maintaining a balance of power, for which England has always been applauded; and of favouring our national interest? Did not the king of Prussia, in consideration of that annual payment, stipulate and agree to enter into no secret or separate treaty of peace detrimental to the interest, and without the consent of Great-Britain? and to keep the sword drawn against our enemies, till his Britannic majesty should give him leave to sheath it by an honourable peace;—In all which there does not appear any thing like slavery or tribute on the part of Britain.—How such a treaty with the king of Prussia can be branded with the scandalous prostitution of the honour and interest of the nation is as unjust, as it is inconceivable. Was it beneath the dignity of the king of Great Britain to enter into an alliance with a protestant king, of the first rank, for his valour, and for his strength and interest in Europe? Was it scandalous to secure such an ally by a pecuniary settlement, when the union of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, assisted by Russia, Sweden, and other powers, threatened immediate destruction to our trade and interest on the continent of Europe: which would naturally have followed the conquering sword of our French rivals in every branch of manufacture and commerce; or was it scandalous to facilitate our operations by sea in America, and in other distant regions, by a well-timed application of such a subsidy; which kept France in such a state of uncertainty, dependance and expence, that disabled her from a vigorous pursuit of her natural and national interest, and crowned our expeditions
every

The German connexions being fully entered into, they granted this session other monies relative to the support of the German cause, which augmented the sum granted for the aid of our friends on the continent to 1,861,897*l.* and the supplies, in the whole, amounted to 10,486,457 *l.* It will be allowed, that this was carrying on war at an immense expence; but at the same time it must be confessed, that there was no other way of frustrating the French designs. It was likewise putting France to an immense expence in granting subsidies to Austria, Russia, Sweden, and several princes of the empire; which she was obliged to do by virtue of the treaty of confederacy, in order to accomplish her views: therefore the case was nothing more than opposing one great expence to another. It remained to be seen who was best able to bear it: the consequence all the world knows; France became a bankrupt: Mr. Pitt was sensible, that opposing France on the continent was putting her to a greater expence than England †; and he had in view the making her

every where with success? This subsidy has nothing new in its constitution. It was of no other kind, than what not only Britain, but other nations, particularly France, has always made use of, to secure an interest to herself, and to deprive her adversaries of further means of strength. Of this kind have been several northern princes, who were always looked upon as tributaries, or subservient, to the nation which paid them for their friendship and aid, and not as holding their pay-masters in a state of tributary subjection.

† The Austrians, Russians, Swedes, &c. have cost France more by subsidies, than their common cause has received benefit. A moderate subsidy to the king of Prussia has cost France many millions to keep those powers in an unnatural combination. Whilst Britain, at a great expence of money, and of many valuable lives, has opposed the French in Germany, and urged them to keep up a prodigious force in a country that ever has been, and ever will be, their ruin, at an expence superior to ours: whilst it has hindered them from protecting their colonies; and left us entirely at liberty to carry on the war

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her a bankrupt; when he consented to the alliance with Prussia, by obliging her, since she had entered Germany, to exhaust her troops and treasures there; while the British navy cut off all or most of her resources from America, and entirely ruined her trade; and at the same time increased the riches and revenues of his own country by new and valuable acquisitions, the better to enable her to support this additional expence. He was sensible he could effect these ends, because the French councils were divided and distracted; for such of the French of the ministers, who were for pursuing the true interests of their country, and perhaps did not pay servile court to a capricious woman, were opposed, and their designs frequently frustrated by a number of creatures, who, without any regard to honour or integrity, engaged implicitly to obey the directions of a cunning female favourite, and gratify all her mischievous passions. Mr. Pitt profited by these divisions; he perceived the French ministry were unable to bestow a proper attention to both elements*, therefore he aimed at confounding them still more by reiterated blows on all sides; and while their attention was employed in Germany, to ruin their

* where it was most to our advantage, can it be doubted in the least, whether it was or was not our interest to bring as numerous a French army from home, and as far from home as possible, to a country that could not possibly supply them with forage and provision? but where they must either purchase it at as dear a rate as ourselves, or bring it at a still greater expence along with them; and where a Frenchman, or a French horse, would require as much sustenance as an English one; and consequently, if the French had 120,000 men, and the allies but 70,000, the balance was so much in our favour. Upon considering all these circumstances, it is evident that the expence of supporting this war has been greater to France than to Britain."

* It is a proof to those, who recollect the number of commanders the French have had in Germany, how well they minded but *one* element.

their navy ; and to continue to employ their attention there till a peace, to prevent their being able, or having opportunity to repair it ||. The people with pleasure acquiesced in these sentiments and measures, because they knew they were healing ; and they saw that by them, and them only, harmony was made permanent in his late majesty's counsels ; a circumstance, which at all times is of the utmost importance to a state, and in a time of war an invaluable blessing ; they did not therefore brand Mr. Pitt as an apostate, for doing what no man in the same situation could avoid.

Such were the motives and sentiments of Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors for entering into the German war. It would be impertinent if the author added any remarks of his own, or intruded in opposition the opinions of other men, most of whom particularly the Tories, acquiesced in the measure in *that* time, and have opposed it since merely for the sake of opposing Mr. Pitt : the reader is to judge for himself ; the writer's intention here being only to speak of things as he found them.

When these sentiments and this scheme were adopted, the duke of Marlborough was sent to Germany with a considerable number of British troops ; they were landed at Embden, and marched from thence to join the allied army.

The expeditions to the coast of France, however, were not laid aside ; the time was now come ;

|| It is worthy observation, that the navy of Louis XIV. which was ruined by the engagement off La Hogue, would soon have been repaired, had not king William cut out work enough for the French on the continent, and thereby so embarrassed the French ministry, that they could not attend to all the necessary articles of both sea and land service. In queen Anne's time likewise, when the French fleet was baffled in the Mediterranean, they made no more figure at sea, because the allies found them so much employment on the continent.

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when we were to retaliate on the French those terrors in reality, which they had long raised in us by menaces of an invasion. General Bligh had the command of the troops which were to go on the second expedition; and his royal highness prince Edward, now duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe. The design was to execute what had been projected on viewing the French coast the last time it was visited. On the 6th of August the troops were landed at Cherbourg, where they destroyed the mole, pier, basin, and many other excellent and expensive works for making a convenient and strong harbour. Twenty fine pieces of brass cannon and two large mortars were found at the place, and put on board the ships to be conveyed to England: other considerable damage was done to the French, and hostages were taken for contributions which were demanded. On the 16th the troops were re-embarked in order to be landed at another place; but a hard gale springing up, the fleet was forced off the coast, and obliged to return to England; where, however, it did not stay, but proceeded to St. Lunar bay near St. Malo, and there the troops were landed a third time on the coast of France. An attempt on St. Malo being again deemed imprudent, the officers debated on their plan of operations. While these deliberations were holding, commodore Howe was obliged to put out of St. Lunar bay, it being too rocky to remain in with any degree of safety, and go three leagues to the westward, to the bay of St. Cas. Thus the fleet and army were separated. The army then marched into the country. In the mean time the duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, assembled a considerable body of troops, and marched directly to give the English battle. When general Bligh had intelligence of this, he retreated towards the ships; but this retreat was ill performed;

performed; the time was foolishly mispent, and before the troops were all embarked, the French came down upon the beach (Sept. 11) and attacked the rear-guard, commanded by general Dury, who for some time with great bravery maintained a very unequal combat against superior numbers. The English bomb ketches, which were near the shore, fired upon the French, and while that fire lasted, the enemy gave no quarter. At length this little body of brave veterans had expended all their ammunition; and now, in the transports of rage and despair, great numbers of them jumped into the sea, and were drowned, among whom was general Dury himself; the rest were made prisoners, except some few who were carried off in boats, and put on board the ships*. The loss of the English in this affair exceeded 1300 men. The fleet now returned to England, where the people became dispirited by the news of the miscarriage, while those of France were extravagantly elated; and the two generals were condemned and extolled in proportion.

Prince Ferdinand having pursued the French to the Rhine, passed that river after them. He took his measures so well, that on the 23d of June he found means to attack their left wing at Crevelt, which he totally routed; and it is supposed, that the French lost in this affair between 4 and 5000 men†. Dusseldorp was taken in consequence; while the

* But a much greater number might have been saved, had the sailors emptied their boats into the first ship they came to, and instantly returned to the beach for more; which, instead of doing, they strictly observed a punctilio in carrying the troops to the particular transport they came out of, without considering the distance of her situation.

† Among the French officers who were slain in this action, one deserves particular notice. He was the young count de Gisors,

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the French army were collected, and took refuge under Cologne. Prince Ferdinand then intended to carry the war into the enemy's country; but his designs were frustrated. The French had assembled another army (agreeable to the stipulations of the confederate treaty) which was commanded by the Prince de Soubize. Prince Ferdinand, in opposition to that general, posted the Prince of Ysenbourg with the Hessian troops; but the duke de Broglie, who was detached by Soubize, defeated those troops on the 23d of July at Sanderhausen, and thereby gained possession of the river Weser, with the advantage of being able to act in Westphalia on which side he pleased; and likewise having it in his power to intercept the British troops, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, who were on their march from Embden to join the allied army. Prince Ferdinand by this unfortunate stroke was greatly embarrassed. The face of fortune was suddenly reversed. The safety of Hanover seemed to depend on the seasonable reinforcement of troops from Britain; for the French army being on their own frontiers, had in a short time been considerably reinforced. He was necessitated to either bring them to another action, or retreat over the Rhine. The first was difficult, because the French would not fight; the latter was also difficult, on account of the many late heavy and uncommon rains, which had swelled the river to a prodigious height. While the allies were in this condition, one of the French generals, named de Chevert, projected a scheme

Gisors, only son of the duke de Belleisle, the last hope of a noble family, and lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house. He possessed many extraordinary accomplishments as well as uncommon genius. He was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, as he was bringing it up with the most heroic courage, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

for the retaking of Dusseldorp; but the waters having frustrated his views, he built another project upon the ruins of the first. The allies had a post at Meer on the Rhine, held by baron Imhoff, as well to secure a magazine and a bridge at Rees, as to preserve a free communication between the British and allied troops. Chevert's plan was to dislodge Imhoff, burn the bridge, take the magazine, and cut off the communication. He had 12,000 men and 11 pieces of cannon. Imhoff had not 3000 men, and cut off from all expectations of assistance from prince Ferdinand; but he had advice of Chevert's approach; upon which he quitted his post, and while the enemy were marching through difficult ground, he surprized them in flank and front, and after a short, but spirited attack, put them to flight, and took their cannon and baggage. This happened on the 5th of August. Afterwards he marched towards the English troops, and happily effected a junction. Imhoff's bravery furnished prince Ferdinand with an opportunity for repassing the Rhine, which he effected without any obstruction from the enemy. Thus did the battle of Sandershausen prevent any material advantages being derived from that of Crevelt: and the action of Meer, with the critical reinforcement of the British troops, likewise prevented any being drawn from that of Sandershausen. The French army, however, being greatly reinforced, and having changed its commander*, prince Ferdinand judged

* The French army first marched into Germany, under the command of the marshal d'Arques; but his lady, soon after the battle of Hastenbeck, happening to affront madame Pompadour, with some tart expressions concerning Miss M——, another mistress to the French king, he was recalled; and succeeded by marshal Richlieu, one of Pompadour's creatures; but he, when the French were drove out of Hanover, was replaced by the count de Clermont, who was now substituted by M. de Contades.

it prudent to act on the defensive: he judiciously chose some excellent posts along the river Lippe. The French finding it dangerous to attempt any of these, directed their attention once more to the prince of Ysenbourg, who was posted so as to protect the course of the Weser, and cover a part of Hesse. Soubize's army was reinforced to 30,000 men by detachments from the grand army. Prince Ferdinand being aware of the French designs, sent general Oberg with a detachment to the assistance of prince Ysenbourg, which augmented that prince's army to 15,000 men. The enemy relying on their superiority, resolved to gain some part of Hesse; therefore they attacked general Oberg, on the last day of September, at Lanwerenhagen, and obliged him to retire, after he had lost 1500 men; but some woods happening to be in his rear, favoured his march, and prevented his defeat becoming total. The season, however, was too far advanced for the French to reap any advantages from this victory. The fatigues of the campaign having made it necessary for the allied troops to have some rest, prince Ferdinand abandoned his posts along the Lippe, and retired into Westphalia, and soon afterwards went into winter-quarters in Munster, Paderborn and Hildesheim. The French likewise entered Westphalia, and there took up their quarters. The English troops were too late to assist in any of the operations of the campaign; but they suffered greatly by sickness. The duke of Marlborough died at Munster of a dysentery.

