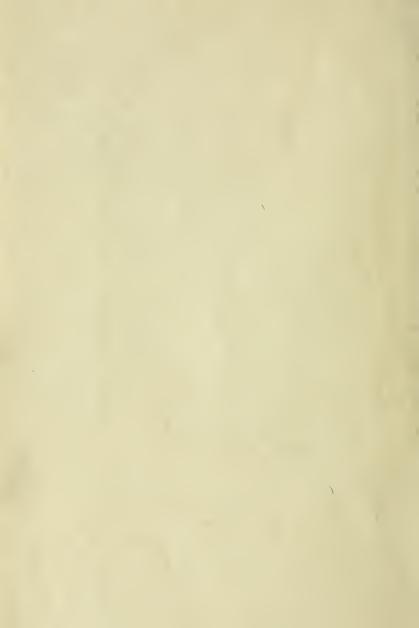


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THE GENERAL

# HISTORY of the Late WAR:

CONTAINING IT'S

# Rise, Progress, and Event,

IN

# Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

AND EXHIBITING

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

#### INTERSPERSED WITH

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

### NAVAL and MILITARY

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

#### AND WITH

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

#### Illustrated with

A Variety of HEADS, PLANS, MAP'S, and CHART, Defigned and Engraved by the best Artists.

### VOL. I.

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

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

THE THIRD EDITION, Corrected.

#### LONDON:

Printed for EDWARD and CHARLES DILLY, in the Poultry;
And JOHN MILLAN, at Charing-Cross.
M.DCC.LXVI.

### The RIGHT HONOURABLE

# WILLIAM PITT, Esq;

LATE

One of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State;

## A Man

Honoured by his King, Rever'd by the PEOPLE, Dreaded by our ENEMIES;

UNDER WHOSE ADMINISTRATION

All Parties united for the common Good, Confidence between the Court and Country was reftored, a respectable Militia was established, the natural Strength of the Nation was exerted by Sea and Land, the Terrors of an Invasion were removed, Public Credit was carried to the greatest Height, the British Arms triumphed in every Quarter of the Globe, Trade and Navigation were promoted and protected, and France was humbled, and reduced to the Necessity of suing for a Peace;

### THIS HISTORY

Is most humbly Inscribed,

With a grateful Sense of that glorious Part, which by his Wisdom, Vigour, and Firmness, He has acted in the Course of the late War,

ВЧ

His most devoted and obedient Servant,

John Entick.

A condition



THE

### GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

## LATE WAR.

### THE INTRODUCTION.

ture and nations lay it down, as a maxim, not to be departed from,

That arms or force should never be employed, without an intention

thereby to obtain an honourable and lasting Peace. But, the Machiavelian politics, which have been Modern adopted by the enemies of our nation, and the Politics. disturbers of the repose of Europe, and have prevailed in the formation of treaties of pacification, within the present century, depart from that desirable end of a just and necessary war; and shew that their intention is not, in the least, to decide the contentions of jarring interests; to curb the

Vol. I. B exceed-

exceedings of ambition; to reconcile or abate implacable hatred; to prevent craft, double meaning and infiduous conferences in negociations, nor to give sufficient security for the performance of treaties.

To this depravation of politics, in the cabinets of our enemies, we may place an account of those prodigious fums of money, and that most furprifing lofs of men, expended by Great Britain, and facrificed to establish peace in Europe, and to preserve this island and its dependencies from the power, tyranny, encroachments, dilapidations, intrigues and perfidy of her own natural, and Europe's common enemy.

The war with France, which terminated with

Treaty of Utrecht.

Chapelle.

the treaty of Utrecht, cost this nation upwards of fixty millions in the whole, and left it fifty millions in debt: besides, after repeated victories, as well as unexpected fuccess, put the English, and their posterity, in a worse condition, not only than any of their allies, but even their conquered enemies. The national interest was not provided for in any better manner by the treaty of peace, con-Of Aix-la- cluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. Matters rather devolved into worse. At Utrecht the confederates with Great Britain obtained a valuable augmentation of territory, and a barrier, against the French, in the Netherlands: But by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left the enormous debt of eighty millions upon the British nation, their Austrian ally was obliged to cede feveral confiderable poffessions2. And tho' the war with Spain was avow-

a See page 12.

edly commenced to obtain an uninterrupted navigation in South-America, and to procure a proper fatisfaction for our South-Sea company; yet the definitive treaty was couched in fuch indefinite terms, that nothing was stipulated with any preciseness, but a suspension of arms between the two crowns, and the re-establishment of commerce, between their subjects reciprocally, without mentioning a word of what gave rise to the war, in regard to America.

Let the treaty itself vouch the truth.

It was on the 7th of October 1748 the British, French and Dutch plenipotentiaries fign'd the general and definitive treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, as did the Spanish plenipotentiaries on the 9th. In the preamble we find this remarkable fallacious expression; "Europe now sees the happy day shine " forth that the divine providence had pointed " out for the establishment of her repose;" when it is certain, from the measures immediately purfued by the French court, that war remained in their heart. However, under this deception, it is fet forth in the first article, That there shall be a christian, universal and perpetual peace, and a fincere and inviolable friendship preserved between the contracting parties: that no hostilities of what nature or kind foever shall be permitted, on either fide, or on any cause or pretence whatsoever; industriously avoiding all things for the future that might any ways disturb or alter the union established by this peace; and that they should use their utmost endeavours to procure, on all occa4

fions, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interest and advantage, without giving the least aid or affistance, directly or indirectly, to any persons whomsoever, who would willingly injure or prejudice any of the high contracting powers whatsoever.

By the third article, the treaties of Westphalia in 1648; of Madrid in 1667, 1678 and 1679; of Ryswick in 1697; of Utrecht in 1713; of Baden in 1714; at the Hague in 1717; of the quadruple alliance at London in 1718, and the treaty of Vienna in 1738, are renewed and admitted to ferve as a basis of the present treaty. By the fifth article, all the parties renounce all right and claim, by what title or pretence whatfoever, to the places, they mutually covenant to restore. By the ninth article his Britannic Majesty restores Cape Breton and all the conquests made by his arms in the East and West Indies; and agrees to give hostages for the faithful performance of this covenant. the fixteenth article the Catholic King allows the affiento of negroes, and the annual ship for the fouth feas, to continue for four years. The feventeenth article demolishes Dunkirk on the sea fide, conformable to ancient treaties; and allows it to remain fortified on the land side. By the eighteenth article we have a true specimen of French prevarication; for, by leaving certain points or demands open, not regulated by the plenipotentiaries, nor inferted in the prefent treaty, but to be settled amicably, by commissaries nominated for that purpose, on each side, or other-

wife, as it shall be agreed on by the interested powers, we shall find that this christian, universal, and perpetual peace, and fincere and inviolable friendship, so artfully and pompoully set forth at the beginning of this treaty, is entirely enervated and exposed to the intrigue, caprice and ambition of our enemies, whenever they might want a pretence to break it. And by the nineteenth and twentieth articles all the contracting parties guarantee the succession of Great Britain and the Electoral dominions of his Britannic Majesty.

Let us now enquire how conformable the French Behaviour and Spanish monarchs behaved to these engage-of France and Spain. ments, fo folemnly signed and ratified. France put on the mask of sincerity, and engaged Spain to make the first demur to the faithful execution of her part of the definitive treaty. Notwithstanding the advantages of the fixteenth article, which grants only four years, instead of nine, nonenjoyment of the affiento contract, the Spanish ministry were now as refractory in satisfying the demands of the English South-Sea company a, as they were before the commencement of the war; tho' the British troops and subjects had formally evacuated the island of Ratan. They were even so untractable, as to reject all the expedients offered, on this subject, by Mr. Benj. Keene, the British minister at their court, who made the strongest follicitations for compromising the differences un-

<sup>3</sup> Which, by their account delivered to the secretary of state, amounted to the sum of 1,300,000 l.

Spanish definitive convention upon that treaty.

adjusted by the definitive treaty, until the fifth of October, 1750; when they were pleased to fign what they called a definitive convention. In which, after a fallacious preamble (setting forth the desire of their respective sovereigns to adjust the disputable points, which at the treaty of Aixla-Chapelle remained unsettled, in regard to their respective pretensions, and to the commerce of their subjects, and declaring their willingness to terminate all things thereunto relating, by a friendly compensation) it was agreed to acquiesce in the following articles:

I. His Britannic Majesty cedes to his Catholic Majesty his right of enjoyment of the assente of negroes; and of the annual ship, during the four years stipulated by the sixteenth article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

II. His Britannic Majesty, for a compensation of 100,000 l. sterling b, which his Catholic Majesty promises and engages to pay at Madrid, or at London, to the royal assento company, within the term of three months or sooner, from the day of the signature of this treaty, cedes to his Catholic Majesty all that might be due to the said company in any manner, on account of the said assento: insomuch that this compensation shall be esteemed and regarded as a full and entire satisfaction on the part of his Catholic Majesty, and shall extinguish for the present, for the future,

b Instead of 1,300,000 l. demanded by the South-Sea company as mentioned before.

#### THE LATE WAR.

and for ever, all rights, pretensions, or demands, which might be formed in consequence of the said affients or annual ship, directly or indirectly, either on the part of his Britannic Majesty, or on the part of the company.

III. The Catholic King cedes to his Britannic Majesty all that he might demand, in consequence of the said assistance or annual ship, as well with regard to the articles already liquidated, as those, which might be easy or difficult to liquidate; so that neither on one side, nor on the other, is ever the least mention to be made thereof.

IV. His Catholic Majesty consents that the British subjects shall pay no greater or other duties for the merchandizes, which they import or export at the different ports of his Catholic Majesty, than those, which they paid, for the same merchandize, in the time of Charles II. of Spain, regulated by schedules and ordinances of the said King, or of his predecessors: And, tho' the Piedel Fardo was not sounded upon any royal ordinance, his Catholic Majesty declares nevertheless, that he wills and ordains, that it be observed for the present, and the suture, as an inviolable law, and that all the said duties be levied with the same advantage and ease to the said subjects.

V. His Catholic Majesty permits the said subjects to take salt in the island of Tortuga, without any molestation, as they did in the time of King Charles II.

VI. His Catholic Majesty consents, That the faid subjects shall not pay any other duties, than B 4 those

those paid by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty in the same place.

VII. His Catholic Majesty grants the said subjects all the rights, privileges, franchifes, exemptions and immunities whatfoever, which they enjoyed before the last war, in virtue of schedules or royal ordinances, by the articles of the treaty of peace and commerce made at Madrid in 1667. The faid subjects shall be treated in Spain on the fame footing with the most favoured nations. consequence no nation shall be rated at less duties for the merchandize they fend into, or carry out of Spain by land, than the faid subjects pay for fuch, as they import or export by sea. All the rights, privileges, franchises, exemptions, and immunities, that are permitted to any nation, shall be granted to the faid subjects: And his Britannic Majesty consents, that the same thing be granted and permitted to the subjects of Spain in the kingdoms of his faid Britannic Majesty.

VIII. His Catholic Majesty promises to take all the care possible, on his part, to abolish all the innovations, which have appeared to be introduced in the commerce; and in order to avert them for the future, his Britannic Majesty promises likewise, on his side, to take all possible care to prevent all innovations of that kind.

IX. Their Catholic and Britannic Mejesties confirm by the present treaty, that of Aix la-Chapelle, and all other former treaties; which are hereby confirmed in all their articles and clauses, excepting such as are derogated from

by

by the present treaty; as also the treaty of commerce concluded at Utrecht in 1713; except those articles, which are found contrary to the present treaty, which become abolished and of no force, namely, the three articles of the faid treaty of Utrecht, commonly called explanatory.

X. All the reciprocal differences, rights, demands, and pretensions, which have subsisted between the two crowns of Spain and Great Britain, wherein no other nation hath any part, interest or right of intervention, being hereby accommodated; the two ferene Kings mutually engage for the punctual execution of this treaty of reciprocal compensation, which shall be ratified by their said Majesties, and the ratifications exchanged within the term of fix weeks, from the day of the fignature hereof, or fooner if possible.

It was reasonable to expect, that this definitive Its deficiconvention would have determined the disputable gard to the points, not regulated, nor fettled by the definitive principal treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle; some of which were the war. nothing less than the very points, which had occasioned so long and expensive a war; to the mutual injury of Great Britain and Spain. These points were, 1. What the common voice included in the words NO SEARCH, and fignifies free trade and navigation, in British bottoms, with our West India colonies, without being subject to be boarded by Spanish guarda costas, in open seas, and rummaged or fearched by them for Spanish goods, of the growth or manufacture of New Spain or

other

other territories, islands and places bordering on those seas, and subject to the crown of Spain. By which right, claimed by the Spaniards, our navigation from Jamaica especially, was rendered precarious; it being impossible for those islanders to make proper returns, without felling, or bartering, for Spanish money, or goods, brought to their markets by Spanish agents; and almost as impossible for our shipping to make a safe voyage, without making the coast of Cuba in their way to Great Britain; as might be instanced in the many depredations made upon them by the guarda coftas. Except we are to understand the Spanish renunciation of this right, under the ambiguous terms in the eighth article of this convention; where the Catholic King promifes to take all the care possible, on his part, to abolish all the innovations, which have appeared to be introduced in the commerce. Such, no doubt, were the practices of the guarda costas; but not so sufficiently and definitely here described and acknowledged, as to regulate and fettle this difputed point, which had been the cause of so much bloodshed and expence. So that Spain was left in a condition to revive this dormant right, and to return to their depredations in those seas, without breach of treaty; and from the filence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, &c. to infift upon fearching all British bottoms, which failed near their coasts. Secondly, Another point in dispute was our right to cut logwood in Campechy and Honduras. A trade of the utmost importance to Great Britain; for, without this wood, feveral confiderable branches in trade and manufacture would be at a stand. A right so well established upon the clearest title, as set forth by our board of trade and plantations in the reign of George I, that, the only means for the Spaniards to avoid its acknowledgment, was to decline its why. discussion, and thereby to leave the foundation of another quarrel. Which, notwithstanding the formal ratification of former treaties, and the particular stipulations and promises, concerning rights, privileges, franchises, exemptions, immunities, and favours in regard to duties, appears, and fhall be proved, in the course of this history, to have been the intention of Spain, as well as of France, at the time of figning the peace of Aixla-Chapelle.

Thus the French succeeded in their scheme French to strike up a peace, at a time their maritime motives for a peace. interest had suffered extremely, and they saw their own ruin inevitable, should they neglect the pacific disposition of the present ministry of Great Britain, and rifque all to the chance of more warlike and vigorous measures, to which his Britannic Majesty was personally more inclined. Yet they kept two things in view to fecure the confidence and affections of their allies: and to keep Great Britain embarraffed, both abroad and at home. They faithfully protected the territorial property of their confederates; whereas we consented to, or rather obliged the Queen of

Hun.

### THE GENERAL HISTORY, &c.

Hungary to cede Silesia to the King of Prussia, and a large territory to Don Philip in Italy. And by prevailing with the Spaniards not to admit the British right to a free navigation and to cut logwood, they ruined the British ministry in the affections of the people: so that by raising a jealousy between the court and the country, they gained time to carry their perfidious plan into execution; having consented to a peace only to prepare and strengthen France for the renewal of the war.





THE

## GENERAL HISTORY

OFTHE

## LATE WAR.

### BOOK I.

Shewing the provocations leading thereunto, and the means to prevent it.

THE treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle having tied the hands of Great Britain, France immediately improved the present moment. Her emis- France's faries were dispatched throughout all the world. conduct the She re-exerted her political intrigues at Constanti- peace. nople, where she procured the deposition of the Mufti, the difgrace of the Grand Vizir, and endangered the fafety of the Sultan, by irritating the janizaries against all, who had recommended or favoured a pacific disposition during the wars of christendom: and she reigned still predominant at Stockholm; and renewed the subsidy treaty with his Danish majesty. New alliances were sought a:

fubfi-

A. D. 1748.

a treaty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> By promoting the marriage of the Infanta Donna Maria of Spain with Victor Amadæus Maria, Prince of Piedmont,

A. D. fubfidiary treaties were renewed: her militia well regulated and disciplined: her armies b kept up: her fortifications repaired, and a more than ordinary effort was made to recruit and to establish her marine c in a more respectable condition, than beretofore.

Examples of French faith,

But what does this vary from the constant practice of the French at other times, when perhaps they had not such a plausible defence for their breach of faith? Not content with the acquisition of Alsace by the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, under the restriction of maintaining the privileges and liberties of ten imperial cities situate in that extensive and important country, the French monarch invaded their freedom, abolished their privileges, and by force obliged them to submit to the law of his own will, as soon as he found the guarantees of that treaty disarmed. The means by which the French got a footing in Flanders, contrary to the treaty of the Pyrenees: the wanton-

Westphalia.

after the

treaty of

Pyrenees.

a treaty was brought about between France, Spain and Sardinia, under a pretence of maintaining the peace of Italy: it was agreed to comprehend the King of the Two Sicilies, the Duke of Modena, the Republic of Genoa, and the Infant Duke of Parma and Placentia, with engagement by France and Spain to furnish 30,000 men, should any of the contracting parties stand in need of assistance.

b In Sept. 1749, her forces confished of 150,000 effective men, ready for action; besides the militia.

c A plan was formed by M. Rouille to have III ships of the line, 54 frigates, 22 bomb ketches and 25 fire ships—always ready in time of peace to put to sea. Twenty millions of livres were appropriated for this service, annually.

ness with which Lewis XIV. violated the treaty of A.D. Nimeguen almost before it was definitively figned: and the story of the partition treaty, which was abandoned by France, as foon as it was folemnly Partition treaty. ratified, are eternal mementos of French perfidy. To these add the conduct of Lewis XV. in regard to the pragmatic fanction, whose guaranteeship Pragmatic was purchased at the extraordinary price of the fanction. dutchy of Lorrain, annexed to the crown of France: vet upon the demise of the Emperor Charles VI. the armies of this perfidious nation were prepared, and actually affifted the Elector of Bavaria, to overturn that very treaty, and, if possible, to dethrone the Austrian heiress, whom their King had so lately fworn in the name of the Holy Trinity to protect and defend from all her enemies. And in regard to Great Britain alone, the treaty of Utrecht furnishes sufficient ideas of that nation's intentions, Utrecht, when our interest and their own interfere with each other. By that treaty (twelfth article) " All Nova "Scotia or Acadia, with its ancient limits, and with all its dependencies, is ceded to the crown " of Great Britain." And (fifteenth article) " The " subjects of France, inhabitants of Canada, and elsewhere, shall not disturb or molest, in any "manner whatever, the five Indian nations, which " are subject to Great Britain, nor its other Ame-" rican allies."

Clear as these articles may seem to be, it is certain that the French never intended to submit to their contents. They, ever fince they thought trade Two oband commerce an object worthy of their attention, jects of French po-

have litics.

A. D. 1748.

have kept two capital views in fight, whenever America has been the object of consideration. The one was to extend themselves from Canada southwards, through the lakes, along the back of our colonies, in order to cut off our communication with the Indian nations, and to open a communication for themselves between the rivers St. Lawrence and Missiffippi; and thus to join, as it were, their colonies of Canada and Louisiana. The other, and indeed the most important to them and most fatal to the English, was to gain a communication with the ocean; the only access to Canada being commonly shut up half the year.

Encroach-America

North

begun.

Therefore full of this project of American empire; for supreme dominion is the aim of the French, wherever they gain a footing; they, in defiance of the treaty of Utrecht, began, soon after its ratification, to violate those folemn concessions, by large encroachments, &c. In the year 1720, they feized upon the important pass of Niagara, situate in the country of the five Indian nations, from which they were expresly excluded by the fifteenth article; and fortified it, with a view to defend their encroachments already made, and defigned to be carried on with force, upon the British empire in North America; they being able by this usurpation to command the lakes, and at leifure to extend themselves to the Ohio, and to continue a chain of forts and fettlements down to the mouth of the Mississippi.

The plan of usurpation on the back of our colonies, from henceforward, went on gradually and fuccessfully, from year to year. The Indians, acknow-

1748.

acknowledged by the treaty of Utrecht to be under A. D. the dominion of the British crown, were debauched from our interest and their allegiance, and spirited Indians, up to maffacre and scalp the English: So that in the year 1731 the French had the infolence to erect the fort of Crown Point in the centre of the Five Nations, and actually within the limits of the province of New York; in order more effectually to expose our most valuable colonies to Indian masfacres and French usurpation, and more easily to open a communication with the great ocean, as may be feen by casting an eye upon its advantageous situation for these purposes. Yet they were fuffered to proceed without any resentment on the part of the British ministry!

The infidelity of the French, in regard to Nova Their Scotia or Acadia, kept pace with their other con-claim to Nova Scoduct in North America. This peninsula, (as if it tia or Acawere deferted by the British court, which never thought of fettling it for the national interest, till after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and where the French forefaw no refistance, whenever it should fuit them best to make a total seizure thereof for completing their American plan of empire) laid exposed to whatever uses our enemies, or rivals in power as well as trade, thought proper to put it. They formed a plan, during this long interval, to rob us of that extensive country, whenever they should be able to bring the British ministry into a temper to submit the title, given us by treaty, as well as priority of discovery, to the uncertain desermination of commissaries, as shall be shewn here-

VOL. I.

after a

A. D. 1748. after; refolved at the same time, if they should not be able to carry their point, in that way of negociation, to strengthen themselves upon the premises, and to support a bad argument by force of arms. Such was the fituation of affairs in America.

and the most certain index of the measures taken by the French, upon the figning of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; in which they gained this fingular advantage, to encourage them to proceed in their usurpations in North America; namely, That, notwithstanding it was notorious to all the world, that the increase of their territory, and the diminution of our power, on that continent, had been the object of the French councils, ever fince the treaty of Utrecht; and that hostilities were commenced in those parts, before the war; the Weakness British ministry, neither availed themselves of the or the British mi- war to dispossess the French of our property; nor, when they were negociating a peace, does it appear, that they paid any regard to a point of the last importance to Great Britain. If his Majesty's plenipotentiaries received no instructions on that head, it could not be owing to the want of intelligence; for it is certain that repeated remonstrances were transmitted from the governors of our colonies against the practices of the French; which scarce can be thought to have miscarried; or to have been destroyed or neglected by them in power; as fome people have fuggested.

of the niftry.

British conduct after the peace.

Great Britain, ever credulous, was the only power that difarmed herfelf, and could not believe any latent evil defign, in the measures taken, by her

perfi-

perfidious neighbours, to break the peace. Even his most gracious Majesty, in his speech to both houses of parliament on June 13, 1749, was so thoroughly satisfied with the sincerity of the contracting powers, That he fays, "All the powers concerned have declared themselves in so clear " and friendly a manner, on this subject, as leaves " no room to doubt of their fincere disposition to " render the peace lasting in all parts." The failors were discharged, the ships of war laid up: The shipwrights paid off, and permitted to enter, as did our feamen, into the service of France and Spain. Our army was reduced to 18,000 men; and, what was equally as impolitic, we had difgusted our late allies; disposed, nay almost provoked, them to receive overtures from our natural enemy, and took no regard to fecure any others; except Bavaria, which was engaged by an annual fubfidy of 40,000 l. two thirds to be paid by Great Britain, and the other by Holland, to keep 6000 men in pay to march at the requisition of those powers, for fix years; but not to be employed against the Emperor, nor the Empire; with promise of indemnification by the maritime powers, in case Bavaria should suffer any damage on this account.

The affairs of the North, which threatened to Troubles break out into troubles on the expected death of in the the King of Sweden, favoured the political con-proved by duct of France; always ready to fnatch every ad-France. vantage from the quarrels of other nations. consequences of France's interfering in those troubles, on one side or other, might be no less than

A. D.

the flames of a new war; which might by treaties involve us again in connections, that would entirely deprive us of the benefits of peace, and of the means to refent, or provide against the armaments and hostilities of France, either in Europe or America. This feems to have been foreseen by the British court; and Colonel York, the British minister, at that time, at Paris, was ordered to tound the Marquis of Puysieux, the French minister, concerning the premises, and the disposition of his royal master in case of a rupture between Ruffia and Sweden. To whom that minister replied in such terms, as left no room for doubting of the French monarch's readiness to take a part in those troubles. He said, "That as "future events are in the hands of Providence, "time only could discover whether that part of "Europe was really destined for the renewal of "broils, and the calamities of war; to ward off "which his Majesty [Lewis] would neglect no " means in his power. But that in case all his " pains and endeavours should prove fruitless, and " his Majesty be called upon to fulfil his engage-" ments with Sweden, it was (from his Majesty's "well known character) needless to inform him "[Colonel York] that he must answer the demand "with the exactness and punctuality, which the " execution of folemn treaties requires."

A few days after (March 18) appeared the following exposition of the motives, that determined

d In the beginning of March 1749.

the King of Prussia to keep his army oin readiness A. D. to march on the first warning: "The King con-Why the " fidering peace and union among the Princes of King of "Europe, as the greatest happiness they can aspire kept up "to, his Majesty greatly rejoiced to see the foun-his army. " dations thereof laid at Aix-la-Chapelle by the " contracting parties in the late treaty of peace.-"There was nothing wanting in order to render "this happiness universal; but the dispersion of "the clouds, which feemed to be gathering in "the north. The King laboured as effectually, " as he possibly could, to prevent the effects there-" of.—Nevertheless those clouds are still lowring, " and give reason to fear that they may, this ap-" proaching fpring, be productive of fome event "capable of diffurbing the tranquillity of the " north; unless the wisdom of Divine Providence " preserves Europe from this disaster.—The ex-"traordinary movements made in the dominions " of fome neighbouring powers, the armaments "and preparations carried on there, fufficiently "intimate, those powers are filled with the same "apprehensions, as the King, in regard to the "interruption of the public tranquillity.—It be-"comes the prudence of fovereigns, when they " foresee events, which may, in their consequences, " influence the tranquillity of their dominions, and "of their subjects, to take, long beforehand, "the necessary precautions against a sudden fur-

Then confisting of 150,000 men, well provided.

f Alluding to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Austria, who all pretended to arm with the same views; and to the declaration and measures of the French.

A.D. 1749. " prize. - Such then is the motive, which has made " the King judge it necessary that he should make

" likewife dispositions for putting his army in a con-" dition to act, in order to keep at a distance from

" his dominions all the unforeseen dangers, that " might disturb the repose of his faithful sub-

" jects, &c."

French the neutral iflands.

France made fo fure of embroiling Great Britain seize upon by a northern war, that, instead of complying with the directions and obligations of the late treaty, which had delivered her from the power of our arms, her ministers were encouraged to raise fresh difficulties, and to employ force to defeat the real intention of the conferences stipulated to be held by commissaries on the disputable points not settled by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. For, before the day of g folemn thanksgiving for the peace, the nation was alarmed with the following act of hostility upon the very islands, whose right had been subjected to the determination of the said commissaries: as appears at large by this ordinance of the General of the French windward islands in America, of the 7th of December 1748, N.S.

French Governor's ordinance thereon.

"Charles de Thebieres, de Levi, de Pestel, de "Grimoard, Marquis of Caylus, Knight of the

" order of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the royal

- " and military order of St. Lewis, Commander in " Chief of his Majesty's ships, his Governor and
- " Lieutenant General of the islands of Martinico,

8 April 25, 1749.

"Guarda-

h Only one month and twenty-fix days after the figning of the definitive treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.

1749.

"Guardalupe, Grande and Petite Terre, Deseada,

"Mary Galant, the Saints Dominico, St. Lucia,

"St. Vincent, Bequia, Canaouan, Cairiouacon,

"Grenade, and of all the islands and islets com-

" monly called the Granadillos, Tobago, St. Bar-

"tholomew, St. Martin, Cayan, and the conti-

"nent comprehended between the rivers of the

" Amazons and Oronoque.

"The island of Tobago, commonly called To-

"bacco, one of those under our government, in-

" disputably belonging to his Majesty, and the pro-

" perty, which he has in it having been authenticly

" acknowledged by treaties, and no prince or fo-

"vereign power whatever laid any pretention to

"the fovereignty, or dominion of the fame; has

" obliged us to give no credit to an information

"we have received, that a small frigate, stiling

" herself English, and authorized by certain pre-

"tended powers iffued from the Governor of Bar-

" badoes, should have been about a month since

"at the faid island of Tobago; and there clan-

" destinely stuck up to trees, in different parts of

"the same, a pretended proclamation, importing,

"that Mr. Greenville, Governor of Barbadoes,

"who in the same proclamation calls himself,

"without any foundation, Governor of St. Lucia,

"Dominico, St. Vincent and Tobago, together

" with all the islands, colonies, and plantations

" in America, commonly called or known by the

" name of the Caribbee Islands (which islands and

" plantations, nevertheless indisputably belonging

"to his Majesty) had ordered the inhabitants of

A. D. 1749. "Tobago, who are all subjects to his Majesty, to ut the same in the space of thirty days, giving them to understand, that they must expect military execution in case of their non-compliance; the nature of such an act, and the terms, in which it is conceived, puts it out of all doubt that it could never have proceeded from the Governor of Barbadoes, but is the work of fome evil disposed person, and determines us to wave the demanding any satisfaction from the pretended author of it, who in all probability had no hand in it.

"Nevertheless, it being necessary to hinder any person, of what quality, condition, and nation foever they may be, from falling into the snare laid for them: We declare to all the subjects of his Majesty, who are settled upon the said island of Tobago, as well whites, as Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, Mestees, and all others, that it may concern, that we will defend them against the attempts, that any nation, strangers to us, may form against the said island; and that we will fend them such a quantity of ammunition and provisions, as they may stand in need of.

"We prohibit their having any correspondence or dealing with the neighbouring colonies, belonging either to the English, Dutch, or Danes; nor to suffer any of them to continue amongst them; or to permit their coming on shore in the faid island of Tobago, until such time, as we shall have sent a commanding officer with regular troops, for their protection and defence.

"It is our will, that these presents be read, published, and set up in all the quarters of the said island of Tobago, that no person whatever may plead ignorance of the same. Given under our seal at arms, and the countersign of our first Secretary at Martinico, the 7th day of Descember 1748.

Le Marquis DE CAYLUS.

By his Lordship's command.

Mourer.

This ordinance was supported by two French Maintains frigates, one of 40 guns, the other of 36. the interim his Britannic Majesty's ship, the Boston of 20 guns, Captain Wheeler, arrived at the same place i. The French commander demanded his business there, (which was for wood and water, and to prevent the usurpations of the French on that neutral island) and forbid him to fend his boat on shore, or to give any disturbance to the French in that island; adding that they were surprised Mr. Greenville would take upon him to order any of the inhabitants to withdraw from off that island, which belonged to his most Christian Majesty, and that if they found him there again, they would repel him by force k. At the fame time the French, to prevent any furprize, erected a battery of twelve guns, and began another of equal force.

The like hostilities began now also to be practifed in Nova Scotia or Acadia, whose limits were

Courlander's Bay.

Advice from Barbadoes, dated January 21, 1748-9-

A.D. 1749.

The importance of Nova Scotia.

referred also to the decision of commissaries. Cape Breton having been given back by the treaty to France, the people of New England represented the importance and necessity of cultivating or colonizing this country so effectually, by describing its produce, capacious and fafe harbours for ships of any burden, and shewing that by its situation, it might be made not only a barrier against all the schemes and forces of the French in those parts, for extending their trade; but a key to their furtrade and cod-fishery, and to counteract any attempts made against our settlements on that coast, by the greatest power France is able to equip at Cape Breton; that plans were formed, and his Ordered to Majesty approved 1 of one of them for the better

be settled.

peopling and fettling the province of Nova Scotia in America, and for extending and improving the fishery thereof, and establishing a civil government.

For what reasons.

Amongst other arguments to forward this resolution of the British council, it was urged, That the restoration of Louisbourg might prove very fatal to us in another war, unless the government could be prevailed upon to fettle and fortify Nova-Scotia, which, as it would be a barrier to all our northern provinces, and, as it might be made a check upon Louisbourg and the French encroachments in the fishery, would, in time, be of more fervice to the nation, than half the colonies already fettled: that it has a very large extent of feacoast, abounding with fine rivers, bays, and har-

<sup>1</sup> In council on March 7, 1749. O.S.

bours, and is furrounded with fuch fishing banks for cod and other fish, as are to be found in no other part of the world: That the foil is vaftly prolific in all forts of herbage, grain and fruit, and abounds with excellent timber. That its trade, when properly fettled, would be the greatest feminary, we can have, for feamen; and add a confiderable weight to our commercial interest, and greatly enrich his Majesty's kingdoms; the climate being healthy and agreeable, perfectly adapted to the English constitutions; and that it would want but little encouragement more than a proper protection, under the form of a civil government, and a humane governor.

Transports were provided, and proper encou- A large ragement offered to fuch as would venture upon colony transported the settlement and cultivation of this colony: and thither. General Cornwallis was appointed their governor, with a sufficient number of forces, and directions to fortify the country, and to assure the French, that should be found within the limits of the British dominions, in that province, that they should be protected in their settlements, on the fole condition of taking an oath of fidelity to his Britannic Majesty. The number of families, which entered voluntarily for this colony were three thousand seven hundred and fifty, and upwards; which failed from England in the beginning of May 1748, and arrived at the harbour of Their ar-Chebuctou, the place of their destination, to erect vival. fortifications and to build a regular town, furrounded with a strong pallifade, on the shore of

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1749.