The first operation of the king of Prussia was the reduction of Schweidnitz, which he effected in the month of April after a short, but vigorous siege. By this acquisition he regained all those dominions he had lost last year, and was now ready to act on the offensive, and carry the theatre of war into the territories of his enemies: but first he

provided for the security of his frontiers ; he posted count Dohna with an army to cover Silesia from any incursions of the Russians ; and his brother prince Henry with another army in Saxony, to prevent the army of the empire, which had been recruited, from entering Brandenburg or Magdeburg. At this time count Daun, with all the troops which his sovereign could assemble, lay intrenched at Koningsgratz in Bohemia. The king of Prussia made several feints, as if he intended to enter Bohemia ; and when he had sufficiently alarmed and diverted the enemies attention that way, he all at once, by a rapid march, entered Moravia, and proceeded to Olmutz the capital ; but general Marischal, who happened to be posted in that province, having intelligence of his march, had just time enough to throw himself into the town. However, the king of Prussia laid siege to it on the 27th of May, and the trenches were opened before count Daun heard, that the king of Prussia had given him the slip. When he received that intelligence, he instantly broke up his camp, and hastened to the relief of the city. He began to impede the Prussian operations by attacking every night their posts, and harrassing them with continual alarms. The king offered him battle ; but Daun knew better how to improve his advantages than hazard them all at once. At this time a large convoy was coming from Silesia to the king's camp, which Daun having intelligence of, detached a considerable body of troops to take it, and the king of Prussia detached another body to preserve it. The Austrians fell in with the convoy, and a bloody conflict ensued: the Prussians being greatly inferior were defeated ; the center and part of the van were taken, and the rear pushed back to Silesia, while only the other part of the van elcaped to the king's camp. This was a mortifying

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mortifying check to the king of Prussia's resolution and spirit: he saw himself by this unlucky event deprived of the very means of subsistence, and consequently obliged to relinquish his project, at the very time when the town was expected every day to surrender. However he preserved a good appearance; and on the last day of June, which was the last day of the siege, the firing continued as brisk as ever; but at night he suddenly abandoned the place, and gained a march of the Austrians before they were apprized of his retreat. He took the route of Bohemia, and arrived with all his baggage, artillery, sick and wounded, at Koningsgratz. This was one of the most surprising retreats, which had been accomplished since the days of Xenophon. It was performed in the face of a great army, in high spirits, and conducted by a very able general, who could not impede the march of the retreating army, though he attempted to hover on its wings. It is hard to say, whether M. Daun shewed more skill in obliging the king of Prussia to raise the siege without giving him battle; or the king of Prussia in raising the siege, and effecting his surprising retreat without loss. The affairs of his Prussian majesty were every day becoming more critical: the invasion of his dominions by the Russians, under the generals Fermor and Brown, would have obliged him to quit Moravia, if count Daun had not; for at this time they had entered the new Marche of Brandenburg, where they daily committed the most horrid ravages and barbarities, and had laid siege to Custrin: his presence in that country became absolutely necessary; accordingly he prosecuted his march with the utmost diligence, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Custrin on the 20th of August, after a march of 51 days from the midst of Moravia. Notwithstanding the great fatigue and hardships which his army must have suffered,

suffered, he resolved immediately on giving the Russians battle; and his troops, animated with revenge on viewing the dismal spectacle which the country all round presented, ardently wished for an engagement with such cruel enemies. The king joined his troops under count Dohna, and on the 25th of August gave battle to the Russians near the village of Zorndorff. The Prussians were now, in the strictest sense, fighting for their country, which was ready to fall under one of the severest scourges which providence ever chastised a nation. The existence of the Prussian crown depended on the fortune of the day: the desolation of the country, and the villages on fire all round, were such marks of the enemy's cruelty, as exasperated the Prussians to a pitch of enthusiasm. In this rage they began one of the most bloody conflicts, that has been fought during the war. For the space of two hours the Prussian artillery rained on the Russians like water from the heavens: this furious cannonade, the most dreadful that ever man beheld, they stood undaunted. The Muscovite foot were attacked at nine in the morning with an impetuosity that would have staggered the bravest veterans of any civilized nation; but they had not the sense to move; they fell in their ranks, and new regiments pressed forward to supply new slaughter; nay, so fearless were they, and so void of all sense of safety, that when the first line had fired away all their cartridges, they obstinately stood, though defenceless, and were shot at like marks. It was evident, that to gain a victory over such troops must be to destroy them: the slaughter of course was very great; but their army was numerous, and fresh bodies continually presenting themselves, and making the most vigorous efforts, the Prussian infantry at length gave way: had the Russian officers known how to have made use of this advantage, they had gained

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gained the victory ; but it seems they did not ; and general Seidlitz, who commanded the Prussian cavalry, profited by their ignorance ; he instantly threw himself into the chasm, and charged the Russian foot with an impetuosity which they could not withstand : they were either fatigued with the work they had already gone through, or disheartened by the appearance of the horse ; for, being unsupported, they fell back all on a sudden, breaking their own ranks, and in the most utter confusion fired upon one another, and plundered their own baggage : the wind blew the dust and smoke in their faces : the Prussian infantry was rallied, and led to the charge by the king in person ; the slaughter now became more terrible than ever ; the Russians were crammed up in a narrow space ; while the Prussians with regular fires, every shot having its full effect, continued the combat till seven o'clock at night : yet still (which is almost incredible) the Russians kept their ground. Night came on, and then, and not till then, the Russians retreated under favour of the darkness. They lost, according to their own account, 21,529 men*. They were pursued into Poland, and thereby prevented from undertaking any thing farther against the king of Prussia in Brandenburg. The loss of the Prussians was near 4000 men. In the mean time count Daun, in conjunction with the army of the empire, now commanded by the prince of Deux Ponts, penetrated into Saxony, and took the fortress of Sonnestein. He aimed at wresting Saxony entirely out of the hands of the Prussians ; and for this purpose he nearly surrounded prince Henry of Prussia's army, which consisted only of 20,000 men, posted so as to cover Dresden. But the king of Prussia, who was informed of his brother's critical situation,

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

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hastened to his relief, before Daun, who is remarkably slow in the concerting of measures, could execute his project. The king joined his brother, and Daun fell back as far as Zittau. But the king soon after separated from his brother, and shewed a design of cutting off Daun's communication with Bohemia, while Daun shewed a design of cutting off his with Silesia. In this case a battle seemed inevitable; and Daun resolved to bring it on the first advantageous opportunity, lest the time for action should be lost, and he obliged to entirely abandon Saxony, and thereby give up the fruits of the campaign. At this time the king of Prussia was encamped at Hohkirehen, a village in Lusatia. Daun, in the dead of a dark night (Oct. 14) favoured by a thick fog, silently marched to the Prussian camp; and at five o'clock in the morning he attacked the Prussians in the most intrepid manner and with the greatest regularity. They were entirely surprized; they run to their arms, some half naked. Marshal Keith mounted his horse, and putting himself at the head of a corps on the right wing, where the heat of the action lay, made a very gallant resistance, which afforded the king of Prussia an opportunity to form the left wing, before it should be disordered by any sudden efforts of the enemy. Keith maintained a bloody and desperate conflict three hours amidst all the horrors of darkness, confusion, carnage and despair, against superior numbers, who were continually supported by fresh troops: three times was the village lost and won: he rallied the broken regiments, and every time charged with the utmost ardour; but all that he could do could not prevent a defeat. About nine o'clock he was shot through the heart; he instantly fell on the field, and his body was left to the Austrian irregulars, who stripped it. At the beginning of the action a cannon ball took off the head

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head of prince Francis of Brunswick, as he was mounting his horse. Thus fell two gallant and distinguished officers. Prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner. When Keith was slain, the right wing was soon defeated. The king then gave up all hopes of recovering the ground. He ordered a retreat, which he effected in tolerable order, by the good countenance of his cavalry and the heavy fire of his artillery. He lost at least 7000 men, with all his tents, great part of his baggage, and some cannon; but the death of marshal Keith was his greatest misfortune; the rest he could repair. The loss of the Austrians, according to their own account, amounted to 5000 men. Marshal Daun, however, did not derive the advantages from this stratagem which he expected. It is true he foiled the king of Prussia, and that monarch suffered in his reputation by it; but this added nothing to the cause. He hoped to have been able to take some towns in Silesia; and with this view he previously sent detachments into that country, one of which had laid siege to Neiss, and another formed a blockade round Cossel. His aim now was to cover those attempts. The king soon recovered of his disaster, and drew reinforcements from his brother in Saxony. He by several masterly movements and rapid marches opened his passage into Silesia, and thus crushed in a moment all Daun's boasted advantages of the battle of Hohenkirchen. General Laudon was detached after him; but the king continued his march: he relieved Neiss and Cossel. When Daun found he could not hinder the king from entering Silesia, he bent his thoughts towards Saxony: he resolved to take Dresden, and approached the suburbs with an army of 60000 men. The garrison, commanded by count Schmertau, amounted to about 12,000. The city being but poorly fortified, and the governor, who was determined

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

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To every part of the world Mr. Pitt extended his attention, and sent detachments of the British arms. Even Africa, a quarter to which our ministers seldom adventure, saw specimens of the British power, and the minister's vigour and resolution. A small armament was sent in the month of March, under the command of commodore Marsh, and a detachment of marines, commanded by major Mason, to attack the French settlements at Senegal. The project had been originally conceived by one Mr. Cumming, a sensible quaker, who had been a factor on the coast of Africa, by which he had contracted some acquaintance with the Moorish king of that part of South Barbary, called by us the gum-coast, or the sandy desert of Zara*, who being well disposed towards the English, and bearing an utter enmity to the French, declared he should never be easy, till they were entirely driven from the river of Senegal. And he told Mr. Cumming, that if the king of England would send a force sufficient and defeat the French, he would grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. At the same time he favoured Mr. Cumming with the grant of an exclusive trade by a charter written in the Arabic language. Mr. Cumming, during his stay in Africa, made the most minute enquiry concerning the strength and situation of the French. At his return to England he communicated his intelligence to the board of trade, and with it a plan for attacking the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The ministry adopted the scheme; and Mr. Cumming, being the framer of it, was appointed principal director of the expedition, and sailed with it, charged with a letter of credence to the Moorish king.* The fleet arrived

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* But called by the natives Legibelli.

* He had told Mr Pitt a great deal about his interest with the Moorish king, from whom, he said, he could procure a powerful

on the coast of Africa in April; and notwithstanding the obstruction of a very dangerous bar at the mouth of the river Senegal, the marines were landed (May 1) on the bank of the river. Upon

powerful assistance, and without which, he suggested, Senegal could not be taken: therefore, in consideration of this aid, to be obtained *entirely through his interest*, Mr. Pitt wrote him the following letter:

' Good and Worthy Friend,

' I write this letter to you merely to repeat to you upon paper, what I have said with great sincerity to you in conversation, namely, that I have so good an opinion of your integrity, and think the service you are going upon to Africa so likely to prove beneficial to the publick, that in case success attends your endeavours, I promise you my best assistance in obtaining an exclusive charter in your favour for a limited term of years with regard to that vein of trade, which your industry and risque shall have open'd to your country. Averse as I always shall be to exclusive charters in general, I think your case a just exception; so wishing cordially the favour of Providence on your undertaking, I remain with much esteem your sincere and faithful friend,

W. Pitt."

But in the sequel it was found, that Mr. Cumming's interest did not amount to what he had pretended. In his passage to Senegal, he touched at Portenderic (the place he had formerly been at) where it did not appear that the Moors had any *particular* regard for him; for they would not grant him *any* assistance, not even a pilot. Upon which it began to be contemplated, whether the design of the enterprize should not be laid aside; but bolder councils prevailed, and Senegal was taken. This being the case; and it having been found, that Mr. Cumming had not the interest he pretended; that he did not procure the supply, without which he had urged Senegal could not be taken; and that he was no way materially instrumental in the making of this acquisition; will not any candid man say, that Mr. Pitt instantly became discharged from the ties of any promise of *giving his assistance* towards obtaining an exclusive trade? yet such was Mr. Pitt's high consideration of honour, and opinion of some merit in Mr. Cumming, that he obtained him a pension of 500 l. a year on the Irish establishment, as a reward for his sagacity and zeal in pointing out the object, forming the plan, and attending on the execution.

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which, the French governor of fort Louis surrendered directly; and next day the corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to the king of England. This was the first successful expedition which the British ministry had equipped during the war, and failed not to be greatly instrumental in dissipating those fears and despondencies, which Mr. Pitt found to brood over the land when he came into the administration. The conquest of Senegal added greatly to the commercial interests of Britain, and poured fresh wealth into the hands of her traders: the commodities imported from this settlement are that valuable article gum senegal, hides, bees-wax, elephants teeth, cotton, gold dust, negro slaves, ostrich feathers, ambergris, indigo and civet. Hitherto we had been obliged to buy our gum senegal of the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and then set what price they pleased on it for us. After the surrender of Senegal, the fleet visited the island of Goree, another French settlement on the coast of Africa; but found it too strong to be attempted by their small force. The ministry finding the success of the first enterprize, dispatched commodore Keppel with a small squadron, and some land forces commanded by colonel Worge, to attack the island of Goree. The commodore arrived before it on the 29th of December, and having ranged his fleet opposite the forts, began a furious cannonade, which in a little time drove the garrison from their quarters, and necessitated the governor to surrender at discretion. A garrison being put in the fort, and that at Senegal being reinforced, the commodore returned to England; where likewise had arrived admiral Osborn from the Mediterranean; also admiral Boscawen from America; and general Abercrombie from the same place,

place, whose conduct, like that of his predecessors, had fallen under disapprobation: he was succeeded in his command by general Amherst.

When Mr. Pitt first came into the administration, he dispatched commodore Steevens, with a squadron and some troops, to reinforce his majesty's fleet in the East Indies, which might act there with powers of discretion, while his attention was employed on other objects nearer home. Admiral Watson and colonel Clive having gained many advantages over the enemy, it was not only Mr. Pitt's immediate aim to pursue those advantages, while the heat and thirst of conquest prevailed; but likewise to prevent the French deriving any material services in any part of India from a fleet, which they at the same time sent, commanded by M. d'Ache, and 8000 troops, which were put on board, and commanded by general Lally. Commodore Steevens joined admiral Pococke, who had succeeded to the chief command on the death of admiral Watson. M. d'Ache arrived at Pondicherry, where general Lally with the troops were landed. The scene of action was now to begin. M. Lally had boasted before he left Europe, that he would drive the English totally off the coast of Coromandel. He was warm and fool-hardy; and full of the idea (which he had suffered to get the ascendancy of his tumultuous imagination) when he took the field, he vaunted of the great acts he *would* perform, and the cruelties he resolved to inflict on the English; but, like a true barbarian whose passion exceeds his reason, or one bereft of prudence, he precipitately entered the campaign before he had provided the means of support for his army, which had been considerably augmented by several reinforcements. He marched directly against fort St. David, while the French fleet sailed away to cover the siege. Admiral Pococke having intelligence of these

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these proceedings, sailed likewise to fort St. David, and engaged the French fleet, which being superior in number, and three of the British captains behaving in a cowardly manner, he gained no material advantage, though he continued the fight with great inequality till night, when the two fleets separated: the French returned to Pondicherry, and the English to Madras; both to repair their damages, Both squadrons having quitted the station off fort St. David, Lally pushed the siege of that place with vigour; which being in want of water and ammunition, major Polier, who commanded the troops, surrendered in twelve days (June 2, 1758). The conqueror blew up the fortifications, and reduced the place to a heap of rubbish; and besides plundering the inhabitants, as well of fort St. David's as of all the villas round about, he wantonly set fire to their habitations, and endeavoured to destroy the face of the whole country. But the ill star of France, which in no place set well on their affairs, began now to influence them here. Lally found, that by making a desert of the country he was unable to subsist his army; and, to his misfortune, the finances of France were so extremely low, by the large subsidies which the French were obliged to pay several of the European powers, to form and preserve the continental system of Europe against Prussia and Hanover, that their ministry could not afford to send him any money; so that now he could neither buy nor plunder. In this dilemma he resolved to extort a considerable sum from the king of Tanjore, a prince of the country; but that chief refusing to comply with his request, he in a rage marched his army and laid siege to his capital. The skill and courage of some English engineers bravely defended the place: in a short time Lally's ammunition began to run low, and his provisions were entirely exhausted. The people of the

the country, who had either heard of or suffered by his cruelties, cut off all the supplies to his army in return for his barbarities, which reduced him almost to a state of famine. At length, unable to stay any longer, he, tortured with all the pangs of chagrin and disappointment, raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, and left his cannon behind. He returned to Pondicherry, in the neighbourhood of which the troops were refreshed. In the month of October he marched into Arcot, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras. Lally's army at this time was so numerous, that the English forces on the coast of Coromandel were insufficient to oppose him in the field. Soon after the surrender of fort St. David, admiral Pococke again sailed in quest of the French fleet, whom he found off Pondicherry; but they no sooner saw him, than they put to sea in the utmost haste: he gave chase, and on the third day came up with them; but the French would not stand a fair engagement; they made a sort of running fight in an irregular line till night, when, under favour of the darkness, they escaped back to Pondicherry. However, they were so much damaged by this engagement, that after a short stay there, d'Ache was obliged to sail to the island of Bourbon to refit, leaving the sovereignty of the Indian seas to admiral Pococke and commodore Steevens, whose fleet was much inferior to his in number of ships, men, and weight of metal. When Lally formed his resolution of laying siege to Madras, he sent orders to Golconda for M. de Buffey and M. Morcain to join him with part of their forces, and leave the command of the remainder at Massulipatam, to the marquis de Conflans*. Soon after M. de Buffey was departed, the

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* To shew the despair and the distressed condition of the French, it will not be amiss to insert the following translation of

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the country powers resolved to throw off the French yoke; and entered one of the towns which the French possessed, and tore down the colours. Up-

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of an intercepted letter, going from Pondicherry to Maffulipatam.