28

Town of Hallifax, why fo called.

one of the most secure and commodious havens in the whole world, and situated about midway between cape Canseau and cape Sable. Which town was named Halifax in honour of the noble Earl of that title, who then presided over the board of trade and plantations, and had in a particular manner distinguished his judgment and capacity in executing the plan, and his patriotic zeal in the remarkable diligence and trouble, with which he cherished and established that infant colony m.

Disturbed by the French. Immediately upon the appearance of this powerful body, reinforced with two regiments from Cape Breton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis, the only fort at that time belonging to Great Britain, on the peninfula, the French fettlers, who, in time of peace, had affected to call themselves Neutrals; but, upon every dispute between the two crowns, intrigued with the Indians, and joined with their own countrymen in support of their usurpations, encroachments and hostilities; were either compelled by M. de la Corne; or they wilfully rejected the protection of Great Britain, drove away their cattle, burnt their houses, and withdrew to St. John's, &c.

This was followed by open hostilities. A party of French and Indians, in their interest, seized upon a vessel belonging to Boston, in New-England, Beath, Master, at or near Canseau; and Cap-

tain

The expense incurred this year, by the new colony of Nova-Scotia, appears by the estimates laid before parliament to exceed 75,000 l.



EARL OF HALLIFAX.



1749.

tain Donnel was attacked at the head of the bay of Fundy, near Chebuctou: he was wounded, and had three of his men killed. Every day produced fresh complaints of the hostile behaviour of the French and Indians under their influence: which obliged the governor to employ force in his own Meafures defence. He detached 1000 regular forces under of defence by the gothe command of Major Lawrence, with four floops vernment. of war to Chignecto, to drive out the Indians, who had been engaged by the French to annoy the English ever since their first landing. These Indians mixed with the neutral French, to the number of about 800, being entrenched behind ftrong banks and pallisadoes, made cannon-proof, obstructed their landing. But, Major Lawrence, at the head of a hundred chosen men, made a second attempt about a mile and a half from their entrenchment; where also the enemy detached a sufficient party to receive him with their fmall arms; but he landed in the midst of their fire, without returning it, till his men had run up to their noses; by which means a great number of the enemy were killed, before they had time to load again. The remains fled with great precipitation under the protection of a French commander, encamped on the ground, across the river, claimed by France . Major Lawrence defired a parley with the French commander: in which he demanded to know, "why the French inhabitants had shaken off their allegiance to the King of Great

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>n</sup> He had built a fort here by the name of Beau Sajour.

A. D. Britain:" but could get no other answer than,

"he had orders to defend that post; which he

"was resolved to obey."

Thus the French were determined to feize upon all Nova-Scotia, beyond the bay of Fundi, from the riveer Chignecto to the river St. John. But both their actions and intentions, in this province, will more fully appear in the memorial delivered to the French court by the Earl of Albemarle.

Memorial concerning Nova Scotia.

THE under-written Ambassador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Majesty of Great Britain, has orders from the King his master; dated Hanover the 26th of last month, to represent to the court of France, how much he is surprised at hearing the violent proceedings of the French in America, under the authority and direction of M. de la Jonquiere, who has readily avowed them.

M. Cornwallis, Governor of Nova-Scotia, has informed the Duke of Bedford, by a letter dated the 1st of May this year, that the French have taken possession of all that part of Nova-Scotia beyond the bay of Fundi, from the river Chignecto, to that of St. John, making the first the limits of that province.

They have reduced Beubassin to ashes, and carried to the other side of the river the inhabitants with their effects; compelled them to take up arms, and formed them into companies; so that the Sieur La Corne, a French officer, has at that place, under his command, a body of 2,500 men,

made

made up of regular troops, Canadians and In- A.D. dians.

The Sieur La Corne and father Loutre, a French missionary, have made use of repeated and innumerable promises and menaces, in order to persuade all the inhabitants of the province to leave the country.

The inhabitants declare openly their abhorrence of these proceedings; but the Sieurs La Corne and Loutre threaten them with a general massacre from the Indians, if they remain in the province. They support and protect openly the Indians, our declared enemies; who inlist under the banners of France. They detain the King's subjects, his officers and soldiers prisoners. They excite the King's French subjects to rebellion, and those, who remain loyal, they threaten with destruction. They send their Indian slaves all over the country, where they are guilty of all sorts of outrages.

They have set fire to the town acknowledged by themselves to appertain to his Britannic Majesty.

Governor Cornwallis fent the Sieur Lawrence, Major of foot, with a detachment to Chignecto, where he arrived on the 20th of last April. They saw the French set fire to the town of Chignecto, French colours planted on the ditches, and the Sieur De la Corne at the head of his detachment, braving Major Lawrence, and declaring that he would defend, to the last, that ground as belonging to France.

The Sieur De la Corne having sent to desire à conference with the Sieur Lawrence, the latter, accompanied by two captains of foot, went to meet him, and demanded by whose orders he had thus come into his Britannic Majesty's territories, and committed such acts of violence. The Sieur De la Corne answered: it was by those of Mr. De la Jonquiere, who had also commanded him to take possession of Chippodi, John's river, Mamram, Cooke, Pitcordiack, and of all that country, as far as the river, which was on the right hand of Major Lawrence, as belonging to his most Chriftian Majesty; or, at least, that he was to keep and defend it as fuch, till fuch time as the limits were fettled by commissaries appointed for that purpose.

Though the Sieur Lawrence had under his command a detachment of regular troops, very little inferior to that commanded by Sieur De la Corne, he forebore committing any hostilities, in obedience to the King of Great Britain's orders for that pur-

pose.

The King cannot persuade himself that these acts of violence have been committed with the knowledge of the court of France, and he is so fully convinced of his most Christian Majesty's equity, and his desire to maintain a good understanding between the two crowns, that he assures himself the most Christian King will readily shew his disapprobation of such conduct.

Governor Cornwallis has never made, nor defigned to make any fettlements out of the limits

of the Peninsula, which the French before never pretended to belong to them: the King of Great Britain having had no intention in forming a settlement in his province of Nova Scotia, to encroach on the rights of his most Christian Majesty, or to take forcible possession of a country, of which the King had referred the right of property to the decision of commissaries appointed for that purpose, before it was possible for them to have met in order to proceed to the settling of the limits.

The underwritten ambassador has orders to demand, that the conduct of M. de la Jonquiere be disavowed, that positive orders be sent to him immediately to withdraw his troops and the Indians under his authority, from the places which belong to Great Britain; that amends be made for the acts of violence which have been committed, and the damages which the King's subjects have suffered: and his Majesty is persuaded that the court of France will make no difficulty, to give the underwritten ambassador a duplicate of the orders, which will be sent to the governor of Canada, that he may transmit them to his court.

Done at Compeigne the 7th of July 1750.

Signed ALBEMARLE.

The Marquis of Puysieulx answered this memorial, by a letter to the Earl of Albemarle, dated the 23d of July 1750, in the form following.

Vol. I. D SIR,

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

34 A. D. 1750.

SIR,

The anfwer by the court of France.

IN the memorial, which your excellency has given me concerning the complaints of M. Cornwallis, Governor of Acadia, are contained many facts, so contrary to the equity of his Majesty, the instructions of M. de la Jonquiere, and that, if they are found to be such, as they are represented, the King will take care justice shall be done to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, and will give such fresh orders,

foever between the two nations, his Majesty being thoroughly persuaded his Britannic Majesty will give on his side orders to the same purpose.

as will prevent the rife of any dispute of what kind

give, on his fide, orders to the same purpose.

Give me leave, Sir, to tell you, I cannot be prevailed upon to believe, but that the facts are exposed with too much exaggeration, and from my knowledge of M. de la Jonquiere's prudence, and in the instructions, which he has, I am forry M. Cornwallis has not applied for redress, before he had made complaints to his court. I fent your memorial, as soon as I received it, to M. Rouille, and desired he would take the proper steps, to be informed in a speedy and precise manner, of what has passed at Canada, so as I may be enabled to give your excellency a more positive answer. I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed Puysieulx.

Soon after the French ministry gave the Earl of Albemarle a letter, wrote by M. Rouille to M. de la Jonquiere, in which he was desired to forbear hostilities upon the subjects of England; which entirely

1750.

entirely answered the ends of the court of France, to keep Great Britain inactive, and to gain time to execute their own perfidious schemes. For M. Cornwallis was not properly reinforced, to drive the French from their encroachments, and they kept their ground, and continued their hostilities, till the year 1755, when they were driven out by the New England troops.

The French infincerity on this occasion is very eafily to be gathered from this evalive answer. But on the 15th of September following the French ministry acted more openly, and delivered a memorial to Lord Albemarle, by way of confutation of that delivered on the part of his Britannic Majesty; in which counter-memorial they deny most of the facts laid to the charge of their governor and officers in Canada and Acadia; and speak of the limits of the province of Nova Scotia in the most quibbling manner.

The French did not confine their operations of Other opewar to the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia. This rations of the French was only the fagg end of their grand American court in North Ascheme. The strength and riches of their mother merica, country were found to increase, in proportion to their power and trade in the West Indies; and they were as fully satisfied, that their sugar islands could not be supported, with the desirable advantage, unless they could be supplied with provisions, lumber and other necessaries from plantations, under the dominion of France in North America. Such is the natural connection of those two parts of the new world; which puts

A. D. 1750.

our enemies upon measures to procure those conveniences by intrigue, breach of faith, misinterpretation of treaties, unjust claims, usurpations and encroachments in times of peace, which they could not obtain by treaty, or by force and arms. They pursued this plan, for many years, by erecting a cordon of forts and garrifons on our back fettlements, from the bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, to fort du Quesne, on the confines of Virginia: and, when they discovered the inattention of the English ministry towards those encroachments, at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they immediately prepared to carry on their approaches towards the fea; strengthened and increased their fortifications; augmented their forces on the continent, and procéeded in every other manner, as people determined to carry their point by surprise; as those regions on the fouth of the bay of St. Lawrence did not fall under of the article of disputable points to be decided by commissaries: tho' the several provinces under the British dominion had, from time to time, remonstrated to their court, in the strongest terms, against the French practices amongst our Indian allies, and their encroachments on our territories.

These new friends, to confirm us in a belief of their sincerity, not only took these early steps to establish their own trade and interest upon more certain grounds, than the faith and courtesy of their neighbours; but they glanced at every object, which appeared in favour of Great Britain,

<sup>·</sup> See 15th article of the treaty of Utrecht.

to render it abortive, and to avail themselves of A. D. 1750. our miscarriages.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the peace, Parliathe ministry attempted to efface some of the po- mentary resolutions pular dislike, they had incurred thereby, with cer-concerning tain parliamentary regulations for the improve-trade. ment of commerce. Amongst these was the monopoly of our African trade to the coast of Guinea; by which our plantations and fugar islands are supplied with negroes; and a very extenfive traffic is carried on for British manufactures. This monopoly, in the African company, was become extremely obnoxious to the nation in general; but more particularly to the merchants adventurers in those seas; who having made their allegations good before parliament, the trade was made free and open, and the protection of that navigation and trade was committed to the crown.

The benefits of these national resolutions arising The to our fugar islands, plantations and manufactures, French take uncould not escape the envy of the French. They brage looked upon this parliamentary act to be intended thereat. for the support of an exclusive right to the trade of Guinea, to which the French could pretend no claim by right of discovery: but now insist upon a share, under the sole argument, that as the sea is free, they have a right to trade on that coast, as well as the English. M. Durand was fent to Endeavour London from Paris on this errand, to try what to get it might be done by intrigue and bold affertions: from Engangement And in the mean time the French court encouraged their merchants to fit out shipping for the African

A. D. and Guinea trade, with promifes to support them? 1750. with sufficient force against the English P.

Thus France was covering her hostile designs under the prospect of a fallacious peace, and preparing to act with vigour could Great Britain be lulled afleep in an infidious fecurity, or chained down to the continent of Europe, by the part she would be obliged to take in the quarrels of the northern and German powers, could their disputes be, in any wife, blown up into a storm.

Remon-**Arances** from Ame-

The affair of Tobago, and the like usurpations on St. Lucia, and the other neutral islands, were rica against represented by the governor, &c. of Barbadoes to behaviour. our court q. The governor of the infant colony of Nova Scotia transmitted his complaints of the hostile obstructions thrown in the way, by the French, to the peaceable fettling of that province. And such remonstrances were fent from the other colonies in North America, as represented the imminent danger, to which they were exposed, from the continual encroachments of the French.

Transmited to Paris.

The British court transmitted these accounts to the Earl of Albemarle, their ambaffador at Paris, with proper instructions on the respective heads of

P The French fent twelve merchant ships, under convoy of two men of war to the coast of Guinea, on which were embarked 250 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, to establish forts, &c. in those parts.

<sup>4</sup> Having first tried to bring the Marquis de Caylus to reafon, by fending the Chesterfield and Richmond men of war, and Speedwell floop, to deter him from fuch proceedings, but without effect.

1750.

complaint against those acts of violence; so contrary to the letter and tenor of the late treaty, and to the conduct of Great Britain. And by this time the storm, which had seemed gathering in the north, on which depended the final refolution of the French ministry, in regard to the measures they were to keep with Great Britain, being blown over, or rather prevented by the vigilance, activity and strength of the King of Prussia, (whose destruction appears to have been threatened by a treaty figned, about this time, between Vienna and Petersburg; though the Czarina's intermedling with the fuccession of Sweden, and its form of government was the public pretence for fo many armaments;) they took the shortest way to exculpate themselves to our ambassador, by absolutely disavowing the proceedings of their Governor Disayowed Caylus, on Tobago, &c. and of their commander by France, in Acadia; and further, the French ministry promised, that, if it should be proved that any thing of fuch a nature was in agitation, immediate orders should be given to put a stop thereunto. And in order to induce a belief of their fincerity in this declaration, they indirectly accused the governor of Barbadoes's account of fiction or misrepresentation, by assuring our minister, that nobody had been fent to Tobago from Martinico; and that they were well informed, that the

Importing, that if either power shall be attacked in any part of its dominions, by christians, or infidels, the other shall immediately march 50,000 auxiliaries according to the terms slipulated in the convention.

A. D. 1750.

battery complained of, and the two ships of war, which were upon the coast, to defend the entry, were the sole work and property of certain privateers, lately put out of commission; and that measures should be taken to punish them, and to prevent the like for the future. Nevertheless the Marquis de Caylus continued

No redrefs

but further to keep possession and to fortify Tobago, in the complaint. ftrongest manner, and with the utmost diligence. For, by advices from Barbadoes, dated July the 24th 1749, it appears, that feveral families were then transporting themselves and effects from Martinico, and that the French governor had declared, he would not give it up. And when Commodore Holbourne, with the Rose, Captain Bladwell, and the Jamaica floop, Captain Gaibreath, failed to Martinico, with the King of France's orders, as delivered to our ambaffador at Paris, to be forwarded by the British ministry, by the way of Barbadoes, to M. Calus, for the immediate evacuation of the islands of St. Lucia, Dominico, St. Vincent and Tobago, and appeared with those dispatches on the coast of that island; a boat was fent off, to forbid their landing. Whereupon the commodore fent his dispatches ashore by his secretary and Captain Bladwell, charging them to enquire the reason, why they were not permitted to land? To which the commanding officer, that acted upon the occasion, answered, that it was by the order of M. Caylus, who was represented to be a confiderable distance from his place of residence, at that juncture; and that the commodore should have a final answer in twelve hours. But this was only a finesse in the governor to gain time: for M. Caylus was really upon the spot: who, after some consultation, sent orders for the English ships of war to depart from that coast, he [M. Calus] having no orders from his master about evacuations.

Commodore Holbourne withdrew, and ordered the Tavistock to call by the way at the island of St. Lucia; where also the Captain had the mortification to fee the British flag insulted by a command from the French to depart in twelve hours: which he was obliged to obey. Such was the good faith of our new friends, and of the orders of the French court, delivered with fuch folemnity to our ambassador at Paris.

M. Caylus, having thus eluded the orders of his court, transmitted by the way of England: but fatisfied, that, if an expedient could not be foon devised, in favour of his master's pretensions, he should be obliged to comply with a repetition of the late orders, had recourse to a treaty of accommodation, by which he endeavoured to draw the governor of Barbadoes into a direct acknow-M.de Cayledgment of the French King's equal right and lus's attempt to title to the island of Tobago, with his Britannic draw us Majesty, by a clause importing, "That the Kings cession pre-" of Great Britain and France, shall entirely pre-judicial to " ferve their respective pretensions to this island, nic Majes-" &c." By which Great Britain would have been and title. missed into a concession of a right claimed by the French to that island, and given the conferences of their commissaries greater weight in that case,

A. D.

than all the proofs drawn from history and treaties; and furnished them with a plausible pretence, at any time, to seize upon that island, should nothing be concluded by the commissaries. However, though the deception was seen through, this negociation so far answered the purposes of the French, as to procrastinate and puzzle, as much as possible, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity, or to gain some advantage by equivocal, or unguarded expressions.

During this negociation another incident happened, which was the death of M. Caylus, to drive off the evacuation. For, advices from Barbadoes of the 24th of June following relate, That not only Caylus, but his fuccessor M. Point Sable was also dead, without taking one step to evacuate the islands: and that the French continued to clear the lands in Tobago, and to complete their settlements with negroes, and every necessary for people determined to maintain their footing.

The inclination of the French court for the neutral islands put them upon another expedient, when they had spun their thread of negociation, as long as it would bear, at Martinico. A demand of satisfaction for an insult pretended to be committed upon the Galathea, a French frigate, by the governor of Nevis, was thrown in the way, and magnified in such a manner, as to make it a sufficient remora to the above-mentioned evacuations.

The behaviour of the French in regard to Nova Scotia was equally as trifling, infincere and falla-

cious.

1750.

cious. The British court backed their remonstrances with the most authentic and incontestable proofs of their King's title to Acadia within its ancient limits. The French temporized; it was not yet a time to renew the war. They endeavoured to stop the present clamour with strong affurances of preventing the like to come. But, these promises and orders were made and executed with just as little fincerity and punctuality, as those relative to the neutral islands. Instead of laying The down their arms, and withdrawing from their en-French continue croachments, the French built a fort on the neck their hoffiof the peninsula called Bay Verte, another on the Nova Sconorth of Bay Fundy, and a third on the river St. tia. John, within the limits of Nova Scotia; and added both force and treachery to difturb and to discourage the new settlers in that province. For, Captain Bartlo reconnoitring the country about Chiconecto, with a party of rangers, fell into an ambush of French Indians, who killed him, took an enfign, and also took, and killed thirteen private men; and then joined Monf. Le Corne, who hoisted the French flag on the other side of the river, and declared he had orders to defend all to the northward, as the property of the French

The Lords of trade and plantations produced an act whereby it appeared that all the Indian Chiefs within the whole extent of Acadia, took an oath of fidelity to King George I. in 1725, agreeable to the treaty of Utrecht, which was transmitted with the remonstrances against the French encroachments, to the Earl of Albemarle, for the perusal of the French court.

A. D, 1750. Treachrous dealings towards Cap-

King. Captain Cobb, who commanded a floop in the public fervice, hovering off St. John's in Nova Scotia, had also like to have fallen a facrifice to those same people. The French decoyed tain Cobb. him ashore under a friendly pretence. But he was presently surrounded, and made a prisoner by a band of Indians, who threatned to kill him. In the mean time a French officer, going aboard, attempted to get possession of the sloop by way of fecurity or ranfom for the captain's life; which fo exasperated the mate, or lieutenant, that he declared his resolution to defend the sloop; and further, that he would hang him, meaning the French officer, as a treacherous villain, if Captain Cobb was not immediately released, and sent on board: which had its defired effect.

Ignorance tish m---y the bounds of North America.

As for their other encroachments and usurpaof the Bri-tions, our ministry were so deficient in their knowconcerning ledge concerning the just limits of the British provinces on the fouth of St. Lawrence's, and for many years fo regardless of their security and protection; and the French, so artful in their defcriptions, and pertinacious in their claims, that they passed almost unnoticed, till the Ohio company roused them from that American lethargy, which had for many years feized upon the British cabinet.

Ohio company a means to inform them.

The merchants interested in that company, feconded the remonstrances of the provincials fo warmly, that the ministry began seriously to set about the means to fettle the differences left undecided by the definitive treaty, and to enquire into the nature and reality of the French encroachments, especially on the banks of the Ohio. Of which we may look upon the following act of hostility committed by the Governor of Canada, and the proceedings thereupon to be full evidence.

A. D. 1750.

In the year 1750, the Marquis de la Jonquiere, Hostilities Governor of Canada, sent several detachments of begun by troops, not only to Acadia or Nova Scotia, but on the Ohio. to the country upon the Ohio; where they feized four English traders, confiscated their goods, and fent them by the way of Quebec to Rochelle in Old France, where they were cast into the common gaol. These prisoners having found means to represent their case and situation to Lord Albemarle then at Paris, his Lordship transmitted the same to Lord Holdernesse, secretary of state, at London, in the manner following:

## Paris March 1, 1752.

"I must acquaint your Lordship, that in the LordAlbemonth of November last, I received a let-marle's let-ter conter from three persons, signing themselves, John cerning Patton, Luke Irwin and Thomas Bourke; repre-lift prisonfenting to me, that they were Englishmen, who ers taken had been brought to Rochelle, and put into pri-Ohio. fon there, from whence they wrote; having been taken by the French subjects, who seized their effects, as they were trading with the English and other Indians on the Ohio, and carried prisoners to Quebec; from whence they have been fent over to Rochelle; where they were hardly used. Upon this information I applied to M. St. Con-

A. D. test, and gave him a note of it, claiming them as the King's subjects, and demanding their liberty, and the restitution of their effects, that had been unjustly taken from them.

These three persons, I find by the paper your Lordship has sent me, are of the number of those demanded of the French by Mr. Clinton, and named in M. de la Jonquiere's letter. I have wrote to a merchant at Rochelle to enquire afterthem, and to supply them with money, to make their journey hither, if they are not gone; that I may receive from them all the informations necesfary, on my feeing M. St. Contest next Tuesday. I will represent the case to him, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, that la Jonquiere may have positive orders to desist from the unjustifiable proceedings complained of; to release any of his Majesty's subjects he may still detain in prison, and to make ample restitution of their effects. And I shall take care to shew him the absolute neceffity of fending instructions to their several governors, not to attempt any fuch encroachments for the future."

Another letter on the fame account.

Accordingly Lord Albemarle, by a letter dated the 8th of March, further writes to Lord Holdernesse, "That he had seen M. Rouille, delivered to him a note of the several complaints he had orders to make against M. de la Jonquiere's conduct, and told him, in general, the contents of it; insisting, for the preservation of a good understanding between the two crowns, upon the

1750.

necessity of sending such positive orders to all their governors, as might effectually prevent, for the future, any fuch encroachments on his Majesty's territories, and committing such violence on his subjects, as had been done in time past; adding to this remonstrance, that he hoped, they would be taken into confideration quickly, that he might be able to give him an answer next week, or as foon afterwards as he possibly could. That M. Rouille had promised to use his best en-M. Rouille deavours for that purpose; and affured him that redress. it was the intention of the court of France to prevent any disputes arising that might tend to alter the present correspondence between the two nations, and it might be depended upon that fuch orders should be fent to their governors accordingly."

At the same time Lord Albemarle mentioned this affair to M. Rouille his lordship delivered him a memorial, which among other things, com-Lord Alplained, "Of the French encroachments on the memorial. Ohio, and demanded that the most express orders should be sent to M. de la Jonquiere to desist from his unjust proceedings, and in particular to cause the fort, which they had undertaken to build on the river Niagara, to be immediately razed, and the French and others in their alliance, who may happen to be there, to retire forthwith; as likewise to set the six Englishmen, whom they had made prisoners at liberty, and to make them ample fatisfaction for the wrongs and losses they have suffered; and lastly, that the persons who

A. D. have committed these excesses, be punished in such a manner as might serve for an example to those, who should venture on any like attempt."

Though these remonstrances and complaints were founded upon the most notorious acts of hostility; they produced no other effect than the release of the three prisoners at Rochelle. No restitution, nor reparation of damages was ever made, or intended by France for the losses sustained by the British subjects. And the French court were so far from calling Jonquiere to an account, or reftraining him from purfuing his encroachments, that he was encouraged to complete the usurpations he had begun on the back of all our provinces in North America: for he had prepared a considerable army for that fervice, and was ready, when death prevented him in March 1752, to execute his intentions for that purpose. Besides it might have convinced the British ministry of the infincerity of the court of France in all their answers to our grievances, and that the blame did not rest upon M. de la Jonquiere; for, his successor M. du Quesne was immediately dispatched with the same instructions; did not abate, in the least, the diligence, with which his predecessor had spread the terror of the French power on the vast continent; and carried the encroachments every day further and further; while the French ministry confided in their fuccess of deceiving the British court with fair promises.

Commissaries appointed. Commissaries were appointed, and sent to Paris well instructed and provided with irrefragable

gable proofs of his Britannic Majesty's right and A. D. 1750. title to the disputable articles, referred to their cognizance and determination by the definitive limits, &c. treaty; the Lords of trade and plantations having fearched every treaty and record, both on the part of England and France, that could be produced equitably in that debate, by way of proof.

France, which never intended to terminate an How reaffair, in which they were fure to be worsted, had lished by avoided, as much as possible, this appointment; and received the English commissaries with so much coolness and backwardness, as promised no happy iffue to their conferences.

William Shirley and William Mildmay, Efgrs. Commiffiopened their commission at Paris, on the 21st of by British September 1750, with a memorial reciting the commissatwelfth article of the treaty of peace concluded ries. at Utrecht, the 11th of April 1713; "Whereby " the most Christian King agreed, amongst other of particulars, to yield and make over by folemn "and authentic letters, or instruments, all Nova 66 Scotia or Acadia, with its ancient boundaries ; " as also the city of Port Royal, now called An-" napolis Royal, and all other things in those " parts, which depend on the faid lands, &c." And that in conformity to this treaty, the faid most Christian King, by his letters and authentic acts, figned with his own hand at Marli, dated in the month of May 1713, "did yield up for ever " to the faid late Queen of Great Britain, the " faid country of Nova Scotia or Acadia, in its " entire, conformable to its ancient limits, as also Vol. I. E se the

50

A. D. 1750.

" the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis "Royal, and generally all that depends on the " faid lands, &c. to be possessed for the future in " full fovereignty and propriety, with all the " rights acquired by him the faid King, and his " fubjects, by treaty or otherwise, by the said "Queen, and the crown of Great Britain, mak-"ing over to her, to this effect, full and entire

" possession for ever."

Bounds of Nova Scodia demanded by his Britannic Majes-

Then the faid commissaries declared what those Nova Sco-tia or Aca- limits are, which they demanded on the part of Great Britain, as the true boundaries of the faid territories of Nova Scotia or Acadia, in its entire, conformable to its antient limits; namely-" On " the West towards New England, by the river " Penobicot, alias Pentagoet, beginning at its en-" trance, and from thence drawing a straight line " northward to the river St. Lawrence, or the " great river of Canada. On the north by the " faid river of St. Lawrence, going along the " fouth fide of it to Cape Rosiers, situated at its " entrance. To the east of the great gulph of "St. Lawrence, from the faid Cape Rosiers, " running fouth-eastwards by the islands of Ba-" calao or Cape Breton, leaving these islands at " the right; and the gulph of St. Lawrence and " Newfoundland, with the islands belonging " thereto, on the left, unto the Cape or Promon-" tory called Cape Breton.—And to the fouth by " the great Atlantic ocean, drawing to the fouth-" west from the said Cape Breton, by the Cape " Sable, taking in the island of that name, round

" about

1750.

about the bay of Fundi, which goes up eastward

" to the country, at the entrance of the river

" Penobscot, alias Pentagoet."

These were the limits, which they offered to prove were the antient boundaries intended by the treaty above-mentioned: And agreeable thereto the British commissaries demanded all the lands. continents, islands, bays, coasts, rivers and places, comprised within the faid limits, or dependant on the faid Nova Scotia or Acadia, bounded as above, with the fovereignty, &c. which the Christian King, &c. ever had in the faid lands, &c. as belonging to the crown of Great Britain, by virtue of the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, without refervation or diminution; including also the lands or territories westward, between the rivers Penobscot and Kennebequi, which the French had pretended, at divers times, to be a part of the faid Acadia; though the faid lands did always belong to the crown of Great Britain.

Then the commissaries concluded with a demand, That necessary orders should be dispatched for the due execution of the said twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, agreeable to the true intention and spirit of the same, as also for the withdrawing of all the establishments made by the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, if any there might be within the limits, as above to

On the part of France were appointed La Gal-Commissalissoniere and De Silhouette, who, by a rescript of ries on the part of

t See the memorials of the English and French commissaries, 4to. vol. I. p. 3, &c.

A. D. 1750. the fame date, pretended and affirmed, That by ceding Annapolis Royal, distinctly by itself, it appears not to have been comprised within the antient limits of Acadia, according to the most antient descriptions of the country, and consequently, that the antient Acadia made but a part of the peninfula fo called. That the island of Canseau being situated in one of the embouchures of the gulph of St. Lawrence, could not be ceded by his Christian Majesty, as part of Acadia: And that nothing had been altered by the treaty of Utrecht, in regard to the limits between New France and New England, from what they were before that treaty. And by another memorial these French negociators fix the ancient limits of Acadia, from

the extremity of la Baye-françoise, depuis le Cap

de Sainte-Marie, or le Cap Fourchu, then along

Limits of ancient Acadia, according to the French account.

The na-

ture of the proofs for the King of Great Britain's claim.

> A. D. 1751.

This proceeding obliged the British commissaries to descend to particulars, and on the eleventh of January 1751, they delivered a very long memorial w concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, to evince the truth of those limits, defcribed, and demanded, by them, in their memorial of the 21st of September last, and to demonstrate his Britannic Majesty's just title to all the lands, &c. comprehended within them, by authentic facts and conclusive evidence; they being able to support every part of their claim, not only from feveral declarations and acts of state, on the part of the crown of France; but also,

u Ibid. p. 10, 11.

the coast as far as Cap Canseau ".

w Ibid. p. 13, &c.

from the uniform possession of that crown, for many years, both before and after the treaty of Breda; which crown, as often as it claimed and possessed Acadia, claimed and possessed it in that extent, and with the same limits they demand it.

A. D. 1751.

The French commissaries, in their memorial \*, The eva-above-mentioned, by way of discouragement, held of the out a plan to shew the difficulties, with which French. they could embroil, and the length, into which they were able to protract these conferences; and thereby infinuated the little fuccess the English had to expect from them. They, to the loose manner, in which they answered our demand of the entire country of Nova Scotia or Acadia, added a memento of the claims their master had on us in other places: and that the definitive treaty did not confine their conferences to the limits of Acadia only, but impowered them to fettle the limits of all their other colonies, and all other matters left undecided at Aix-la-Chapelle.

But instead of discouraging, they hereby drew The spirit-from the English commissaries the following spi-of the Eng. rited declaration: "With respect to the bounda- missaries, missaries, " ries of any other dominions belonging to the

"two crowns in America, it is sufficient for us " to fay, That the prefent discussion is confined

" fingly to the limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia:

"But should any difference of opinion hereafter

" arife in deciding what are the limits of any other

66 of his Britannic Majesty's territories in North

A. D.

1751.

" America, our master, the King of Great Britain, desirous on the one hand, in no instance, " to break in upon the rights of his neighbours, " will on the other be found ready to affert and " vindicate his own y." Concluding their long memorial, which has connected, in a most judicious and impartial manner, every fact and evidence effential to the matter in question, with this just and sensible challenge 2: " As the possession " of Nova Scotia or Acadia, with its ancient li-" mits, was finally determined to Great Britain, "by the execution of the treaty of Utrecht; " what were those ancient limits is the only mat-" ter now in dispute; and as we have ascertained " the limits, with which his Majesty claims Aca-66 dia or Nova Scotia, under that treaty, and pro-"duced our proofs of that claim, it is equally incumbent on the commissaries of the court of "France to fet forth particularly the limits, " which the court of France would affign as the " true limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia, and to <sup>66</sup> produce their proofs in support of them."

Thus stood the case of the disputable article concerning the limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia, seemingly more embarrassed, by the French tenaciousness, than ever; which joined to the complaint of their not having sulfilled that article of the treaty of Aix la-Chapelle, concerning the demolition of Dunkirk, prognosticated no long continuance of the peace between the two crowns.

To spin these conferences out to the greatest length, the French commissaries, without taking any notice of the affair of Acadia or Nova Scotia. produced on the 11th of February 1751, N. S. a memorial concerning the neutral island of St. French Lucia, only; which is fet off with a preface or memorial preamble to prejudice the reader in favour of the ing their King's French claim to St. Lucia and Tobago, and to title to St. divest Great Britain of all right to St. Dominico Lucia, &c. and St. Vincent; alledging, with a good grace, that they could produce fufficient proof of the former; and that they did not doubt, but it would be admitted, That the two nations had guaranteed the two latter to the native Caribbees, under the protection of France.

They argue first from priority of discovery; Their and, laying that title down, as valid by the laws proof of nations, they attempt to prove an equal good upon detitle from a possession taken of any country or island deserted, and not reclaimed, by the other nation, in whom was the original right of difcovery.

To shew this to be the case of the island of St. Lucia, they affirm, That the English had been driven off, and had abandoned that inland; having fuffered a massacre by the natives: and that the French ventured their lives to fecure its possession, and had maintained their footing against the savages, twenty years before the English re-claimed any right to the faid island; pretending that this possession had been acknowledged by several treaties: that the English had made use of the French

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A. D. 1751. to make their peace with the favage Caribbee islanders; and that the French had never quitted the island of St. Lucia; but had always kept up a succession of governors and commanders upon it, without any impeachment of their right; and promise to prove these affertions by evidence from cotemporary histories, and from authentic instruments and papers.

Their political infinuation about fincerity.

But, with a craft peculiar to those, who intend to deceive, the French commissaries put on an air of uncommon sincerity and respect, "desiring "the English to read this memorial and the others, "intended to be laid before them, without pre-"judice, without partiality, with that spirit of equity, which ought to direct the actions of two fuch great and puissant nations; that being the only means to arrive at the truth, whose disco-"very would be of infinite importance for their reciprocal good and tranquillity, and which the "commissaries of each nation ought to make their only object a."

Detected.

French pretences to a right by difcoyery alfo detected. How far we may admit of the fincerity of the French commissaries in this address, their candour in the recital of facts will explain. They suppress the original discovery of St. Lucia by the English, and won't allow any account thereof, till Sir Thomas Warner took possession of it in the year 1626; and that by this Warner's agreement a French adventurer, D'Esnambuc, who divided St. Christopher's with him, returned to France, and obtained for himself and others a charter, not only for the island of St. Christopher, but for Barbadoes

and the other neighbouring isles, from eleven degrees to twenty, within which parallel lies the island of St. Lucia. Whereas it was not till the year following, that the first public and authentic act appeared for the establishment of the English property of this island, by a charter granted to the Earl of Carlisle.

This being their only proof for possession and title by propriety of discovery; their next attempt is to shew that in the infancy of our adventures amongst these islands of the new world, both the English and French would frequently attempt a fettlement, and be obliged to leave it for a nation more able than themselves to maintain its posfession. Thus, say they, the French tried to settle Antigua and Montserrat; but these first adventurers abandoning these islands, the English entered upon and kept them. So in like manner, they infer the English attempted in 1639 to settle St. Lucia, but not being able to support themselves against the native favages, they were forced to abandon it in the year following: and the French immediately took possession of the same.

As the whole of the argument in support of the French claim, turns upon this principle b, let us cut it short, and, after stating the right, which the King of Great Britain has to that island of St. Lucia, examine its validity by authentic facts, and strictly just conclusions drawn from them.

The English commissiaries replied ', with a be-

b See the memorial in vol. II. p. 3, &c. 

§ Ibid.
p. 45, &c.

coming dignity, That they were perfectly con-A. D. 1751. vinced, that while they confidered the memorial Equity and fincerity of with temper, difinterestedness, and a spirit of equithe Engty, recommended to them by the French comlifh. missaries, and preserved this temper, they were conforming to the intentions, and executing the commands of their master, who came into this negociation from the motives of justice and friendship; desirous on the one hand, in no instance to encroach on the rights of France, determined on the other to maintain his own; and fenfible at the fame time, that in all cases, where two states, at peace and in alliance, have inconfiftent pretentions on the same dominion and territory, nothing is more fure to preferve that peace, and to perpetuate the alliance, defired by both, than the bringing fuch claims to an amicable decision.

Answer memorial,

By shewing our priority of discovery.

They then protest against the pretended guaevery argument of rantee of the islands of St. Dominico and St. Vinthe French cent, and produce evidence that St. Lucia was difcovered by three ships fitted out by the Earl of Cumberland in 1593, and fettled in 1605 and 1606 by a colony of English, under the direction of Sir Oliph Leaph: which was strengthened a few years after by another colony fent by Sir Thomas Warner, in 1626, who appointed Major Judge governor of that island. This destroys the French title by priority of possession or discovery.

As to the commission or patent to d'Esnambuc and others, it is, fay the English commissaries, worded in fuch a manner as to induce a belief, that

17 1.

St. Lucia was not fo much as known to the French at that time (1626). It does not fo much as mention the name of fuch an island, which appears in the Earl of Carlifle's, under the form of an old colony; therefore no title can be drawn from that commission; whose silence of such a place shews at least, if it was known to the French, that they confidered it to belong to the English.

As to acquiring a right of possession by the re-By deny-moval of a prior settlement, it is answered in this ing the defertion of case; That in the year 1640, in the month of St. Lucia. August, the savage natives of St. Lucia overpowering the English colonies, killed the governor, and destroyed all that came in their way with fire and fword. Such, as escaped this massacre, fled away to Montserrat. Which is the forsaking or abandonment, the French chiefly found their title upon. For, it was immediately after, in this very year 1640, that M. du Parquet, not without suspicion of being a chief abettor in that bloody scene, carried a colony of 35 or 40 effective people to St. Lucia, and built a fort, &c. to protect them, and to affure their usurpation against the English, should they return with force.

It is undeniably evident, That the defertion of the island, by the English, was not voluntary, but forced upon them by an inhuman massacre, and therefore the property could not be loft by the flight of those who escaped; but it remained in the nation, to which they were subjects, to reclaim and reposfess, when time and opportunity should

d Within a month. See ibid. p. 69, 71.

60

A. D. 1751. ferve. Accordingly Lord Carlisle, in the midst of our destructions at home, sent over several English in the years 1644 and 1645: but neither these, nor another armed force, sent against those usurpers in 1657, were able to make good their landing; who kept their usurpation till the year 1664; when Col. Carew, with a regiment of soldiers, drove the French off, regained possession, and was made deputy-governor of the island under Lord Willoughby.

What is the law of dereliction.

Now, as to the law of dereliction: That such a law is necessary, is allowed; but then it must be a law, established on the consent of all nations, to prevent extensive countries from being withheld from the common utility of all people, upon a pretence, in any one, of a right to that which they use not, and to prevent frequent wars being perpetually carried on in support of uncertain and revived titles. And this law is not to be sounded upon an act of necessity; but upon an act of choice and conveniency.

Therefore, there can be no absolute dereliction of a country, but where the last possessor leaves it voluntarily, and without any apparent necessity. To make such dereliction in one people a foundation of right in any other coming after them, it is necessary that the acquiescence of the first power under the possession of the latter, be an acquiescence.

e Ibid. p. 73.

f Pro derelicto habetur, quod dominus eâ mente abjecerit, ut id in numero rerum fuarum esse nolit; ideoque statim dominus ejus desinet. Ibid. p. 83.

cence indeed voluntary and clearly manifested. So that a defertion, forced upon any people by an enemy, or a temporary acquiescence under that expulsion, occasioned by necessity, cannot extinguish the right of any people to the country they fo abandon. Which was the very case of the English in the year 1640 at St. Lucia 8. And in confequence, all the arguments drawn from a fucceffion of governors, and bargains and fales, &c. are of no confideration. As to the whole of their argument, we may form Observa-

declaration, with which the English commissaries, proofs. wind up their reply; "We, fay those commissaries, " have gone through the history of his Majesty's "antient, uniform, and clear right to the island of "St. Lucia: We have shewn that this right began, "and was established, by a discovery and settle-"ment made many years before the French, upon "the testimony of their own writers, had any "knowledge of the Caribbee islands; and that it " was uninterruptedly continued and kept up by "all proper and fufficient acts of government, "and, in later times, it has more than once re-

" ceived the final fanction of treaties; at the fame "time making it appear, That the commissaries " of France have nothing to oppose to this right, "but pretence of early discovery and possession, "which their own historians overturn; or, a "temporary settlement, gained by an usurpation,

the best conceptions of their evidences from the tions on all the French

"which the law of nations will not justify; or, g See ibid. p. 85.

## 62 THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1751. "a remote construction of treaties, inconsistent with both the letter, intention and spirit of them: and therefore think themselves warranted to conclude with a renewal of that affertion they began with," That "the right to the island of St. Lucia is not in the crown of France, but in the crown of Great Britain h."

Conduct of the French in these conferences.

The expedition of these conferences being now entirely in the power of the French commissaries, they did not deliver in their memorial of proofs concerning the most Christian King's title to Nova Scotia or Acadia, till the fourth of October 1751, and then it was made up of such materials as both, for their matter and form, shewed that they paid no regard to truth, and were only intended to gain time for backing their negociations with an effectual naval and military power, sent, in the most secret manner, to cover and secure, for the French crown, the places under debate.

Hostilities continued by the French in the West Indies.

During these conferences the French kept up the same hostile spirit, as before. They pretended that his most Christian Majesty had willingly agreed to a provisional and conditional evacuation of the Neutral Islands: but this boasted evacuation amounted to no more, than a suspension of arms; for the French still kept possession of their sorts and settlements on those islands. Their Indian allies allarmed the very city of Hallisax by an incursion to the town of Dartmouth, opposite

In Nova Scotia.

h See the memorial presented by the English commissions, 15th of Nov. 1751. p. 159. vol. II. printed at London.

i March the 27th, 1751.

1751.

to that metropolis, which they plundered, and left A. D. reeking with the blood of the English inhabitants; besides making a number of captives. And they made fuch progress in their practices with our In- On the dian allies on the back of the other provinces in Ohio. North America, that these also received arms from the French, and were persuaded by them to break their treaties with England, and not only to commit the most horrid murders and outrages upon the outsettlers, but to penetrate within a few miles of Charles Town, in South Carolina k.

On the coast of Guinea Commodore Buckle, in Their athis Majesty's ship Assistance, with the St. Alban tempt on and Sphynx, in the beginning of 1752, found Guinea. three French men of war, one of 64, the others of 54 and 24 guns, tampering with our friendly natives at Anamaboa, by prefents, and an offer of 15,000 l. sterling, for liberty to build a fort there. Commodore Buckle obliged them to defift and retire. But the French promised the natives better presents, and more money, and to visit them in ten months time.

By this time also the malignity of the intentions In the East of the French in the East Indies was detected by Indies. feveral authentic accounts of their hostilities, renewed against the English and their allies. M. Dupliex had acquired great power and riches for himself, and gained such an acquisition of strength and trade for his country by a new alliance 1 with the Marattoes, that it was determined, in all outward appearance, to make use of these allies to ruin the English East India company.

L In September and October 1751.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1752. Upon what pretence.

64

The contended fuccession to the government and kingdom of Arcot gave the French governor of Pondicherry a favourable opportunity to difguise his real intentions, and to ruin the English on that coast, under the name of justice, and of auxiliaries to an exiled family: a game, which the French court has often played in Europe, by invasions and rebellions in Great Britain and Ireland. M. Dupleix in possession of the Pretender to the kingdom of Arcot, at the time peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, and forefeeing the vast advantages arising from the improvement of fo lucky an incident, when he had no opposition to fear from the English, fettered by the faith of the late treaty, he joined the Pretender Muzapherzing with fix hundred Europeans and a train of artillery.

The reigning Nabob was flain in the defence of his capital: his eldeft fon fell into the hands of the French and their allies; Mahomed Allee Cawn escaped to Tritchinopoly; and Arcot, and the whole province, submitted to the arms of the invaders; who, as a larm the English too much, at once, returned to Pondicherry, till Admiral Boscawen, who was still on that coast, and expressed himself with great resentment against the French governor on this occasion, should fail for Europe.

The English fleet under that admiral's command departed for England on the 21st of October, 1749; and next day the French and their allies took the field, and raised contributions all over

Take the field.

1752.

the country. The French troops were commanded by Mr. Law, nephew of the famous Missippi Law. The King of Tanjore refuling to acknowledge the usurper Muzapherzing, they besieged his capital, which was defended with much bravery; till the English, (finding it necessary to put a stop Opposed to the progress of the French, and to prevent an by the English. increase of power in an oppressive neighbour, that must at last have proved their ruin, and were solicited by Mahomed Allee Cawn to affift him in defence of his right,) fent Captain Cope with a detachment from Fort St. George to Trichinopoly; who, being joined m by a large army of horse n under the command of Nazirzing, Viceroy of the Deckan, obliged them to raise the siege and to return to Pondicherry.

Being reinforced with 2000 Europeans, a numerous body of Sepoys, and a large train of artillery under the command of M. d'Auteuil, they again took the field, and marched to feek Nazirzing. This obliged the English to send another detachment from Fort St. George, confisting of 600 men, under the command of Captain Lawrence, who has favoured the world with this account, accompanied by Mr. Westcott, one of the council, by way of commissary, to manage the conduct of the allies for the interest of his nation.

Nazirzing appointed Captain Lawrence Generalissimo of his army; and both armies were ready to engage, when the French general's heart, begin-

m At Waldore, in February 1750.

n Thirty thousand men, So cannon. VOL. I. F

A. D. 1752.

French ftratagem to defeat the English. ning to fail him, had recourse to stratagem, in hopes of prevailing with the English to stand neuter in the time of action. M. d'Auteuil fent a messenger to General Lawrence, to acquaint him, "That although they were engaged in different " causes; yet it was not his design, nor inclina-"tion, that any European blood should be spilt: "but that, as he did not know the post of the " English, he could not be blamed should any of "his shot come that way, and hurt the English." To which General Lawrence fent back this answer: "I have the honour of carrying the English co-" lours on my flag-gun; which by a proper look-"out will direct where the English are posted. "But whatever your defign and inclination may " be, I am resolved, if any shot come my way, "to return them; though I should also be very " loath to spill European blood."

The cannonading began; and M. d'Auteuil, like a true Frenchman, fired a shot directly over the heads of the English: which General Lawrence ordered to be returned by three guns well pointed, to convince him, that the English were not to be cajoled or terrified into a state of inactivity, at so critical a juncture, when a defeat of their friendly Indians would put the French in possession of all the inland country; circumscribe the English within the walls of their sea ports, and cut off their commercial intercourse with the natives.

Miscarries. This resolution had its effect. M. d'Auteuilhaving nothing to hope for, from his stratagem to

keep the English inactive; and not daring to risk

1752.

the iffue of a battle with fuch a numerous army, fo well supported by the English, he decamped, and retreated with his Europeans and Sepoys, in the night, leaving behind eleven pieces of heavy artillery, with part of his artillery-men, in order to conceal his real defign; for, he gave out that he was marching to alarm the camp of the enemy, by night, and would be back in the morning.

Thus deserted, the French allies were immediately attacked and routed with a most shocking carnage by Nazirzing; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the English saved some of the French gunners from the fury of the Moors. The Eng-Humanity lish general committed the wounded to the care of the English. of his own furgeons; and provided for them all with a humanity and generofity becoming an Englishman. But in return for this friendly distinction, M. Dupleix laid hold of it, by way of proof that the English had broke the peace, by making them prisoners; and wrote a long protest against General Lawrence for that purpose. Which the poor French artillery-men, that survived, sensible of their obligation to the English, effectually confuted, by gratefully acknowledging their tender usage of them, and confessing that their lives were éntirely owing to the forcible interposition of the English general.

Nazirzing had in his army a body of 3000 men under the command of one Morarow, a kind of freebooters, and ready to execute any desperate fervice. Having completed his victory over the forces of his native enemies, he the fame

night

A. D. 1752.

night dispatched this corps in pursuit of M. d'Auteuil, whom they overtook, and obliged him with great loss to hasten his march into Pondicherry.

M. Dupleix's plot.

From this moment M. Dupleix, convinced he should never be able to carry his point, against the English and their friendly Indians, by a superiority in the field, determined to try the success of intrigue, and the basest treachery. He engaged Muzapherzing to make an infidious fubmission to Nazirzing, that he might be always at hand to facilitate the intended conspiracy against the Viceroy's life; which M. Dupleix looked upon to be the greatest obstacle to his success. He also found means, by fair promises of aid and great rewards, to gain Nazirzing's prime minister, and the Nabobs of Cadapah and Condanore, to be parties in the treason against their sovereign; while they amused the Viceroy with flattering hopes of an accommodation by ambaffadors, fent with a public character, that they might more effectually concert measures with the chiefs of the conspiracy, at his court.

Means to carry it into execution. The only thing the conspirators dreaded was the power of the English auxiliaries; therefore means must be contrived to get rid of them: which the prime minister, the Viceroy's favourite, undertook to bring about, without giving his master any suspicion of a design to weaken his army. He knew that the English could not be prevailed with, in such circumstances, to leave their settlements and frontier bounds exposed to their enemy's force; which would be the case, provided they should follow

1752.

follow his master's army to Arcot. He therefore, fo wrought upon his master's passions, that determined him to take the rout of that city, and to leave the English under a necessity to return home.

At Arcot the court was fo conducted, as to gratify his passions for women and hunting, and to take away his attention from business, and the defigns plotted against him. In which state of security the Viceroy was kept, till roused by fresh hostilities, which attacked the corps of Morarow, and put them to rout; and furprized the fortress of Trividy, only fixteen miles west from Fort St. David.

A new requisition was made by Nazirzing for a detachment of English from Fort St. George; who marched under the command of Captain Cope: but the Viceroy, poisoned by his prime minister, treated them with such indifference and prevarication, that they, for want of pay, were foon obliged to separate from his army, commanded in chief by the Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn. As foon as the departure of the English was known, the French and their allies attacked the Nabob's camp, and gained a complete victory; the Nabob himself escaping with great difficulty. This victory was followed with the furrender of the strong town of Gingee. The conspirators improved this lofs fo pathetically, as to make it an argument for Nazirzing to take the field in person to oppose the progress of his enemies. Thus under the pretence of recovering Gingee, and chaftifing his enemies, they brought the Viceroy F 3 before A. D. 1752.

The plot executed.

before that town, in the teeth of the French and their allies, encamped under the cover of the guns on the ramparts. The tragical scene here began. The French had agreed to attack that part of the camp occupied by the two traitorous Nabobs; and their troops had instructions to make no refistance. The Nabobs had also personally engaged, on their part, to affaffinate their Sovereign Nazirzing, at his first appearance on the alarm. The attack was no fooner begun, but the two Nabobs made directly for Nazirzing's tent, and meeting him as he came out, intreated him to mount his elephant, and hasten to punish the rebels. But whilst the credulous and unfortunate Prince was preparing to follow their advice, one of them stabbed him with a poniard, and the other shot him with a pistol. His head was immediately fevered from his body, fixed upon a spear, and carried to his competitor Muzapherzing, whom the murdered Prince had brought with him, as a state prisoner; and whom the rebels, taking the advantage of the confusion and panic of the army, placed upon the elephant prepared for the deceased, and proclaimed Viceroy of the Deckan, without any material opposition; every friend of his country endeavouring to provide for his own fafety, at a time they did not know who were to be trusted. While the natives were thus employed, the French pushed forward to Nazirzing's tents, where they found vast riches in money and jewels; out of which they raised immense fortunes; but none so great

as M. Dupleix's; who from this time looked A. D. upon himself to be the richest subject in Europe.

And such was his ambition, that in memory of How M. this massacre he caused a town to be built upon got immense the spot, called Dupleix Fateabat, the place of riches. victory.

The consequences of this success to the French were most extraordinary. The government of Arcot, with its dependencies, was given to their fast friend Chunda Saib, and Dupleix himself was His power. associated by the new Viceroy to share the government with him.

Nothing seemed now to stand in the way of the French scheme of superiority, but the escape of Mahomed Allee Cawn, who, at the first hearing of the affaffination, made the best of his way, without any attendants, and got fafe to Trichinopoly; imploring the aid of the English, who fent him a strong detachment under Captain Cope. By this affiftance Trichinopoly was defended, this whole year: and by another detachment of about 300 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, officered by gentlemen, that had never been employed in a military capacity, under the command of Captain Clive, Captain the city of Arcot, the capital of the province, was Clive's herein surprized on the 1st of September. This was one begun. made more glorious by the defence of their conquest; in a siege of two months by a large army, and conducted by European engineers. At last the town was assaulted by breach, in three different places; but Clive's little garrison beat the enemy

• January 1751.

1752.

off with confiderable loss; and the Captain taking advantage of their confusion, fallied out, and following the blow, took all their cannon and levelled their trenches: being immediately reinforced with a detachment from Trichinopoly, he pursued the French and their allies till he gave them a total overthrow at Cauverypauk, in the month of March 1752, and did not halt till he had reduced the Forts of Timery, Cauverypauk, Aranie and Conjeveram.

The confpirators difagree and quarrel.

But this was not the only mortification of the enemy. The two Nabobs, that affaffinated Nazirzing, thinking themselves neglected in the distribution of rewards, and growing jealous of the power of the French and their connection with Muzapherzing, mutined in their march to Aurengabad, the usual residence of the Princes of the Deckan; and though not strong enough to master the French, who confifted of 600 Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and a large train of artillery under the command of M. Buffy, charged with a commission to place Muzapherzing in possession of his new acquired Viceroyship; they fell upon the flank of Muzapherzing's troops, defeated them and killed Muzapherzing himfelf; with a great loss of their own party, and the life of the Nabob of Condanore, one of Nazirzing's murderers.

From this time the war was continued with various success. The French and their allies, attempting to prevent Colonel Lawrence's entrance into Trichinopoly, were severely handled, and obliged to retreat, and soon after to surrender prisoners

1752.

of war to the faid officer, who took measures, when reinforced, to cut off the enemy's communication with the country, from whence they were fupplied with provision. They were commanded by Mr. Law, and according to Mr. Dupleix's account were 20,000 in all, including 600 Europeans, Topasses and Coffrees.

This was followed with the furrender of the post of Elmiseram, after a faint resistance. But the French having, by a falle report of a large convoy of stores to be on a certain day at Outatour, about fifteen miles from a Pagoda, where Mr. Clive had taken post, drawn out that active officer with the chief part of his men, in expectation to surprize it; they, advised of his march, detached a confiderable number from their army, with orders to march after dark, and to make their attack on the party left for defence of the pagoda, at day light. Captain Clive not finding at Outatour any Captain advice of a convoy, as reported, suspected the re- Clive's bravery, port as it was really intended; and therefore after danger and refreshing his men, returned with the utmost expedition, and regained his post at the pagoda about eleven at night; no enemy appearing, his men went to rest, and himself retired to his Pallankeen. So that at four in the morning, when the French arrived before this post, they found all quiet; and ignorant of Captain Clive's return, they advanced, and by the help of deserters from the English, they deceived the guard left there in the morning; who having challenged them, and being answered friends,

A. D. were not convinced of their mistake till the Sepoys began to fire.

The firing roused the garrison: Captain Clive ran immediately to the place of action, and was so confused, at first, that he ran amongst the French Sepoys, who were pushing into the pagoda, and, thinking they were endeavouring to skreen themselves from an attack, repremanded them in their country language, demanding what they were firing at. A French officer cut at him with his sword; but Mr. Clive closing with the Frenchman, received the blow from him so near the hilt, that it did no execution: and one of his own Sepoy officers, coming accidentally to his relief, cut the French officer down.

Captain Clive thus providentially faved and difengaged, hurried in fearch of his own men, and found the munder arms. But the French had got possession of the post. He then formed his detachment, marched to the pagoda, and after summons to surrender, which the French rejected, he prepared to storm it. But the French made a fally, in which their officer was killed, with a few more: the rest surrendered at discretion. The Sepoys in the French interest, who remained without the pagoda, endeavoured to escape by slight, but were pursued by the Maratta cavalry, and cut all to pieces.

The fiege of Pitchunda was undertaken; and the garrison in three days surrendered themselves prisoners of war. A party p of French, under

P Thirty officers, five men, 300 Sepoys, and 300 horse.

17524

the command of M. D'Auteuil, were first driven by Captain Dalton from Outatour, which the French deferted in the night; and were made prisoners, with a large quantity of stores, at Volconda, by Captain Clive, on the 29th of March.

Such a feries of misfortunes, which had de-french de-ferted by prived the French allies of supplies both in pro-some of visions and money, determined great numbers of their allies. the Indian army in the French interest to come over to us. Amongst whom was one of their generals, Coop Saib, with a thousand horse, a large body of Sepoys and fourteen elephants. Even Chunda Saib, the grand partizan of the French, was fo dispirited, as to throw himself into the hands of our allies; who thinking it unpolitic to let fuch a dangerous man go out of their possession, but not agreeing to whose care he should be committed, some of Monagee's, the King of Tanjore's General's people, cut off his head q, unknown to the English commander.

Captain Law, who defended Seringham, furrendered by capitulation to the Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn, on the same day Chunda Saib was decolated, and Captain Dalton took possession of that town, in which he found 30 pieces of cannon, ten of which were 18 and 12 pounders, the rest field pieces; two large mortars, a number of cohorns, and a great quantity of ammunition, and all kinds of warlike stores.

M. Dupleix was not easily cast down. His M. Dupride supported him, and at the same time, says dust.

q On the 3d of June.

76

A. D. 1750.

my author <sup>r</sup>, his mind was full of refources. The injustice of his cause never disturbed him; and provided he could gain his ends, the means never gave him any concern. His council was chiesly composed of his own creatures, who never disputed what he proposed. He was married to a woman, endowed with as much spirit, art and pride, as himself; born in the country, mistress of all the low cunning peculiar to the natives, and well skilled in their language.

At the feafon Law was obliged to furrender; the ships from Old France arrived with a large reinforcement; which, as it indicated the hostile intentions of the French court, encouraged M. Dupleix to proceed with the utmost vigour to execute their grand project of dominion. And that he might not want a pretence for his hostile conduct, which ceased with the life of Chunda Saib, lately beheaded, Dupleix raifed up another Pretender to the province of Arcot; and that he might feem to have an unbounded right to appoint, whom he pleased, he gave out that the Mogul had fent him commissions, declaring him governor of all this part of the Carnatick, from the river Kristnah to the sea. Which was a mere forgery.

Usurped power.

The young Pretender was Raja Saib, the fon of Chunda Saib; but this youth having neither money, nor interest with his country-people, was foon obliged to resign his Nabobship to the governor of Velloure, whom Dupleix, by virtue of

<sup>·</sup> Colonel Lawrence's Narrative. p. 41.

his pretended commissions from the Mogul, raised to that dignity for a valuable confideration in money. But after trusting Dupleix with three lack of rupees, not finding any effect likely to enfue to his own advantage from a mere title, he stopt his hand.

The French forces were now confiderably augmented, not only by the reinforcements from Europe, but by pressing all the sailors from the China ships, that touched at Pondicherry, committing their navigation to Lascars. Our force was rather upon the decline. Nevertheless the Siege of governor of Madrass concerted the siege of Gingee; Gingee, concerted, a strong place by art and nature, on the west of and mis-Pondicherry, well garrifoned and well provided; besides being most difficult of access amongst mountains well fortified: which ended in a repulse, with considerable loss of men and officers. Major Kinner, who commanded the detachment, was wounded, and died of a fever and flux, before he was recovered of his hurt.

This advantage so puffed up the French go- M. Duvernor, that he ordered all his forces to take the pleix's orfield, and to march close to the bounds of Fort English St. David. Which motion alarmed the English. The troops in St. David's were ordered to encamp without the walls, and Captain Schaul's company of Swifs were fent from Madrass in boats; but were intercepted by a ship sent by M. Dupleix, carried into Pondicherry, and there detained prisoners of war, in open violation of the peace's between England and France.

A. D. Such an open hostility only ferved to animate 1752. the English; as it made the French principals in Conduct of the English the Indian war, and would justify our more vigo-on that occasion. The conduction against their forces. General Lawrence took the field before St. David's on the 7th

of August with 400 Europeans, 1700 Sepoys, 4000 of the Nabob's troops, and nine pieces of cannon. The French army, commanded by M. de Kerjean, nephew of M. Dupleix, confifted of 400 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 500 cavalry, encamped at Trichanky Pagoda; who being fo near, as to discover our preparations for an attack, ftole away in the night to Bahoor; and, feeing themselves pursued, they retreated to Villanour, within three miles of Pondicherry. But, finding it impossible to force them to an action, unless he thould follow them into their own bounds, which he had no orders to do, the English commander had recourse to a stratagem, to decoy the French back again, with a supposition, that his retreat from their bounds was a token of fear and want of courage: and accordingly M. Dupleix swallowed the bait, and by a peremptory order obliged his nephew to purfue the English to Bahoor, two miles from fort St. David, and to risque a battle.

Defeat the This was just what the English commander French. wanted; who on the 26th of August, at two in the morning, got under arms, and marched up to the enemy's camp, and advanced firing; the French standing their ground, till our bayonets met. Then our grenadiers pushed with such fury, that

the French threw down their arms and ran for it, A.D. leaving the English masters of the field, all their baggage, eight pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition, tumbrils and stores, with the loss on our fide of one officer killed, four wounded, and 78 men killed and wounded.

This victory was followed by the surrender of Its consefort Covelong, about 16 miles fouth of Madrass, quences. and fort Chengalaput, about 40 miles from that fettlement; which, tho' exceeding strong, almost encompassed by a morass and surrounded with two walls, whose ramparts are 16 feet thick, a wet ditch fenced with stone fixty feet wide, quite round the outward fort, and another half round the inner, furrendered on the first of August, to a small party commanded by Captain Clive.

In Europe the countenance with which the court Conduct of Spain tolerated the seizure, and search of British of Spain towards ships in the West Indies; and the notorious advan- Great Britage given to the French trade in Spain, in preference to the English; and the diligence, with which the navy of Spain was ordered to be increased; exemplified of how great power the influence of the French was, at that time, in the court of Spain; and that the Spanish ministry were refolved, fooner or later, to join all their force with France against Great Britain, should matters end in a rupture between those crowns, and France stand in need of the navy and treasure of Spain, as the event has shewn, to extricate her from the arms of the conqueror.

<sup>\*</sup> Contrary to the express letter of the late treaty. See p. 7. Every

Every packet, from the West Indies and our

1752. plantations, brought fresh accounts of the ob-

A.D.

Barbarities struction our commerce, in those parts, met with guarda cost- from the Spanish guarda costas, which had been civil for a while. These armed vessels swarmed on the coast of Coracoa, and in the summer 1752 took all vessels, that fell in their way, amongst which was a floop belonging to Coracoa coming from Aruba ". John Gainey, master of the ship Eagle, of Boston, sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, on the 20th of May 1750, bound for Coracoa in ballast and five negroes: but meeting with tempestuous weather, violent squalls and tornados, with calms and a strong current westward, was forced to the leeward of the island of Ratan, where he fell in with a Spanish half-galley of eight guns and fixty-five men. and a floop of eight guns and feventy men, commanded by Don Publo Gracia Tolon, who fired four shot thro' his fails and rigging, and ordered him immediately to lie too, and go on board of his floop, or he would board him and cut him and his people to pieces. The master, furnished with proper papers to shew he was upon a lawful trade, complied with the Don's commands. But was detained on board the Spaniard in a hostile manner: and while he was kept under arrest, the Spaniards feized his boat, went on board the Eagle, then eight leagues from the shore: robbed and plundered the ship's stores and provisions; broke locks and chefts, and in a wanton and ma-

<sup>4</sup> By letter from New York, Sept. 23, 1751.

licious manner tore and destroyed every thing, that did not feem of fervice to them ". But this was mild treatment compared with the case of Patrick Roney of the ship Diamond, who in his voyage from Port Royal in Jamaica to Charles Town in South Carolina, was brought to, and boarded, off Cape Nicholas, by a Spanish sloop; carried into Cape Nicholas Mole; rummaged, plundered of 3000l. in money, and after being obliged, by threats, to have his ears cut off, to fign a paper he did not understand, was put on board a schooner, and sent to Jamaica w. A letter, dated July 16, this same year, from Providence in North America, relates, That the Cool, from Jamaica to Cape Fear, was arrived there in diffress, occasioned by her ill usage from a Spanish guarda costa, which brought her to, in the windward passage, and after a strict fearch, finding no money on board, the Spaniards were fo exasperated, that they used the people with such cruelty, that there were only three men able to stand the deck; which obliged them to steer for Providence, to get able hands to carry the veffel to the northward. All which depredations were approved of by the Spanish court.

In Spain itself our merchants in vain infisted Behaviour upon the privilege of being treated with the same to British regard, as was paid to the most friendly nations merchants.

John Gasney's deposition at Kingston in Jamaica.

w As appears by the oaths of Patrick Roney, John Holt, and Francis Welsh, sworn before Thomas Hibbert, at King-ston in Jamaica, January 11, 1752.

fettled in her fea-ports, or elsewhere. For, ad-A. D. 1752. vantageous tariffs were made with France, and the British commerce was loaded with so much more at the custom-house, as enabled our chief rival in trade to undersell our manufactures and goods in the Spanish markets.

The appointments for the marine, and the meafures pursued for making it respectable, promised, in a short time, to fulfil their wishes. In 1752 it the Spanish was confidently given out that the Spanish navy, before the end of the winter, would confift of 64 ships, from 60 guns and upwards, and 28 frigates.

Naval pre-parations in France.

The

navy.

The naval preparations were carried on in France with fo much diligence and vigour, that at Rochelle, it was denied a private English gentleman the request to view the great dock at that port, in which only there laid, in the winter 1751, fifty fail of men of war and frigates, besides several ships of force upon the stocks.

These accounts, it might be thought, should have awakened the British ministry; to take into confideration the actual state of the naval forces of France and Spain, and the continual attention of those powers to augment their marine, which could not possibly be intended against any other nation, than Great Britain. Besides the French troops, ordered for the year 1753, which together made 211,755 men, discovered their hostile intentions.