‘ You desire an account of the taking of fort St. David’s. A particular detail of it might then have been entertaining, but at present it is too old, and the recital which you must have heard from many different people, would now be irksome.

‘ Shall I mention to you an unfortunate expedition to Tanjore? Bad news is interesting, but painful to the writer. We laid siege to Tanjore, and made a breach, but were obliged to retire for want of provisions and ammunition, leaving behind us nine pieces of cannon, eight of which were 24 pounders. The army has suffered greatly from hunger, thirst, watching, and fatigue. We have lost near 200 men, as well by desertion as by death. This check is very detrimental to us, as well with regard to our reputation as the real loss we suffered. Add to this the departure of our fleet, which sailed yesterday to the islands to refit, having been roughly handled in a second engagement on the 3d of August, in which we lost 350 men.

‘ Poor French, what a situation are we in! what projects we thought ourselves capable of executing, and how greatly are we disappointed in the hopes we conceived upon taking fort St. David’s. I pity our general: he must be extremely embarrassed, notwithstanding his extensive genius, without either money or fleet: his troops very discontented; his reputation declining; and the bad season approaching: which will oblige us to subsist at our own expence, being unable to form any enterprize for procuring us other funds. What will become of us? I am not apprehensive for myself, but I am sorry to see we do not shine.

‘ They say M. Buffy is coming; let him wake haste; let him bring men, and especially money, without which he will only increase our misery. The country being ruined, scarce affords us any provisions. The quantities consumed by the fleet and army, and the desertion of the inhabitants, has greatly raised the price of all sorts of commodities.

‘ I forgot to tell you, that above twenty officers of different corps have gone on board the fleet; and that if M. Lally had given permission to depart to whoever desired it, the greatest part of them would have embarked, so greatly are those gentlemen disgusted with the service.”

on which Conflans resolved to check their insolence, and marched his forces against them. In this distress the chief applied to colonel Clive at Calcutta for assistance; who, after deliberating on the nature and consequence of the enterprize, detached colonel Forde with a body of Europeans. This officer attacked M. de Conflans in the month of December, and gained a complete victory over him. Massulipatam fell in consequence: the English gained possession of an extensive sea coast, and other considerable advantages, besides being paid for their assistance; and likewise concluded a treaty with another chief, in which it was enacted, that the French should be totally extirpated the country.

Such was the glorious 1758; an æra, that is resplendent in our annals with the most glorious and unparalleled conquests; which will be ever memorable of the British power exerted by a bold minister and a brave people, by whom Britain saw herself placed on a pinnacle of glory, higher than it was once thought she could possibly arrive at, and surrounded by unanimity, confidence and zeal*.

On

* The Dutch having for some time carried on an illicit trade for the French under colour of their own neutrality, several of their ships were this year taken by the English cruizers and privateers; they then had resource to false bills of lading, and other arts, to prevent future discoveries; but their ships were still taken, and, after proper examinations, condemned in great numbers in both America and Europe. The Dutch thus, in a great measure, deprived of the advantages they hoped to derive from this sly and illegal method of carrying on the French trade, raised loud clamours all over Holland against the rigour of the English ministry, who warmly expostulated with the Dutch deputies on the subject. The Hollanders finding that the court of Great-Britain was not to be intimidated; that no remonstrances could regain their contraband commodities; that there was a spirit in the principal servant of the crown, which they perceived would be dangerous to provoke too far; and that the power of Great Britain, under his direction, was become so respectable,

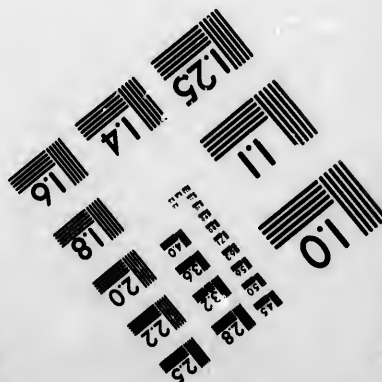
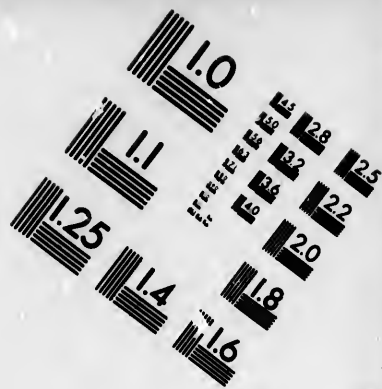
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On the 23d of November the parliament met. As no change of measures seemed likely to happen, the fate of the campaign not having disposed any of the belligerents to pacific sentiments, it was apparent, that the only way to procure a lasting peace was to continue the war with the same vigour; upon which the commons, with the greatest cheerfulness and unanimity, voted the supplies, which amounted to 12,761,310 l. It is an illustrious and everlasting monument to the minister's honour, that this sum, which exceeded any that had ever been granted in that house before, was given with pleasure and harmony: such was the unparalleled confidence of the representatives and of the whole people in *one* man, whose integrity and zeal for his country's welfare they did not doubt; and of whose spirit and abilities for humbling the enemy they had already seen such examples, that they could not but rely on his known honesty and watchful eye to the British power and interest. This was not the conduct of faction; it was that of the whole people, who were roused by his intrepidity and vigilance to revenge their wrongs on a perfidious enemy. After taking notice of this harmony, so advantageous to the nation, it will naturally follow, that we should likewise take notice of the thanks of the commons to those brave commanders, who so boldly and happily achieved such laurels, as will for ever shine in the annals of Britain. The speech of the then speaker, the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, to the late admiral Boscawen, a member of the house, is worthy of being engraved in letters of gold; it is strongly characteristic of the speaker's noble spirit and stile;

respectable, they could have no hopes to cope with it; at length gave up the point, and set down with their losses; and though they afterwards continued to carry for the French, yet they did it but sparingly,





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and whoever had the honour of knowing him in that house, must conceive a real pleasure in fancying how *he* spoke it, with that becoming air of awful dignity, so suitable, and which he so illustriously added to his station. He addressed himself to admiral Boscawen, and gave him the thanks of the house, as he stood in his place, in these words.

Admiral Boscawen!

The house have unanimously resolved, that their thanks should be given to you for the services you have done to your king and country in North America; and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you. I wish I could do it in a manner suitable to the occasion, and as they ought to be given to you, now standing in your place, as a member of this house. But were I able to enumerate and set forth, in the best manner, the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is, the genuine and uniform sense and language of every part of the kingdom. Their joy too has been equal to their sentiments upon this interesting event: and in their sentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude also to you, Sir, as a principal instrument in these most important acquisitions. You are now therefore receiving the acknowledgments of the people, only in a more solemn way — by the voice, the general voice, of their representatives in parliament — The most honourable fame that any man can arrive at, in this, or any other country. It is, on these occasions, a national honour, from a free people; ever cautiously to be conferred, in order to be the more esteemed — to be the greater reward; and which ought to be reserved for the most signal services to the state,

and

' and the most approved merit in them ; such as
 ' this house has usually, and very lately, made
 ' their objects of public thanks. The use, I am
 ' persuaded, you will make of this just testimony,
 ' and high reward of your services and merit, will
 ' be the preserving in your own mind a lasting
 ' impression of what the commons of Great Bri-
 ' tain are now tendering to you, and in a constant
 ' continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory
 ' of your king and country, which have made you
 ' to deserve it. In obedience to the commands of
 ' the house I do, with great pleasure to myself,
 ' give you the thanks of the house, for the ser-
 ' vices you have done to your king and country
 ' in North America.'

To which admiral Boscawen answered.

' Mr. Speaker,

' I am happy in having been able to do my
 ' duty : but have not words to express my sense
 ' of the distinguishing reward, that has been con-
 ' ferred upon me by this house ; nor can I enough
 ' thank you, Sir, for the polite and elegant man-
 ' ner, in which you have been pleased to convey
 ' to me the resolution of the house.'

' Then the speaker acquainted the house, that, in
 obedience to their commands, he had signified to
 admiral Osborn their thanks, and had received the
 following answer :

' Sir, I want words to express my sense of the
 ' honour the house of commons has been pleased
 ' to confer upon me, and only hope that you, Sir,
 ' will be as gracious to me in representing my
 ' gratitude to that august assembly, as you have
 ' been in acquainting me with their favourable ac-
 ' ceptance of my services. I have done no more
 ' than my duty. I have only been the humble,
 ' though happy, instrument of executing the wise
 ' measures directed by his majesty. I have no
 ' title,

‘ title, Sir, to any glory, but what is common to
 ‘ me as a seaman, and as an Englishman zealous
 ‘ for the service of my country, which is pleased
 ‘ to reward me with this instance of their appro-
 ‘ bation. From the situation of my health, Sir,
 ‘ I can flatter myself with having but few oppor-
 ‘ tunities of employing the remainder of my life,
 ‘ in grateful exertion of my abilities for the ho-
 ‘ nour and interest of my country. But as the
 ‘ house of commons is so gloriously watchful to
 ‘ encourage the greatest merit, by rewarding the
 ‘ least, England can never want good officers;
 ‘ and however I am honoured by this distinction,
 ‘ may my services be the most inconsiderable, that
 ‘ shall be thus acknowledged. I am, with the
 ‘ greatest respect,

‘ S I R,

‘ Your most obedient, and
 Dec. 8, ‘ Most humble servant,

1758. ‘ HENRY OSBORN.’

No other material business happened during the session, which was closed on the 2d of June, 1759. — These were times of glory and a true spirit of patriotism; such as no Englishman can reflect upon without glowing with emulation; such as Britain never before beheld, and perhaps will never again see.

As the enemies power in America had received a considerable blow by the reduction of Louisbourg, great expectations were formed from a continuance of the war in that quarter. An expedition was planned against the capital of Canada, and the command of the land forces was given to an Englishman, whose genius was modelled by nature for ardour and enterprize; whose active spirit and enterprizing soul promised advantage to the public. The late success in America had been in a great measure owing to the well timing of the operations,

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in being early in making attempts on the enemy before they could possibly receive any assistance from Europe. The same steps were again pursued. In the month of February a fleet was dispatched from England commanded by the Admirals Saunders and Holmes. It was concerted, that while this fleet, with a number of troops on board, commanded by general Wolfe, who was appointed to that eminence by the minister, should proceed up the river St. Lawrence, general Amherst, with another considerable body, should proceed over land, in America, and join general Wolfe, in order to jointly attack Quebec, the capital of Canada; and that while these operations were performing, a third body of troops, commanded by the generals Prideaux and Johnson, should advance by Niagara to Montreal, the second principal place in Canada. Such was the plan for reducing that great province. The fleet arrived at Hallifax, where having taken on board the troops, in number about 8000, destined for the expedition, sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and in the month of June general Wolfe landed on the isle of Orleans (not so high up as Quebec) of which he took possession, and also of a point of the continent, which lay opposite, called Point Levi. Quebec at this time was tolerably well fortified, the garrison reinforced, and the town covered by an army of 10,000 men, commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm. As the defence of Quebec was thus so well provided for, the general did not hope to reduce it, therefore he resolved to attack some intrenchments which the enemy had thrown up at Montmorenci. For this purpose the grenadiers were landed on the beach, with orders to form upon it, and wait till they were reinforced; but such was their ardour, that as soon as they were landed they unsupported rushed on the enemy, who being greatly superior they were repulsed

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

* In this attack captain Otcherlony and lieutenant Peyton (both of general Monckton's regiment) were wounded, and fell before the enemy's breast-work—The former, mortally, being shot through the body; the latter was wounded only in his knee—Two savages pushed down upon them with the utmost precipitation, armed with nothing but their diabolical knives. The first seized on captain Otcherlony, when Mr. Peyton, who lay reclining on his fusée, discharged it, and the savage dropt immediately on the body of his intended prey. The other savage advanced with much eagerness to Mr. Peyton, who had no more than time to disengage his bayonet, and conceal its disposition. With one arm he warded off the purposed blow, and with the other stung him to the heart: nevertheless, the savage, though fallen, renewed his attempts; insomuch that Mr. Peyton was obliged to repeat his blows, and stab him through and through the body. A straggling grenadier, who had happily escaped the slaughter of his companions, stumbled upon Captain Otcherlony, and readily offered him his services. The Captain, with the spirit and bravery of a Briton, replied, 'Friend, I thank you!—but with respect to me, the musquet, or scalping knife, will be only a more speedy deliverance from pain. I have but a few minutes to live. Go—make haste—and tender your service, where there is a possibility it may be useful.' At the same time he pointed to Mr. Peyton, who was then endeavouring to crawl away on the sand. The grenadier took M. Peyton on his back, and conveyed

revived his spirits, and he began to recover; upon which he transmitted an account of his operations to the minister.* Then he ordered some of the

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ships

conveyed him to the boat through a severe fire, in which Mr. Peyton was wounded in the back, and his rescuer near the shoulder.

* His account of them, is his best eulogium; the reader therefore, will pardon us, if we insert his long letter; the more especially as it is the strongest picture that can be drawn of the difficulties, which opposed themselves to the British arms; as well as of the activity and patience of the general who surmounted them. It is no less valuable, as one of the clearest and most elegant accounts of a series of military operations, which has, perhaps, ever been published.

* *Head-quarters at Montmorenci in the River St. Laurence,*
Sept. 2, 1759.