Yet, his Majesty at the opening of the parliament, on the eleventh day of January 1753, in-A. D. formed them, by a speech from the throne, "That 1753.

es all

all his views and negociations had been calcu- A. D. " lated and directed to preferve and fecure the The duration of the general peace." And added, King's "That he had the fatisfaction to be affured of a speech. " good disposition in all the powers, that were his " allies, to adhere to the same salutary object." But as it could not be hid, that a war was una-

voidable, and that this nation was at the very eve of a rupture, with her most formidable enemy, the address did not pass in the House of Com-How remons, without some severe animadversions on the ceived. inconsistency of the speech, with the real state of affairs in Europe; nor without many spirited declamations against French perfidy and continental connections.

But, so little regard was paid by the ministry Conduct of to the apprehensions of the nation, alarmed by the minifthe measures pursued by France and Spain, in defiance of the late treaty, that our forces by sea and land were continued in the low state of the preceding year. However, the parliament pro-Parliavided for the maintenance of Nova Scotia and mentary fupplies. Georgia, for the support y of the castles on the coast of Guinea, and for erecting y a new fort at Anamaboe, where the French last year had attempted, and threatened to return and to make a settlement.

In the course of this year the French ordered French crosses and copper-plate inscriptions, fastened upon keep up large posts, to be erected on the West Indian their preislands, not already settled by Europeans, con-the Neural

x 94,6151, 128, ad. y 16,000l.

1753. Conduct of the this occafion.

taining the French King's arms, and these words, "A Continuation of the Poffession of Lewis XIV. King of France 1753." Which being discovered English on on Turk's Island, Caicos and Haneaga, by Captain Julian Legge, of his Majesty's ship Shoreham, he cut them all down, and brought them away: and least the French should misuse the Bermudians, who were on those islands, when they should find the marks taken away, he left the following declaration at each place; "To prevent " any violence being used to any of the people who live on Grand-key, Salt-key or Seal-key, "it is thought proper to leave this declaration, " that we cut down the arms of the most Chris-"tian King, and the croffes that were fet up as "marks of possession upon the said islands, and " carried the fame away, purfuant to instructions " for fo doing: and further, That his Britannic "Majesty will not suffer any marks of possession " to be put up on any of the keys or islands known " by the name of Turk's-Islands."

British commissaries reply to the French memorial Nova Scotia.

On the 23d of January 1753, the English commissaries delivered their reply to a long, tedious and fallacious memorial of proofs produced by the commissaries of his most Christian Majesty on concerning the 4th of October 1751. In this reply they, in general, accuse the French of going into a variety of confiderations, not immediately connected with the point in discussion, and of an attempt to puzzle the debate by a confused method of dividing and arranging their materials. And, in particular, they in the first place protest against the leading

1753.

principle in the discussion laid down by the French commissaries, That because the peace of Utrecht ceded the country of Nova Scotia or Acadia to Great Britain, therefore no additional lights and evidence are to be brought from acts of government, treaties between two nations, or similar cessions of the same territory, previous to the treaty of Utrecht, to clear up and enforce the true meaning and real intention of that treaty.

Then they proceed to shew, That the design of the crown of Great Britain, in the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, was not to secure an exclusive fishery, but to gain possession of all Acadia or Nova Scotia, as a territory that would give ftrength and intireness to the British settlement in North America z: and that the commissaries of his most Christian Majesty, by treating the object of the twelfth article concerning the territory of Acadia, and the thirteenth article concerning the fishery as one, they restrain the sense of one part of these articles by confounding it with the other; first misrepresenting the views of Great Britain at the time of the treaty, and afterwards supporting their misconstruction of the words of the treaty by the help of that very misrepresentation.

But for as much as the French commissaries accuse the English of producing evidences foreign to the question, in proof of their interpretation of the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, concerning the antient limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia, they appeal to, and shew from the treaty of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Memorials, vol. I. p. 244, &c.

St. Germains, by which this fame country was, with its antient limits, restored to France, that England then ceded the very same territory, and within the same limits, as now they claim under the title of the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht. They also refer to the treaty of Breda, where the crown of France made the very same claim upon Nova Scotia or Acadia, as Great Britain now does, and supported it upon the very same method of argument, and sort of proof, which Great Britain now alledges, and which the French commissaries now condemn as foreign to the question a.

The French commissaries threw out several insinuations, as if the King of Great Britain had no intention to come to any accommodation, for the mutual advantage of the subjects of the two crowns, inhabiting countries so distant from their respective sovereigns: And that this claim, founded on the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht, discovers an inclination in Great Britain to open a way to Canada, that she might seize it on the first favourable opportunity.

The fincerity of his Britannic Majesty in this negociation.

The English commissaries reply, "That his "Britannic Majesty was fully sensible of the expediency and extreme satisfaction, that would 
arise to the subjects of both crowns in North 
America, from a final ascertainment of the 
boundaries of their respective dominions: that 
he was also extremely desirous of strengthening 
and perpetuating the present peace and good

correspondence, which subsists between the two " crowns, and of promoting, by every method in " his power, the amicable fettlement of every "matter in dispute between them; but then the "more important that interest is which his Ma-" jesty hath in this question, and the more re-" mote his subjects in America are from his per-" fon, and the immediate residence of his govern-"ment, the more necessary does he judge it to be, to maintain his actual rights, and to pre-" ferve his just dominions in America intire, for "the encouragement, advantage and fecurity of "those very subjects; and that his Majesty had " given the strongest proofs of his willingness to "take proper measures in concert with France for " adjusting all differences, when he acceded to the " prefent negociation, and continued to act, to "that moment, according to the strictest justice "and candour, when he claimed no other posses-" sion of Nova Scotia or Acadia in consequence of " the treaty of Utrecht, than the crown of France " actually enjoyed by the treaty of Breda, making "the claim of France in consequence of that trea-"ty, and the possession of France in consequence " of that disputed claim, the rule and boundary " of his own pretentions b."

As to the infinuation of Great Britain's hostile Had no defigns against Canada; the commissaries "ap-hostile defign against " peal to the late counsels and measures of Great Canada. "Britain, and the part she has acted both in Eu-

" rope and America: in many instances the pro-

" tectress, but in none the invader of the rights " of other nations, and who has never, at any junc-" ture, or in any instance broke in upon the posses-" fions of France in America, contrary to the laws " of peace, and to the faith of strictest alliance and " friendship." And then very sensibly and justly observe, "That the rights of one nation are not to be determined upon the apprehensions of another: nor is Great Britain to have her possession " of Nova Scotia or Acadia narrowed or pared "down to the idea of the French commissaries, and " reduced to the fouth-east part of the peninsula, " merely because, if fully possessed and improved by "Great Britain, it might give umbrage to the " French fettlements in Canada. Which would be " to make Great Britain to hold this country by a " ftill more precarious and barren tenure, not even 66 by the treaty of Utrecht, as the French commissa-" ries themselves explain it; but by the comparative " ftate of the French colonies in North America "."

The French commissaries charge the English of having possessed themselves of Acadia in 1629 and 1654, times of full peace. This, say the English commissaries, was owing to a want of attention to the history of those times. For, England declared war against France in 1627, which continued to the year 1632. And it is well known that Cromwell treated France, and looked upon her, as an open enemy from the year 1652 to 1655.

c See Memorials, vol. I. page 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 259. See also Lettre de M. d'Estrades, vol. I. p. 289. Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, p. 352.

The first proof produced against our claim is A. D. from certain maps of Acadia; which the French commissaries presume to say are all on their side. Answer to In reply, it is urged, that this kind of evidence, frommaps. in the case before us, is very inconclusive: but nevertheless that it may be proper, ad rem, to observe, that the most ancient map extant of this territory, published by Escarbot in 1609, does not so much as mention the name of Acadia; therefore can't be produced in evidence by either party. But the map, which followed this in 1625, printed in the fourth volume of Purchase's Pilgrim; and is the first ancient map that has the marks of knowledge and correctness in it, gives both the boundaries of every territory within it, and the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, in every particular, contrary to the description of that country by the French commissaries: and therefore confutes the fystem of the court of France, so far as the authority of one map goes.

Having supported this part of their reply by the maps of Laet in 1633, under the title of India occidentalis Tabula Generalise: Of Berry, intitled, North America divided into its principal parts, in King Charles Il's time: Of Morden's English Empire on the Continent of Americas, in the same reign: Of Thornton, intitled, A New Chart of the Sea Coast of Newfoundland, New Scotland, New England, &c. h; which coincide with the

See Memorials, Vol. I. p. 269.
Ibid.

f Ibid. p. 271.

ancient limits demanded by Great Britain; and by four French maps i published by De Liste, Bellen and d'Anville, which confine the country of New France to the north side of the river of Canada, and mark out the limits between Acadia and New England to the westward according to the claim of his Britannic Majesty; and the fourth by Champlain, which carries Acadia beyond the Peninsula, and makes Pantagoet the western boundary of it; they further fay, That Hennepin in his travels marks Acadia on the continent, between New England and the river St. Lawrence: that de Fer k, the French King's geographer, in his Atlas, makes Nova Scotia and Acadia one and the same country; extending it to Canada northwards, and affigning the same extent of limits to them both; terminating the western limit at the river Pantagoet: and that Gerdreville in his Atlas makes Acadia to extend from the Kennebec to the island called Persée at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence m.

Then having shewn what little authority the maps of Mr. Halley, Popple and Salmon are of n, the English commissaries conclude this part of the argument with the following observation : That the more ancient maps absolutely contradict and destroy the idea, which the French commissaries have of the ancient limits of Acadia: that there

1 Ibid. 0 Ibid. p. 281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Memorials, Vol. I. p. 271. k A. D. 1705.

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 1719. m See Memorials, Vol. I. p. 275.

is not a fingle map to be found, not even amongst the French maps, which does not expresly confute the main and essential part of the system of the French commissaries: That though they do not exactly mark out the ancient limits, as the commissaries of his Britannic Majesty contend for them, yet every map is a diffinct and clear answer to the opinion of the French commissaries, as founded upon maps; because every map differs from their description of the ancient limits, in fome effential point, and all of them are inconfiftent and irreconcileable with their general idea of them: - That many ancient and modern maps in different countries support the claim of his Britannic Majesty, but no one can be found to authenticate in any degree, or in any one particular, the pretentions of France p.

The fecond authority, produced by the French commissaries in this case, is taken from Denys, Champlain and Escarbot, historians of North America.

To which the English commissaries reply with From hisa previous observation, That their adversaries have torians. cited these authors in a very uncommon and broken manner; and that the proof pretended to be drawn from these authors are founded upon general observations on their title pages, on marginal notes found in their works, and incorporated into them by the French commissaries; frequently on single expressions detached from the context, A. D.

and fometimes upon the mere omissions of the name 1753. of Acadia, rather than upon the full and entire fense of any passage in these writers fully and satisfactorily cited. By which means books may be made to carry any appearance q. They then proceed and examine each of these historians by taking every paragraph in question entire; and having gone through each author distinctly, they fum up their evidence in these words: " We have " now examined all the French historians cited " by his most Christian Majesty's commissaries to " establish their system of the ancient limits of "Acadia, and we think ourselves authorised to fay, from this view of their feveral works, "that the Sieur Deny's commission in 1654, and that clause in particular which grants him the " fedentary fishery on the coast of Acadia, marks out the fouthern bank of the river St. Law-" rence, as the northern boundary of Acadia, " and makes it extend as far to the west as New " England: That Mr. Champlain agrees with "the Sieur Denys in the northern limit of Acadia, " and makes Sainte Croix within the western limit of it: That Escarbot never assigns any limits to Acadia, or even mentions the country: And that, therefore, one of the only two histo-" rians, from which any evidence at all can be collected, is a very full evidence in support of " the whole claim of Great Britain; and the other

<sup>&</sup>quot; by affigning the fouthern bank of the river St. 9 See Memorials, Vol. I. p. 283. r Ibid. p. 285.

Lawrence, as the northern, is authority also for A.D. "the western boundary we assign as far as Ste. 1753.

" Croix; and both confute the affertion of the

" French commissaries, That these writers con-

" fined the bounds of Acadia to the Peninfula s."

The French commissaries have recourse to a proof founded upon this circumstance, That several parts of the country, which his Britannic Majesty claims as Acadia, have always passed under distinct names t. A method of proof calculated rather to confound than to confute: however the English commissaries put even this prolix and confused kind of evidence upon a thorough and distinct examination: and having refuted each particular, conclude, "That there is no real weight. in that argument founded upon the particular, names, which particular parts of Acadia have "borne different from the general country: And "that New France has from very early times " been the name given by the French writers, the " people and crown of France, to the French " territory in North America "."

Then they enter into a particular examination into the state of the history of Acadia, and the revolutions w it underwent from the year 1632, the date of the treaty of St. Germains, to the treaty of Utrecht: and upon the whole conclude their reply in this fummary way: "All the evidence The fum brought by the French commissaries, in support of this argument.

<sup>\*</sup> See Memorials, Vol. I. p. 325, &c. 1 Ibid. from " Ibid. p. 395. p. 327 to p. 399.

w Ibid. p. 399 to 521.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

94

" of their system, has been demonstrated to be A. D. 3753. "destructive to it, and applied in the strongest " manner in maintenance of the claim of Great Britain. And it appears upon the whole, that " the King of Great Britain, bringing no evi-" dences from fources, that are not authentic, is " fupported in his claim by every transaction be-"tween the two crowns for above a century past; " and that in claiming the country from Pantagoet to the river St. Lawrence, as Acadia, his Bri-" tannic Majesty demands no more than what "France has always received under that name in the most general restitution; than what, if the " ancient limits of it be determined upon maps, " historians, the uniform decisions of the two crowns for above one hundred years together, " and upon the declarations of the crown of France at the treaty of Utrecht itself, the " crown of France must in all equity and fairness " acknowledge to be a just claim upon the words

of cession in the treaty of Utrecht." The French commissaries, on the contrary, " are equally incapable of supporting their system " and their limits upon the maps and historians "they cite, and upon the proceedings of govern-" ment, treaties and better evidence produced by " us. They dare not abide by any possession ever "taken by France in consequence of the most " general words of restitution; nor by the pos-" session of France for above an hundred year, " fucceffively; nor by any declarations made by "the crown of France at the time of the treaty cc of of Utrecht; but fetting aside all these evidences, " taken from times of certainty and preciseness, "they are obliged to have recourfe to maps and " historians of less certainty in point of time, and 66 less preciseness from the nature of them: both "which, when they come to be strictly examined, absolutely destroy their system, fall in with the

" fense and operation of the better and latter evi-

"dence of treaties and transactions between the

two crowns, and become fo many auxiliary

" proofs in support of the claim of the crown of

" Great Britain x."

Here rested the argument upon the claim of his Britannic Majesty upon Acadia or Nova Scotia. according to the ancient boundaries of that country, ceded by France in the treaty of Utrecht, and demanded by the English commissaries, as set forth in the premises y.

It was the latter part of the year 1754 before the French re-French commissaries delivered their reply to the British me-British memorial concerning the title of his Bri- morial contannic Majesty to the island of St. Lucia: spun Lucia. out to fuch a length, as to prevent the amicable decision of that point by a clear and just examination of the matter it contained; for the French court had now so far entered into hostile measures, to defeat the strength of the most convincing evidence in favour of his Britannic Majesty's right, that the British commissaries were obliged to break up the conferences, and to return home,

<sup>\*</sup> See Memorials, Vol. I. p. 541, &c. y See p. 50. before

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

before they had time to examine and confute the A. D. 1753. pretended proofs of his most Christian Majesty's claim; in which the French had employed the like arts of chicanery and cavil, as you have feen in the case of Nova Scotia or Acadia.

Their proceedings in North America on the Ohio.

96

M. du Quesne, who succeeded M. de la Jonquiere in the government of Canada, being charged with an immediate and vigorous execution of the expedition to subdue the country on the Ohio to the crown of France, detached the Sieur de St. Pierre early in the year 1753 with a fufficient force to make a lodgment and to maintain his ground on the river Beuf, or Beef river, till reinforced: which St. Pierre performed; and he built a fort upon the spot in honour to M. du Quesne. Such a disagreeable neighbour soon notified his accession by the outrages committed on the back fettlements of Virginia and Philadelphia, and more particularly by cutting off the Indian trade, and feizing upon our traders and their goods.

A meffenger difpatched nia to the French at river de Beuf.

In October 1753 the governor and council of Virginia, having orders from England to repel force by force, dispatched a messenger to examine the territory behind their fettlement, and to exfrom Virgi- plore the French encroachments and operations; who brought back an account, That there had been 1500 regular forces sent to those parts from Old France: That the French had built three forts upon the Ohio, on the lands lately granted to certain gentlemen in London, by the crown. That, as the French met with no opposition, they were refolved to maintain their ground. This advice

1753.

advice concluded with observing, That unless means were used to drive off the French, and likewise forts built on the banks of the Missisppi by the English, the French would fortify themfelves in fuch a manner, that it would not be in our power to expel them.

This report made by the provincial messenger appeared of such an interesting nature to the crown of Great Britain, that Governor Dinwiddie immediately 2 fent the following letter by Major George Washington to the French commander in chief, at the fort on the river Du Beuf.

SIR,

THE lands upon the river Ohio, in the west-Governor ern parts of the colony of Virginia, are so no-Dinwid-die's letter toriously known to be the property of the crown to the of Great Britain, that it is a matter of equal con-commandcern and surprize to me, to hear that a body of er on the French forces are erecting fortreffes and making Beuf. fettlements upon that river, within his Majesty's dominions. The many and repeated complaints I have received of these acts of bostility lay me under the necessity of sending, in the name of the King my master, the bearer hereof, George Washington, Esq; one of the adjutants general of the forces of this dominion; to complain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations, and the treaties now fub-

2 October 31, 1753.

A. D.

fifting between the two crowns. If these facts be true, and you think fit to justify your proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me, by whose authority and instructions, you have lately marched from Canada with an armed force, and invaded the King of Great Britain's territories, in the manner complained of; that according to the purport and resolution of your answer, I may act agreeably to the commission I am honoured with, from the King my master. However, Sir, in obedience to my instructions, it becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure; and that you would forbear profecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King, &c.

## ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Major Washington's instructions and enquiries inhis journeyto river du Bcuf.

Mr. Washington was also instructed to make a further and diligent enquiry into the French encroachments and designs. For this purpose, it appears by his journal on this occasion, that he travelled by the way of Fredericksburg, Winchester and Will's Creek, and thence to the mouth of Turtle Creek on the river Monongahela; where he was informed of the death of the French general in chief in those parts; and of their troops returning into winter quarters. From thence he passed to the forts of the Chio, about 10 miles distant, where the Monongahela is joined

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It being the 22d of November...

by the river Alligany. On the 25th of November he met with a few French deserters, from whom he got intelligence, That they were part of 100 men, fent with eight canoes laden with provisions, from New Orleans to Kuskaskas, with a promise of being joined there by an equal number of French from the Missisppi, to convey them and their stores up the river. That the French had built four small forts, between New Orleans and the Black islands, garrisoned by 30 or 40 men, and a few small pieces of cannon in each. That at New Orleans, near the mouth of the Missippi, there were 35 companies of 40 men each, with a fort of fix carriage guns: And at Black islands b, a fort with eight guns, and feveral companies. They also acquainted him, that there was a small pallifadoed fort on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Ouabach or Wabash c; a river, which heads near the west end of Lake Erie, by which the French on the Missisppi, communicate with those on the Lakes.

With these deserters was an Indian trader, named Brown, who informed him further, that at Shanaoh town, he had met with a King of the Six Nations, from whom he learnt, That the French had built a fort on Lake Erie, and another on a small Lake, about 15 miles asunder, with a large waggon road between. That three nations of French Indians had taken the hatchet against the English. That the French had called all the

b Distant 130 leagues above the mouth of the Ohio.

<sup>·</sup> About 60 leagues from the Missifippi.

A. D. Mingo's, Delawares, &c. together, and told them, that they had intended to be down the river, this fall, but were obliged by the inclemency of the feafon, to defer their march till the fpring, when they would certainly come with a much greater number; and threatning them with military execution, in case they would not remain neuter: for that they expected to fight the English three years, and did not doubt of success, and of conquering all the lands on the Ohio.

Major Washington's arrival at the French station, and reception.

Mr. Washington arrived at Verango, on the 4th day of December 1753, an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek on the Ohio; where he found the French colours hoisted at a house, from which they had driven Mr. John Frazer, an English subject; and met with Captain Joncaire, who was the French commander of the Ohio; who received him courteously, and referred him to the general officer of the next fort with his letter. However Joncaire kept him at supper, and after the glass had passed about chearfully, the French captain told him, That it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio: And by G-- they would do it: For, though they were fenfible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions to be too flow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs; grounding the right of France to the river, upon a discovery made by one La Salle, about 60 years before: And agreeable to this conversation, they had feized all ftraggling English traders, and had orders to make every person prisoner, who attempted

attempted to trade on the Ohio; or the waters of it: and now the commandant returned the following answer to the governor's letter:

A. D. 1753.

-SIR,

ASI have the honour of commanding here in The French chief, Mr. Washington delivered to me the commandletter, which you wrote to the commander of the er's answer to Gov. French troops. I should have been glad that Dinwidyou had given him orders, or that he had been die's letter. inclined, to proceed to Canada to fee our General: to whom it better belongs, than to me, to fet forth the evidence and the reality of the rights of the King my mafter, to the lands fituate along the river Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the King of Great Britain thereto. I shall transmit your letter to the Marquis Duguifne, or du Quefne. His answer will be a law to me. And if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be affured, I shall not fail to dispatch it forthwith to you. As to the fummons you fend me to retire; I do not think myfelf obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general; and, I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt one moment, but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution, which can be expected from the best officer. I do not know that in the progress of this campaign, any thing has passed, which can be reputed an act of hostility, or, that is contrary to the treaties, which subfift between the two crowns; the continuation

A. D. 1753. whereof as much interesteth, and is as pleasing to us, as the English. Had you been pleased, Sir, to have descended to particularize the sacts, which occasioned your complaint, I should have had the honour of answering you in the fullest, and, I ampersuaded, the most satisfactory manner, &c.

These hostilities were also transmitted to the

From the Fort Sur la Riviere au Beuf, December 15, 1753.

Legardeur de St. Piere.

British court complains of these hostilities, without effect.

court of Great Britain: and the complaints against them were exhibited in a memorial by the Earl of Albemarle the British minister at Paris: but without any other effect, than delusive promises to curb and withdraw the causes of those complaints. And the British ministry still gave so much ear to those vain pretences and excuses, that they prevented his Majesty, at the opening of the parliament on the 15th of November 1753, from taking proper notice of the French conduct towards his American subjects; and permitted him to declare, "That the continuance of the public tran-"quillity, and the general state of Europe re-"mained upon the same sooting, as when they last parted; and assured them of his steadiness

King's speech.

"ferve to his people the bleffings of peace."

The governor of Virginia was convinced otherwise; and endeavoured, with a true British spirit, to prevail with the Virginians, and his neighbouring governments, to arm in their own defence, and to erect a fort on the Forks, to curb the

" in pursuing the most effectual measures to pre-

A. D. 1754.

1

French

French encroachments, and to defend the British traders and property. But for want of a national countenance and fuccour, this scheme failed, and, instead of deterring the French from their designs, it ferved only as a means to provide them with arguments to make the native Indians jealous, and to oppose the English.

Governor Dinwiddie prevailed at last with his Colonei Washing-province to raise 10,000l. and 300 men, to pro-ton's extect their frontiers: and the command of this pedition. small regiment was given to Mr. Washington, a brave and prudent young gentleman, who began his march on the 1st of May, and on the 28th came up with a party of the French, took 20 prisoners, killed ten, and put the rest to flight. Having learnt from his prisoners the real strength of the enemy in those parts, under the command of the Sieur de Contrecœur, in chief on the Ohio, and informed by his fcouts, that this commander in chief, informed of the advantage he had gained over the French party on the 28th, had fent the Sieur de Villers with a 1000 French, and 200 Indians, to attack him, and dislodge him from a little fort he had run up, called Fort Necessity, as a temporary defence, and cover for his handful of men, till fome troops, which had been promifed to follow him from New York, might arrive; he made the best dispositions possible for one in his circumstances, to maintain his post, and to beat off an enemy, if any fuch should attempt to disturb him. Which came to pass on the 3d of July, when the body of 1200 men above mentioned marched up to the attack of his little camp and fort. The English were by this time, by one casualty or other, reduced to 200; but they suftained the enemy's whole force for upwards of three hours, and laid 200 of the enemy dead in the field. So much resolution greatly discouraged the French; and put their general upon some less dangerous method of dislodging the English. Thus, at the time Colonel Washington expected nothing better than to be furrounded and put to the fword, the enemy called a parley; which ended in an honourable capitulation for the brave remains of our provincial troops; of whom 30 had been killed, and 70 wounded: The enemy had 300 killed and wounded. For our men behaved with fingular intrepidity, determined not to ask for quarter, but with their bayonets screwed,

to fell their lives as dear as they possibly could.

Capitulates.

Hiscapitu-

The capitulation was, That each fide should retire without molestation; and that the English army should march away with all the honours of war, and with stores, effects and baggage. But, after Colonel Washington had marched out of Fort Necessity, the Indians, whom the French had seduced from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, attacked them, plundered their baggage, and made a great slaughter of the men, cattle and horses. And, when the French commander was applied to, he pretended to be extremely concerned, drew his sword, and ran amongst the Indians; but, instead of using means to stop their breach of the capitulation, he encouraged

couraged them to plunder and murder the A. D. English. 1754.

The importance and diffress of our provinces at this time, and the great neglect there was somewhere in England, to relieve and to support them against those violent measures, which the French executed with impunity, are well described in the following letter, wrote about this time, from Williamsburg to a merchant in London.

SIR.

N the name of curiofity, what are you about in The im-England? If we might judge of you by the and miferrules of good sense and policy, I should imagine able state of the coyou to be all in the hurry of preparation for war: lonies. for you will not furely fuffer the most notorious and repeated violations of rights and treaties to go unrevenged. The French have long fince, commenced actual hostilities against us here; have not only entered upon our territories manu forti, but have taken from us our forts, and strong holds, fuch as they were. In short, all our colonies are in the utmost hurry and confusion from the approaching danger. By this fituation of our affairs, you, gentlemen merchants of the mother country, must expect to be in great measure affected with us: For, whilst we are sending our youth, to the repulsion of the enemy, and recovery of our frontiers, cultivation must be, and is, neglected: And without a full attention to our produce, how shall we be able to make the proper returns to England. What will really be the con-

A. D. fequences of these proceedings, God only knows.

But certainly you ought not to be indifferent, as to the danger, because at present it is at a distance from you.

It requires not a very great degree of knowledge and judgment to comprehend, that on the fecurity and prosperity of the colonies, depends the present flourishing condition of the mother country. The immense quantities of goods, which are annually imported into America from England, to the amount of some millions sterling; the greater number of shipping and hands employed in the exportation of them, make up, I doubt not, the most considerable part of your present trading interest: and by manufacturing the materials for this particular commerce, what number of individuals, nay families, are wholly supported in England! -- In short, Great Britain is chiefly indebted to us, that she makes so rich, so potent and respectable a figure in Europe. A truth that, however evident, we have reason to suppose, from the tenor of their past conduct, has not been so obvious to your ministry; or, in other words, to those in power, whose immediate duty it was to inform themselves concerning it.

It does not escape our notice here, how ready and generous England has been, and still is, to grant subsidies upon every paltry alarm, to some petty German Princes, to the tune of some hundreds of thousands, merely for the sake of preserving, as the ministers call it, the balance of power. How much has been done to preserve

the balance of trade, or even our undoubted rights in America, let them declare, who know it. In short, and to tell the plain truth in a few words, we are looked upon by your great men, as a subject too low for their sublime politics; by your country 'squires and coxcombs, as a set of transports and vagabonds; and by your boards, as unruly children, that want more to be corrected than encouraged. Thanks to their wisdom in taking so little care of our breeding!

It has been for many years past, that the French have uninterruptedly been forming a force on the back of our colonies, from the Missisppi to Canada, by gaining over the Indians to their interest and erecting forts at proper distances, which might open a ready communication from north to fouth. They had a triple policy in this. (1.) That by fecuring the alliance of the Indians, they might engross the peltry and fur-trade. (2.) That by fuch a chain of forts and strength, they might not only prevent the extension of our colonies, but even straiten and distress them at pleasure. (3.) That by fuch an establishment and possession, they might be able to preserve the back parts of America by negociation and treaty, whenever our ministry might be provoked to look into our rights; and take up the refolution of calling them to account for fuch a procedure.

As far as my observation has gone, it has ever been through negligence and negociation, that Britain has, first, permitted her proper rights and A. D.

advantages to become disputable, by suffering them to be invaded, without an immediate proper resentment: and after she has come to the resolution of afferting them, she has too easily condescended to a treaty; and at length been contented, or made fatisfied, with a division. It is this kind of conduct, that I doubt we shall have more reason to be afraid of, hereafter, than we feem to be at prefent, least the ministry should not grant us a fubfidy. For, after all the inconveniences which we must inevitably go through, after the great expences and loffes we must actually fuffer, as well in lives, as in matters of property, before we shall be able to regain our forts and frontiers; if there should be any composition made with the French, as to the lands on this fide the Missifippi, it will be only protracting the evil day, and prove to be fo much blood and treasure expended to little purpose. For how can our colonies be ever safe with a French enemy on their backs? Or, whilst such a danger is hanging over them, what fecurity can be given to the industrious, that they shall reap the fruit of their own labours?

To conclude, we defire to be confidered only as a petty German Prince, with relation to your liberality; but with respect to the rights of the British empire, and the rights of industrious subjects, we hope to be empowered and encouraged not only to affert, but to recover, to defend and enjoy them in their full and just extent, in spite

of all the power, perfidy and stratagem of the French, and even of the devil himself, should he think fit to join them. I am, Sir, &c. &c.

A. D. 1754.

This feafonable and fenfible representation, of the danger and importance of our American plantations, deserves a serious attention, as it contains many interesting remarks concerning the value of those provinces to the mother-country; the means of preserving and improving them, and the hazard this nation runs by every neglect to drive off encroachments, and by any composition or divifion of the lands behind those settlements; which were daily extending their limits, especially into the fertile and delightful country of the Twightees, inhabiting the plains on the Ohio; by a company The Ohio of merchants at London; who have obtained a company grant from the crown to settle that tract of land with an under the protection of Great Britain, with an ex-exclusive clusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the banks of the river Ohio.

This grant was made foon after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: and it no fooner transpired, than Its effects the French governor of Canada wrote to the go- in regard vernors of New York and Pensylvania; giving French. them to understand, "That as the English inland "traders had encroached on the French territories "and privileges, by trading with the Indians un-"der the protection of his Sovereign, he would " feize them, wherever they should be found, if "they did not immediately defift from that illicit " practice." This menace not being regarded,

[[A. D. 1754. he next year caused three British traders to be arrested. Their effects were confiscated, and their persons sent, by the way of Quebec, to Rochelle in Old France, and there imprisoned: As already related more at large <sup>c</sup>.

In regard to the Indians.

This grant produced another unlucky effect 4: The new company not only neglected to gain the consent of the native Indians, on the back of the royal patent, which might have been done at a trifling expence, and what has been usual on like occasions; but they sent a person to survey their country in fuch a dark mysterious manner, as gave a people, naturally jealous, too much room for fuspicion and discontent. Which disposed them to receive any overtures, with more willingness from the French, offered by way of protection. Besides, the jealousy of the Indians was greatly heightened by the traders from Pensylvania and Virginia, who foresaw that they themselves would be great losers, in that valuable branch of traffic, from which they were jealous of being excluded by the royal privilege of a new monopoly.

French
court's behaviour at
the complaint about Fort
Necessity.

The action at Fort Necessity being transmitted to London; it was represented by the British Ambassador at Paris, as an open violation of the peace. Which did not meet with the same degree of respect, as on former occasions of complaint; the time now nearly approaching for the French to pull off the mask of moderation and peace. For, instead of disavowing the conduct

of their American commander, as they had done in the feveral cases of Caylus and Jonquiere, orders were expedited for reinforcements of men and ammunition, to perfect their pernicious designs on that continent.

A. D. 1754.

As this could not be concealed from the British Instrucministry, which was known to all the people, the to our conation murmured greatly at their supine inactivity; lonies to whose only care of that vast and important conti- one confenent amounted to no more than fome cautionary deracy. instructions transmitted to the governors of our provinces; and for them to unite in their own defence. The instructions ran thus: "It is his Majesty's command, that in case the subjects of any foreign Prince should presume to make any encroachments in the limits of his Majesty's dominions, or to erect forts on his Majesty's lands, or to commit any other act of hostility; and should, upon a requisition made to them to desist from such proceedings, persist in them, they should draw forth the armed force of their respective provinces, and use their best endeavours to repel force by force," The governors were likewise ordered to form a political confederacy. And the governor of New York was appointed to confer with the Chiefs of the Indians, and by presents, and other means, to keep them steady to the British interest.

This, to be fure, was a defirable union, and a How they measure that, if effectually executed, might have were frusanswered the intention of preventing further encroachments; and, fuch is the bad policy of British subjects, that they, by their own contentions,

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D.