‘ S I R,

‘ I wish I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his majesty’s arms; but the obstacles we have met with, in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (tho’ superior to us) as from the natural strength of the country, which the marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon.

‘ When I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec; that five battalions of regular troops, complemented from the best of the inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation; I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well, that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might disperse them.

‘ We found them encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the fall of Montmorenci, and intrenched in every accessible part. The 27th of June we landed upon the isle of Orleans; but receiving a message from the admiral, that there was reason to think the enemy had artillery, and a force upon the point of the Levi. I detached brigadier Monckton with four battalions to drive them from
 ‘ thence.

ships up the river, being determined to make his efforts on that side the town: Admiral Holmes, who

thence. He passed the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to the point; he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post: the advanced parties upon this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians and Indians, with little loss on either side.

Col. Carleton marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans, from whence our operations were likely to begin.

It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them; because from either the one or the other, the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the basin of Quebec, or even within two miles of it.

Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great dispatch on the point of Levi, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries: the enemy perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with 1600 men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again; by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery has been so great, (tho' across the river) that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed.

The works, for the security of our hospitals and stores on the isle of Orleans, being finished, on the 9th of July, at night, we passed the North Channel, and encamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorenci between us. The next morning captain Danks's company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so many killed and wounded, as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign: the enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off from the nearest troops.

The ground, to the eastward of the falls, seemed to be (as it really is) higher than that on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner which might be made useful to us. There is besides a ford below the falls, which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes, that possible means might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight the marquis de Montcalm upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his intrenchment. In reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was intrenched, and

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who commanded these ships, on board of which was general Wolfe with about 5000 troops, was ordered

so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had forty (officers and men) killed and wounded.

The 18th of July, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on ours, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most was, that if we should land between the town and the river Cap Rouge, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting it at St. Michael's about three miles above the Town: but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually brought artillery and a mortar (which, being so near to Quebec, they could increase as they pleased) to play upon the shipping: And, as it must have been many hours before we could attack them (even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt) it seemed so hazardous, that I thought it best to desist.

However, to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment, under the command of colonel Carleton, to land at the Point de Trempe, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there.

The colonel was fired upon by a body of Indians the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods: He searched for magazines, but to no purpose, brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

After this business, I came back to Montmorenci, where I found that brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented

to go further up than the place he intended to land at, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way;

presented itself, of attacking the enemy, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive us.

As the men of war cannot (for want of sufficient depth of water) come near enough to the enemy's intrenchments, to annoy them in the least, the admiral had prepared two transports (drawing but little water) which upon occasion could be run a-ground, to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musquet shot of the intrenchment upon the hill: if the enemy supported this detached piece, it would necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for; and if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them.

Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st of July in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of brigadier Monckton's brigade from the point of Levi: the two brigades under the brigadiers Townshend and Murray, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the Ford, when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the Centurion in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery which commanded the Ford: this ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and inflade the left of their intrenchments.

From the vessel which run a-ground, nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss; and the more, as the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musquetry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. Orders were sent to the brigadiers general to be ready with the corps under their command. Brigadier Monckton to land, and the brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the Ford.

At a proper time of the tide, the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore, many of the boats grounded upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us in some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and

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way; and so far it answered, that Montcalm sent 1500 men to watch this fleet: while admiral Saunders

and obliged me to send an officer to stop brigadier Townshend's march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me, to find a better place to land: we took one flat-bottom boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it yet not too late for the attempt.

The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the second royal American battalion, got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the troops had passed the Ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and brigadier Townshend was still at a considerable distance, though upon his march to join us, in very good order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt, which the French abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who, careless of their persons, had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves behind brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the Beach, in extreme good order.

By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night, a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so that I thought it most adviseable, not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest, in case of a repulse, the retreat of brigadier Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked;

ders made a feint, as if he intended to attack the enemy's intrenchments below the town. On the 13th

tacked; and, it is probable, that if those accidents I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and center (more remote from our artillery) must have bore all the violence of their musquetry.

The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their Savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp their dead, as the custom is.

The place where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabout. Our artillery could be brought into use: The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once: And a retreat (in case of a repulse) was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of these advantages can any where else be found. The enemy were indeed posted upon a commanding eminence. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their intrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and their's inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river St. Charles still remained to be passed before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

The enemy have been fortifying ever since with care, so as to make a second attempt still more dangerous.

Immediately after this check, I sent brigadier Murray above the town with 1200 men, directing him to assist rear-admiral Holmes in the destruction of the French ships (if they could be got at) in order to open a communication with general Amherst. The brigadier was to seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north shore without success; but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at De Chambaud, and burnt a magazine there, in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, cloathing, arms, and baggage of their army.

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13th of September, at one o'clock in the morning, the troops were put into the boats, and under cover

• Finding that their ships were not to be got at, and little prospect of bringing the enemy to a battle, he reported his situation to me, and I ordered him to join the army.

• The prisoners he took informed him of the surrender of the fort of Niagara; and we discovered, by intercepted letters, that the enemy had abandoned Carillon and Crowh Point, were retired to the Isle Aux Noix; and that general Amherst was making preparations to cross the Lake Champlain, to fall upon M. de Bourlemaque's corps, which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Canadians as make the whole amount to 3000 men.

The admiral's dispatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion, that (as more ships and provisions have now got above the town) they should try, by conveying up a corps of 4 or 5000 men (which is nearly the whole strength of the army; after the points of Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence) to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal; and we are preparing to put it in execution.

• The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found that though the batteries of the Lower Town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the Lower to the Upper Town, are carefully intrenched; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure, for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

• To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added, for the defence of the river a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprize. We have had almost daily

• skirmishes

cover of the ships glided softly down the stream to the place of landing; where with admirable courage, but great difficulty, they landed, and ascended, after the example of the general, one by one, the woody precipices; and at length gained the summit, which is called the Heights of Abraham. Here they were formed, and drawn up in regular order before day light. This situation commanded the town. Montcalm now saw that he must hazard a battle: he instantly put his troops in motion, and advanced up to the English. General Wolfe placed himself in the front line of the center, in order to animate the troops by his example,

skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers, many of whom are of rank, you may perceive, sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed, as far as I am able, for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of America.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

JAMES WOLFE.

To Mr. Secretary Pitt.

This letter, which though for elegance and accuracy might have done honour to the pen of Cæsar, could not fail casting a gloom over the spirits of the people: yet such was their confidence in the minister, that notwithstanding the importance of

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ple. The right and left wings were commanded by the generals Monckton, Murray, and Townshend. He ordered his men to reserve their fire, till the enemy were very close; which being done, was then discharged, and it made terrible havock among them: the bayonet was immediately made use of, which greatly increased the slaughter. The English had only fired twice, when the enemy began to fall into disorder and give ground. At this critical minute general Wolfe was killed by a shot in the breast*. The French general was slain likewise, upon which the enemy fell into utter confusion, and abandoned the field of battle. The English lost about 500 men, and the French about 1500;

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of the object, the expence of the expedition, and the high expectations conceived from it, not a murmur ensued! The nation was firm; they were satisfied that every thing possible had been, and would be done; and they waited with a truly Roman fortitude the stroke of fortune. A similar circumstance is not to be found in all the annals of Britain!

* The circumstances attending the death of this young hero are too affecting to be passed over. He first received a wound in the wrist; but that he might not discourage his troops, he wrapped it up in his handkerchief, and encouraged his men to advance; soon after he received another ball in his belly; this also he dissembled, and exerted himself as before; till he received a third, in his breast, under which he at last sunk.—Crowned with conquest, he smiled in death.—His principal care was, that he should not be seen to fall, ‘support me,’ said he, to such as were near him; ‘let not my brave soldiers see me drop:—the day is ours: oh! keep it.’ He was immediately carried behind the ranks. As he lay struggling with the anguish and weakness of three grievous wounds, he was only solicitous about the certainty of the victory. He begged one who attended him to support him to view the field; but as he found that the approach of death had dimmed and confused his sight, he desired an officer who was by him to give him an account of what he saw. The officer answered, that the enemy were broken: he repeated his question a few minutes after, with much anxiety; when he was told, that the enemy were totally

but the death of general Wolfe was to the English the greatest misfortune: it was an event particularly grievous to his country, though to himself the happiest that can be imagined. Officers may be formed

tally routed, and that they fled in all parts. 'Then I am satisfied,' said he, and immediately expired. His death was universally lamented by his country, and envied by all who had a true relish for military glory. Undebted to family or connections, unsupported by intrigue or faction, he had accomplished the whole business of life, at a time when others are only beginning to appear; and at the age of thirty-five, without feeling the weakness of age or the vicissitude of fortune, having satisfied his honest ambition, having completed his character, having fulfilled the expectations of his country, he fell at the head of his conquering troops, and expired in the arms of victory, covered with laurels, green in age, but ripe in glory. When the news of the victory arrived in England, together with the death of the general, there was such a mixture of grief and pity in the public congratulations, as was very singular and very affecting. One little circumstance deserves to be noticed. The mother of general Wolfe, was an object marked out for pity by great and peculiar distress: she had experienced the dutiful son and the amiable domestic character, whilst the world admired the accomplished officer. But a few months before, she had lost her husband; and now she lost this son, her only child. The inhabitants of the village where she lived, unanimously agreed to admit no illuminations or firings, or any kind of rejoicings, near her house, lest they seem by an ill-timed triumph to insult her grief. This was a justness of sentiment rarely to be found, even amongst persons of rank. His death was no less affecting to another lady, to whom he was to have been espoused at his return. On this occasion the minister himself condescended to write a letter to Mrs. Wolfe, couched in such terms as to afford consolation for the loss of him, whose blood had been spilt in the service of his country. And such was Mr. Pitt's gratitude and desire to do justice to the memory of this brave executor of his plan, that when the parliament met, he, with that energy of eloquence peculiar to himself, expatiated on the transcendent merit of the general, his conduct during all the operations, his surmounting by abilities and valour all obstacles of art and nature, his resolution in landing, his courage in the field, his loss to the publick, the importance of the conquest, the blow given to the enemy, and the glory to Britain: and then he made a motion for a resolution to present an address, desiring his majesty would

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formed by experience; but a genius in war, a soul like his, can never be repaired. Five days after the battle, the city of Quebec surrendered to general Townshend, on whom the command had devolved. It is particularly worthy observation, that the conquest

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would order a monument to be erected in Westminster-abbey to the memory of the deceased general. In this motion he was seconded by a gentleman, whom he had the happiness to number among his friends; who remarked, that in the appointment of general Wolfe to that expedition, there had been no parliamentary interests, no family connexions, no aristocratical views; that the general and the minister seemed to have been made for each other, and that there were some circumstances almost similar between them; Wolfe lost his life, and the minister had hazarded his head for his country, &c. The resolution was unanimously agreed to. Among the other tributes paid to his memory, it will not be improper to add the following. When the ship, in which his corpse was brought to Europe, arrived at Portsmouth (Nov. 17) she fired two guns for the removal of his remains. The body was lowered out of the ship into a twelve oar'd barge, towed by two twelve-oar'd barges, and attended by twelve twelve-oar'd barges to the bottom of the point, in a train of gloomy silent pomp, suitable to the melancholy occasion, grief shutting up the lips of the fourteen barges crews. Minute guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, from the time of the body's leaving the ship to its being landed at the point at Portsmouth, which was one hour. The regiment of invalids was ordered under arms, and being joined by a company of the train in the garrison at Portsmouth, marched from the parade there, to the bottom of the point, to receive the remains. The body was landed, and put into a travelling hearse, attended by a mourning coach, (both sent from London) and proceeded through the garrison. The colours on the fort were struck half flag staff; the bells were muffled and rung in solemn concert with the march; minute guns were fired on the platform from the entrance of the corpse to the end of the procession; the company of the train led the van with their arms reversed. The corpse followed; and the invalid regiment followed the hearse, their arms reversed. They conducted the body to the Landport gates, where the train opened to the right and left, and the hearse proceeded through them on its way to London. On this occasion nothing was to be heard but murmuring broken accents in praise of the dead hero.—On the 20th, at night, his body was deposited in the burying place belonging to his family at Greenwich.

quest of Canada was owing to the singular ardour and intrepidity of general Wolfe : it was he, and *he only*, which formed that desperate resolution of landing, and climbing the Heights of Abraham. This brought on the battle ; and thus was Quebec conquered. Had a commander of an ordinary capacity been employed in this enterprize (such as Britain has frequently seen entrenching themselves in excuses and punctilios) he would have been staggered by the difficulties, discouraged by the repulse at Montmorenci, and judged the landing impracticable. Thus would the great scheme have been defeated, a whole season lost, and the national treasure thrown away in equipping a fruitless expedition. What praises, what honours, what rewards, therefore, are due to him, who by his *single opinion* prevented all this, and added to the British crown one of the brightest gems it ever wore ? In the mean time general Amherst advanced to Crown Point, which, as well as Ticonderoga, the enemy abandoned on his approach : then he prepared to cross lake Champlain, and dislodge a numerous body of French troops, which lay intrenched at the bottom of the lake, in order to open a communication with general Wolfe ; but by the time he had made his preparations, the stormy season was set in ; and when he embarked, hoping to effect his designs, the weather was so cold and tempestuous, he was obliged to turn back, and postpone the remainder of his operations till the next campaign. Thus the great end of assisting general Wolfe was not accomplished ; and that general was, as we have seen, left to the exertion of his single strength. The third part of the plan was more successful. General Prideaux advanced to fort Niagara, which by its excellent situation commands that extensive territory inhabited by the Iroquois Indians : he laid siege to it ; but while the operations were carrying

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on, he was killed before the place by the bursting of a cohorn ; upon which the command devolved upon general Johnson. The French, well knowing the importance of the fort, notwithstanding their distressed and distracted condition, collected a body of troops and Indians, and advanced to its relief ; but general Johnson, who is extremely well acquainted with all the Indian methods of making war, and taking advantages of the ground, bushes, &c. gave them a warm reception, and in less than an hour totally defeated them : then he summoned the fort, and obliged the garrison, amounting to 600 men, to surrender prisoners of war that evening. Such was the second campaign in America, by which the English gained possession of Quebec, the capital of Canada ; drove the French from their strong holds at Crown Point and Ticonderoga ; and took fort Niagara, which opened the road to Montreal, the second principal place in Canada, and the only one which the French now held in that great province.