112

frequently frustrate the best concerted measures. Thus, when unanimity and activity were most neceffary, the national interest was neglected, and obliged to give way to the religious and political disputes of the provinces. The assembly of Virginia quarrelled with Dinwiddie their governor, about a fee he demanded for every grant he should pass for land. The Pensylvanian representatives wasted their time in vain deliberations and violent disputes with their proprietaries, while the enemy invaded their frontiers, and fortified themfelves. New York was divided into factions by fome men of property, but of turbulent spirits, who exerted their influence to diffress the views and defigns of government. A congress was appointed and held for that purpose at Albany, by commissioners from all the British provinces. But few Indians attended, and they behaved with fo much indifference, that, though they accepted of the presents, renewed treaties, and demanded aid to drive the French from their territories, it appeared plainly, that they were gained over to the French interest, and persuaded that the English would be obliged to deliver up their country to the French. Though they feemed to be very well pleased with their presents, which were much more confiderable than ever had been known, they in their speech to Mr. Lancey, lieutenant-governor of New York, spoke with great warmth, feverely blaming the neglect and indolence of our nation, and in praise of the French for their diligence and care to fortify and maintain

Speech of the Indians.

1754.

their garrisons, while the English left both their fettlements and their allies exposed to invasion and destruction. They particularly recriminated upon us the defertion of our fort at Saraghtoga, in the last war; represented the defenceless condition of our frontier city of Albany; and concluded with feafonable and rational advice to defend ourselves, and to encounter the French with more spirit and conduct for the future.

In this congress a plan was concerted, after General ulong debates, for executing that falutary measure nionagreed upon. of a general union of the British colonies, and for creating a common fund to defray all military expences: and it was agreed to lay this plan before his Majesty and council; but, this was never carried into execution.

During the sitting of this congress Mr. Shirley, Fortsbuilt, governor of Massachuset's bay, prevailed with the &c.by New York. affembly of his province to build a strong fort near the head of the river Kennebeck, and to provide 800 men for that service, to protect the province from the incursions of the French and Indians. In pursuance of this resolution of the asfembly, Mr. Shirley, in the fummer 1754, marched with the troops to the eastern frontier, and, with the consent of the Indians, built Fort Western, about 37 miles from the mouth of the river Kennebeck, and Fort Hallifax about 54 miles down the same river; of which proceedings when governor Shirley transmitted an account to the ministry at home, he also represented the imminent danger to which Nova Scotia was exposed from

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1754. Remonstrances about Nova Scotia.

114

the encroachments and fortifications of the French, which had extended themselves to the very neighbourhood of the English settlements; and from any sudden attack, which might easily be formed against that province from St. John's island, Cape Breton, and Canada.

Approved of.

This remonstrance seemed to carry some weight: for Governor Shirley received not only the approbation of his Majesty and council for the service he had performed on the river Kennebeck, but a command also to concert measures with Mr. Lawrence, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of the province of Nova Scotia, for attacking the French forts in that province. But nothing could be done in this service till the next summer; except raising 2000 men in New England, and receiving 2000 stands of arms from London.

General Braddock appointed. It was also resolved in his Majesty's council to appoint a generalissimo for the service of North America. This command was conferred on General Braddock, whose courage and military discipline had recommended him, as of ability for so great a trust. At the same time orders were issued for raising two regiments, of two battalions each, in North America, to be commanded by Sir William Pepperel and Mr. Shirley, and for the embarkation of Halklet's and Dunbar's regiments of soot, to sail with all expedition with General Braddock for Virginia; but they did not get from Ireland till the 14th of January, 1755.

Though

1754.

Though it was not possible to fix upon any plan to unite the provinces effectually, for their common fafety under these perilous circumstances, the governors and principal planters repeated their representations to the ministers in England, of the bad state of their respective colonies, assuring them that they must inevitably fall a prey to the French invaders, if not speedily and powerfully affisted by their mother country. And posterity will review with aftonishment the negligent remisness with which the British ministry suffered the cause of those complaints to continue, and those valuable territories, which make fo confiderable a part of the British dominions, to remain in so exposed and defenceless a condition. All that can be urged to exculpate fuch a neglect, is the fupposition, That the provinces shad a sufficient internal strength to defend themselves. But, this is a fallacious way of reasoning: for, though it be allowed, that the inhabitants of the British empire on the continent of North America, exceeded the French and Canadians, at the rate of ten to one, it ought to be remembered also, that, while these provinces or governments continue in feparate states, with feparate interests, without any connection with one another, their strength is divided, and might, one after another, fall a prey to the combined force of the French, Canadians and Indians. However, though the provinces might have done more at this time for their common defence, than they did, that is no excuse for the British ministry, who ought either to have

A. D. compelled them to fubmit to fuch impositions, as 1754. the legislature might find necessary for their mutual interest in time of danger and war: or, to have protected them with regular forces fent from Europe.

In this they would only have imitated the enemy, who, by every ship to Louisbourg and Quebec, kept continually fending regular troops to encourage and strengthen their subjects and allies. By these Colonel Washington was defeated; and with the same force the French improved that defeat, by feizing all that fine country on the Ohio, and its branches.

However, Spain feemed fo much inclined, (upon

the change of her ministry, this year, when the Marquis de la Ensenada was forced to resign to The pacific Mr. Wall) to maintain the peace with England, temper of the court of Spain.

that the disputes about our cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras were amicably adjusted between the faid Mr. Wall, the Spanish Prime Minister,

Mr. Pitt's regard to Spain defended.

and Sir Benjamin Keene, the British ambassador. No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Pitt did afterconduct in wards treat the Franco-Spanish memorial, in which the cutting of logwood was pretended, amongst other grievances, to be a principal article to obftruct the pacific negociations, then carrying on, between Great Britain and France, with the indignity fuch an after-claim deferved. And he had good reason, from such a change in the conduct of Mr. Wall towards Great Britain, to believe him frenchified, and to be feeking an opportunity to join the enemy of our country, under

the specious pretence of maintaining the rights of A. D. 1754. his own nation, in a point they had already given up and adjusted.

This year had not yet produced any remark-Affairs in able alteration in the affairs of the northern powers, the north. fo as to affect the interest of Great Britain; though it was very certain, that no court in Europe, ever so obscure, had escaped the attention of France, and being tempted to adhere to her interest, either by promifes, threats, or subsidies: And at the fame time reprefenting the complaints and meafures of Great Britain, against their encroachments in America, in a most disadvantageous light.

In the East Indies, M. Dupleix, assuming the Assairs in port and character of an eastern monarch, under Indies. his forged commission from the Mogul, continued the war, with all his power, to distress the British interest. But notwithstanding his riches, superiority of men, and connections with the natives, he could not, all this time, strike any effectual froke against our settlements; but, on the contrary, was obliged to fubmit to many disappointments and rebuffs from the conduct and courage of our troops.

The British ministry, during this summer (1754) had managed the national affairs without the help of a primier, which place was last vacated by the Death of Right Hon. Henry Pelham, Esq; brother to the the Right Hon. Hen-Duke of Newcastle, who departed this life in the ry Pelham beginning of March. And his Majesty, on the Esq. fourteenth day of November opened the parliament with informing them, "That the general

ffate

A. D. 1754.

King's tpeech.

"ftate of Europe had undergone very little alter"ation fince their last meeting: That he had
"lately received the strongest assurances from
this good brother the King of Spain of friendfhip and confidence: That his principal view
should be to strengthen the foundation, and
fecure the duration of a general peace; to improve the present advantages of it for promoting the trade of his good subjects, and protessing
those possessions [North America] which constituted one great source of their wealth and

Remarks

" commerce."

Supplies granted.

Though his Majesty avoided mentioning the particular encroachments of France, in order to prevent debates upon the address, it is evident that he faid enough to convince the nation, of his refolution to humble the infolence of that perfidious neighbour. Thus also was he understood by the parliament, which unanimously granted for the fervice of the enfuing year 4,073,729 l. of which one million was expresly given for augmenting the forces by sea and land. They also voted 32,000 l. fubfidy to the King of Poland, and 20,000 l. to the Elector of Bavaria, on a supposition that such subsidiary allies were necessary to defeat, or prevent, any after game, to be played by France against Hanover, should that perfidious nation drive Great Britain to an open rupture.

Behaviour of the French on this occafion. Such public acts, as these, convinced the French, that the English were in good earnest to exert themselves against their encroachments in America:

And,

1754-

And, as they, with all their diligence, were not in a condition to complete their intended armaments, by fea and land, for that fervice, to be time enough to fecure their posts on that continent, before the British forces might arrive at the places of their destination, they took great pains, once more, to amuse the British ministry with general declarations, that no hostility was intended, nor the least infringement of the treaty: which declarations were communicated to the court of London, by the Marquis de Mirepoix, their own ambaffador at the British court, the Earl of Albemarle being lately dead at Paris.

Mirepoix, on this occasion, played the part of The artful the Archbishop of Ambrune, the French ambas-conduct of fador at Madrid, in the last century. The French ambassa-King, by the Pyrenean treaty, had guaranteed poix. all the Spanish dominions, to the successor of the King, upon the throne; the King of Spain, with whom that treaty was made, dies within feven years, and leaves a fon and successor, a minor, on the throne, whose fister had been married to the Dauphin, with the express condition of her renunciation of all right and title to any part of her father's dominions, together with the confent, approbation and ratification of the French King and her husband. But Lewis XIV. in defiance of renunciations, ratifications, treaties, and every . other motive for maintaining good faith, kept up a powerful army, and as foon as he heard of the King's death, made the necessary dispositions to feize upon Flanders, a part of the Spanish mon-

A.D. 1754. archy, and to add that fine country to his own dominions. These preparations and intentions reaching the court of Spain, the Queen mother questioned his Grace the archbishop; who, either deceived by his instructions from France, or prepared to keep the Spanish court in a ruinous state of security and inactivity, by the strongest assurances of his royal master's resolution to maintain the faith of the late treaty, and not to invade any part of the Spanish dominions, during the young King's minority, continued, with the most folemn protestations of fincerity and friendship, to amuse the Queen mother and her ministry, till the very news of the French having invaded Flanders arrived at the court of Madrid. Thus the Marquis de Mirepoix was ordered, (whether in the fecret or not) to amuse the British court, and, if possible, to delay, or flacken their armaments for America, till the French had fufficiently strengthened their usurpations from Europe.

It is certain Mirepoix acted his part extremely well: even so far, as when facts were daily alledged to confront his pacific declarations, this thorough-paced politician pretended to be flruck with aftonishment and chagrin, and to repair to Verfailles to upbraid that ministry for making him further in- the tool of their diffimulation.

Repairs to his own court for Aructions. Remarks thereon.

This conduct of the French ambassador, has been urged in favour of his candour and fincerity: But, if we consider it with all its circumstances, and compare it with the Archbishop of Ambrune's behaviour, in a fimilar case; this astonishment,

chagrin,

1754-

chagrin, rage and departure of Mirepoix, will appear to have been a concerted finesse to gain that time by suspence, which they were not able to obtain by prevarication. Mirepoix's reputed honour, and the politeness with which he had ingratiated himself at the British court, conduced greatly to fill some of our statesmen with hopes of accommodating matters, by his presence at Verfailles: And, at his return to London, they triumphed greatly at the pacific intentions of his royal mafter, which he declared were delivered to him by the King himself: Which assurances, having been long detected of falshood, could find no other means to gain credit, but on the good opinion the British Court entertained of the Marquis de Mirepoix.

France, ever watchful of the proceedings between our King and parliament, eafily forefaw the resolution of his Britannic Majesty, and the determination of the parliament to support him against the French violation of treaties. Therefore, not to be behindhand, the French ministry ordered a powerful armament to be immediately Conductof fitted out at Brest, for North America; and took the French ministry at other measures, which prognosticated their inten-this time. tion to strike some important blow, that might ferve for a declaration of war.

De Cosne, the secretary of our embassy at Paris, by letter dated the 1st of January 1755, informed Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, That seventeen men of war, the admiral's ship of 70 guns, were ordered to be equipped at Breft,

A. D. 1755.

1755.

Brest, and that the greatest part of that sleet was destined for America, with regular troops on board. By another letter of the 8th, he specifies the number of ships to be 16 of the line, and five frigates; and the troops to be 3000 men: and adds, that they would be ready to sail by the end of March. On the 23d, he writes, That there were eight ships more to join them from Rochfort and Rochelle, which would make in all 30 ships of war, 20 of which were of the line, and would take on board 6000 forces; and that they were working night and day to get to sea.

By the same hand, the ministry were informed on February 16 and 23, That M. Macnamara was to command this expedition. And in a few days after, the Earl of Holderness was informed, That in all these armaments there appeared a plain design to make settlements and to build forts: besides, that, it was given out, they resolved to augment the fortistications at Louisbourg, and to build more forts on the Ohio.

But those armaments were not confined to Brest, &c. For Mr. Birtles our consul at Genoa, sent advice, dated February 10, That the French had 24 ships of war at Toulon, besides three on the stocks, and one of 70 guns careening; that they were ordered to be got fit for sea with all expedition; and that the magazines and stores were in such order and readiness, as to make it possible to send all those ships to sea in a very short time. Which intelligence, as well as that, which sollowed from Mr. Banks, our consul at Carthagena,

1755.

on the 12th of March 1755, that the great admiral of France was to have the chief command, and that transports were taken up for a great number of land forces; it shews that they had already planned the invasion and conquest of Minorca.

On the 17th of March fix ships of the Brest fquadron got into the road: but the advices of the 25th faid, that they could not fail before the beginning of April, and that they would endeavour to flip away, without noise, with succours for America; and that the M. now Duke of Mirepoix's negociation was only to gain time, till the French might arrive at the places of their destination, and be provided to declare open war. Accordingly it was discovered that six of the Brest squadron, had failed in the night between the 17th and 18th, privately, with troops for America. Six others took their station in the road, and received on board a number of regular troops; among whom were many Scotch and Irish officers. And five more ships were ordered to be expedited with the utmost diligence.

Our diligent secretary at Paris further informs, That the frigate La Diane had been dispatched and sailed from Rochfort, on the 27th of March, to Louisbourg and Quebec, with advice of these succours: that eight more ships of the line were ordered to be victualled and sitted for sea in two months, and that M. Macnamara, who had resigned the command of the sleet already sailed, to M. de la Mothe, upon account of his great

124 THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. age, had received orders to fail with a squadron on the 16th of March.

The British court thus informed, saw through the artifice of Mirepoix, and the fallacious word of his most Christian Majesty; and entered upon such measures, as they supposed effectual to prevent the fatal effects of the French armaments.

Proclamation for raising seamen.

A proclamation was iffued to encourage feamen to enter themselves on board his Majesty's ships of war; offering a bounty of 30 s. for every able bodied seaman, between 20 and 50 years of age, and 20 s. for every ordinary seaman. The same night there was a warm press below bridge; warrants for the same purpose were dispatched to the outports; and public notice was given at Greenwich hospital, for all the seamen, who were willing to go to sea, to give in their names, and that they should not fail of the usual encourage-

For calling ments. Another proclamation was published, home fea-faringmen. for recalling all masters of ships, pilots, mariners, feamen, shipwrights and other fea-faring men,

his Majesty's natural born subjects, from the service of all foreign Princes and States, and prohibiting such persons from entering their service. And

Encouragment for seamen.

this proclamation increased the bounty of seamen from 30 s. to 3 l. and from 20 s. to 2 l. who should voluntarily enter before the 10th day of March next following: and further promised 2 l. reward to any person discovering any able seamen, and 30 s. for every ordinary seaman, who should secrete

e On January 23, 1755.

f February 8.

themselves, so that such seamen should be taken. for his Majesty's service, by any sea officer, employed for raising men.

A. D. 1755.

In March 1755 his Majesty sent a message by A message Sir Thomas Robinson, then secretary of state, King to to inform his parliament, "That having at the the parliament." beginning of the fession declared, that his principal object was to preferve the public tranquillity, and at the same time to protest those possessions, which constitute one great source of the commerce and wealth of his kingdoms; he now finds it neceffary to acquaint the house of commons, that the present situation of affairs makes it requisite to augment his forces by fea and land, and to take fuch other measures, as may best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to fecure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America; as well as to repel any attempts whatfoever, that may be made to support or countenance any defigns, which may be formed against his Majesty and his dominions; not doubting, but that his faithful commons would enable him to make fuch augmentations, and to take fuch measures for supporting the honour of his crown, and the true interests of his people, and for the security of his dominions, in the prefent critical juncture, as the

This meffage was answered with a warm and How reaffectionate address: and the ministry in the cabi-bothhouses net, as if they were fully resolved to execute the of parlianecessary measures in such a critical juncture, ordered a body of forces to America, to act in con-

exigency of affairs may require."-

A. D. 1755.

Mutiny
bill extended to
North America.

junction with the provincial troops. Which order produced an extraordinary clause to the mutiny bill, to render it more clear, extensive and useful for the national service: wherein it was provided, "That all officers and soldiers of any troops, being mustered and in pay, which are or shall be raised in any of the British provinces in America, by authority of the respective governors or governments thereof, shall at all times, and in all places, when they happen to join or act in conjunction with his Majesty's British forces, be liable to martial law, and discipline, in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as the British forces are, and shall be subject to the same trial, penalties and punishments."

A fpeech in parliament by a general officer.

A general officer, who on this critical occasion was called up in the house of commons, by a spirit, becoming a true patriot, expressed himself in the following manner; "We feem, faid he, to be driven upon the edge of a high mountain; on every fide a dreadful and tremendous precipice: too much expence makes us bankrupts: too little makes us flaves. Some years ago, the French were by no means a match for the Five Nations: now they have a communication, by a range of forts, from the river St. Lawrence, in Canada, to the Ohio, near the Missippi. Hence it is, that they hold our colonies between the two ends of a net, which if they tighten by degrees, they may get all of them into the body of it, and then drown them in the fea. When the ship is finking, the man at the helm in vain lays the blame upon

A. D. 1755.

upon the labourer at the oar, or the labourer at the oar, recriminates upon the man at the helm: we are all in one vessel: it is our interest as well as our duty, to unite heartily in the common cause; and laying aside private ambition and animosity, to act with alacrity and confidence, and to perform every thing in our power, for the prefervation, honour and happiness of our country.

So many men were provided for the sea service, Admiral Boscawen by proper means, that a fquadron of 11 ships of sails for N. the line, and one frigate, bearing in all 5,945 America. men, was got ready and failed for America, on the 22d day of April, under the command of Vice Admiral Boscawen. This squadron had on board a considerable body of land forces g to attend the motions of the enemy: And the admiral's instructions to attack the French fleet, wherever he should meet them, was notified to the Duke de Mirepoix. To which that polite ambassador replied, "That his royal master would consider the first Mirepoix's "gun, fired at fea in an hostile manner, to be a behaviour "declaration of war."

event.

This language, so reverse to his pacific confer- How it ences, seemed to whet the resentment of our coun-operates upon the cils, fo as to redouble their preparations for war: ministry. and the public began to think, that the ministry were come to a resolution to fulfil their desires for the defence of America, and to oppose all other machinations of the French against their trade, navigation and possessions; so that the monied

E Two regiments, which he took up at Plymouth.

128

men subscribed 3,880,0001. immediately, instead A. D. 1755of 1,000,000 l. required to be raifed by way of lottery.

The French fquadron fent to N. America.

Our ministry had certain advice h from M. de Coine, That the fleet from Brest and Rochfort, confisted of one ship of 90 guns, three of 74, four of 70, seven of 64, one of 58, one of 50, and five of 30 guns, from Brest; two of 64 guns, one of 50, one of 30, and one of 26 guns, from Rochfort: Together 18 ships of the line, and nine frigates; in all 27. But ten of these line of battle were converted into transports, and mounted no more than from 18 to 22 guns apiece, under the command of M. Macnamara and M. Bois de la Mothe.

This united fleet had orders to be ready to fail by the 18th or 20th of April, with 11 battalions on board; but it was wind bound, till the 3d of May: Of which M. de Cosne did not fail to give immediate notice, adding, that it was generally believed, that Macnamara's orders were only to convoy the ships that serve for transports, to a certain distance, and then to let them pursue their voyage without him.

Remarks time.

Here it may be seasonable to enquire, what was done on the part of Great Britain, besides the proon the Bri- ceedings in parliament, to counteract the vigorous tis mini-ftry at this measures of our enemy? It is evident from all these advices, and from the facts themselves, that these kingdoms had nothing to fear from an inva-

h Dated the 15th of April 1755.

1755.

sion: For, though France had a few more ships in the ports of Brest and Rochfort, fit for service, they had neither failors, nor ordnance, nor provisions, nor ammunition to fit them for sea; nor any number of vessels capable of transporting an army into this island, as all accounts from abroad agreed, had they ever fo seriously meditated a descent in favour of the Pretender, as Mr. Barnham from Dover had intimated his suspicion: which, by other advices, was treated with contempt. Why then was there not a more powerful fleet ordered in time, not to fight the French convoy under Macnamara in the American seas, or to block up, or intercept their fleet at Louisbourg, or Quebec, but at Brest and Rochfort? What must be thought of such management, that, out of the numerous navy, which Great Britain had at this time in pay, they could spare, or, were afraid to fuffer, no more than 11 ships of the line and one floop to defeat the French embarkation for America: and to be at the extraordinary expence and hazard of fending a squadron to do that work in the American ocean, which, in all probability, could have been done with little or no risk and much less expence, near the chops of the British channel. Such an apppointment was very wide of the utmost exertion of our power in defence of our colonies, and to maintain the dominion of the seas; when the ministry, duly and certainly informed of the force under failing orders at Brest, confined their own strength to a squadron under Mr. Boscawen, of a little more Vol. I. K than

1755.

than half the force of the enemy; and paid no manner of regard to the equipment of the naval preparations at Toulon, of which they had positive advice on the 14th of April; nor to the intelligence from Conful Banks, on the 12th of March, who gave it, as his confirmed opinion, that there would be a powerful expedition with land forces from that port.

The only step taken to remedy these egregious omissions, or whatever you may please to call them, in the British politics, was to risk six ships of the line and one frigate, under Admiral Holbourne, to follow and strengthen Admiral Bofcawen; who not failing till the 11th of May, when the chance of his falling in with Macnamara's strong squadron, which failed but eight days before, was against him, the national disgust with the ministry daily increased.

King's ipeech at the end of

On the 25th day of April his Majesty closed that fessions of parliament by a most gracious the fession. speech, wherein he told the two houses, "That " the zeal they had shewn, for supporting the ho-" nour, rights and possessions of his crown, had " afforded him the greatest satisfaction: That " his defire to preserve the public tranquillity had " been fincere and uniform: That he had reli-" gioufly adhered to the stipulations of the treaty " of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to " injure or offend any power whatfoever; but " that he could never entertain a thought of " purchasing the name of peace at the expence " of fuffering encroachments upon, or of yield-" ing

"ing up, what justly belonged to Great Britain, A. D.

either by antient possession, or by solemn trea
ties: That the vigour and firmness of his par
liament on this important occasion, had en-

" liament, on this important occasion, had en-" abled him to be prepared for such contingen-

" abled him to be prepared for such contingencies as might happen: That if reasonable and

" honourable terms of accommodation could be

"agreed upon, he would be fatisfied, and, in all

" events, rely on the justice of his cause, the ef-

" fectual support of his people, and the protection

" of divine providence."

The parliament was prorogued to the 25th of Departs May: A regency was appointed, and his Majesty man domindeparted for his German dominions on the 28th nions. of April.

M. Macnamara returned into Brest with nine Attention ships on the 20th of May, which were victualled of the French tofor fix months, and failed again on the 4th of June wards North Aunder the command of M. Du Guay, on a cruize merica. near the streights of Gibraltar, and in such parts of the Atlantic ocean as might favour the return of La Mothe and Salvert, his coadjutor, in case of bad news from North America. The other ships in Brest and Rochfort, for some time, wanted both men and cannon; and when they got supplies, it was ordered that they (15 in all) should not fail till the court had certain advice of the fate of thir fleet in America. Thus it appears that the whole attention of the French councils was taken up with their American interest, or at least to favour the return of their ships from Canada: and that Britain had nothing to fear of an invasion,

from

A. D. from any preparation at Brest or its neighbouring 1755. ports.

Advice concerning fquadron.

In the mean time the Lords of the Admiralty the Toulon received advice from Captain Buckle, of the Unicorn, dated May 9th, in Genoa-mole, That eleven days before, there had been orders published, by beat of drum, for failors to repair to Toulon; and that orders were likewise sent to Toulon, to fit out all the ships in that harbour.

> But, though it was confirmed by letters to Lord Holderness, dated July 19th, and received on the 22d, that no ships were fitting out at Brest; and that they were equipping with expedition nine ships at Toulon, with orders for the failors not to depart from thence; the British ministry contented themselves, as we shall shew more fully hereafter, with fending Sir Edward Hawke on the 24th of July, to cruife till September, only to endeavour to intercept Du Guay's squadron in its return from Cadiz; or any ships, which might escape the vigilance of Mr. Boscawen, and attempt to recover any port in France: His whole force being no more than twenty-one ships of the line, and five frigates; whereas, if there was any credit to be given to our intelligence, it was probable that he might have met with Du Guay's fquadron of ten ships, joined by five ships from Rochfort, ten ships from Brest, and the ten ships in their return from America. By which it appears that this fleet was commanded upon a very hazardous fervice; and all the advices concerning

Admiral Hawke Sails on a cruise.

Very hazardous.

the naval preparations in the Mediterranean were A.D. 1755. difregarded.

The equipments in the port of Toulon, which The armahitherto had been carried on with more artifice, Toulon began now to appear openly, and to keep pace expedited. with the armaments facing the British shore; formed merely to give umbrage to the English; and with the motion and augmentation of their troops. For, letters of the 6th of August declare expresly, that orders had been sent to Toulon to equip, with all expedition, all the new ships, and to get the old ones also in a condition for service; that these orders were then pursued with great diligence, and that they were to take on board feveral companies of land forces, besides mariners. They further advised, that fince the arrival of two expresses at Toulon, which had caused the holding of two extraordinary councils, attended by the principal officers of the marine, the hands, which were at work in fitting out the nine ships there, were doubled, and six other ships of the line put in commission, and ordered to be equipped with the former nine, so as to be able to put all the fifteen fail to sea before the 18th or 20th of August, and to be victualled only for three months. Which letter concluded: "Tho' 65 the destination of this squadron is not known, " it is generally conjectured to be intended against "Gibraltar: But be that as it will, never was there " a greater hurry in that port, than at present." At the same time it ought to be observed, that we had no force in those seas to prevent Du Guay's K 3

A. D. fquadron, which did not fail from Cadiz till the 1755. beginning of August, from joining the Toulon spuadron.

His Majesty's conduct in Germany.

It cannot be fuggested that his Majesty remained as indolent, as this regency appeared to be; for he was trying, abroad, every prudent measure to obviate the difficulties that might arise, in the course of a war from the French against his German dominions. To cover these from any insults and attacks, on account of their connections with Great Britain, and which already threatened the Electorate of Hanover by French magazines erected in Westphalia, under the jurisdiction of the Elector of Cologne, and to guard against the effects of a fecret treaty, which he grew jealous of; and was carrying on between Vienna and Versailles,

a treaty with Heffe Caffel.

Concludes his Britannic Majesty concluded a subsidiary treaty, on the 18th of June, with the Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel; by which his Serene Highness engaged to hold in readiness, during four years, a body of eight thousand men, for his Majesty's fervice, to be employed, if required, upon the Continent, or in Great Britain, or Ireland; but not on board the fleet, or beyond the feas: And also, if his Britannic Majesty should judge it necessary, or advantageous, for his fervice, to furnish and join to this body of 8000 men, within fix months after they should be demanded, four thousand more; of which seven hundred to be horse or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field pieces of cannon.

At the same time his Majesty proposed to re- A. D. new the treaties with Bavaria and Saxony. But the connections of these two houses with France, and Saxothough no bar to their receiving a subsidy from ny refuse Great Britain in time of peace, would not let them hearken to any renewal, at the eve of a war ith that crown. However Russia accepted of subsi-Treaty diary overtures for a large body of troops, which, had begun. though not carried into the form of a treaty, before his Majesty left Hanover, may be properly noted in this place, That the Empress of Russia should hold in readiness in Livonia, and upon the frontiers of Lithuania, a body of forty thousand infantry, with the necessary artillery, and 15,000 cavalry: And also on the coast of the said province, 40 or 50 galleys with the necessary crews; to be ready to act, upon the first order, in his Majesty's service, in case his Majesty's dominions in Germany should be invaded on account of the interests or disputes, which regard his kingdoms: But that neither these troops nor gallies were to be put in motion unless his Britannic Majesty, or his allies, should be somewhere attacked. This treaty was to exist four years, from the exchange of the ratifications. But it was unluckily inserted, in the feventh article, That confidering the proximity of the countries wherein the diversion in question will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of fublishing immediately in an enemy's country, she takes upon herself alone, during such a diversion, the subfistence and treatment of the said troops, by sea and K 4

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. and land. And in the eleventh article it was further ftipulated, That all the plunder, which the Russian army might take from the enemy, should belong to them.

Operations of the French on the Ohio continued.

136

The operations of the French on the banks of the Ohio had been carried on, all the winter, with great diligence and activity; and with powerful reinforcements from Old France: For, by advice dated the 2d of January 1755, from Philadelphia, it was notified, That about 6000 men of the best troops of France, selected and sent over upon this particular service, were just arrived at the lower fort on the Ohio, and were employed, even in that rigorous season, in fortifying that country. Those troops were sent by the way of Quebec, and from thence were seen, by the Indian traders, to cross the lakes Oswego and Erie, in a prodigious number of battoes, of which the several governors received notice.

Notwithstanding this the assembly of Pensylvania continued as obstinate as ever, there being no probability of their granting any money towards the expence of the necessary armaments in this time of danger; although they were to adjourn within two days. The governor represented, in the strongest terms, the defenceless state of their province, and recommended the establishment of a regular militia; but to no purpose.

It was also observed, that the activity of the French, in the depth of winter, was a convincing proof, that they were forming some grand defign in regard to that continent; and that it

feemed

1755.

seemed probable, their first attack would be upon Pensylvania, as being in the center, and not only the most plentiful, but the most defenceless and unweildy of all his Majesty's colonies: And, having once got footing there, they might iffue forth upon the colonies on each fide; which had not a fingle regiment from Europe to defend them.

Accordingly we find, that the French made fuch good use of the time, we remained inactive, that in the beginning of the year 1755, they had advanced with their camps and forts within 225 miles of Philadelphia.

This account, without any prospect of measures to put a stop to the encroachments of our enemies, filled every lover of his country with dire forebodings for the fafety of their American brethren: When the nation received fome glimmerings of better things from the dispatches of Admiral Boscawen, who by letters dated off Louisbourg, on the 22d of June 1755, informed the ministry, That on the tenth of that month, the The Al-Alcide, a French man of war of 64 guns, and cide and Lys taken. 480 men, commanded by M. Hockquart, and the Lys, commanded by M. Lageril, pierced for fixtyfour guns, but mounting only 22, and having eight companies of land forces on board, being separated from the French squadron commanded by M. Bois'de la Mothe, fell in with the English fleet off the banks of Newfoundland, they refusing to pay the usual compliment to the British flag; and, that his Majesty's ships, the Dunkirk

and Defiance, after an engagement of five hours, in which they fought so close, that a man killed on the yard of a French man of war fell into the Dunkirk, had obliged them to strike, and brought them into the sleet. The Dunkirk lost o men. The Lys had on board 76,000l. stirling in money to pay their troops, and eight companies of soldiers, besides several general officers and engineers. He also gave advice, that he had been joined by Rear-Admiral Holbourne, with whom

Admiral Boscawen joined by Adm. Holbourne.

diers, besides several general officers and engineers. He also gave advice, that he had been joined by Rear-Admiral Holbourne, with whom he sailed, the same day, within a mile of Louisbourg harbour: where seeing four large ships and two frigates lately arrived from Europe, under the command of M. du Perrier, he stationed Rear-Admiral Holbourne off that harbour with five or six ships, and proceeded to his own rendezvous, being the best adapted for preventing M. de la Mothe's squadron getting into the gulph of St. Lawrence, had not the fogs and hard gales of wind disappointed him, and carried them safe to Quebec, the place of their destination.

Immediately upon this, though much beneath the fanguine expectations conceived of the prowess and strength of Mr. Boscawen and his sleet, the spirit of the nation revived, and the French Ambassador, the Duke of Mirepoix, was ordered to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and accordingly he set out for his own country betimes in the morning of the 24th of July, to avoid the insults of the mob.

Mirepoix departs without ceremony.