Mr. Pitt's plans for reducing the French in America were not confined to the continent only : the islands were objects equally great in his views. He sent a fleet of ten ships of the line from England, commanded by commodore Moore, and six regiments of infantry, under the direction of general Hopson, to attack Martinico, the conquest of which had been represented to him as extremely practicable. But when the ships appeared before the island, which was in the month of January, and had landed the troops upon it, the forts were found to be much stronger than had been supposed : at which time a difference arose between the two commanders concerning the conveyance of the cannon ; upon which the troops were re-embarked. It was then judged proper to sail away for Guadeloupe, in hopes of better fortune. On the 23d of January

January they appeared before Basse-terre, which was cannonaded and bombarded by the fleet, till it was in many places set on fire : the flames continuing to consume the town all that and the following day, the inhabitants and troops at length quitted it, and fled into the mountainous part of the country : the English troops then were landed ; but the climate being extremely unhealthy, great numbers were carried off by sickness and fevers ; among whom was general Hopson. The command devolved upon general Barrington ; who having taken possession of several places, embarked the troops, and sailed round the island to other parts, where he reduced all the principal towns ; and on the first day of May obliged the two islands, which together are called Guadaloupe, to surrender. This valuable conquest was but just made, when a French squadron appeared off to its relief ; but the commander finding he was too late, sailed away without attempting any thing ; though had he come but a day sooner, he had probably saved the islands. Before the end of the month the island of Marigalante surrendered. The news of such a series of successes, so advantageous to England, and destructive of the power of the enemy, were received with raptures of joy ; and the people turned to the minister as to a divinity, who had wrought miracles in their favour.

In the East Indies the English were as successful as the warmest friend could wish. Considering the enemy's superiority, it was impossible to prevent Lally's laying siege to Madras ; for which we left him last year making preparations. The French army advanced to the place, but one of their regiments was roughly handled by colonel Draper, who sallied out of the town to impede their approach :
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he fought bravely,* but the enemy's fresh reinforcements at length obliged him to retire. The garrison of Madras was at this time commanded by colonel Lawrence, and the town by governor Pigott, who both provided every thing in their power to defend the place to the last extremity. On the 6th of January, 1759, Lally opened the trenches against it. He maintained a heavy fire for some time, and advanced very near the glacis; he poured his bombs into the town in order to set fire to the houses, and intimidate the inhabitants, but the vigilance and bravery of the English officers disappointed his expectations; and the fire of the garrison was so warm as to oblige him to abandon some of his batteries. In the mean time Major Caillaud, with a few Europeans and a body of the country forces, hovered on the skirts of Lally's army, and greatly embarrassed him, as well as retarded the operations of the siege: he cut off Lally's supplies, repulsed several of his detachments, and kept him in continual alarm. At length Lally was so provoked by this flying camp, which he said was like the flies, no sooner beat off from one part than they came to another, that he resolved to send out such a large force as would crush them effectually: but he was

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

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

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

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

“ A good blow might be struck here: there is a ship in the road, of 20 guns, laden with all the riches of Madras, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The expedition is just arrived, but M. Gorlin is not a man to attack her: for she has made him run away once before. The Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance before St. Thomas; and on the vague report of 13 ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright; and after landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would not stay long enough, even to take on board 12 of her own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

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

“ The Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the aforesaid Bristol, with her 12 guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre and Tremillier are said to be good men; and were they employed only to transport 200 wounded men, that we have here, their service would be of importance.

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

“ I

into Madrafs, and thereupon came nearer in order to harrafs the enemy. Lally had not time to burn

" I reckon we shall, at our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn some other trade; for this of war requires too much patience.

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

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

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

" I have wrote to M. de Larche, that if he persists in not coming here, let who will raise money upon the Paleagers for me, I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would do) meddling, directly or indirectly, with any thing whatever, that may have relation to your administration, whether civil or military. For I had rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy, sooner or later, even though that from heaven should not.

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

LALLY."

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

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the Black Town, as he intended, for a man of war and a company's ship arriving in the road on the 16th with succours, he precipitately retreated in the utmost haste and left his artillery behind him. Thus was Madrafs saved after a siege of nine weeks. A part of the garrison, commanded by Major Brereton, sallied out after him, but were for some time too weak to undertake any thing of importance. At length, in the month of September, they resolved to attack him in his strong camp at Wandersash, but they met with a severe repulse, and were obliged to retire in confusion. Captain Maitland, who commanded an expedition to Bombay, had better success. He dispersed the French troops, took the town of Surat by assault, and obliged the castle to surrender. In the mean time admiral Pococke and M. d'Ache disputed the superiority of the sea. On the 10th of September they came to an engagement off Pondicherry, which raged with great fury for the space of two hours; when d'Ache finding himself unable to sustain Pococke's heavy and destructive fire, fled in the best manner he could. The English fleet however were too much damaged to pursue; but soon after, being refitted, they went again in quest of the French, who desiring their approach off Pondicherry slipped out to sea, and avoided another engagement. Mr. Pitt, apprehensive that the enemy's additional force in the East Indies might seize some of the English settlements, dispatched a fleet from Europe, as soon as he heard of Lally's design to attack Madrafs, under the command of commodore Cornish, who about this time joined Admiral Pococke, and gave such a superiority to the British power in the east, as in a little time after totally destroyed the French force on the coast of Coromandel. Commodore Cornish brought with him a reinforcement of troops, commanded by colonel Coote, who took the command

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of the whole army, and prepared to make head against general Lally. He reduced Wandewash, and some other places of less importance, before the end of the year*.

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• At this time a new enemy to the English started up in the East Indies. “ The great extension of the British trade in this
 “ quarter of the globe excited the jealousy and envy of the
 “ Dutch, who secretly formed a scheme for extirpating the
 “ English out of Bengal; they tampered with the nabob, who
 “ connived at their intentions. Their first aim was to engross
 “ the whole salt-petre trade; a part of which they enjoyed
 “ by their factory at Chinsurra, where they had a strong fort
 “ on the river Bengal, higher up than Calcutta. The governor
 “ of Batavia, having charged himself with the execution of this
 “ action, chose the opportunity while the British squadron were
 “ absent; and having equipped seven ships, and put on board
 “ them 12,000 troops, on pretence of reinforcing the Dutch
 “ garrisons in Bengal, they sailed for the river of Bengal, and
 “ in October three of them arrived there. Colonel Clive,
 “ who resided at Calcutta, having notice of their design, sent
 “ word to the Dutch commodore, that he could not allow them
 “ to land their forces and march to Chinsurra; but no sooner
 “ were the rest of the troops arrived, than the troops were
 “ landed, and began their march for Chinsurra. The Dutch
 “ commodore, by way of retaliating the affront he pretended
 “ to have received, in being denied a passage to Chinsurra, took
 “ several English vessels on the river; and one of the Indiamen
 “ coming down at that time, he told the captain, that if he
 “ presumed to pass he would sink him; upon which the vessel
 “ returned to Calcutta, where colonel Clive ordered three
 “ Indiamen that were there to go down and fight the Dutch;
 “ and they obeyed this order with so much vivacity and courage,
 “ that they compelled three of the Dutch ships, with the
 “ commodore, to surrender; two ran away, and they drove the
 “ last ashore. In the mean time the Dutch troops were not
 “ more fortunate than their ships: colonel Clive detached
 “ colonel Forde, with 500 men, to oppose their progress; on
 “ the 25th of November, he met with them and gave them
 “ battle with great resolution; in a short time they gave way,
 “ and were totally defeated: during this action, the nabob,
 “ with a considerable army looking on, observed a suspicious
 “ neutrality, and in all probability would have declared for the
 “ Dutch, had they proved victorious; but no sooner had the
 “ English

The navy of Great Britain was every where triumphant. Admiral Boscawen, who succeeded admiral Osborne in his command of the Squadron in the Mediterranean, attacked the Toulon fleet, commanded by de la Clue, as it was attempting to pass the Streights; and after a furious engagement (Aug. 17) he took two ships, and burned another on the coast of Portugal; which in some measure violated the neutrality of that power, but it was in no condition to resent it. De la Clue escaped ashore, and his ship was destroyed by the victors. At this time the French ministry were projecting a triple embarkation for the invasion of Great Britain: a small Squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, and the command given to M. Thurot. The grand fleet was at Brest, under the command of M. Conflans: and the troops which it was to take on board lay at Vannes, under the command of the duke d'Aguillon. A few ships, with a number of flat-bottomed boats to carry troops, were prepared at Hayre. In the success of an invasion all the hopes of the French now lay: it was their dernier resort. Driven from their colonies abroad, beaten by sea and land, they resolved on this desperate enterprize to retrieve the ruined state of their affairs, by carrying the war into some part of Great Britain or Ireland, and thereby obliging us to accept of a peace. But Mr. Pitt, that watchful father of his country's interests, was as early in his resolutions to frustrate every part of the design, as they were to set about it. As soon as their preparations began,

" English gained the victory, than he offered them his service.
 " The Dutch finding their whole scheme defeated, began to
 " think of accommodating matters; a treaty was concluded,
 " by which the ships were restored; and the prisoners were
 " released as soon as the Dutch factory at Chinsurra had given
 " security to indemnify the English for the damage they had
 " sustained." See the *Review of the Reign of George II.*

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he sent out fleets to block up their harbours. Commodore Boys was stationed off Dunkirk ; admiral Hawke off Brest ; and admiral Rodney was sent to Havre to destroy the flat-bottomed boats, which was performed by a bombardment with tolerable success. Thurot, however, eluded the vigilance of Boys, and escaped into the north sea. Admiral Hawke, who had several times insulted the Brest fleet by his cruizers, was at length driven off his station (Nov. 14) by a violent storm : upon which Conflans, who had never ventured to come out and face the English admiral, seized that opportunity and put to sea, directing his course to Vannes. As soon as admiral Hawke was informed of it, he instantly put to sea in quest of him ; and judging from the design of the invasion that Conflans had steered for Vannes, came up with him off Belleisle. It blew a terrible storm ; the waves ran mountains high ; the pilots were ignorant of the coast, which was every where filled with rocks, sands and shoals ; yet the brave English admiral resolved to fight ; he knew the importance of such a victory ; he was sensible that the war was put to the issue of this event ; and amid all the horrors of two enraged elements he began a furious engagement. Two French ships were sunk, and every soul perished ; a third was taken. The enemy made but a short resistance ; they presently fled on all sides, and night saved them from utter destruction ; seven ships, by throwing their guns overboard, escaped up the river Villaine ; great part of the rest got out to sea ; but Conflans, with a few others, which in the time of confusion and uproar knew not where to run, cast anchor among the English fleet. The night was the most terrible that can be conceived ; the wind blew a violent storm ; it was pitchy darkness, and a dangerous coast on every side. Distress guns were fired all night, but no body could tell whether they came

came from friend or enemy; and the dangers made the hearers unable to give assistance. In the morning they found one of the English ships wrecked; at the same time the French admiral discovered where he was, and ran his ship a-shore, where she was burned by the victors. Thus was defeated that boasted project of an invasion; and the French naval power so broken and dispirited, as never to attempt any thing more during the administration of Mr. Pitt. Thurot for a little time had better fortune than Conflans. After he had escaped out of Dunkirk, he took refuge in Norway from the tempestuous weather; which at length being over, he put to sea again, and landed in Scotland; where having got some refreshments, he proceeded to Ireland, and landed near Carrickfergus: the garrison of which he obliged to surrender*; but hearing that a body of troops were marching against him, he instantly re-embarked and put to sea. Captain Elliot, who was at Kinsale with three frigates, being informed of his operations, directly sailed in quest of him. These commanders, who

* This descent instantly spread an alarm along the north-west coast of England. The large and opulent town of Liverpool, in particular, had reason to dread a surprize; which is extremely practicable by either land or sea, the harbour and coast being entirely defenceless. The mercantile inhabitants, of which the town chiefly consists, at their own expence, with a spirit truly laudable and patriotic, directly armed and formed themselves into bodies for its protection; and they mounted a considerable number of heavy cannon in different batteries, so disposed as to defend the harbour from the entrance of an enemy. In short they took every precaution, which prudence could suggest; and they were vigilant and indefatigable in their preparations of defence and manœuvres of discipline. Such conduct and zeal were truly commendable; they were examples of courage and ardour worthy of being imitated; and such as would have done real honour to the barrier towns of the Roman empire, in the most virtuous and heroic times of that republic.

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were nearly of equal force, came to an engagement (Feb. 21, 1760) off the Isle of Man; in which Thurot was killed and his three ships taken.

We will now turn to the affairs of Germany. The king of Prussia, notwithstanding his numerous losses, was still powerful. He prepared to make head against his enemies on all sides. He posted prince Henry in Saxony to find work for the army of the empire. He took cognizance of marshal Daun himself; and in Silesia he had a body of troops to oppose the Russians. In the month of February this corps entered Poland, and destroyed the Russian magazines there. In April prince Henry sallied out of Saxony, and drove the army of the empire into Voightland, which spread an alarm even to the French camp; he gained other advantages and raised contributions. The king of Prussia and marshal Daun watched each other with the greatest eagerness, to seize the critical moment of advantage. The empress-queen finding her arms not likely to overbalance her antagonist, and impatient for his destruction, repeatedly urged the assistance of the Russians by her minister at Peterburgh. Notwithstanding the Russian magazines has been destroyed; yet that power being replete with resources, soon repaired the loss; and its numerous savage army, now commanded by count Soltikoff, entered the Prussian territories. Count Dohna, who commanded the Prussian troops opposed to them, contented himself with harrassing and impeding their motions. The king of Prussia, who was impatient for action, disapproved of this conduct, upon which the count resigned; and general Wedel, who took the command of the army, was ordered to fight the Russians at all events. He obeyed this order, and with 30,000 men attacked 70,000 on the 23d of July, at Zullichau, near Crossen. The inferior numbers, after maintaining

a desperate conflict several hours under many difficulties, were at length defeated with the loss of 8000 men. This miscarriage exasperated the king of Prussia: he resolved to fight the Russians himself; and for this purpose he separated from his army a considerable corps, with which he marched to join Wedel's troops, leaving the rest with his brother, whom he called out of Saxony to watch marshal Daun; but that general perceiving the king's intentions, detached general Laudohn with 12,000 horse to the assistance of the Russians, and he happily effected his junction with their army. The king of Prussia, however, resolved upon fighting, and with 50,000 men, the most he could conveniently assemble, on the 12th of August he attacked the Russian camp, at Cunnersdorff near Franckfort. During the first six hours of this furious combat he made a considerable impression, and the enemy seemed to retreat. At this minute he sent a billet to his queen, containing these words: 'Madam, we have beat the Russians from their entrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory.' But he was mistaken; the Russians had only retreated to more advantageous ground. He resolved to force them entirely. His generals remonstrated against it as a step that would be destructive of his troops; but he disdained a victory in imperfection. It is perhaps his greatest foible to be obstinate, and sometimes fool-hardy. Here both were manifest. He made several desperate attacks with his infantry, which before had been nearly exhausted, every one of which were unsuccessful. His troops were spent. He then tried his cavalry: they did all that men could do; but their efforts could not dislodge the enemy: they fell into disorder; and in this critical moment the Austrian cavalry, which had been hitherto inactive, fell among them and completed their destruction.

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This struck a terror throughout the remains of the Prussian army, which then instantly fled from the field, leaving all their baggage, cannon, and every utensil to the enemy. This was the most bloody battle the king of Prussia had ever seen : at least 19,000 of his best troops were slain, besides a considerable number wounded and made prisoners. When he quitted this horrid scene, he sent another billet to his queen thus expressed : ' Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy.' It is easy to conceive the consternation this produced at Berlin, amidst the rejoicings occasioned by the first messenger. The Russians lost between 11 and 12,000 men. Next day the king of Prussia retreated over the Oder, and collected his fugitives : he drew a train of artillery from Berlin, and soon recovered from his disorder. He saw with joy and astonishment the Russians forbearing to improve their victory. They, instead of doing that, contented themselves with joining count Daun in Lusatia, and holding consultations with that general ; from which it has been strongly apprehended, that the safety of the king of Prussia was owing to a jealousy, which is at this time supposed to have arose between them ; the Austrians not being willing the Russians should get possession of Brandenburg, lest they should have more territory in the empire than was consistent with the interest of the empress-queen. In the mean time the army of the empire penetrated into Saxony, and reduced the towns of Hall, Leipzig, Torgua and Dresden. The king of Prussia suspecting the Russians, at length, intended to take Great Glogau, took post in such a manner as covered the town ; while count Daun apprehending prince Henry designed to retake Dresden, made a forced march in order to save that capital. The

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Austrians and Russians having thus separated, the latter began to retire. The king of Prussia being released of all his anxieties on that side, and having recruited his army, he in the month of November detached general Finck, with 20,000 men, to cut off count Daun's retreat into Bohemia. The Austrian general was aware of the design, and he secretly surrounded Finck; who, upon discovering the snare he had fallen into, made the most vigorous efforts for a whole day to disengage himself; but at length finding that it was impossible, the enemy having secured every avenue in the strongest manner, and on every side presented a wall of bayonets, through which it was madness to think of penetrating, he on the succeeding day was obliged to surrender, with his whole army, prisoners of war. While the Prussian power was staggering under this blow, it felt another a few days after. A body of Prussians were posted on the Elbe near Meissen, which were vigorously attacked by the Austrians, who made prisoners between 3 and 4000. In this critical situation the king of Prussia was obliged to solicit assistance; upon which the hereditary prince of Brunswic was detached with 12,000 men from the allied army. This prevented M. Daun drawing any advantages from the distressed situation of his enemy; he therefore enclosed himself in the strong camp at Pirna in Saxony. The Prussians then went into winter-quarters, and the hereditary prince returned to the allies.

The hopes of great advantage, which had been expected from the allies at the opening of the campaign, were ruined by one unfortunate stroke. It had been concerted that they should drive the French troops from Francfort, which they had illegally seized, and by which they possessed the navigation of the rivers Maese and Rhine, whence they drew supplies and refreshments. For this purpose prince Ferdinand

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Ferdinand put himself at the head of a body of troops, and advanced to execute the design; but the duke de Broglie posted himself in a very strong manner at Bergen, between Francfort and Hanau. Prince Ferdinand finding it necessary to force that general before he could penetrate to Francfort, ordered the prince of Ysenbourg to attack him; but the enemy's intrenchments were impregnable; the prince was slain in the third attempt, and near 2000 men were lost: upon which prince Ferdinand ordered the troops to draw off, and he immediately joined the army. Being foiled in this attempt, he acted upon the defensive: while the French army being greatly reinforced, obliged him to retreat: they seized several towns and over-ran the whole country: they looked upon the conquest of Hanover as an absolute certainty. During this train of success the duke de Belleisle, the French minister, wrote to the marshal de Contades, who commanded the army, on the subject of *securing* their conquest, and preventing another expulsion from Hanover; and for this end proposed the most cruel and unwarrantable expedients. Contades resolved to drive the allies from their possession of the course of the Weser. Prince Ferdinand saw his design, and he resolved to preserve it. The French, however, took Minden; by which they in some measure gained their point; but a strong body of the allies lying entrenched at but a small distance from the town, and close to the river; and prince Ferdinand, with the remainder of the army, being very near to that post, they found their business not effectually done; nor could they take up their winter-quarters in Hanover, unless they forced that post, and defeated prince Ferdinand. To accomplish these ends Contades resolved on giving battle. He ordered the duke de Broglie to attack the entrenched post on the 1st of August, at four o'clock in the morning;

ing; which he accordingly did, but found it so strong he could not force it. Mean while Contades advanced with the main army to attack prince Ferdinand in front, who met him in the plains of Minden. The allies were not quite prepared for action: they were partly surprized. Six British and two Hanoverian regiments were the first in the field. These alone maintained an unequal and heroic fight with the whole French army; and with the assistance of the British artillery, repulsed the enemy in every attack, and at length obliged them to quit the field in disorder. During this conflict orders were sent to lord George Sackville, who commanded the British troops, and at this time the cavalry of the right wing, which was placed behind a wood and out of sight of the action, to support that little corps of infantry; but from a misunderstanding of the orders, and an inconsistency, which, *to him*, seemed to appear in them, he hesitated in the execution; by which the cavalry did not arrive time enough to give any assistance, supposing they had been wanted†. Happily, however, this was not the case. The French retreated with great precipitation. They were dispirited by the check they had received. They abandoned all the territory they had conquered. Prince Ferdinand pursued them and laid siege to Munster, with the reduction of which the campaign ended, and both armies sat down just where they had begun. Thus did the single exploit of but a handful of British soldiers destroy all the hopes of the French court in making a conquest of Hanover, and with it purchasing the places they had lost in Asia, Africa and America; render a whole campaign fruitless, by which a great expence and many lives were thrown away;

† For this disobedience of orders he was tried by a court-martial in London, and adjudged unfit for future service.

and

and fix an indelible stain of dishonour on the French arms*.

During the winter the kings of Great Britain and Prussia made offers towards a pacification; but they had no effect. The empress-queen still hoped to recover Silesia; and France fancied she had prospects (though but visionary ones) of retaking some of her settlements†. In the month of November the parliament met. As the enemies had rejected the offers of peace, it became justly necessary to prosecute the war with vigour. The forces amounted to 73,000 seamen and 57,000 soldiers: the supplies for their support, and all other necessaries, amounted to fifteen millions‡. Such was the astonishing credit of Great Britain, that she could raise this immense sum without in the least hazarding her reputation; and such was the entire confidence of the people in the minister, that they freely opened their bags without a murmur; certain that their money would

* The losses which the French had sustained in every part of the world, reduced them to the necessity of stopping payment of the following public debts, viz. 1. The three kinds of rents created on the posts. 2. Those constituted upon the chest of redemptions. 3. The coupons of bills on the same chest. 4. Those of the two royal lotteries. 5. The reimbursement of bills drawn to bear on the same chest. 6. The bills of the two royal lotteries. 7. The rents created on the two sols per pound of the tenth penny. 8. The reimbursement of the capitals of rents. 9. The payments of bills dischargeable in nine years, known under the name of annuities. 10. Those of the new actions on the benefit of the farms. 11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government, amounting to 1,233,000*l*.

† In the month of August the king of Spain died. He was succeeded by his brother Don Carlos, king of Naples: a prince of whom the world had formed some good opinions; but they afterwards proved mistaken notions. His weakness particularly appeared in a too great reliance on his Italian minister, who was wheedled by French artifice.

‡ Mr. Pitt made a motion in the house of commons to return thanks to the surviving conquerors of Quebec; which was accordingly done.

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be appropriated to good purposes, as far as he could direct. They were satisfied in the highest degree : the trade of the kingdom flourished ; commerce increased ; riches poured in from every quarter, and joy and gladness sat on every countenance : there was peace and harmony at home, and an unparalleled success abroad.

In the East Indies the power of the French on the coast of Coromandel was totally annihilated. Colonel Coote defeated general Lally in the field, and obliged him to seek refuge in Pondicherry. He afterwards laid siege to that capital ; and, with the assistance of the fleet, at length reduced it, obliging general Lally with the garrison to surrender prisoners of war.

In America the entire reduction of Canada was achieved. It is true, indeed, the French force which remained at Montreal, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor, made some efforts to regain Quebec. They, early in the season, while the river St. Lawrence was unnavigable by the ice, marched to attack Quebec ; and general Murray, who was appointed governor of that city, marched out and gave them battle : he had the misfortune to be defeated, and the French began to besiege the city ; but lord Colville, who, by the prudence of the minister, was stationed at Halifax with a squadron, in order to act as exigencies might require, as soon as he heard of these transactions, forced his way up the river St. Lawrence ; upon which the French instantly abandoned their enterprize, and fled to Montreal with the greatest precipitation. General Amherst, who conducted his operations over land, advanced to Montreal in the month of September. M. Vaudreuil having no resource, nor any hope of assistance, instantly surrendered to him the whole province of Canada.

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The naval transactions in this year were : in the West Indies commodore Holmes, who was on the Jamaica station, took two French frigates and destroyed three others, which were destined to convoy a fleet of merchant ships to Old France. In Europe, the fleet stationed on the coast of France blocked up all the French ports, and thereby put an almost entire stop to their commerce. Some of our ships took the little island of Dumet, which proved of considerable service to the fleet, by furnishing a sufficiency of water, which had been hitherto sent by transports from England, at a great expence to the nation.

In Germany affairs still continued to wear the marks of rancour and inveteracy. The empress-queen determined to exert her forces, in order to recover Silesia. General Laudohn, with 50,000 men, opened the campaign with the siege of Glatz ; but finding his operations exposed to much annoyance from 23,000 Prussians, who were at Landshut, under the command of general Fouquet, he raised the siege, and attacked the Prussians in their entrenchments on the 23d of June. After a very warm dispute of five hours, in which both sides lost a great number of men, he at length forced them, and, except about 4000 of the Prussians who escaped, the vanquished, together with their commander, were all made prisoners. The conqueror then reduced Glatz. He next marched to Breslaw, the siege of which he undertook ; but prince Henry of Prussia advancing directly to its relief, obliged him to relinquish his designs. The king of Prussia, who was all this while in Saxony watching count Daun, finding that the enemy's great push was in Silesia, and that the Russians were advancing to join Laudohn, in order to reduce it, quitted Saxony, and marched for that duchy himself. Daun was no sooner informed of this movement, then

then he followed him with such expedition, that in a short time he gained two days march on him. The king perceiving his design frustrated, suddenly returned into Saxony, and immediately laid siege to Dresden. Daun finding himself duped by this stratagem, returned likewise, and obliged the king of Prussia to raise the siege. The affairs of Silesia now becoming critical, the Russians being on the point of joining Laudohn, the king resolved to march into that duchy at all events. Daun again followed him; but the king gained possession of a strong camp at Lignitz; which prevented the enemy gaining any material advantage over him at that instant. However, he had not remained long there, before he found himself in danger of being surrounded, and consequently exposed to a surprize: but he drew his enemies into the snare. It was concerted to surprize his camp, in like manner as had been done at Hohkirchen. He was aware of it, and therefore secretly quitted his camp: and when general Laudohn advanced to the attack, he fell upon him unexpectedly at three o'clock in the morning, and, after a conflict of three hours, totally defeated him with the loss of 8000 men. The scheme being thus frustrated, Daun turned his attention another way: he marched to Schweidnitz, and laid siege to that place. The king followed him, and obliged him to raise the siege. In the mean time the Russians, who could not, on account of Laudohn's defeat, effect their junction with the Austrians in Silesia, entered Brandenburg, and penetrated even to Berlin, where they levied heavy contributions, and committed the most cruel and horrid ravages. Notwithstanding his Prussian majesty had gained a great victory, he was still encompassed by numerous adversaries; the army of the empire was in possession of Saxony; the Russians were on one side of him, and count Daun on another.

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another*. He knew not which way to turn, till at length hearing that the Russians were in possession of Berlin, he instantly marched to its assistance. But the Russians retired on his approach, and marched into Silesia, where they for some time threatened to lay siege to Breslau; but at length they retired into their own country, after having unsuccessfully attempted the reduction of Colberg. Count Daun had followed the king of Prussia out of Silesia. The king having reinforced his army with the troops which had defended Saxony and Brandenburg, began to meditate some important blow. Daun was at this time encamped near Torgau. The king resolved to put the event of the campaign to the hazard. He attacked Daun on the 3d of November, and, after four vigorous assaults, forced his camp, and obliged his troops to retreat in utter confusion. The Prussians lost about 3000 men, and the Austrians above twice that number. This defeat obliged count Daun to call general Laudohn out of Silesia, as he stood in need of reinforcement, to prevent being drove into Bohemia. Silesia thus reverted into the hands of the Prussians. Both armies then took up their winter-quarters in Saxony, and matters were thus put nearly on the same footing as at the opening of the cam-

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

paign. The noble struggles made by the king of Prussia had foiled all the attempts of his adversaries.

The French grand army was this year commanded by the duke de Broglie, who had succeeded to that post on the disgrace of M. de Contades. Besides this army the French assembled another of 30,000 men, the command of which was given to the count de St. Germain. Broglie, intending to penetrate through Hesse into Hanover, made some motions as if he would join St. Germain for that purpose: upon which Prince Ferdinand resolved to prevent the junction, and ordered the hereditary prince, with the advanced guard of the army, to attack the enemy, which he did at Corbach, and met with a severe repulse; however he soon after retrieved his reputation by attacking a party of the enemy at Exdorf, which had advanced on the left of the allies; Elliot's English light-horse bravely distinguished themselves in this encounter. This corps of the enemy were routed; but Broglie did not seem to mind these actions: he effected his junction with St. Germain. However that officer conceived a disgust to him, and resigned his command; which was given to the Chevalier de Mui. Broglie directed him to cut off the communication of the allies with Westphalia, while he entered Hesse. De Mui took his posts near Warburg, where Prince Ferdinand attacked him in both flank and rear, and obliged him to fly in the utmost precipitation, with the loss of 1500 men, and some cannon. The Marquis of Granby, who had succeeded to the command of the British troops on the resignation of lord George Sackville, greatly distinguished himself in this attack. While Prince Ferdinand's attention was employed here, the duke de Broglie, without any difficulty, entered Hesse and took Cassel. To make amends for this, the

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hereditary prince undertook an expedition to the Lower Rhine, where he scoured the country and took Cleves: he next invested Wesel, and would have taken the place had not his operations been retarded by heavy rains. When Broglio heard of this adventure he detached M. de Castries with a large body of troops to drive the hereditary Prince out of the country. These officers came to an action near Campen; when the French, by the advantage of the ground and superiority in numbers, defeated the allies, who lost 1600 men, chiefly British, among whom was lord Downe. The hereditary prince then repassed the Rhine and joined the grand army: soon after which both armies went into winter quarters. All the advantage which the French could be said to have gained by their two armies this campaign, was only the possession of Hesse.