> The expedition against the French in Nova Scotia, which by his Majesty's command, had been concerted

certed between Governor Lawrence and Governor Shirley, was carried into execution, with the aid of 2000 New Englandmen, and had its defired ef-tions in fect. For by a letter i from Lieutenant-Gover-Nova Sconor Lawrence, our government were informed, that the French fort of Beausejour surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Monkton, by captitulation, after four days bombardment, before his Majesty's forces had mounted a fingle cannon upon their batteries, though that fort had twenty-six cannon Several well mounted. The same fate befel a small fort taken. upon the river Gaspereau, running into the bay Verte, where the French had their principal magazine for supplying the French inhabitants, and Indians with provisions, arms and stores of all kinds.--He proceeds, and fays, "At Colonel "Monkton's first arrival the French had a large "number of inhabitants and Indians, four hun-"dred and fifty of which were posted at a block-"house, which they had on their side of the river "Messaguash, to defend the pass of that river: "Here they had thrown up a strong breast-work " of timber, for covering their men, and had " cannon mounted on the block-house. At this " place they made a stand for about an hour, but "were forced by our troops, with fome loss, " leaving the block-house and the pass of the " river, clear for our people, who marched with-" out further interruption, to the ground intended " for their encampment. As we had not men

Dated June 28, 1755, at Hallifax in Nova Scotia. " enough

"enough to invest the fort intirely, several got " away; and when the fort furrendered, there re-" mained 150 regulars, and about 300 inhabitants, " feveral of which, with their officers, were wound-"ed. We do not yet exactly know the number "that were killed in the fort; but we believe their " loss has not been trifling, as several laid half " buried upon the parade. Colonel Monkton has " new-named the fort, and called it Fort Cum-" berland."

By this means Colonel Monkton disarmed fifteen thousand Acadians. And in the mean time Captain Rous, being ordered to attack the fort, the French had lately erected at the mouth of St. John's river, the enemy abandoned it, at the appearance of his fmall fquadron: having burfted their cannon, blown up their magazine, and all the works they had raifed, as much as time would permit them to do.

By means England resolutions.

This fuccess was greatly owing to a vigorous reof the New folution taken, in the beginning of this year, by the affembly of Massachuset's bay in New England; which had prohibited all correspondence with the French at Louisbourg, and, besides the large detachment of troops fent under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Monkton, above-mentioned, had fitted out three frigates and a floop, under the command of Captain Rous, to favour their operations, by covering the coast.

While the New Englandmen affisted in the reduction of Nova Scotia or Acadia, which was effected with the loss of only twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded, the Virginians built a fort, likewise called Fort Cumberland, and formed a camp at Will's Creek, in or-berland der to attack the French on the Ohio. Which built by promifed fuccess, had this provincial measure been nians. effectually backed by Major-General Braddock, and his two regiments of regulars from Ireland. General Braddock This little army landed fafe in Virginia before the and his end of February.

1755. Fort Cum-

A. D.

troops land in Virgi-

As foon as he possibly could, the general fum-nia. moned the feveral governors on that continent to Summons meet him at Alexandria in Virginia, to confult a council. upon the business of the approaching campaign. In which convention, after much debating, it was agreed, That for the preservation of Oswego, and reduction of Niagara, Shirley's and Peperel's regiments should march to Lake Ontario; on which lake one or more armed vessels, of about 60 tons each, should be built to command that lake: And Mr. Shirley was charged with the execution of this part of the service. General Braddock undertook Resolutheir next resolution, which was to attack Fort tions. Du Quesne: And General Johnson was ordered to invest Crown Point with the provincial troops.

These resolutions and plans were commendable: But how far they answered in the execution of each, is matter of the greatest astonishment and concern.

Mr. Braddock had neither provisions nor carriages for a march of fo confiderable a length, which was greatly increased and embarrassed by his orders to take the rout of Will's Creek; which

road.

1755. Bad mea-

A. D.

road, as it was the worst provided with provisions, more troublesome and hazardous, and much more about, than by the way of Pensylvania; and the fures purational delay, occasioned by the contractors for the army, who had neither provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for the troops, nor a competent number of carriages for the army, overturned the expedition. Mr. Braddock should certainly have landed in Pensylvania: And the contract for fupplying his troops would have been best made with some of the principal planters of that province, who, both in regard to convenience in carriage, and in plenty of provisions, could have performed their engagements with more ease and punctuality. For, fuch is the attention of the Virginians towards their staple trade of tobacco, that they scarce raise as much corn, as is necessary for their own subsistence; and their country being well provided with water-carriage in great rivers, an army which requires a large supply of wheelcarriages and beafts of burden, could not expect to be furnished with them in a place, where they are not in general use. But Pensylvania abounds with corn, and with most forts of provisions, and its inhabitants carry on most of their business with carts, waggons and horses. Besides, had he encamped near Franc's town, or somewhere upon the fouth-west borders of this province, his road to Fort Du Quesne would have been as practicable, and fifty miles nearer than from his camp at Will's Creek. This is not mere speculation, but what is strongly confirmed by facts, and from the feafonfeafonable and generous affiftance of some gentlemen in Pensylvania, who at last were applied to, and did make up the deficiency of the Virginian contractors, without which it was not possible for the army to proceed.

A. D. 1755.

It has also been hinted, that much of the disap- His con-pointment in this expedition was owing to the ge-ed. neral himself, in point of conduct. The plan was laid, and his instructions settled, in such a manner, as to put him always upon his guard against ambuscades, which were to be expected in a march through woods, deserts and morasses. But this gentleman, placing all his fuccess upon the fingle point of courage and discipline, behaved in that haughty, positive and referved way, that he soon disgusted the people, over whom he was to command. His foldiers could not relish his extreme severity in matters of discipline: And, not considering the nature of an American battle, he shewed such contempt towards the provincial forces, because they could not go through their exercise, with the fame dexterity and regularity, as a regiment of guards in Hyde-Park, that he drew upon himself their general resentment.

Give this general his due, it is certain that his The differvice was attended with many unforeseen and ficulties he had to furunconceivable difficulties. He was obliged to mount. march his army through a rugged, pathless and unknown country, across the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods and dangerous defiles, rendered more dangerous by almost every thing he had to do with the provinces, as more

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## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1755.

144

particularly appears in his letters to the British ministry, complaining of the neglect and disaffection of all employed to supply necessaries for the troops, and fetting forth the continual labour and fatigue of his foldiers to cut out roads across mountains and rocks of an excessive heighth, steep, and divided by rivers and torrents.

Put all these together, what was extraordinary in his conduct, and what was extraordinary in the way of the fervice, there could be formed no good idea of the iffue of fuch an untoward expedition.

to the attack of Fort du Quefne.

His march. He arrived fafe, and without any manifest decrease of his strength, at Fort Cumberland, and being informed that the French, at Fort du Quesne, lately built on the river, near the conflux of the Monangahela, were expecting a reinforcement of 500 regular troops, which, as it required all the expedition he could prudently make, to prevent fuch an increase of strength in the enemy, determined him to push forward by forced marches. But the impetuolity of his temper kept him from paying that due regard to the representations of his officers, and to the hazard of entering woods and thickets without reconnoitring the enemy, which proved his ruin.

Leaves his haggage, Cumberland, with orders to follow.

The general marched from Fort Cumberland &c. at Fort on the 10th of June 1755, with 1400 men, and the greatest part of the ammunition and artillery; having, for greater dispatch, left Colonel Dunbar, with 800 men, to escort the provisions, stores and baggage, with as much expedition, as the nature

of the fervice would allow. Thus Braddock with ten pieces of cannon, and necessary provisions and ammunition, marched without delay or fear of danger through the woody defert: and arrived on the 8th of July, within ten miles of Fort du Quefne; without meeting any opposition.

He was now 40 miles encamped a-head of his corps of referve, under Colonel Dunbar, and must expect all the stratagems and force of an insidious enemy; which was expressed to him in the strongest terms, especially by his Colonel Sir Peter Halklet, who earnestly defired him to proceed with caution on such hostile and dangerous ground, and to order the Indians, to reconnoitre, by way of fcouts or advanced guards, in case of an ambuscade, for which that country was so well adapted. But, as if courage could do the whole work Rejects, of a foldier, the general paid no regard to their and is deaf to all adwholesome and seasonable advice. He command-vice. ed his men to resume their march next day, without endeavouring to inform himself of the fituation or disposition of the enemy, and without detaching fcouts to preferve him from the furprize of ambuscades, though furrounded with woods. So Issurprized that, having proceeded with this unpardonable in an amcarelessness through a defile of the enemy, so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes, that not a man of them could be feen, his little army, about noon, was furprized by a general fire upon his front, and along his left flank: which ob- Put into liged the van-guard to fall back immediately upon confusion. the main body; and in an instant a panic and con-VOL. I.

A.D. 1755.

fusion

146

A. D. 1755. Routed. fusion seized the regulars: who disgusted with their commander, could not be prevailed upon, either by promifes, intreaties or commands to keep their ground: yet fome of the officers did honour to their country by their gallant behaviour under fuch desperate circumstances. A few remained by their general's person. But most of those brave officers and men, that stood till the last, remained only to be facrificed to the general's further misconduct. For, instead of ordering a retreat, when he found his men flying with precipitation, till he could fcour the avenues lined by the enemy, with grape shot, from ten pieces of cannon, he had with him; or ordering the Indians to advance, in flanking parties, against the hidden enemy; he obstinately continued upon the spot, where he first received their fire, till he was almost left alone, with his officers and men killed about him; his obstinacy increasing with the danger. At last, having had five horses shot under him, a musket shot, through his right arm and lungs, gave him a mortal wound. He was carried off the field by the bravery of Lieutenant Colonel Gage, and another of his officers; but furvived only four days.

Killed.

The confusion of the few that remained was now turned into a real and disorderly flight; and though not pursued, and no enemy in fight, they deserted and left all their artillery, ammunition and baggage, and amongst the rest the general's cabinet, a prey to the enemy; in which the

French found all Braddock's letters and instruc-

Baggage, &c. loft. tions, made use of afterwards by their ministry in A.D. printed memorials and manifestoes, to throw the breach of peace upon Great Britain.

It is but justice due to the behaviour of the Behaviour Provincial troops, under Braddock, in this action, of the Provincial to observe, That they were not so affected with troops, the panic, as the regulars; though the enemy's fire fell as heavy upon them, as upon any of the rest of the army: And, that when the regulars could not be prevailed upon to stand their ground, nor to sight with brakes and bushes lined with unseen destruction, the Provincials bravely formed, offered to cover the fugitives, and, by advancing alone against the Indians in the wood, prevented the regulars from being all cut off.

The panic of those that fled infected them with such terrors, that they never stopt till they met the rear division: which receiving the infection, they all retreated without stopping, till they arrived at Fort Cumberland: Though the enemy never attempted to pursue, or ever appeared in sight, either in the battle, or after the defeat.

The loss of the English in this unfortunate The loss affair, amounted to 700 men, besides the bag-of men on both sides. The officers suffered most in proportion; the Indians being good marksmen had picked them out. Sir Peter Halklet, at the head of his regiment, fell at the first fire. The French will allow that they lost no more than 400 men, mostly Indians.

Thus ended this tragical expedition, whose bad Badesseds. consequences to the British interest were rendered

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A. D.

worse by increasing the spirit and activity of our enemies, and confirming the Indians in the interest of their new allies. Besides, the Indians, in the British interest, despised us for not being able to protect ourselves: and such an universal panic seized on all our colonies, that they seemed, for some time, to give up all for lost.

Who blameable.

At home great pains was taken by the public to fix the cause of this missortune. Some cast the whole blame upon the general; others were as sanguine against the ministry. But a little impartiality and cool attention, will discover both the general and ministry faulty. The capital mistake was his orders to land in Virginia instead of Pensylvania, for the reasons already given. Then his march would have been shortned six weeks and performed with less fatigue and expence. His obstinacy, severity and inattention to the advice of his officers, &c. his contemptuous behaviour towards the provincials, and his neglect to reconnoitre the enemy, and to make a proper disposition and use of his artillery on the day of action, fell heavy upon Braddock.

Dunbar leaves the back fettlements exposed.

Nothing now could prevent the outrages and encroachments of the Indians and French on the back of Virginia, Maryland and Penfylvania, except a respectable garrison left at Fort Cumberland, well fortified: which ought to have been done by the remains of Braddock's army; who might have fortified themselves against any surprize, during the rest of the summer, and, in the winter, would have been a sufficient check upon the French

and their scalping Indians. But, instead of so A.D. 1755.

prudent a measure, the commander in chief left only the sick and wounded, under the care of two companies of provincial militia, at Fort Cumberland, and, with 1600 men, marched on the 2d of Retires with his August, for Philadelphia, where their presence, at 1600 men that time, could be of no service. General Shirley, to Philadelphia, upon whom, by the death of Braddock, the chief command in America devolved, ordered these to Albany, troops from Philadelphia to Albany, in New York.

This is the expedition and battle, upon which The French the French court laid that stress, as to fix upon make this Great Britain the odium of beginning the war. of hostility Which invention to reproach our ministry with between the two nagiving Braddock instructions, inconsistent with tions. their declaration to the French ambassador, denying that Braddock had orders to act hostilely, or invasively; of all the instances of French ingenuity, and of abusive groundless declamation, with which they have endeavoured to inodiate our nation to all Europe, there is not a more flagrant, or a more easily resutable one.

To fay no worse, the French discovered a strong Refuted. and immediate inclination to attack our American Provinces; had built forts, and formed camps upon territories, from which they were excluded by treaty, and had very lately attacked and defeated a body of Virginians, guarding their own frontiers, and demolished their fort. The Provinces apply to their mother country for relief and defence. Braddock is sent with a small force to their assistance, and with instructions how to be-

have,

have, and to purfue incidentally the advantages of war, or to oppose force to force, should the French persist in their unjustifiable extension of the country, they called Canada, upon the fame motive of felf-interest, as they had endeavoured to contract Acadia. Such a declaration, therefore, made to the French ambassador at London, that the destination of the forces sent to the succour of our oppressed, threatned and defenceless colonies, in North America, had nothing in it, but what was literally and rigorously true, both in fact and inference, was purely pacific; for nothing is more univerfally allowed, than that a preparation for defence and offence, is the most fure expedient towards preserving and restoring public peace. That Braddock then should be furnished eventually, both with defensive and offensive instructions, with plans of operation adapted to contingencies, was plainly matter in course of his expedition, and of which the French could not have the least reason to complain, unless they would ingross to themselves an exclusive right to invade their neighbours, or suppose us meek, or passive enough not to resent their hostilities, when they had dared us by their encroachments and forcible entry, to defend our possessions. In this fair and obvious fenfe, what contradiction, what prevarication, can be laid to the charge of the English government, (whilst they openly sent that reinforcement to their colonies, which the proceedings of the French themselves had made an indispensible measure) for their vouchfasing an affurance

1755-

affurance and declaration of pacific intentions? Was this, by any construction, other, or more, than telling them, that nothing on our part was intended to break the general peace, should the French defift from provocations, and from giving us reason to support our rights by arms, or to exact fatisfaction for future injuries? That Braddock then was equipped with all the instructions necessary for the most determinate war, is not in the least repugnant to the most sincere professions of wishing and meaning nothing but peace. As a man, who puts on a fword, may for all that, defire nothing so much, as not to be compelled to draw it, or to make use of his fencing master's inflructions.

left entirely destitute of all protection, from their tinue. hostile enemies behind them, the usual disputes between their governors, affemblies, &c. got the better of their reason, and so divided their councils, that they came to no effectual resolutions for the public fafety. It is true Pensylvania was at last excited to vote 50,000 l. for the defence of their western frontier; but this trifling sum was rendered abortive by the governor politively refuling to give his affent to the act of the affembly for raising that sum; because they had rated the pro-

prietaries estate equal with those of the inhabi-

What is still more furprizing, though Virginia, Diffentions Maryland and Pensylvania, were by these means in the Pro-

tants. By which miscarriage the province was Their

left defenceless, to the destruction of many of the effects. poor settlers upon the western frontier. Besides

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152

fuch inactivity and neglect of their own possessions A.D. 1755. impressed the Indians with a very contemptible opinion of the English, and made them either esteem, or fear, the French invaders k.

Conduct of New York.

The people in New York acted more for their own and the common interest. Their assembly laid a prohibition upon all provisions being fent to any port, fettlement or island belonging to the French, on, or adjacent to, the continent of North America: and voted 45,000 l. for the defence of their colony, exposed most of any other to an invasion of the French, from Crown Point. With this little supply, and the affistance of other colonies to the east of them, together with the small body of troops, ordered thither by General Shirley from Penfylvania, under Colonel Dunbar, it was Two exper resolved, as the best way to keep the enemy from

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invading their province, to undertake the two expeditions, one against the French fort, at Crown Point, the other against Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, as had before been concerted with General Braddock at Alexandria.

By whom commanded.

The expedition against Crown Point was committed to the care of colonel, afterwards General Johnson, an Irishman by birth, but an old inhabitant in the western parts of New York. He had fettled on the Mohock river, and not only. acquired a confiderable eftate, but was univerfally beloved both by the inhabitants and the neighbouring Indians: whose language he had learnt,

E See the Indian speech, p. 112, 113.

and whose affections he had gained by his faithful and humane behaviour towards them. General Shirley took upon himself the command of the expedition against Niagara.

A.D. 1755-

Albany was appointed for the rendezvous of the Carried troops for both expeditions: which arrived in good tion. time, towards the end of June. This army confifted of near 6000 men, besides Indians, raised by the government of Boston, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island and New York, and foon after marched forward, about 60 miles from Albany, under the command of Major-General Lyman. But the artillery, battoes, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt upon Crown Point, were not got ready till the 8th of August, when General Johnson set out with them for Lake George, where he met and joined his army; that General had been employed to build a fort at the landing arrives at place, on the east side of Hudson's river, called Lake Fort Edward. He marched fourteen miles more northerly, and encamped at the fouth end of Lake George, alias Sacrament, in a very strong situation, covered on each fide by a thick woody fwamp, with the lake in his rear, and by a breast work of trees in front; to wait for his battoes, and then to proceed to Ticondaroga, distant fifteen miles from Crown Point, which the French called Fort Frederick.

The Baron de Dieskau, who arrived at Que-The inbec in the spring with Mons. de Vaudreuil, and thrustions troops to defend Canada, had instructions to make Baron de his first attack upon Oswego, and to reduce it;

which

A.D. which the French court thought to be of fingular confequence for facilitating their grand scheme of forcing a way through our colonies to the great western ocean. According to these instructions the Baron, without delay, proceeded to Montreal, and detached 700 troops up the river, intending himself to follow and join them with the remainder. But in this interval the Indians alarmed the

Why he departed from them.

inhabitants of Montreal with an account of a numerous army affembling near Lake Sacrament, alias Lake George, for the reduction of Fort Frederick; from whence the victors might eafily penetrate into the heart of Canada. This advice occasioned a grand council, by which the Baron was prevailed upon, with great difficulty, to fufpend his first intention, as directed by his instructions, against Oswego, and to proceed directly through Lake Champlain, for the defence of Fort Frederick. Where he waited fome time, expecting that General Johnson would advance and give him battle. But being disappointed of his expectations, he embarked his men in battoes, and landed at the South Bay, about fixteen miles from Johnson's camp, intending first to reduce Fort Edward at the carrying place, and then to proceed and attack the English camp under General Johnfon; and resolving, if he should succeed in both attempts, to lay waste all our northern colonies, burn the towns of Albany and Shenectady to athes, and fo to cut off all communication with Ofwego.

A. D.

1755.

This embarkation from Fort Frederick landed without opposition, or the least discovery. But, when they were advanced fome miles from the shore, the fcouts brought General Johnson intelligence, that a confiderable number 1 of the ene-Reinforcemy were on their march from Ticondaroga m, by ment fent way of the South Bay, towards that fortified camp, Edward. fince called Fort Edward, built and garrisoned, with upwards of 400 of the New Hampshire and New York men, by General Lyman at the Carrying Place, Colonel Johnson gave notice thereof to Colonel Blanchard, the commander, with orders to call in all his out parties, and to keep his whole force within the entrenchments. He was further informed by his scouts, about 12 o'clock at night. that they had feen the enemy, about four miles only from the camp at the Carrying Place; but he took no measures for the support of Colonel Blanchard, till next morning "; though he perfectly knew the importance of that camp's defence, for the fafety of his whole army. Early in the morning General Johnson called a council, in which it was resolved to detach only 1000 men, with a number of Indians, to intercept the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or defeated in their attempt: though they had no account of the

<sup>1</sup> It was found, on their defeat, that they confifted of 2000 men, including 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, the rest Indians of divers nations.

in Situated on the Ishmus, between the north end of Lake George, and the fouthern part of Lake Champlain.

n On the 8th of September.

number or strength of the enemy; neither could they get any certainty thereof, from the Indian scouts; because those savages have no distinct words or signs, whereby to express large numbers, otherwise than pointing to the stars in the sirmament, or to the hair of their head, which sometimes may denote 10,000, when at another time, it may signify not more than 1000, or an inferior number.

According to this resolution, Colonel Williams marched between eight and nine o'clock in the morning with 1000 men, and 200 Indians. But, the French general trusting to the information of deserters from General Johnson's camp, that it was in want of cannon, and in a desenceless state, which made it more exposed and much easier to be surprized than Fort Edward, where several pieces of cannon were mounted; he was prevailed upon by the common voice of his troops (when he was within four miles and a half from Fort Edward, the first object of this expedition) to proceed to the attack of the camp, which he expected to be without cannon, and without lines and breast-work.

Though this alteration in the enemy's rout, did in all probability fave Fort Edward; it had like to have cut off the whole detachment, under Colonel Williams. For, Williams had not marched two hours, before his detachment fell into the very mouths of the French. However, the colonel behaved with great gallantry and prudence, and maintained his ground for a confiderable

The detachment defeated., time, till obliged by numbers to fall back. Hereupon began some confusion: several companies fled, and made the best of their way to the camp; which had been already alarmed, at first, by their firing in the skirmish, and more effectually by the fugitives. So that the general detached Lieutenant-Colonel Cole with 300 fresh men, who came time enough to stop the enemy's pursuit, and to cover the retreat of the English, who otherwise might have been entirely cut off. This alarm gave Johnson time to strengthen his front with heavy cannon, to take possession of some eminencies on his left flank, and to fix a field piece in a very advantageous situation.

The French, flushed with this advantage, push-French ated forwards in a very regular order towards the tack General Johncenter; and had they attacked the camp, which fon's camp. was then all in confusion, it is probable, they might have succeeded and obtained an easy victory. But Providence had ordained better things for us: The enemy, without any apparent reason, instead of attacking the breaft-work directly, halted at about 150 yards from the camp, and began the attack at fuch a distance with platoon-firing, that it did no execution against troops covered by a strong breast-work; and this ineffectual fire so raised the spirits of the English forces, that, having prepared their artillery, during the time the enemy halted, (which was ferved well under the direction of Captain Eyre) they foon difperfed the Indians and Canadians, by a brifk discharge of grape shot, who fled into the woods on each side

the camp, and fought for defence amongst the trees A.D. 1755. and bushes, where they hid themselves.

Deserted by the In-dians and

The French, deserted by the Indians and Canadians, instead of retreating, as prudence directed, Canadians. fell into another error. Their general, not able with his small number of regulars to make a close attack upon the front of the camp, which he. contrary to his intelligence, found well fortified and lined with cannon, attempted in vain to penetrate the breast-work, first on the left, and then on the right. These several attempts served only to weaken and dispirit his men, who suffered greatly by the fire from the camp: and they being at last thrown into confusion, General Johnson's men, and his Indians, about four o'clock o, without waiting for orders, jumped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all fides, killed between

Repulfed and defeated.

those, that were able to fly, with the utmost speed. Their Ge- Amongst the prisoners was their General, the very Baron Dieskau, who failed with the fleet from Brest, and escaped Admiral Boscawen, under favour of thick fogs and hard gales of wind, in his voyage to Quebec. He was found alone, dangeroufly wounded, and fupporting himself on the stump of a tree, a little distance from the field of battle. The loss on our side chiefly fell

7 and 800 p, took 30 prisoners, and dispersed

neral taken.

On the 8th of September, 1755.

P Amongst whom was Mons. St. Pierre, who commanded all the Indians, and the most useful officer the French had in all their expeditions in those parts, and in their treaties with the Indian natives.

upon Colonel Williams's detachment. In which A. D. skirmish we lost almost 200 men killed: amongst 1755. whom was Colonel Williams, Major Ashley, fix Loss on our fide. captains, and many fubalterns. In the camp the lofs was very fmall, and no perfon of distinction fell but Colonel Titcomb, who was killed. The General and Major Nichols were wounded. Our Indians mourned for the death of the brave old Hendrick our fast friend, the Sachem or chief captain of the Mohocks q. They also lost forty private men.

The commander at Fort Edward, getting in- Detachformation of the attack, which had been intended ment from Fort Edagainst himself, being turned and fallen upon ward. General Johnson's camp, detached, about eight o'clock at night, 120 of the New Hampshire regiment, and 90 of the New York regiment, under the command of Captain M'Ginnes, from his garrison to reinforce the general. But the Indians and Canadians, which had escaped from the flaughter of the French army in the morning, having collected themselves into a body of about 400, and rendezvoused at the place where Williams was defeated, in order to scalp the dead left on that spot, intercepted this detachment about four Interceptin the morning. Our brave men, fays General ed by the flying eneflying enefought them for near two hours, and made a con-

The other Indians, upon the approach of the French, retired from the camp, and did not join General Johnson till the battle was over; which shews, that they were determined to join the conqueror, French or English.

## 160 THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1755. Defeat the enemy. fiderable flaughter amongst them, and extricated themselves with the loss of no more than two killed, eleven wounded and five missing. Amongst the wounded was Captain M'Ginnes, whose wounds proved mortal; of which he died in a few days at General Johnson's camp, whereunto he conducted his party.

M. Diefkau's character. Monf. le Baron de Dieskau, the French general, was wounded in his leg, and through both his hips; a man in years, an experienced officer, and a person of high consideration in France. He brought 3171 regular troops under his command, to Quebec, in the late sleet; and had disposed of them partly to garrison Crown Point, and partly in encampments at Ticondaroga, and other advantageous passes between Lake George and Crown Point.

General Johnson's conduct.

The skirmish Captain M'Ginnes had with the remains of the French army, and the certain account Gen. Johnson had from Dieskau and the officers, in his custody, of the number of regular troops encamped between him and Crown Point, put him greatly upon his guard against a surprize, and to provide the best in his power against a more desperate attack. This determined him not to pursue the fugitives, beyond the probability of a safe retreat. The enemy, he was convinced, were in a disposition to rally, and had reinforcements near at hand: therefore he was watchful to maintain the advantages he had gained, without weakening himself by detaching parties in pursuit of an enemy, whom it might be dangerous to meet: and for several days,

till



S. WILLIAM JOHNSON.



till he was thoroughly convinced by his fcouts, that there appeared no intentions of the enemy to give him further trouble, he kept his men constantly upon their arms by day, half the whole upon guard by night, and the rest laid down armed and accoutred.

A. D. 1755.

Fruitful minds have endeavoured to leffen the Both gemerit of the two generals, that commanded in nerals defended. chief, on this occasion. Dieskau's conduct is First, M. highly arraigned for departing from his first plan of operation, by leaving Fort Edward at the Carrying Place, and attacking the main body of the Brirish forces encamped under the command of General Johnson. They say, that the garrison of Fort Edward did not exceed four or 500, and that the loss of this fort would so have distressed the main camp, as to prevent its proceeding further, and its sublistence where it was. So that the French might have had an opportunity to harass it, in its retreat. What dissuaded the French general from his first opinion was, a certain information that Fort Edward was well garrifoned, and mounted several pieces of cannon; of which he was in want: That should he be detained before that fort, which could not be expected to yield immediately to his fummons, its vicinity to the main camp made him liable to be put between two fires, of the cannon of the fort, and of the army under General Johnson, who would certainly endeavour to relieve it: that the army laid exposed in an heedless security, without either cannon mounted, or breast works thrown up to prevent a VOL. I. furprize; M

furprize; which was the real case three days before, when those deserters, that gave him the information, sled from their colours: And that it was more agreeable to the Canadians and Indians to engage an enemy in the woods, where they had no cannon; than in a fort, where their bush-firing could be of no service. Under these circumstances, the most prudent reader will allow that Dieskau ought to be acquitted of misconduct, when he engaged in that attack, which, in the nature of things, promised him more sure success; both in regard to the chance of the issue, the inclination of his whole army, and to the want of artillery, or heavy cannon to reduce the fort.

Second, General Johnson.

As for General Johnson, they accuse him of losing the opportunity of totally destroying the French army, by a too referved restraint upon his men, whom he would not fuffer to purfue the flying enemy; and of neglecting to improve his victory by advancing to the attack of the main object of his expedition at Crown Point. But there is no need of refutation or apology, more than that general himself furnishes in his letter to Governor Wentworth; which shews plainly, that he had reason to expect a renewal of the attack; that it was dangerous to weaken his main body by detachments to fcour the country; that the paffes to Crown Point were fo well provided with regular troops and Indians, that he would find work enough for his strength, to force his way through them, if at all, and then could not, after fo much fatigue, and perhaps great loss of men and ammunition,

1755.

munition, hope to be in a condition to reduce Crown Point, where their chief force was lodged. Reasons, however they may appear to the captious, fufficiently commended by his Majesty's parliament and government: And for which service, the King created General Johnson a baronet, and the parliament voted him a present of 5000 l. in reward of his merit.

General Johnson apprehending that he had done General Johnson all in his power, at a season of the year, which returns very foon would prevent his keeping the field, home. and having good reason to think, before he refolved upon his decamping to return home, that the enemy was in no condition to do more than remain upon the defensive, he made the necessary preparations to break up his camp, and returned to Albany, leaving only a fmall garrison of militia, in a little stockaded fort, at the higher end of Lake George, to affert the right of his Britannic Majesty to the country round about.

General Shirley, who took upon himself the Expedition command of the expedition against Niagara, did Niagara, not meet with the like approbation at the British court. His dilatory and defective preparations, on this occasion, at his first setting out promised no great advantages to the common cause. fuccess chiefly depended upon an early march to Shirley's the object of his armament. But time was con-censured, fumed so lavishly, that his first division, Colonel Schuylar's New Jersey regiment, did not march from Albany till the beginning of July; and it was near the end of that month, before Shirley's

His General

and

164

A. D. 1755.

and Pepperel's regiments followed; and then they were so dispirited by the news of Braddock's shameful defeat, that many of the troops deferted; and the battoemen in particular were struck with fuch a panic, that there could not be found enough to carry the necessary stores for the army. However, General Shirley fet out with his regiment, and, in his way to Oswego from Albany endeavoured to strengthen his forces, by applying to the Indians of the Six Nations for their Excuse of auxiliary aid. But very few joined his army; exnot to ferve culing themselves, as a trading people, from in the war. taking any part of the quarrel between the French and English; and infishing that Oswego, being a place of trade, traffic and peace, ought not to be diffurbed by either party.

the Indians

Army arrives at Olwego.

In want of every thing.

Under these disappointments General Shirley arrived at Ofwego on the 18th of August; but the rest of his troops and the artillery did not get up there before the last day of that month; and so badly provided with provisions, that it was impossible for them all to proceed to Niagara. He then resolved to draw out six hundred men, and with them to attack Niagara, and to leave 1400 at Oswego, to prevent a surprize from the French fort Frontenac, which was very powerful, and could easily make a descent, a-cross the lake On-

About 300 miles west from Albany, where there were 250 men in garrison, under Captain Broadstreet, besides workmen to be employed in building floops on the lake.

tario, upon Oswego's. But it was the 26th of A.D. September before provisions could be provided for so small a force: and to leave only twelve days short subsistence for the troops left behind: And the boisterous rainy season having begun, which drove many of the Indians home, and made the navigation of the lake Ontario very dangerous; it was by a council of war, after weighing all circumstances, unanimously resolved to defer the at-Resolved tempt upon Niagara, till the next year; and to home. employ the troops, then at Ofwego, in building barracks, and two new forts, one on the fide of the river Onondaga, 450 yards distant from the old fort, to command the entrance of the harbour, by the name of Ontario Fort, and the other at the distance of 450 yards west of the old fort, and to bear the name of Olwego New Fort. These were wife dispositions against the superior power of the French Fort Frontenac, which was too strong for Oswego Fort alone. But General Shirley Leaves the marr'd all the benefit of those councils, by march- &c. exposing on the 24th of October to Albany, and leav- ed to the ing no more than feven hundred men, under Colonel Mercer, both to garrison Oswego, and to complete the two forts, not near finished; and without any possibility of relief in case of a siege by the enemy in the winter.

1755.

s Situated on the fouth bank of the lake, confisting of a stone wall, and mounted with five cannon, three or four pounders, and otherwise in a very bad defenceles condition, when General Shirley arrived there.

A.D. 1755. General Shirley all the governors to Albany.

General Shirley fet out from Ofwego in a whaleboat on the 24th of October, attended by some battoes, and arrived at Albany on the 4th of Nofunmons's vember. On the 2d of December he, by circular letters, furnmoned the feveral governors upon the Continent, as far westward as Virginia, to meet him there, in order to form a council of war, which, by his Majesty's instructions to him, was to confift of as many governors and fieldofficers of his Majesty's troops, as could attend.