At home a grand expedition was set on foot. Great part of the summer was employed in making preparations for it. A considerable fleet was equipped and a body of forces assembled to be put on board; but unfortunately, when this armament was ready to sail, his majesty George II. died; an event, which instantly occasioned the sailing orders to be countermanded, and at length was productive of the whole design being laid aside.

The new reign, which commenced October 25, produced new servants. The earl of Holderness was dismissed from his office of secretary of state for the northern department, and succeeded therein by the earl of Bute, who was previously made a privy counsellor. It is neither prudent nor safe to proceed from this *remarkable* æra to the end of Mr. Pitt's administration, with that truth, candour and honesty which ought to distinguish a review of the times. But future writers, if they are Englishmen, and possess that open freeness of sentiment, which

is the honourable characteristic of their countrymen, having less to fear, will, it is not doubted, give to posterity an impartial account of their predecessors as they *flourished* under the auspices of —; in a period which the present race of men have gazed on with wonder and astonishment. Mr. Legge was next dismissed (for he would not resign) from his office of chancellor of the exchequer ; he disdained to pay servile court to inferior abilities. A number of new peers were created, which the people did not behold without *apprehensions* ; because it had been long considered that the aristocratical part of government was at least full heavy in the scale of balance. Pacific sentiments being nourished, the spirit of the war abated ; and opposition to a *wise* and *vigilant* administration began to appear. A certain species of low cunning and undermining craft, slyly stole into many places.

The allies opened the campaign in February 1761. The hereditary prince took Fritzlar, and prince Ferdinand pushed forward in a rapid manner to retake Cassel before the French army should be reinforced ; but he found it impossible. The garrison was numerous, and held out vigorously. The French army, commanded by the duke de Broglie, approached ; upon which he was obliged to raise the siege and retire. A second French army was assembled on the Lower Rhine under the prince de Soubise. Detachments of the allies for some time harassed both these armies, and did them considerable damage : upon which their commanders joined their armies and resolved to give battle to prince Ferdinand. Accordingly, early in the morning on the 16th of July, while he was encamped at Hoenhover, they attacked his camp ; but he, having information of their design, gave them so warm a reception, in all their attempts to force his post, as at length obliged them to retire with the loss of 4000 men ;

men; the Allies lost about 1200 men. This battle, which the French distinguished by the name of Fellinghausen, separated their two armies. It was a misfortune to the French, during the several campaigns of Mr. Pitt's administration, that their generals could never agree. There was a pique between Soubize and Broglie at the time of this action, in which each wished to see his coadjutor sacrificed: had this not been the case the victory would not have been so easily obtained; for after the battle prince Ferdinand was not able to look Broglie's great army, alone, in the face. That general, by dint of his prodigious superiority, and being stimulated to retrieve his late disgrace, took some places, penetrated into Hanover, and gained several little advantages; but prince Ferdinand by a forced march approached Cassel, which obliged Broglie to draw off and protect that place.

The King of Prussia acted upon the defensive during the whole campaign. He attempted nothing himself, nor did his adversaries do any thing worth mentioning. The Austrians indeed formed a scheme for surprizing Schweidnitz, which they effected with very inconsiderable loss. This was called a surprize in the public accounts; but private ones, which are often more true, assert it was taken by treachery; and there is reason to believe it. The Russians invested Colberg, and at length reduced it; but they did nothing else. This inactivity in Germany is accounted for, when we remember that a congress was appointed to be held at Augsbourg; and a negociation was set on foot between England and France.

Happy would it have been if there had been no other cause for British measures being impeded. The great minister, who had reduced the power of France, saw his influence in the state declining fast every

every day.* The enemies to his bold measures envied his glory. It is true a large armament was suffered to be equipped; but so much attention was bestowed upon the ostentation of the year, the forming of bottoms, procuring parties, making connexions, bustling for places, &c. that the expedition was retarded till it became, at length, too late to send it to the place it was originally intended against; upon which it was dispatched to the isle of Belleisle on the coast of France. The ships were commanded by commodore Keppel, and the troops by general Hodgson. A landing† was effected after some opposition, and the troops advanced to the town of Palais, which is the capital. This place was immediately besieged, and, notwithstanding a very stout resistance, at length reduced.

In America the island of Dominique was reduced by lord Rollo, who was conveyed thither in the month of June from Guadaloupe by Sir James Douglas. Some disturbances happened with the Cherokee Indians in North America, but the British power had been rendered so formidable in that part of the world, they were soon compelled to sue for peace.—Let it be observed, that Mr. Pitt had laid

* As a proof of the opposition which was *now* made to his measures, and as an instance of their being over-ruled, it is proper to inform the reader, that about a fortnight before he resigned, he urged, and even insisted on, four ships of the line being sent to Newfoundland. It is well known that those ships did not fail; and it is well known, that under another administration, Newfoundland being *then* almost defenceless, was taken, and our merchants sustained a loss which some years will not repair.—Whether does this *single* circumstance reflect more honour on Mr. Pitt's foresight and vigilance, or on the *prudence and beneficence* of those who opposed him?

† To the honour of commodore Keppel, it must be observed, that, in order to give greater spirit to the sailors in landing the troops, he left his ship, and went in his barge among the flat-bottom boats, where he was exposed to a severe fire of the enemy.

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down the plan for taking Martinico, and it was begun to be executed when he resigned.

Such were the warlike operations and glories of Mr. Pitt's administration. Never since the days of the establishment of monarchy in England, has such a successful war been carried on, nor such a power and spirit exerted. The first great merit of his administration lay in his rousing the spirit of the people, in banishing dejection and despondency, and substituting joy and hope: his next chief praise is in restoring harmony and unanimity, not only in the king's council but in parliament, and throughout the whole nation: and his last most important services are,

In the East Indies, the total extirpation of the French arms and influence out of the kingdom of Bengal, the conquest of all their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, and every other part of the continent in Asia; consequently increasing our great trade to that distant quarter, and causing new riches to flow, as it were, from new worlds. In Africa the reduction of Senegal and Goree, putting us into entire possession of the gum, and greatly augmenting our slave trade. In North America the conquests of the islands of Cape Breton and St. John's which effectually wounded the French fisheries, and restored tranquility to Nova Scotia: of that vast and extensive province called Canada, with all its exterior forts and remote boundaries, which have not only put us into entire possession of the fur trade, but secured quiet and peace to all our settlements in that part, and given us an empire which, for extent and power, may be improved beyond conception; it likewise commands all the interior savage countries, lakes, and fine lands, which good policy and good government may so order and manage, that they may bring us great additional wealth and weight. In the West Indies

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the reduction of Guadalupe, with the lesser islands contiguous to it, furnishing such a fund of wealth to our merchants as the most exuberant fancy can scarce conceive, and yet no more than half cultivated. The conquest of Martinico, though not made during his administration, was in consequence of his preparations and plan, which were so unerringly laid, that it was almost impossible to fail of success.* The navy of France was destroyed by repeated victories; her ports were continually blocked up, which, together with the conquests of her islands and settlements, ruined her trade. Her coasts were several times insulted, contributions levied on them, her ships burned, one of her harbours destroyed; and thereby the terrors of an invasion, which she had so often sent over to England, reverted in reality upon herself. Belleisle, her principal and largest European island, taken. In Germany all her efforts baffled and frustrated; notwithstanding her sending there every year great armies, and annually paying large sums to several powers, to keep them in alliance against the houses of Hanover and Brandenburg.

When all these things were done, and France was reduced to the lowest step of adversity, she set on foot a negotiation for peace: she began by refusing the payment of her subsidies to her needy allies, particularly to Sweden, to whom it was told that the exhausted condition of France, which could be no longer concealed, made her unable to adhere to the letter of her engagements; and that, therefore,

* The succeeding ministry would *fain* have derived great merit from this conquest; but the candid and impartial instantly despised those pitiful and dishonest efforts of extorting praise; and, though they readily allowed Mr. Pitt's successor *all the merit* of permitting a fleet to sail, which had been destined and prepared before; yet they would not suffer the unhallowed hands of faction to tear the laurels from his brow.

the desired peace in earnest. The courts of Vienna and Petersburg then agreed with France, to offer proposals to renew the short negotiation for peace, which had abruptly broke off last year. Under the mediation of Spain, they delivered their memorials in London on the last day of March. Their proposals being accepted both by England and Prussia, a congress was appointed to be held at Augsbourg. But the disputes between England and France being of a different nature to those among the German powers, it was agreed that they should be previously settled by a separate negotiation. Accordingly ministers were sent from each kingdom. Mr. Stanley went to France, and M. Bussy came to England.* But France did not trust to this negoti-

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ation :

* For the satisfaction of the reader we shall give the heads of this negotiation. On the 29th of July Mr. Stanley delivered to the French ministry the *ultimatum*, or final proposals, of England; the substance of which is as follows.

1. France shall cede Canada, Cape Breton, and the islands in the gulph of St. Lawrence, with the right of fishing on the coasts.

2. Whatever does not belong to Canada, shall not be considered as appertaining to Louisiana.

3. Senegal and Goree shall be yielded to England.

4. Dunkirk shall be put in the condition it ought to be in by the treaty of Utrecht; and on this condition France shall be restored to the privilege allowed her by that treaty, of fishing on part of the banks of Newfoundland.

5. The neutral islands shall be equally divided.

6. Minorca shall be restored.

7. France shall evacuate and restore all her conquests in Germany.

8. England shall restore Belleisle and Guadaloupe.

9. Disputes in the East Indies shall be settled by the two companies.

10. The captures made by England before war was declared shall not be restored.

11. France shall not retain Ostend and Nieuport.

12. The cessation of arms shall take place when the preliminaries are ratified, or the definitive treaty signed.

13. Both

ation: she was sensible she must sacrifice a great deal; therefore, she looked out for another resource, and

‘ 13. Both Kings shall be at liberty to assist their German allies.

‘ 14. Prisoners shall reciprocally be set at liberty.

‘ The substance of France’s answer, dated August 5, is this:

‘ 1. France will yield all Canada, but insists that the Roman Catholic religion shall be tolerated there, and that her subjects shall have liberty to dispose of their effects, and retire. France further insists on the right of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and demands some island near it on which to dry her fish.

‘ 2. France doth not pretend that what is not Canada is Louisiana; but demands that the intermediate nations between Canada and Louisiana, and between Virginia and Louisiana, shall be considered as independent, and a barrier between the French and English.

‘ 3. France demands Goree. However, M. de Buffly shall talk about this point.

‘ 4. M. de Buffly shall also talk about Dunkirk, when a port is agreed on in the gulph of St. Lawrence for the protection of the French fishery.

‘ 5. France agrees to the partition of the neutral islands.

‘ 6. England may keep Belleisle, and France will keep Minorca.

‘ 7. In consideration of the restitution of Guadaloupe, France will evacuate her conquests in Germany, except those made on the king of Prussia, which are held for the Empress-Queen.

‘ 8. France accepts of Guadaloupe as a compensation for her cessions in North-America and Africa, and the demolition of the works at Dunkirk.

‘ 9. France agrees that the East-India companies shall settle their differences.

‘ 10. France insists on the restitution of the captures made before the war.

‘ 11. France never intended to keep Ostend and Nieuport.

‘ 12. The term of ceasing hostilities will occasion no difference.

‘ 13. If England will withdraw her assistance from her German allies, France will do the same with regard to hers. [This proposal Mr. Pitt rejected with disdain. He considered it as an attack upon the national integrity, and declared that Great

Britain

and she found one in Spain; with whom she tampered
on the great power of the English in America,
S 2 urging

Britain was unalterably resolved to support the king of Prussia
with efficacy and good faith.]

14. The release of the prisoners is well.

An answer to the above *ultimatum* was delivered on the 1st
of September to the following purport:

1. England insists on the full and entire cession of Canada
and its appurtenances; the island of Cape Breton, and the
islands in the gulph of St. Lawrence; Canada comprehending,
agreeable to the line of limits drawn by M. de Vaudreuil
himself, when he gave up the province by capitulation, on
one side the lakes Huron, Michigau, and Superior; and
the said line, drawn from Lake Rouge, comprehending by a
winding course the river Onabache to its junction with the
Ohio, and from thence stretching along this last river inclu-
sively to its confluence with the Mississippi. The Roman
Catholic religion shall be tolerated in Canada: the inha-
bitants may sell their effects, provided the purchasers be Bri-
tish subjects: and shall be allowed a year to remove else-
where.

2. The limits of Louisiana, delivered in a note by M. de
Bussy, cannot be allowed, because they comprehend vast
tracts of land which Vaudreuil comprehended within Ca-
nada; and on the side of the Carolinas they comprehend
extensive regions, and numerous nations, under England's
protection.

3. England shall keep Senegal and Goree; but, if France
will suggest any reasonable scheme for supplying herself with
negroes, it shall be considered.

4. Dunkirk shall be put in the condition it ought to be in
by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. France shall be restored to
the privilege allowed her in the treaty of Utrecht of fishing
on the banks of Newfoundland, and drying fish there. France,
moreover, shall be allowed to catch fish in the gulph of St.
Lawrence, and the island of St. Peter's shall be ceded to her for
drying them, provided she abstain from fishing on the coast,
and erect no fortification, or keep any military establishment
on the said island; and provided that an English commissary
be allowed to reside on it, and English men of war to visit it
from time to time, to see that the above stipulations be ob-
served.

5. No

urging that the Spanish colonies would lie at the mercy of the English, if the French power in America

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- ‘ 5. No alternative for the neutral (so called) islands will be accepted: but the partition of them will be still agreed to.
 - ‘ 6. Belleisle, Guadaloupe, and Marigalante, shall be restored.
 - ‘ 7. Minorca shall be restored.
 - ‘ 8. With regard to the evacuation of the French conquests in Germany, England adheres to the 7th article of her *ultimatum*, and insists on the restitution of Wesel, and the king of Prussia's territories.
 - ‘ 9. England will still support the king of Prussia with vigour and good faith.
 - ‘ 10. The restitution of the ships taken before the war is unjust by the law of nations.
 - ‘ 11. England trusts to France's declaration relative to Ostend and Nieuport.
 - ‘ 12, 13, 14. England persists in what she said in her *ultimatum*.