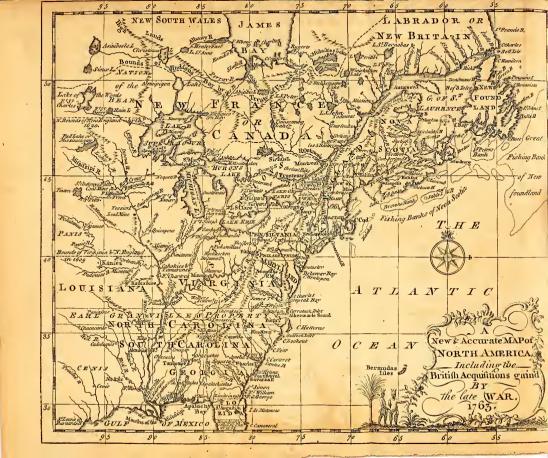
This council met on the 12th, but confifted of a very few. Mr. Shirley laid before them his Majesty's instructions to General Braddock, and then delivered his own fentiments to the board, which were, at all events, to fecure the navigation of lake Ontario: that 6000 troops should be employed to reduce the French forts on the lake, and 10,000 against Crown Point; to which they agreed. There was a propofal to renew the expedition against Fort du Quesne, and to attack the French in the river Chaudiere, but that was confented to only conditionally, provided it could be done without interfering with the two principal expeditions. The council then unanimoully declared it to be their opinion, that it would be impossible to recover and secure his Majesty's just rights without an additional number of regular forces, besides those already upon that continent, and, as the French were building vessels of force at Frontenac, they ordered a fnow, a brigandine

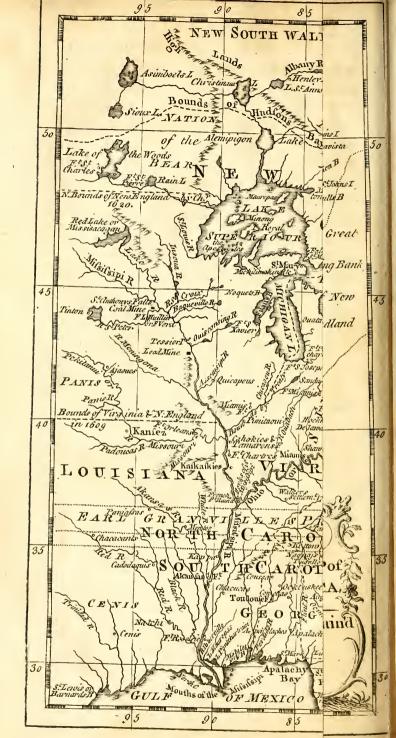


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and a floop to be built with all diligence at Fort 1755. Ofwego.

As many paffages in the American war, which An acwill come under your eye and confideration, must North Alose their proper effect, and be rendered abstruse merica. and unfatisfactory in regard to the right, importance and limits of the British Empire upon the Continent of North America, it will be necessary to give you some account of the manner Great Britain became possessed of those territories in the new world; to explain their benefit to their mother country, and to describe the limits of the several provinces, and the nature of the French encroachments; with fome topographical remarks on those particular places, which more immediately come under the cognizance of this Hiftory.

To fix the original right to our possessions in When this North America, it is necessary to go back to the was first age, in which the powers of Europe were first in-discovered. spired with the spirit of making discoveries in what was, at that time, the unknown world.

Columbus, who first offered his service to our By Colum-Henry the Seventh, to fail in quest of a new part bus. of the globe, being neglected in England, had alarmed Europe with his discoveries in the service of Spain; by which tenure only the Spaniards hold their islands and that vast extent of territory, which were, in a course of years and various attempts, discovered in South America, from whence they drew fuch immense riches, as amazed the whole world. Two years after Cabot, a Vene-

M 4 tian A. D. 1755. By Cabot. tian born, but fettled at Bristol, a maritime port, even at that time of great repute in the western parts of England, being well skilled in cosmography and navigation, naturally inferred from the discoveries made by Columbus in the south-west, that there was as much probability of success in ploughing the Atlantic Ocean towards the north-west, and presented a memorial to King Henry VII. setting forth, that he made no doubt, but if his Majesty would please to employ him, he could make some useful discoveries, in his name, and find out islands and countries, abounding with rich commodities, no ways inferior in value to those already discovered by Columbus in the service of the King of Spain.

King Henry VII. hearkened to the propofal, and commissioned John Cabot and his three sons to sail in quest of unknown lands, and to annex them to the crown of England; with this clause, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians. His first essay, as related by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was employed in the like service afterwards by Queen Elizabeth, was to discover a north-west passage to Cathay or China; in which voyage he sailed very far eastward, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, till he came into the

<sup>2</sup> See Peter Martyr Hift. Ind. Occiden. and Rapin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>u</sup> Hackluit's Voyages, vol. III. p. 4. and Rymer's Fœdera, A. D. 1496.

This commission was dated the 5th of March, in the 11th year of Henry VII.

north latitude of fixty-seven degrees and a half. In his next voyage, which was made with his son Sebastian, in the year 1497, he steered to the south side of Labrador, and fell in with the Island of Baccalaos, which is Newsoundland, and took possession both of that island and all the coast of the north-east part of America, as far as Cape Florida; which he also, by landing in several parts of it, claimed in the name of his master the King of England.

In memory of this discovery, and by way of evidence, there was a map or chart of the whole coast of North America, drawn by Sebastian Cabot himself, with his picture and this title, Essigies Seb. Caboti Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis Aurati, &c. and with the following account of the discovery above-mentioned.

"In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot,

" a Venetian, and his son Sebastian (with an Eng"lish sleet) set out from Bristol, and discovered
"that land, which no man had before attempted.
"This discovery was made on the 24th of June
about five o'clock in the morning. This land
he called Prima Vista (or the first seen) because
it was that part, of which they had the first
fight from the sea. It is now called Bonavista.
"The island, which lies out before the land, he
called the Island of St. John, probably because
it was discovered on the festival of St. John
Baptist."

This map was hung up in his Majesty's privygallery at Whitehall; and, it is to be feared, the

nation

## 170 THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. nation was deprived of fuch a valuable testimonial of their American title to the whole coast of North America, by the fire, which destroyed that gallery in the late King William's reign.

Authors x, who confirm this account, and are more creditable, for having lived nearer the time this discovery was made, write that Cabot, having failed beyond the Cape of Labrador, till he had passed 58 degrees, and being ftopt in the month of July with cold and ice, turned again towards the west, refreshed himself at Baccalaos or Newfoundland, and afterwards failed along the coast (of the continent) unto 38 degrees, from whence he shaped his course to return to England. By which we are authorized to comprehend Hudson's Bay, with the adjacent countries and the banks of Newfoundland, under the dominion of the British crown: A territory which extends, along the fea coast, seventeen hundred miles, in a direct line. But as Hudson's Bay has not been concerned in the present contest, it will suffice to confine this fubject to the territory tending, from Cape Charles on the fouth-east point of Terra Labrador, to Cape Florida; including the islands and fishing banks upon that extensive coast; and, by right of discovery, as there was no Christian power had any fettlement thereon, or claim thereto, or even know-

Extent of his discoveries.

Peter Martyr. Decad. 3. ch. 6.

Baptista Romusius in the Preface to his 3d vol. of Navigations. And Hackluit's Voyages, vol. III.

<sup>\*</sup> See Francis Lopez de Gomera, a Spaniard, in his History of the West Indies, book II. c. 4.

ledge thereof, comprehending all the heathen posfessions and immense wildernesses, to the utmost extent of that continent westward, as far as it is bounded by the South-sea.

A. D. 1755.

In this light it is certain the powers of Europe, to whom Henry VII. of England notified the poffession he had taken of the premises, by his captains the Cabots, father and fon, understood this discovery to exclude their commissions and navigators from this coast and these islands and banks: for we read of no attempt of that fort within these First atlimits, till a lust of dominion, a rivalship in trade the French. and navigation, and a natural antipathy and envy, which the French took up against our nation, prompted them to fet a-foot new commissions for paring the territories and districts of other Christian nations in the new world. They succeeded most in the West Indies, where they got possession of those islands, from whence they draw so great national refources by trade and navigation. Nor did they fail, in a course of years, to explore the coast of North America. But with that secrecy, as to make a strong lodgment in the most obscure part thereof, before it was possible to interrupt their operations, and to drive them off. Thus favoured by the indolence and neglect of the English, who, in those early days, did not pay a due regard to the improvement of their North American regions, they stole up the bay and river of St. Lawrence, and fortified themselves at Quebec: by this influence they acquired a great extent of land, by them called Canada; and they maintained that

The death of Henry VII. and the schemes car-

that usurpation by force, till it was conquered in A. D. 1755the present war.

ried on by his fon and fuccessor Henry VIII. to enflave his subjects, to fatisfy his lust, and to rob the religious foundations, by introducing a religion of his own invention (for he was no otherwise a protestant, than as he abolished the Pope's supremacy in England, still retaining the worst of doctrines, and the spirit of persecution against all that Neglect of refused to subscribe unto his fix sanguinary articles) interrupted the laudable and profitable adventures, fet on foot with fo much success, for the discovery and the fettlement of unknown countries, inha-

bited only by heathens.

The island of Newfoundland.

our disco-

veries.

Newfoundland being the first land mentioned in Cabot's discovery, we begin with its descrip-It is an island of a triangular form, about 930 miles in circumference, separated on the north, from Terra de Labrador by the streight of Bellisle, which runs north-east, and is about 23 miles over in its narrowest part. On the west it has the gulph of St. Lawrence, and on the fouth and east the western or great Atlantic ocean. Cape Race or Raz is the most southerly point of the island, and lies in 46° 45' north lat. the most northern point is in lat. 51. 30. fo that the greatest length of the island from north to south is 280 miles. And as Cape Raye is its most westerly point, in north lat. 47. 35. the distance between it and Cape Race is about 240 miles.

A. D.

This island abounds with spacious and excellent bays and harbours; and is otherwise well supplied with fresh springs and waters. The produce of the land, though it might be made, by industry, to turn to some account, is not the consideration of the adventurers, whose principal, and indeed only care is to enrich themselves by the cod-fish trade upon its coast; which fish is so plentiful in this sea, as to be sufficient to supply the whole world; including what is taken on the banks, which are vast mountains concealed under water, as if nature had defigned them for inexhaustible magazines of cod-fish. Besides, from the livers of these fish the adventurers draw off great quantities of train oil, of which they make a considerable advantage. And as this navigation brings up the best and great numbers of feamen, and there is a great demand in France, Spain, Portugal and Italy for Newfoundland fish, an exclusive right to this trade and navigation, which we are intitled to by priority of discovery, is of the greatest consequence to England; as it ferves, at the same time, to enrich and strengthen ourselves, and deprives other nations of the like means to supply themselves with fish, and to man their navies.

The continent, under this discovery, has by The contifeveral grants, from time to time, been divided nent. into a number of provinces and districts, of which Nova Scotia is the most eastern settlement.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1755. Nova Scotia or Acadia.

174 .

Nova Scotia or Acadia, as to its antient boundaries, has already y been described in the demand made by the British commissaries upon the French King, for the faithful performance of that part of the treaty of Utrecht, which cedes Nova Scotia or Acadia, according to its antient boundaries, to his Britannic Majesty.

When first fettled by the Englifh.

This province was first settled by the English, before the year 1602, which the French historians allow to be two years before their navigators skulked up the gulph of St. Lawrence, and made a lodgment on the northern borders of this country. In 1620 the crown granted all that part of Acadia, as far as the 48th degree of north lat. to the council of Plymouth or New England: and in the next year the council of New England refigned to the crown all parts of their grant to the north of the river St. Croix, when it was then granted with the rest of Acadia to Sir William Alexander, Secretary of State for Scotland, and by him, or his charter, named Nova Scotia, instead of Acadia. In 1623 all Acadia or Nova Scotia was the French. given in marriage with King Charles the First's Undergoes daughter to the French King. Sir David Kirk took it from the French in 1627; but it was again ceded to France by the treaty of St. Germain.

several revolutions.

Ceded to

In 1654 Cromwel reduced it. But King Charles II. in 1662, without any regard to the remonstrances of New England and his parliament, against admitting the French fo near to our colonies, delivered it up again; and confirmed its possession to

1755.

France by the treaty of Breda in 1667. The New Englandmen labouring under great disadvantages from a French neighbour in that maritime fituation, laid hold of the first opportunity of a war to force it again out of the hands of the French, and took it from them in 1690 with 700 men only. But their hopes were once more disappointed; for the treaty of Reswick gave it back to France. However, the time at last came to fix Ceded to this possession in its original right: For Nova Scotia or Acadia being reduced in 1710 by united treaty of Utrecht. forces from Old and New England, it was, as already largely z explained, confirmed to the crown of Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, "with " its antient boundaries, as also the city of Port "Royal, as fully as ever France possessed them " by treaty or other means."

The importance of this fettlement to the French Its importwas very confiderable. In the first place, it opened ance to the for them a way to the great western ocean from Canada, and fecured a communication between Old France and that back colony, without the delay and hazard of the navigation through the river St. Lawrence: Again, it put them in posfession of the banks on that coast, with whose produce they might eafily rival, if not beat England out of the cod fishery.

An author, well acquainted with this subject, Remarks remarks, That could France have carried her thereon. point in her claim upon Acadia or Nova Scotia,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See before, p. 49, 50, and 84, &c.

1755.

with the contiguous islands and Cape Breton, such an acquifition would have made our natural enemies more terrible, than ever, to our colonies: because it might secure to them a superiority in the fishery for ever, and the whole fur-trade of the northern continent: it would provide them with materials for building ships of the greatest force, and with excellent ports and harbours, from whence they might embark and launch into the ocean; instead of the tedious and hazardous navigation down the river St. Lawrence. So that in proportion as France should be deprived of these advantages, Great Britain, by retaining the possession of Acadia or Nova Scotia, maintains her superiority in the fishery and in those seas, and preferves her colonies from the encroachments and threats of their enemies, or rivals in trade. France was fo sensible of the ruin of all her fine plans, for the extent and improvement of her Canadian colony; and for the destruction of the British power, interest and trade on the continent of North America, should she not be able by negociation or force to maintain her perfidious claim to Acadia, that we have feen all her policy, riches and strength employed, in this war, to get it once more into her actual possession.

New England first fettled, and composed of four provinces.

New England, which was begun to be inhabited in the year 1606, by patent from King James I. is now composed of the provinces of New Hampshire, Massachuset's Bay, Rhode Island and Connecticut; which have, in course of time, confederated for their common support against

against the several attempts made by the French A.D. on their back settlements: For, so early as the year 1611, the French made encroachments upon ments by the New England patent, and endeavoured to fe-theFrench. cure their usurpation by several forts at mount Mansel, St. Croix, and Port Royal; and were making dispositions for further invasions, when Sir Samuel Asgall drove them off, dismantled their fortifications, and carried away both their artillery and stores a.

At present, and for many years, New England The town abounds with trading towns, of which Boston, of Boston, the metropolis of the province of Massachuset's Bay, is the first city of all North America. It contains ten churches, and about 30,000 inhabitants, is built on a peninfula at the bottom of a capacious harbour, defended from the violence of the ocean by feveral islands and rocks, that appear above water; and from an enemy by a regular fortress at the narrow entrance of the river. The chief branch of trade in this city feems to be in fish, which employs a vast number of people; but the inhabitants also drive a brisk trade with the West Indies for lumber and provisions; and with England in masts, yards, pitch, tar, turpentine and staves, and some peltry. Besides, by taking molaffoes in return for lumber on the fugar islands, the people of Boston have ingrossed the Indian trade on that Continent for spirituous liquors, and supply the British colonies in North

<sup>2</sup> See Harris, Part I. p. 851. 1st Edition.

A. D. 1755.

America, the Newfoundland fishery, and the greatest part of the commerce on the coast of Guinea, with a kind of runs distilled from that barrer. nothing does the industry of the New Englandmen more honour, than the number of ships built in their ports. By which they draw great fums from other countries, and have become carriers for most of the other colonies. They have manufactures of hats, linnen and woollen; and on all occasions, when called out for war, have distinguished themselves in courage; and therefore the French have always been endeavouring to creep down upon them, and to circumscribe both their trade and power; which has been particularly manifested by building Fort Cohasser and Fort Frederic or Crown Point, a confiderable way within their acknowledged frontier. These confederate provinces contain about 350,000 inhabitants, including a finall number of blacks and Indians.

New York fettled by Swedesand Dutch.

New York is the next colony to the fouth. It was first settled by the Swedes, and by the name of New Sweden; and afterwards the name of New Netherland was imposed by the Dutch, who got footing on the Delaware river by the help of Henry Hudson, an English commander of a ship, sitted out by the Dutch East India company to find a nearer passage to China. Who, failing in his discovery by the north west, steered for the coast of Florida, pushed into the river, and made a lodgment at the place, where New York now stands, in the year 1609. Which, in

a few years, throve so well, under the influence A. D. 1755. and aid of the United Provinces in Europe, that the Swedes were obliged to submit to their jurisdiction. But as foon as our national strength and Driven out spirit revived after the restoration, the English as-by the English. ferted their right; and the Dutch, not able to refift the force fent to reduce them, or to drive them off, submitted to the King of England on promise of being protected in their persons and properties, in the year 1664. King Charles II. had granted this territory to his brother the Duke of York by letters patent, before the expedition failed; and therefore it was immediately named New York in compliment to his Royal Highness the proprietor.

This province is about 50 miles in breadth, within which compass lies Long Island, on the Long south of Connecticut. But it extends on both Island. sides of the river Hudson, northerly, about 200 miles, till it meets with the Iroquois or Indians of the Five Nations.

Hudson River is navigable almost 200 miles, Hudson's At its mouth is the island Manahatton, 14 miles River. long and five broad, which forms an excellent harbour, and contains the capital city, also named New York. In which are upwards of 8000 in-Town of habitants, who drive a good trade in corn, flour New York, and other species of provisions to the West Indies. It is neatly built, and has four churches. At the distance of 150 miles stands the town of Town of Albany, upon the same river; which, though Albany, not large nor populous, is a place of great trade

A. D. 1755.

Iroquois Indians. with the Indians, who come here to barter their goods for powder and shot, fire arms and cutlery ware, coarse woollen cloths and linnen, &c.

And this is the place where all transactions and treaties are negociated between the English and Iroquois; once the most powerful of all the heathens on that Continent, but so enervated by the use of spirituous liquors chiefly, that their whole confederate nation is not able to bring above 1500 men into the field, though augmented by the Tuscororas, an Indian tribe, which was driven from the confines of Carolina, and joined in their confederacy.

It is computed that the province of New York, including Long Island, contains 80,000 inhabitants. It should seem, from the situation of Crown Point, between lake Champlain and Sacrament, which stands at least thirty miles within the river Iroquois, that the French must have gained over those Indians to their interest, so, at least, as to stand neuter upon any breach between them and the English; which is confirmed by their answer to General Shirley's invitation to accompany him to Niagara; and that they were fortifying a road, that in a little time might put them in possession of Hudson's river; which could be easily formed from Quebec, by the river Richeliev and the lakes Champlain and George; and, consequently, gain them a settlement in the heart of our colonies, and a fafe and eafy communication with the western ocean. The Mohok Indians inhabit the country advanced from Albany.

New Jersey lies in a southerly direction from New York, and is that piece of land, which is inclosed between the boundaries of New York and New Jers the river Dalaware, on the west, about 150 miles in length, and 50 miles broad, containing about 50,000 fouls. It is so advantageously situated between New York and Pensylvania, that its back fettlements have little to fear from the hostile Indians: and this small tract of land excels in grain and in all kinds of provisions and fruits, particularly in peaches and melons. Its forests, which are large, abound with oak, ash, beech, cedar, chestnut, cypress, wallnut-tree, pine, sassafras and hickery. Both this country and New York produce good hemp and flax. All which commodities the inhabitants send to the markets of New York and Pensylvania, though there is a very commodious harbour, capable of receiving ships of great burden, at Perth-Amboy, its capital, which is very thinly inhabited; though the province is supposed to contain about 60,000 souls.

Penfylvania stretches southerly from New York Penfylvaand New Jersey, 250 miles in length, and 200 in breadth, having no communication with the fea, except by the mouth of the Delaware; containing above 250,000 inhabitants, who carry on a large commerce with Europe and the West Indies: and the importance of this colony to its mother country, may be gathered from the value of the imports from England, which in the year 1757 amounted to 268,4261. 6s. 6d. sterling. Philadelphia, its capital, is an extraordinary large,

rich

A. D. 1755. The town of Philadelphia.

rich and flourishing city, built on a tongue of land, at the conflux of the Dalaware and Schulkel, two navigable rivers, in the form of a regular oblong; with broad, spacious and uniform streets, which cross each other at right angles, leaving proper spaces for public edifices. The houses are also neatly built of brick, and there are commodious docks for building of ships. But one great misfortune attends this opulent and numerous people, whose religious principles of Quakerism, being too pacific, have encouraged the fubtle French to hover more about their borders than some other of their neighbours. They even erected a fort on their property, at Lake Erie, and another at fome distance to the southward of the River Au Beuf, besides other encroachments, unmolested.

Maryland.

Maryland, in length about 140 miles, and almost of the same breadth, spreads along the Bay of Chesapeak, bounded on the north by Pensylvania, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south of the river Potowmack. Its number of white inhabitants do not exceed 40,000: But their negro slaves are upwards of 60,000, by whose labour they cultivate and manufacture 40,000 hogsheads of tobacco, which is the staple commodity of their province. Their capital is called Annapolis, beautifully situated on the river Patuxent.

Virginia.

Virginia, which is now properly fo called, and distinguished as a province on this continent, is the next settlement to the southward, bounded on the north, by the river Potowmack; on the east,

1755.

by the bay of Chesapeak; on the south, by Carolina; and without any limits to the westward; though the plantations have not yet extended beyond the Allegany mountains; making in length about 240 miles, and in breadth not more than 200 miles. The white people in this province are computed to be 70,000, and the blacks many more; employed chiefly as in Maryland, and raising much the same quantity of tobacco, which is the staple commodity of this province, though Great Britain is supplied from hence with a considerable quantity of flax, hemp, iron, staves, wallnut-tree and cedar-planks; and a good trade is carried on with the West Indies in lumber, pitch, tar, corn and provisions.

This province abounds with vast forests of timber, and produces plenty of corn, and every fort of fruit in great abundance and perfection.

The Bay of Chesapeak runs from south to north Chesapeak 300 miles into the country, covered from the western Bay. ocean by the east side of Maryland, and a small part of Virginia on the same Peninsula, and receiving many rivers on both sides; as James river, York river, Rappahannock, and Potowmack.

As to its towns: James Town, its ancient capital, is dwindled into a village; and the prefent feat of government, named Williamsburg, is neither large nor populous.

The Carolinas, bounded on the north by Vir- The Caroginia, form a shore on the western ocean of 400 linas. miles and upwards; extending in breadth near

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

184

A. D. 300, to the lands inhabited by the Cutabaws, T755. Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickefaws.

They are divided into two provinces, the north and the fouth. North Carolina is most populous, and carries on a very confiderable trade in tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, shingles, lumber, corn, peas, pork, beef, tobacco, deer-skins, indigo, wheat, rice, bees-wax, tallow, bacon, hogs-lard, timber, &c. Its chief town is small, and called Edenton. But the capital of South Carolina, called Charles town, is commodiously situated at the conflux of two navigable rivers, with a commodious harbour; contains about 800 houses well built, and is well fortified. The trade of this province is much in the fame things, as in North Carolina; excepting its staple commodities of rice and indigo, which here are cultivated with good fuccess.

Georgia.

Georgia, the most fouthern of all our settlements on this coast, extends about 60 miles along the sea shore, and runs almost 300 miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, widening in the inland parts to above 150 miles in breadth:

b They live in the middle of our plantations, about 200 miles from Charles Town.

c Inhabit a beautiful country, beginning at about 500 miles from Charles Town, and running westward within 100 miles of the Missisppi; and are accounted a brave and wise people.

<sup>4</sup> Distant 500 miles from Charles Town, and 200 miles

from the nearest English settlement.

Live about 600 miles west of Charles Town, and are a brave, friendly and faithful people.

A. D. 1755-

But thinly inhabited. It is bounded on the fouth. by the river Attamaha, not far from the late Spanish fort of St. Augustine. The inhabitants raise large quantities of rice and indigo; and have made fome progress in the culture of filk. Its capital is named Savannah, commodiously situated on a river The towns of the same name, about ten miles from the sea. of Savan-It has another town named Augusta, about 200 Augusta. miles higher up that river, navigable for large boats; at which town the Georgians carry on a profitable trade for skins, with the Creeks, Chickefaws, and the Cherokees, who are at present the most respectable tribes of Indians, both for number and strength.

Let us now resume the thread of our history. The mea-The hostilities commenced in the North American fures taken by the Brifeas, as well as on that continent, gave fuch a tifh court. turn to the spirit of the nation, which received the news with the greatest joy, as obliged the government to proceed; it being too late to retreat. And, as the war was expected to be confined to the fea, and to the operations in North America, our miniftry, depending upon a superiority on the ocean, pretended to strike such a stroke, as to deprive the French at once of the means to man their fleets. But this amounted to no more than an order for our ships of war to make reprifals upon the French, Reprifals by taking all their ships, wherever they should be made. met; and to dispatch Sir Edward Hawke, with eighteen men of warf, to wait for the French fleet,

A. D. 1755.

Admiral Hawke's cruise.

under the command of M. de Guay, who had put into Cadiz; and was expected shortly to return to Brest. Sir Edward's orders were, to cruize off Cape Finesterre till the French fleet came in fight: than which no flation could have been appointed so favourable to the French. It was ordered upon the mere presumption, that the French fleet must fail in that tract and in no other, leaving the whole Bay of Biscay, and the Atlantic Ocean, as far as the English channel, open, for the course of M. du Guay's fleet, as well as for the return of the ships from North America, which du Guay had been fent out to convoy fafe into port. Accordingly M. du Guay foon got intelligence of Admiral Hawke's strength and station, and the purposes for which he had orders to lie there: And like a skilful seaman, the French admiral seized the opportunity of the English squadron's confinement, fo far distant from Brest; and, departing from Cadiz, he steered directly west from Spain into the Atlantic Ocean, and, at a great distance from the coast, changing his course, he stood directly for the Land's End of England; whereby he avoided Admiral Hawke's fleet, cruifing off Cape Finesterre; arrived safe in the British channel; fell in behind it with his fquadron, and got fafe into the harbour of Brest s on the 2d of September.

Upon advice of du Guay's fafe return, Admiral Hawke was called home; where he arrived on the 29th of September. The ministry in order

See the Observation concerning this measure, on p. 132.

to stop the clamour of the people, who were greatly exasperated at their imprudent conduct on this occasion, pretended to strike some extraordinary blow by another fleet of 22 ships of the line and six frigates. But, it is evident, this was only intended for a temporary expedient to cover themselves from national refentment: for, this squadron, Admiral committed to the command of Admiral Byng, Byng's failed on October the 14th, and returned on the 22d of November, from a western cruise, which was all the service he was directed to perform. Commodore Frankland was fent to the West Indies with four men of war, under the like instructions. However, by the commission for reprisals, the French trade was distressed, and their navy de-French prived of a great body of seamen. For, before trasfed, the end of the year, our cruifers brought 300 merchant ships, many of which were very rich. from St. Domingo and Martinico; and 8000 failors, into our ports. By which the French government were distressed for men, and the merchants and manufacturers were ruined.

A. D. 1755.

But this violent proceeding, without a formal Remarks declaration of war, on the part of Great Britain, measures was loudly impeached of injustice, and breach of of the British minifaith, by the French ministry, and not greatly ap-fry. proved of by many thinking people at home.

A pamphlet foon appeared with remarks on this measure; the author of which said, "Whilst the French are palpably obnoxious to the charge of having been originally the incendiaries of the war; whilst the English have, on the other hand,

the

A. D. the justest of causes to maintain against the open invasion of their rights and properties, it seems the fate of this nation, never to imitate the French, but in those points, which redound to the reproach of their taste, and of their honour.

The French, it is true, set us an example of committing hostilities without a previous declaration of war. But was such an example to be followed? Or can the matter we blame, be given as a reason, and a fanction for our own proceeding? If they violated the facred law of nations, in their unformal attack upon a fort, in an obscure, remote spot of America, the old fair English way was, to have instantly declared war, and to have repelled their persidy in a manner more suitable to the dignity of the nation.

To urge, that it was apprehended Spain would have joined with France, had Great Britain declared war first, is a weak supposition. For an open act of hostility is a more effectual declaration of war, than mere words in form. And we had that advantage of the French. Nothing was more easy than to prove it.

The failure then of this effential form, has furnished the French with that handle for declaiming against us, of which they have taken such advantage.

The hostilities begun and committed by them in a corner of North America, though to the full, as real breaches of the peace, as any we have fince retaliated upon them, were not of that glaring and universally striking nature, as the preda-

A. D. 1755.

tory war carried on by us upon the fea, which was spread with their merchantmen, secure, as they had reason to apprehend, upon the faith of a peace; of which this rupture had, as to them, received no fanction of a declaration of war; and furely fuch a meafure could not, humanly speaking, fail of bringing it on: So that, to treat them only as provisional captures, is as false, with respect to politics, as it is with respect to the law of nations. Indeed, nothing could have been contrived more effectually to give fuch a good cause, as ours, the air and face of a bad one.

This was then playing the game agreeable to the defires of the French. They could not but feel the damage; but though the merchantile interest was very dear to them, it was considered as subordinate to their general system: Therefore, in this case, they bore the injury with national fortitude, and fecretly folacing themselves in this reflection, That by fuch an act of precipitation in politics, the English were doing themselves greater, and even irreparable damage in the opinion of the public, and had given them a fair opportunity to vindicate their own breach of faith in the repairs of Dunkirk, which they had, ever fince the treaty of Utrecht, made a capital object of their councils.

Advices from the East Indies, this year, com- Affairs of plained of a want of strength, in the English, EastIndies. to maintain their former advantages over the French and their allies: and that a negociation, Anegociaset on foot between Mr. Saunders, the English foot with

govern- Monf. Dupleix.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. governor, and M. Dupleix, had miscarried; the commissions on our part having detected a forgery discovered in the commissions, under which Dupleix pretended to act from the Great Mogul, appointing him governor general, from the river Kristna to the sea h.

Hostilities renewed.

The congress broke up, and hostilities continued, as usual, in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. The English were in possession of the town, and the enemy well encamped upon the island before it, with a large body of cavalry, and the river every where fordable.

This fituation of the enemy was of great difadvantage to parties fent out for provisions and stores, which could not be avoided. In the month of February 1754, they cut off a party of two captains, six officers, 180 men rank and file, four pieces of cannon, 800 Sepoys, and about 7000 pounds of money, with a large convoy of provisions, by a party of 120 French infantry, about the same number of deserters, a French troop of about 80, 6000 Sepoys, a large body of Maissore cavalry, and the Marattas, making in all about 10,000, with seven pieces of cannon: And it was with great courage and conduct, that another convoy escaped the like sate, on the 12th of May following. In which skirmish we lost

h They discovered that it was a false seal fixed to the Saned or grant, called the Mogul's; and another had no date. Every grant from the Mogul is authenticated not only with a small seal, on which is engraven the name of the Mogul, but also with that of his Visiers.

about 200 Sepoys, 59 private men, killed and wounded, and fix officers wounded. In this hazardous fituation, our Indian war continued the whole fummer, till it was happily concluded by an unforeseen negociation.

A. D. 1755.

The French East India company, having great Resolutireason to be disgusted with M. Dupleix's conduct, ons of the which ferved to enrich himself, and to extend his East India own power, fo far, as to make them jealous of company. his defign to raise himself to the dignity of an independent Eastern Prince, and to establish his government at their expence, and perhaps upon their ruin in those parts; and dreading the consequences of a war with the English, on that trading coast, in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France, which they were not able to support; endeavoured to get clear of Dupleix, and to establish a good harmony with the English East India company at the same time: Having also intelligence, that the British ministry had already i dispatched Admirale Rear Admiral Watson, and Rear Admiral Pocock, Watson and Pocock with a fquadron k of capital ships, and Colonel fail for Adlercron's regiment, to support the British in- E. Indies. terest beyond the Line; they immediately dispatched M. Godeheu, with a commission of com-

i In March 1754.

Le Confisting of the Kent 70 guns, Captain Speke, with Rear Admiral Watson on board: the Cumberland, 66 guns, Captain Harrison, with Rear Admiral Pocock on board; the Tyger, 60 guns, Captain Latham; the Salisbury, 50 guns, Captain Knowles; the Bridgwater, 20 guns, Captain Martin; and the King's Fisher sloop, 14 guns, Captain Smith.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1755.

192

Dupleix superfeded.

missary general and governor general of all their fettlements, and 1500 Europeans, and with instructions to supersede M. Dupleix in his government, and to do his endeavours to strike up a provisional treaty of armistice and pacification with the governor of Fort St. George, and with the other English settlements on that coast.

M. Godeheu's paci-ficconduct.

M. Godeheu executed his commission with dexterity and honour. He, on his arrival, found the English squadron upon the coast. A truce, if possible to be gained, admitted of no delay; and in order to conciliate a good opinion of his pacific intentions, he, immediately upon his landing, fent back the troops, which M. Dupleix had stopped 1 in their passage from Madrass to Fort St. George. and detained prisoners ever since at Pondicherry; and at the fame time fignified his inclination to purfue pacific measures, and proposed a suspension of arms between the two European grand commercial companies. Such a fudden change in the French was highly

acceptable to the English. The governor and council by their dispatch and promise concurred with M. Godeheu in this work, and it was foon A ceffation after m agreed to suspend all hostilities: and on the 26th of December 1754, articles of a provisional treaty, and articles and stipulations of a truce, were figned by Thomas Saunders, Efg; prefident for the honourable East India company on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa, of Fort St.

of hostilities. A provifional treaty between the two companies.