To these articles France replied one by one.

- ‘ 1. France agrees to the cession of Canada, but asks two years or eighteen months for the inhabitants of Canada to sell their effects and remove. And desires to know what England understands by the *appurtenances* of Canada.
- ‘ 2. France yields up Canada with the limits assigned it by Vaudreuil; but insists that the Indians on one side of the line shall be independent under the protection of France; and those on the other side independent under the protection of England. The English traders shall not cross the line; but the Indians shall be at liberty to trade with both nations.
- ‘ 3. France will cede Senegal and Goree, provided England will guarantee to France her settlements at Anamaboo and Akra.
- ‘ 4. For the sake of peace, France will demolish the new works of Dunkirk, fill up the basin which is capable of receiving ships of the line, and destroy the rope-walks. The 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, relative to the fishery, shall be confirmed. The island of Miquelon, or Michelon, shall be added to St. Peter's: a guard of fifty men shall be kept on those islands to support the civil magistrate, no foreign ships, even English, shall be allowed to touch there; but an English commissary may reside there.

‘ 5. The

rica should be wholly annihilated. The Spanish ministry took the alarm. They fancied they saw danger. The duc de Choiseul, the French minister, was indefatigable in this affair : he had a particular advantage over Mr. Pitt : his influence in France was every day increasing, whilst Mr. Pitt's in England was every day declining. Choiseul at length accomplished his aim. A treaty between France and Spain was concluded and signed at Paris on the 25th of August ; purporting, that whoever should declare war against one, did at that instant become an enemy to the other ; and they bound themselves by mutual oath to assist each other in all wars offensive and defensive ; they guarantied each other's dominions ; and their natural born subjects are to

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- ‘ 5. The neutral islands may be equally divided, provided St. Lucia be part of the share of France.
 - ‘ 6, 7. France agrees to.
 - ‘ 8. France cannot evacuate countries belong- to the Em-
‘ press-Queen.
 - ‘ 9. This article of assisting the German allies requires ex-
‘ planation.
 - ‘ 10. The demand of the ships taken before war was de-
‘ clared, is so just, that France cannot depart from it.
 - ‘ 11. When the preliminaries are signed, the king of France
‘ will give it under his hand, that he never intended to keep
‘ Ostend and Nieuport.
 - ‘ 13. The two East-India companies shall finish their nego-
‘ tiation at the same time that the negotiation of the two crowns
‘ is concluded.
 - ‘ 14. This article can admit of no difficulty.’

France having thus refused to acquiesce in the terms offered by England, Mr. Stanley was ordered to leave Paris : but it has been shrewdly suspected that M. Buffy had secret orders not to sign this *ultimatum*. On the contrary, it is known of Mr. Pitt, that there were enemies to his measures who envied his glory, and who would rather lose all the advantages he had procured to his country, than see it made great by his means ; and who exerted their utmost strength in the enforcement of the above stipulations, to whom, more than to Mr. Pitt, the framing of them principally belongs.

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enjoy all rights, privileges and immunities, &c. in both kingdoms; and their ambassadors at all foreign courts are to live in perfect amity and association. In a word it is a treaty of firm union and concord; formed by ambition to destroy all balance of power, and for ever to disturb the peace of mankind. This is what is called the *family compact*: it was concluded in so secret a manner, that not above one or two persons, except the signers, had for some time any knowledge of it. The connexions between these two branches of the house of Bourbon, were not revitted, when Mr. Pitt discovered the intentions of Spain to assist France. It was, when the plan of the separate negociation between England and France had been settled; when every thing that human wisdom could foresee, had been happily arranged and affixed, in laying the basis of the treaty, that the machinations of France, and the designs of Spain were discovered. M. Bussy delivered a memorial signifying that the catholic king desired to settle his differences with Great Britain at the same time that France did.* Mr. Pitt instantly

* Spain demanded the restitution of some captures made on her flag; a privilege to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of the English settlements in the bay of Honduras.

It is proper to observe, that in the conferences between Mr. Pitt and M. de Bussy, the British minister, with a dignity and spirit becoming his character and the greatness of his nation, always treated him short: he said little, and what he said was always final: he left no room for prevarication; and when it was attempted, he constantly withdrew: he distrusted the sincerity of Bussy's intentions, and the integrity of the French court. The French agent was thus deprived of coming at the secrets of England, which long conferences and chance expressions might give him some intimation of. M. Bussy then set himself to work another way. He found other persons, who received him with affability. By his courtesy and address he made himself agreeable to them. Here he employed his dexterity. He threw into

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stantly took the alarm: he saw the insincerity of France; and he rejected with disdain the offer of negotiating ' through an enemy humbled, and ' almost at his feet, the disputes of his nation, with ' a power actually in friendship with us.' He returned this offensive memorial, as wholly inadmissible, and declared that any further mention of it, would be looked upon as an affront to the crown, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negociation. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to lord Bristol, the English minister at Madrid, to remonstrate with energy and firmness, the unexampled irregularity of that court. The Spanish ministry vindicated their proceedings with France, and insinuated their attachment to that kingdom. Mr. Pitt was now confirmed; he clearly saw the secret views of Spain; and he saw that the artifices and expressions of friendship for Great Britain, were only made use of to conceal those views, till the Spanish treasure from the West Indies should be arrived, and then the king of Spain would declare himself. The unseasonable interpo-

a sarcastical light every virtue of those who were for making the most of our advantages: he converted resolution, firmness, and intrepidity, into quixotism, obstinacy, and insolence; dignity, into pride; and manly boldness into haughty presumption. Bussy found Mr. Pitt had enemies; to them he gave this doctrine; and they spread it abroad with uncommon industry. These at the time of his resignation poured out a torrent of low and illiberal abuse. Men of eminence and rank joined with ungovernable passion and acrimony in this factious and tumultuous cry: they wrote with a malignity that would disgrace the pens of the lowest dregs of mankind: they were copious in forgeries of pretended facts, in order to furnish matter for calumny: their writings were replete with imposition and deceit. Will not after ages wonder at the ingratitude of their countrymen; and will they not recollect that, like the great duke of Marlborough, when he had reduced the power of France to the lowest ebb, he was driven from his post, and scandalously reviled for his inestimable services?

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sition of Spain, was the true cause of the negotiation breaking off. All other matters might, perhaps, have been settled. Mr. Pitt by it received an incurable suspicion of the designs of France and Spain. After which it was impossible to bring matters to an happy issue : therefore, the two ministers returned to their respective courts in the month of September.

Mr. Pitt instantly prepared for war. He had already provided for the attack of Martinico; and he purposed, that the armament should go from thence to the Havannah without delay. But his grand push was in Europe : it was his immediate one. He was fully satisfied Spain had resolved to assist France. He had received intimation, if not a copy of the treaty of union between them : he saw the designs of Spain on Portugal. He resolved to prevent both ; not by the cautious and tardy steps of an ambassador ; but by an early appearance of our commanders in chief, at the head of a great squadron, on the coast of Spain, categorically demanding the fullest security and satisfaction of friendship and neutrality : and if refused, instantly declaring inveterate enmity : and being armed with the force of the nation, begin to destroy ; to strike terror into the bowels of Spain ; to intercept the treasures, and thereby, cutting the Spaniard off from his nerves and sinews of war, precipitate him into his own snare. This was a vigorous resolution ; such as is rarely to be met with ; and such as will be an illustrious, and eternal monument of Mr. Pitt's penetration and spirit, because time proved the rectitude of it. At this time he was beset by opponents : he had of late met with frequent opposition to his schemes ; therefore, when he proposed this measure, he declared that ' this ' was the time for humbling the whole house of ' Bourbon ; that if this opportunity were let slip, ' it

' it might never be recovered ; and if he could not
 ' prevail in this instance, he was resolved that this
 ' was the *last* time he should sit in that council.
 ' He thanked the ministers of the *late king* for their
 ' support ; said he himself was called into the mi-
 ' nistry by the people, to whom he considered him-
 ' self as accountable for his conduct ; and he would
 ' no longer remain in a situation which made him
 ' responsible for measures he was no longer allowed
 ' to guide.' In this grand and leading motion he was
 supported by lord Temple ; that nobleman had been
 his fellow compatriot and coadjutor from the be-
 ginning of his administration, and continued so to
 the end : all the rest opposed it. He now saw his
 influence in the state entirely at an end. He resolved
 on resigning : his motives for it were fair and honest :
 they were, as he knew himself able to answer and
 account for every part of his conduct hitherto, he
 thought this the properest time to resign his trust,
 when he could no longer be useful in the execution
 of it ; but must either obstruct and embarrass the mea-
 sures carried on by others, if he opposed them ; or sa-
 crifice his own fame and honour if he concurred in
 them contrary to his own conviction, and what he ap-
 prehended to be the interest of his country. Mr. Pitt
 and lord Temple immediately resigned, September 5,
 and they gave to his majesty their reasons in writing.
 The king expressed his concern for the loss of Mr.
 Pitt, and offered him any rewards in the power of
 the crown to bestow. To have refused would have
 been insult. Next day an annuity of 3000l. was
 settled on him, and a title was conferred on his lady
 and her issue. Never was a pension so well bestowed,
 nor nobility so truly merited. It is a shame any
 vindication should be necessary for the acceptance
 of the reward. He did not take it as pensions are
 commonly taken, as a bond for the receiver's future
 conduct. He is by it under no obligation ; it is no

tie upon him. It was given as a recompence for his great services. What man of sense or gratitude would not have blushed for his country, if such a minister had retired unrewarded? The sum was inadequate to his merit; but the quantum was regulated by his moderation. When this was settled, his enemies, the enemies of their country, with their numerous adherents and desperate assassins, collected and poured forth all their scurrility and abuse; in which they infamously traduced his reward into a bargain for deserting his country*, in order to

* In order to clear his character from this imputation he sent the following letter to his friend in the city of London.

Dear Sir,

• Finding to my great surprize, that the cause and manner of
• my resigning the Seals, is grossly misrepresented in the city,
• as well as that the most gracious and spontaneous marks of
• his majesty's approbation of my services, which marks fol-
• lowed my resignation, have been infamously traduced as a bar-
• gain for my forsaking the public, I am under a necessity of
• declaring the truth of both these facts, in a manner which I
• am sure no gentleman will contradict. A difference of opi-
• nion with regard to measures to be taken against Spain, of the
• highest importance to the honour of the crown, and to the
• most essential national interests, (and this founded on what
• Spain had already done, not on what that court may farther
• intend to do) was the cause of my resigning the Seals. Lord
• Temple and I submitted in writing, and signed by us, our
• most humble sentiments to his majesty, which being over-
• ruled by the united opinion of all the rest of the king's ser-
• vants, I resigned the seals on Monday the 5th of this month,
• in order not to remain responsible for measures, which I was
• no longer allowed to guide. Most gracious public marks of
• his majesty's approbation of my services followed my resigna-
• tion: they are unmerited and unsolicited, and I shall ever be
• proud to have received them from the best of sovereigns.

• I will now only add, my dear Sir, that I have explained
• these matters only for the honour of truth, not in any view to
• court return of confidence from any man, who with a credu-
• lity, weak as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to with-
• draw his good opinion from one, who has served his country
• with fidelity and success; and who justly reveres the upright
• and candid judgment of it, little solicitous about the censures
• of

poison the minds of the people, and turn them against him: but his many eminent services were so engraven on their minds, that notwithstanding every art, the utmost pains, and uncommon cunning, their opinions and reverence could not be eradicated. They remembered the æra famous for his coming into the administration, and under his auspices resplendent with the return of British valour and success: when his high and vigorous energy, seconded by divine providence, molded party into concord; and raised that tide of victory, conquest, and national felicity, which carried the arms and character of Great Britain to the highest summit of glory; moving her on, crowned with honour, in a rapid and uninterrupted series of success, to the first and highest seat of dignity and fame. Whoever truly considers the state of things at the time of his resignation, will not wonder at his being obliged to quit the helm of state. The principal cities and incorporated towns in Great Britain presented him with addresses of thanks for his brilliant, spirited, and upright administration. Never was minister so universally beloved nor so universally regretted.

The glorious and immortal victories and conquests achieved while he guided the helm of state, are imprinted in indelible characters on every mind, and will remain coæval with the existence of our country. He who had done so much, the people thought it scandalous to revile. There is no period in our history equal to his administration: no minister

of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind friendship, and believe me ever with truth and esteem,

September 1, 1761.

My dear Sir,

Your faithful friend, &c.

It was pretended that an answer was wrote to this letter, but no such thing had ever existence.

ever shone with such integrity and virtue. He kept no levees ; he saw no trifling company ; was embarrassed by no private connexions ; was engaged in no intrigue. He never abused his power by preferring an undeserving person : he despised those idle claims of priority of rank, of seniority in situation, when they were unsupported by services, which alone could entitle them to public trust : he confided in ability and worth wherever he found them, without any regard to wealth, family, parliamentary interest or connexion. He was a friend to moral virtue. He detested corruption. His soul was above meaness : little arts belong to narrow minds ; his was extensive, and soared to business of a more important nature, by which he made his country great. Like a true Englishman, he was open, bold, free, and honest. He was punctual in his office, and such was his attention to business, that the most minute occurrences in his department passed not without examination. He had wisdom to plan, and courage to execute. He honoured the people, and listened to their united voice, which he was never afraid to bring to the ear of his sovereign. His ability and wisdom spread terror throughout the enemy : they preserved harmony with our allies, and the faith of Great Britain was held inviolably sacred. He exerted the power, and preserved the dignity of Great Britain in a manner unexampled. He was afraid of no state ; would brook with no affronts ; was ever ready to resent injuries. The public treasure he applied, as far as his direction extended, to the public interest. He never sought to avoid a war, in order to apply the sums necessary for carrying it on to the preservation of his power in the ministry. His early and vigorous resolution for attacking Spain is the strongest proof of it. Conscious of his own honesty and integrity he never sought to conceal any part of his

his conduct; but, on the contrary, was always ready and forward to lay all his measures before the public. He spoke his mind freely on all occasions. He neither dissembled nor encouraged dissimulation; and yet he was of such unshaken secrecy, that, during the whole of his administration, he gave no opportunity to the most willing of discovering his designs to the enemy. In his hours of leisure he conversed with men of knowledge and experience: he sought information; and by it, together with his own unwearied assiduity and amazing penetration, he regulated the great machine of government; ever attached to the interests of the people and the honour of the crown. In a word, he was the spirit of the war, the genius of England, and the comet of his age.

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