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 77.

m On the 11th of Oct. 1754. George,

1755-

George, on the part of the English united East India company; and by the Sieur Charles Robert Godeheu, commissary for his most Christian Majesty; commander general of all the settlements of the French company on both sides the Cape of Good Hope, and at China; president of all the councils there established, and director general of the India company of France.

By the provisional treaty it was agreed in the first article, That the two companies, English and French, should renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and never interfere in any difference that may arise between the princes of the country.—In which article the conduct of M. Dupleix is particularly pointed at and condemned, whose ambition had put him upon every device of arms, of intrigue and forgery, to robe himself with the pageantry of an eastern monarch; to force himself into the Moorish government, and to pillage the Nabobs, &c. of their treasure; ever fomenting difference between the princes of the country, that he might by some means come in for a part of the spoil.

The 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles, relate to the fettlements of both nations and their districts. By the 8th article, it was agreed, "That these conditions accepted on both sides, altho" they are not to be a law for a definitive treaty in Europe, should nevertheless produce a truce between the two nations and their allies, until news be received in India of the answers made in Europe concerning this agreement.—By

A. D.

1755.

the 9th article, "That neither nation shall be allowed to procure, during the truce, any new " grant or cession, or to build forts for the defence " of new establishments; but only to rebuild and " repair the fortifications now subfisting in the " establishments they possessed at that time, in or-"der to prevent their entire ruin."—By the tenth, "That until the arrival of answers from Europe " to these articles, which were to be dispatched " by the first ships, to be submitted to the decision " of the two companies, under the pleasure and "approbarion of the two crowns; the two na-" tions should not proceed to any cession, retro-" cession, or evacuation of what they now pos-" fess, every thing being to remain on the foot-" ing of uti possidetis." - And lastly, " That in " regard to indemnification, the two nations may " expect for the expences of the war; This arti-" cle should be amicably adjusted in the definitive " treaty."

A truce concluded.

The articles and stipulations of a truce, concluded on the same day, and between the same parties to promote the re-establishment of tranquillity in this part of India, were as follow:

Art. I. To take place on the 11th of January 1755, the day of the expiration of the suspension of arms, proclaimed on the 11th of October 1754: all hostilities shall cease between the English and French.

Art. II. During this truce, which shall be in force until we are informed in India of the answers made in Europe concerning the said provi-

1755.

fional treaty; the troops of the two nations, French and English, shall not act against each other, either as principals or auxiliaries.

Art. III. The two nations, English and French, engage to oblige their allies to observe all that is stipulated for the accomplishment of a truce by virtue of the treaty, and whoever shall dare to infringe it shall be reputed a common enemy, and shall be reduced to good order by force of arms.

Art. IV. If either of the two nations, French or English, or either auxiliary troops or allies, shall commit any act of hostility, possess themfelves of any place, or any one shall cause any damage to be done to another during the said truce, both oblige themselves to make reparation, proportionable to the damage and to the entire restitution of whatever shall be taken.

Art. V. If the allies, or other troops in pay of either nation shall be guilty of any act of hostility, or commit any pillages in the territories whereof either nation is now in possession, it shall be lawful for both nations to repulse their insults by force, by which the injured nation shall not be deemed to have infringed the present agreement.

Art. VI. If the allies or auxiliaries, troops of either nation shall take up arms and insult the countries of which the nation, they are allied to, is now in possession: in this case, the two nations shall assist each other against this enemy, who shall thereby become the common enemy of both.

Art. VII. The troops of the two nations shall be employed, during this truce, in the care of

A. D.

their present establishments and possessions; they may be transported freely, and without any difficulty, from one place to another, at the pleasure of the governor, generals, commanders, &c. of each nation; and all persons actually under the protection of either slag, may likewise go and come at pleasure, without being molested either in their effects or persons.

Art. VIII. Trade shall be free throughout the Carnatick, and in all the countries to the northward of the Coromandel coast, for the two contracting nations: they may fetch merchandizes from all the places in the dependance of each other, and transport them freely, without any restraint, through the respective jageers and territories.

Art. IX. All common enemies, or the particular enemies of either nation, who shall come to attack the English and French in their present possessions, and trouble the tranquillity which is to reign in India, shall be repulsed by the united force of the two nations, French and English.

Art. X. As foon as the truce is proclaimed, the mutual exchange of prisoners shall be set about, man for man, and means shall be resolved on for the ease of those, which shall not be exchanged.

Art. XI. Commissaries shall be appointed on both sides, to examine into the infringements committed by each party, or their auxiliary troops or allies, and settle the restitution to be made of all the places taken, during the truce, against the tenor of the suspension of arms; as likewise of all that may have been taken from them by the said auxiliary

1755.

auxiliary troops, in merchandize, effects, money, &c. and further to fettle in a fixed method, for a guide, during the whole time of the truce, all the names, and the extent of every country, paragana", and village, under the power and in the possession of the two nations, English and French.

Art. XII. It is agreed, that whenever, in the course of the truce, any complaint shall be made by either of the faid nations of an infringement of the fourth article, the faid commissaries on each fide appointed, shall certify and examine the fact, that justice may be done accordingly to the injured nation, either by restitution or reparation, according to the nature of the injury received.

Done at Fort St. George, Dec. 31, 1754.

Dated at Pondicherry,

Dec. 26, 1754.

These treaties (though manifestly most favour-Remarks able to the French, as they left them at liberty to on these treaties. recover from the unnatural state, into which Dupleix had thrown the company's affairs, by his ambition, avarice, and tyranny; had opened a free trade and communication for their undertakings by fea, and left so many effential points to be fettled by commissaries, with a people that are known never to determine in fuch cases, but by the single argument of their own convenience and interest) promised the English considerable relief from the burden and hazard of war; and they were rendered more fatisfactory by the de-

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1755.

198

parture of M. Dupleix; who was ordered and fent to France by the first ships; and by the friendly conduct of M. de Saussay, commander of the French at Seringham, who, being sollicited by Nauderauze, the Maissorean General, with an offer of three lack of rupees, to march off and leave him at liberty to surprize Trichinopoly, in possession of the English, rejected the bribe with disdain.

The truce broke by the French.

But, the Sieur Godeheu being returned for Europe, Mr. de Leyrit, his fuccessor, and M. Buffy, who was left at liberty, in the late treaty, to enlarge the valuable and extensive possessions which the French held in the north, foon convinced the English that the tranquillity was not founded upon fuch a folid basis as expected; and that while one fide of the country had laid down their arms, there was no fecurity for our extensive concerns and interests in other parts. For, expresly contrary to the ninth article of the provisional treaty, it appeared very early in the year 1755, that the French were endeavouring to acquire the dominion of all the provinces of the Deckan°. Buffy demanded of Salabatzing, the possession of the fort of Golconda; and Leyrit took the part of the Polygar of the Velloure, the strongest fort in the province, against his Sovereign the Nabob Mahomed Allee Cawn; threatning, by letter to the Governor of Madrass, and by marching 300 French, and as many Sepoys, from Pondicherry,

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<sup>•</sup> See the account of the war in India, by Richard Owen Cambridge, Efq; p. 132.

1755.

to support the rebel, and to oppose the English A.D. employed by the Nabob to collect his revenues from the tributary princes, that held under him p; our fleet having then failed upon an expedition to reduce the piratical state of Angria, on the Malabar coast, which had for many years infested the trade of Bombay, and greatly endangered the navigation of, not only the English, but of the Dutch, &c. from Europe.

After this survey of the transactions beyond the Affairs of feas, let us return to the state of affairs at home. Europe. Where, at the end of September, the admiralty lift of the royal navy exhibited a most formidable aspect for our enemies to meditate upon. It confifted then of

1 ship carrying	110 guns 1100 men British
5 ships carrying	100 1000 men, each navy.
13	90 — 700
8	80 600
5	74 500
29 —————	70 480
39 —————	60 400
3	54 350
28	50-300
4	44 250
35 ———	40-250
42	20 140
31 carrying from 18 t	0 10 100

<sup>213</sup> Besides a great many bomb-ketches, fireships and tenders.

P Ibid. p. 117.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1755.

200

Such a navy was sufficient to oppose the united maritime forces of all Europe; whilst that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ships upon the stocks, amounted to no more than

French navy.

6	ships carrying	80	guns
2 I	-	74	
1	-	72	
4			
31		64	
2		60	-
6		50	-
32	frigates		
	•		

113

French remonstrance against Admiral Boscawen's proceedings.

The French court, as soon as they heard of Admiral Boscawen's taking their two men of war, dressed up a fresh remonstrance against Great Britain to the court of Spain; and represented this action, before a declaration of war, to be a proceeding, that threatened the very dissolution of all faith amongst nations: with a view to draw the Spaniards, at once, into their quarrel. To which Sir Benjamin Keene the British minister to his most Catholic Majesty confronted a strong memorial, importing, "That it was well known, "the French sleet sent to America, carried troops,

Answered by Sir Benjamin Keene.

" ammunition, and every necessary for defending countries, which the French had unjustly usurped

" in North America, and of which the English

" claimed the property. That the rules of felf-

" defence authorize every nation to render fruit-" less any attempt that may tend to its prejudice. "That this right had been made use of only in " taking the two French ships of war, and that "the distinction of place may be interpreted in " favour of the English, seeing the two ships were taken on the coast of the countries where "the contest arose." Such was the disposition or policy of the Spanish court at this time, that they feemed fatisfied with Sir Benjamin Keene's answer to the French complaint; though the French mi- Reply of nister replied with observing, That the hostilities the French. of the English had begun in the European seas, from whence they had taken and carried a vaft number of French ships p into their ports.

A. D. 1755.

But what is more extraordinary, the French Their paministry still maintained an appearance of mode-cific pre-tences conration, and a defire to accommodate matters with tinued. Great Britain without coming to blows. It is certain, they were afraid of our superiority at sea, should it be let loose upon them; and they were disappointed of their American scheme, to secure their possession by a superiority of European troops, &c. before we should be ready to oppose them. Therefore any device to curb, or to keep us inactive, was the best game they could play. So that, after we had carried the national refentment to the lengths above related, taking every ship our cruifers could meet with, and detaining both their cargoes and crews, the French ministry, as foon as they heard that one of their men of war had taken the Blandford man of war, belonging

P About 195 at this time,

to his Britannic Majesty, with Mr. Littleton, A. D. 1755. appointed Governor of Carolina, on board, and carried her into Nants; they ordered the governor

Blandford man of war releafed and fent home.

to be fet at liberty, and shortly after released both the ship and crew. Whatever might be the motive for this restitution, whether to throw upon us the breach of faith and the commencement of the war; or to provoke us to more moderate meafures; it had no effect. Our preparations for fea fervice were accelerated with incredible activity and expedition. And the French in earnest began to make the best of their case, in order to deprive us of the benefit of a naval war. Their preparations for a land war went on with extraordinary diligence: They made ture of the Empress Queen, our old ally, and marched great numbers of their troops along the coast of the British Channel, to terrify us with an invalion; a scheme that

Threaten us with an invalion.

turn from

The

us in open battle.

In the midst of this hurry his Majesty returned King's re- from his Electorate, which he left on the 8th of September; and he arrived at his palace at Ken-Germany.

had often delivered them from the power of the

British arms, when they were not able to cope with

fington on the 15th of the same month.

The first thing his Majesty did was to finish the treaty with Russia, above-mentioned q, which was ratified on the thirtieth of the same month. But when this and the treaty with Hesse Cassel came before the parliament, they were canvassed

Debates about the treaties with Ruffia and Heffe Caffel.

with a good deal of diflike: and previous to that, A. D. the King of Prussia taking great disgust at the feventh article in his Britannic Majesty's treaty with Ruffia, which he looked upon as a menace levelled against himself, declared by his ministers in all the courts of Europe, "That he would op- King of " pose, with his utmost force, the entrance of Prussia's declaraany foreign troops into the Empire, under any tion on that occasion. " pretence whatfoever."

1755.

This spirited declaration by the King of Prus- Itseffection fia, at a time France had erected and filled feveral France. great magazines in Westphalia, by permission of the Elector of Cologne, and had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the Empire, drew overtures from that court immediately. The Duke de Nivernois was fent to Berlin, and proposed a new alliance with his Prusfian Majesty; in order to perswade his Majesty to retract his declaration: and the French Ambaffador's reception was fuch as made England dubious of the King's resolution to abide by what he had declared. In this ambiguity his Britannic on Great Majesty dreaded the fate of his electoral domi-Britain. nions, in case Prussia might be gained over by France, whose forces on the Lower Rhine were provided with magazines, all the way to Hanover, applied also to the court of Prussia, with such advantageous propofals, as made his Prussian Majesty entirely relinquish all thoughts of further negociation with the Grand Monarch: Though this treaty with Prussia did not take effect till some months after.

1755. Queen of Hungary aid Great cording to

treaty.

A. D.

His Britannic Majesty at the same time demanded the auxiliaries, which he had a right unto by treaties, from the Empress Queen. But, with refuses to an unprecedented ingratitude, that heires of the Britain ac- house of Austria, for whose support against France in particular, Great Britain had spent and run our nation in debt more millions than her hereditary dominions are worth, not only absolutely refused to perform her engagements, under the pretence that an American war was not a clause in our alliance with her; but afterwards, when required by England also, to defend her barrier towns in the Low Countries, obtained for her family by British blood and treasure, on that express condition, she excused herself from the service, under a pretence of her fears from the King of Pruffia.

National discontent with the ministry.

The nation began to be greatly alarmed at the measures of the court. The ministry, notwithstanding the attention given, all this year, to our marine, and the lengths they had run, in making reprifals, and in commencing hostilities in North America, were fo perplexed and dispirited with the news of Braddock's defeat, that they feemed wavering in their councils, and more inclined to an accommodation, than to proceed in their demands of fatisfaction, and to maintain their national rights, by way of arms. And his Majesty's taking fuch a powerful army of Russians and Heffians into British pay, without consent of parliament, and, as it was fuggefted, having drawn upon the treasury for a part of the money (which

had

A. D.

1755.

had been particularly intended by the vote of credit in the last sessions of parliament for the sea fervice, and to maintain our possessions in North America) to make good his agreement with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; this created a jealousy in the people, that it was intended to enter into fuch continental measures, as would necessarily deprive Great Britain of the means to distress the enemy by sea, and to do herself justice in America.

The spirit of the nation at this juncture, will Remarks

best appear from the political observations pub- on the spilished by the patriots. It was observed, That the nation. nation had been long under the direction of state emperics; whose only merit had been to skin, our wounds and palliate our distempers. That it was now time to fearch the wound to the bottom, and to apply wholesome and regular medicaments to the almost corrupted body: That the cure, though perhaps painful, must be speedily undergone: because a delay would certainly bring on more dreadful fymptoms, and infallibly end in political death. That the nation had been long deluded by the magic found of words, and fome of the principal men had been drove from the throne by odious distinctions and false imputations; whereby the rancour and animofity of parties had been kept up, and the Sovereign deprived of the affiftance of some of the ablest of his subjects, most firmly attached to his person and family: That we were loaded with a most heavy debt, and alarmed by imminent dangers from within; and just upon the brink of a war with

A. D.

with a great, and our most powerful enemy; the event of which might determine our being, as a free and independant nation. Therefore, that nothing less than a vigorous exertion of our natural rights, and unanimous concurrence, with the divine assistance, in the defence of our liberties, King and country, could prevent us from sinking under the weight of such multiplying and growing evils.

Does not the voice of the people, said they, who pay the taxes, cry loudly at present for a war, to restrain the ambitious views of our persidious neighbours, the French? So that let those, now concerned for the nation, steer clear of the blunders, mistakes and malpractices, which deprived Great Britain of the advantages expected in the last war; and make the true interest of their country, the sole object of their operations, and they need not doubt of giving satisfaction to the nation.

The interest of this nation is so very plain and obvious, that honesty can never mistake it: we want no extraordinary talents to feel our own strength, or to know our own good. The sea is our element to sight upon, ships are our castles: and our marine is an over-match for all Europe. We may in such a war humble the Grand Monarch, and reduce him to submit to equitable terms of peace. It is as natural for Britain to trust in her sleets, as a bull in his horns, or a lion in his paws. But on the Continent France must beggar

beggar us and dispose us to accept of the conditions she may please to grant.

A. D. 1753.

As for subsidiary forces; it was asked, What had the British Empire got by the vast sums of money paid in subsidies to the Dutch, Saxons, Bavarians, Hessians, Hanoverians, Danes, Rusfians, Prussians, Hungarians, to the King of Sardinia, the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, and to God knows who befides? All of whom had taken British pay, within fixty years past, without enabling us to humble one enemy, or to secure a firm, lasting and equitable peace: or to strike such terror into our enemies, that they durst not invade our property, plot against our liberty, or to interrupt our trade, and without recovering the balance of Europe, or putting our allies out of the power of the common enemy. What then is Britain to expect from numerous and still more expensive subfidiary treaties? but a national debt, which, if not timely prevented, would in the end reduce us to beggary and contempt. Every one knows that our land forces, whether mercenaries or fubfidiaries, have no influence upon the councils of our enemies. It is our naval force they are afraid of. It is the number of our squadrons of ships of war, when they are well manned and appointed, under brave, experienced and honest commanders, and not a standing army at home, nor a subsidiary army abroad, that gives us a due influence at foreign courts. Such was the language and fentiments of the nation at this time.

The parliament being summoned to meet on A. D. 1755. the 13th of November, the city of London ad-Address of dressed his Majesty, not with the flattery of a the city of ministerial faction, to deceive and poison the ear London. of the Sovereign; to smother the complaints and prayers of the people; to palliate the national distresses, and to skreen our enemies from just revenge; but with language and fentiment, that flowed from hearts replete with truth and liberty, and intended to rouse the British lion from a state of dangerous fecurity, by making a tender of their lives and fortunes, to enable his Majesty to begin and carry on a just and necessary war against an enemy, that is not to be bound by treaties; nor to be fatisfied with any thing lefs, than our ruin: but who may at any time be humbled by a proper exertion of that naval force, with which Providence has bleffed and diffinguished this nation, and enabled it, above all others, to defend itself.

> His Majesty met his parliament on the 13th of November, and opened the sessions with the following speech:

> This was followed by addresses of the same import

from the whole nation.

His Majetty's fpeech at opening the parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen! The present critical conjuncture of affairs, and my constant inclination to have the advice and affistance of my parliament on all important occasions, have made me desirous to meet you here as early as possible. Since your last session I have taken such measures as might be made conducive to the protection of our possessions in America, and to the regaining

fuch

1755;

fuch parts thereof, as had been encroached upon, and invaded, in violation of the peace, and contrary to the faith of most folemn treaties.—For this purpose, the maritime power of this kingdom has been got ready with the utmost application and expedition, and been principally employed. Some land forces have been sent from hence to North America; and all proper encouragement has been given to the several colonies there, to exert themselves in their own defence, and in the maintenance of the rights and possessions of Great Britain.

With a fincere defire to preserve my people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent, in the midst of these troubles, a general war from being lighted up in Europe, I have been always ready to accept reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation; but not fuch have hitherto been proposed on the part of France. I have also confined my views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or supporting those already made; to exert our right to a fatisfaction for hostilities commenced in a time of profound peace; and to disappoint such designs, as, from various appearances and preparations, there is reason to think have been formed against my kingdoms and dominions.—By these methods I have purfued the plan, which I formerly pointed out to you, and for which I had the fatisfaction to receive the strongest assurances of your vigorous support. - What other power can object to proceedings fo abfolutely necessary to our own de-YOL. I. fence P

1.755.

A.D. fence and fecurity? My good brother, the King of Spain, fees with concern these differences; and the part which he generously takes in the common welfare of Europe, makes him earnestly wish the preservation of the public tranquillity. He has also given affurances, that he will continue in the fame pacific fentiments.-In pursuing these great ends, I make no doubt of the vigorous and chearful support of my parliament: and that while I am engaged in this just and national cause, the affectionate affurances, which they gave me the last sessions will be effectually made good. consequence thereof, I have greatly increased my naval armaments, augmented my land forces in fuch a manner, as might be the least burdensome; and have concluded a treaty with the Empress of Ruffia, and another with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, which shall be laid before you. His Majefty concluded with observing that the services would require large supplies: declaring that he asked no more than should be requisite for the effectual carrying on of those measures, which would be necessary to support what has been begun, according to their inclination, for the fecurity of his kingdoms and dominions, and for the purposes already mentioned, of an extraordinary expence made this year by him, in pursuance of the power given him by parliament; and promiling that whatever should be granted, should be applied with the strictest oeconomy to those uses only, for which it shall be given.

This speech met with uncommon opposition in A.D. both houses of parliament, which appeared in the Debates formation of the address from each house. The upon the ministerial party amongst the Lords had inserted address to in their address, 'That they looked upon themselves as obliged by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honour, to fland by and support his Majesty in all such wise and necessary mea- In the fures and engagements, as his Majesty might have Lords, taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts, which might be made by France, in refentment for such measures; and to affift his Majesty in disappointing or repelling all fuch enterprizes, as might be formed, not only against his kingdoms, but also against any other of his dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in case they should be attacked on account of the part, which his Majesty had taken for maintaining the effential interests of his kingdoms.' The other Lords in the opposition, headed by Lord Temple, would not agree to this infertion; because, in the first part of it, the wisdom of the house was prostituted, by engaging to approve of the treaties with Russia and Heffe Cassel, which they had not seen, and which they apprehended could be of no use to Great Britain: and, in the second part, they would be guilty of the greatest indiscretion, by consenting to measures, which manifestly engaged this nation in a continental connection for the defence of

P 2 Hano-

r Amongst whom, it is said, were Lord Hallisax, Lord Talbot, and Earl Pomfret.

Hanover, that could not be supported by Great A. D. 1755. Britain, and would be so far from being of advantage to us at fea, or in America, that, it was to be feared, might, in the end, disable the nation from defending itself in other parts of the world.-But the court party, upon putting the question, carried their address with this insertion, by a great majority of voices against the weight of argument.

His Majefty's aniwer to the

His Majesty received this address with the following most gracious answer: - 'My Lords! I give you my thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address of address. I see with the greatest satisfaction the the Lords. zeal you express for my person and government, and for the true interest of your country; which I am determined to adhere to. The affurance, which you give me for the defence of my territories abroad, are a strong proof of your affection for me, and regard for my honour. Nothing shall divert me from pursuing those measures, which will effectually maintain the possessions and rights of my kingdoms, and procure reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation.'

Deliates on in the House of

The address in the House of Commons was the address dressed up with the same zeal, gratitude and warm affurances to support his Majesty and his Commons, foreign dominions; and with their approbation of the treaties he had made; but not yet laid before that house; and was carried, upon a division, by a great majority, though strenuously opposed by feveral gentlemen in high posts under the government; amongst whom Henry Bilson Legge, Esq;

the Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer, and William Pitt, Esq; Pay-Master of his Majesty's forces, are said to have distinguished themselves, on the part of their country.

A. D. 1755.

His Majesty, when he received the address of the House of Commons, gave the following anfwer. "Gentlemen! I thank you for this dutiful His Maand loyal address. You may be affured, although four to I wish for nothing more than a safe and honour-their address. able accommodation, I am determined to protect and maintain the valuable and undoubted rights and possessions of my crown. Your assurances, that you will affift me in the defence of my foreign dominions, if they should be attacked, on account of the measures I am pursuing for the true interest of these kingdoms, are such proofs of your affection to me, and of your regard to my honour, as give me the greatest satisfaction."

How triumphant soever the court enjoyed this National advantage by a majority in parliament, the country conceived a very mean opinion of the ministry, especially of Henry Fox, Esq; who, three days before the fession was opened, had succeeded Sir Mr. Fox Thomas Robinson, in the office of one of his Ma- of State. jesty's principal Secretary's of State, and was empowered by his Majesty to manage his interest in parliament. The nation's attention was immediately fixed upon this new minister; and they made him responsible for the addresses above-mentioned, and for an intention to involve his country in a continental war, to the prejudice of our national interest. Which discontent was heightened very

foon after by a draught from Russia, for a part of A. D. 1755. the fublidy agreed for in the late treaty with the Czarina; and not yet provided for by parliament: and therefore it was refused by part of the ministry.

His artful conduct.

The minister took uncommon pains, even from one member's house to another, to divide the country party, and even to condemn in private conversation the measures he was pursuing in parliament, and to pledge his honour for the uprightness of his intentions, and his aversion to continental connections. But, when no art was powerful enough to conceal the fallacy of his heart, he was resolved to try what might be done by removing the patriots from all share and posts in the government. Accordingly Henry Bilson Legge, Esq; and William Pitt, Esq; were dismissed from their employments, for distinguishing themselves on the part of their country, in the late parliamentary debate; and Sir George Lyttleton was made Chancellor of the Exchequer's. But, neither did

This

There was a new commission for the Treasury, consisting of the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Darlington, Sir George Lyttleton, Thomas Hay and Robert Nugent, Esq; But such was the fickleness of the times, that on the 16th of November the Earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay were removed from the Treasury, and appointed Fay-Masters-General in the room of Mr. Pitt. Earl Gower was fworn of the Privy-Council and made Keeper of the Privy-Seal; the Duke of Marlborough made Master-General of the Ordnance. Lord Anson, Sir William Rowley, William Ponfonby, Thomas Villiers, Edward Boscawen, Richard Edgecumbe, Esq; and Lord Bateman, were constituted Lords of the Admiralty.

did this violent scheme answer his expectations. Neither places, pensions, nor power were the objects of a patriotic heart. The great men, dif- Patriotifin placed for their virtue, persevered in their endea- revived. vours to prevent the fatal consequences of a war, on the continent, prejudicial to our national interest. So that, when the treaties of Russia and Hesse came before parliament, they did not receive the fanction of those houses, without very warm debates; and feem to have received the approbation of the House of Commons, only to preferve his Majesty's honour, and to defend those countries, which might be attacked merely on account of our quarrel with France.

1755.

A. D.

Without doors the nation rang with these or Their arthe like expressions.—The quarrel with France, at gument. present, is not for any of those ruinous motives, which have kindled fo many bloody wars, in fupport of foreign states; nor for dominion; nor extent of territory; but for extent and protection of trade: It is whether the trading genius of Great Britain or France shall prevail? It is whether Great Britain, or France, shall rule the main?

France has taken measures to ruin our trade and navigation. They have usurped upon those territories, by which our naval power and our trade are supported. What therefore have we to do? But to prepare in time for a vigorous, and, perhaps, a long war; to keep our fleets out con-

This was called the ministry, with Mr. Fox at the head; but few of them were consulted in the administration of the most important affairs. P 4

flantly;

1755.

A. D. stantly; to supply our people abundantly with provisions, stores, and money; a great deal of which must be wanted to carry on a war in America: and therefore, it is to be hoped, that we fhall not wantonly and unprofitably fquander it away in Germany. It is not meet we should take the childrens bread and cast it to the dogs. What, then, in the name of common fense, can be the meaning of hiring troops in Germany, or Russia? To pretend that they are for our assistance, is an imposition upon the common understanding of mankind.

How evaded.

In order to quiet these clamours, the march of a large body of French troops down to their coasts, furnished the ministerial agents, with an artificial argument, to terrify the people into a better opinion of the subsidiary treaties. They ventured to fay, that these subsidiary troops were not only intended originally, but would foon be found necessary, and imported, for the defence of our island against a French invasion, to be carried into execution by flat-bottomed boats, and fuch ridiculous, incredible veffels. But, arguments, that work only on our fears, and don't conciliate a confidence and affection, feldom prevail in fettling the mind.

Supplies raifed by parliament.

Yet, while the nation was agitated by the terrors of an invasion, and by the apprehensions of a war in the hands of a ministry, obnoxious for their flattery about the throne, and for their attachment to continental measures, the House of Commons agreed to the supplies for the ensuing year,

1755-

and provided for the deficiencies of the provision for the former year. The house voted \$50,000 feamen, including 9138 marines, and 34,263 foldiers. In January following they voted ten new regiments of foot, and eleven troops of light dragoons, besides the former. They likewise voted 298,5341. 17s. 10d. \$\frac{1}{2}\$ for the maintenance of forces already in our American colonies; and 79,9151. 6s. 0d. for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North America and the East Indies. 15,0001. gratuity to New England for saithful services, and 50001. to Sir William Johnson in particular. 20,0001. to the King of Prussia; 121,4471. 2s. 6d. for Hanoverian forces.

The warlike preparations in South France began about this time to attract the attention of all Europe. And it was with some degree of confidence represented to be intended against Minorca. But this information was totally disregarded by our ministry, which affected to interpret all the motions of the French in every part of their kingdom, to be destined either against the British isles, or our plantations in America, or against Hanover. By inculcating and persuading the first report amongst the well-meaning people, they prepared them to acquiesce to the measures of the court; and by the second they endeavoured to reconcile the dislike

On the 24th of November 1755. About this time the Esperance man of war failing from Rochfort to Brest, to be completely manned, was taken, with 300 men on board, and 79 guns, by the Orford, Captain Stevens, after three hours engagement, and brought into Plymouth.

A. D. the English had to the subsidiary forces to cover his Majesty's electoral dominions.

Ministerial conduct.

The minister drove on Jehu-like by his majority in the house; and, to give the better proof of his principles, he carried such affairs, as under another ministry would have given him a real cause to inveigh against their arbitrary proceedings. For, in the act for the more speedy manning of his Majesty's navy, he had this clause added, That the commissioners impowered under this act

A dangerous clause added to the navy bill.

" might order, wherever and whenever they " pleased, a general search to be made for such " persons (there described) in order to their being " brought before them to be examined: that the parish and town-officers might, without any " fuch order, fearch for and fecure fuch persons, " in order to convey them before the faid comic missioners to be examined: and that when such person or persons were judged by the recruiting officer to be fit for his Majesty's service, he or " they should be deemed a listed soldier, and " committed to a place of fafety or to a public " prison." By a new clause added to the act for extending the maritime laws to America, a recruiting officer was impowered to enlift and detain an indented fervant, though his mafter should reclaim him, upon paying fo much as two justices of the peace should allow. Both which clauses, in the hands of a wicked and enterprizing administration, might have been made such use of, as would have undermined the bill of rights, and been inconsistent with that security, which is provided

vided by our happy constitution for the liberty of A. D. the subject. 1755-

But this was not all: the very minister, who Foreign pleaded the support of Hanover and our German troops brought allies for taking German and Russian troops into into Eng-British pay, made the terrors of an invasion, industriously propagated for ministerial purposes, the prop of that difgraceful, and dangerous meafure of calling over Hanoverian and Hessian troops to defend England from the attempts of the French: by which Hanover and Hesse were left exposed to the danger of the French army, as had been suggested both from the throne and in the debates on the subsidiary treaties: and England, sufficiently secure by a powerful army of her own children, was put under the protection of foreign troops. Mr. Fox, by a message from his Majesty, got both the houses to approve of his requisition and bringing over a body of Hessian troops u, and then to address his Majesty to bring a body of Hanoverians wover also, into this kingdom. And accordingly these foreign troops, notwithstanding all the pretended fears of some people for Hanover, &c. were landed in England x,

<sup>&</sup>quot; The parliament granted for the charge of 6544 foot. with the general officers and train of artillery, from Feb. 23. 1756, to Dec. 24 following, together with the subfidy purfuant to treaty, 163,3571, 9s. 9d.

<sup>\*</sup> The parliament granted for the charge of 8605 foot, with the general officers, train of artillery and hospital, from May 11, 1756, to December 24 following, 121,447 l. 2s. 6d.

Eight thousand Hessian foot and nine hundred horse, landed at Southampton, on the 15th of May. Ten thousand Hanoverians landed the 21st of May at Chatham.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

220

A. D. 1755.

Creates great uneasiness. within the course of one month. Such expedition, and so little need of foreign troops to guard our coasts, created great jealousies; and made the people of England more afraid of their military friends, than the hostilities of an open enemy; dreading, from the specimen of those acts of parliament, which struck at the root of the subjects liberty, that these forces might be called in to enable the ministry to proceed to more violent measures. But under so good and gracious a King, as then reigned, his subjects had reason to hope for better things, and these despotic acts served only to bring such an odious administration to a sudden end.

Pacific measures pretended by the French court.

Several passages both in his Majesty's speech, and his answers to the addresses of his parliament, seemed to leave the French some hopes of success by way of negociation; if not to settle affairs amicably, yet to amuse the British court, till they might be perfectly prepared to execute their important schemes. We are indulged in this supposition by that extraordinary correspondence carried on between the two crowns, during the recess of parliament, at Christmas; which produced the following letter, from M. Rouille, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs, to Mr. Fox, secretary of state to the King of England; dated Versailles, 21st of December.

SIR,

M. Rouitte s letter to M. Fox.

BY command of the King my master, I have the bonour to send your excellency the following memorial, &c.

" The

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The King is able to demonstrate to the whole universe, by authentic proofs, that it is not owing to his Majesty that the differences relating to America, have not been amicably accommodated.-The King, being most fincerely desirous to maintain the public peace, and a good understanding with his Britannic Majesty, carried on the negociation relative to that subject, with the most unreserved confidence and good faith. The affurance of the King of Great Britain's disposition to peace, which his Britannic Majesty and his minifiry were constantly repeating both by word of mouth and in writing, were fo formal and precise, that the King could not, without reproaching himfelf, entertain the least suspicion of the sincerity of the court of London's intentions. It is scarce possible to conceive how these assurances can be reconciled with the orders for hostilities, given in November 1754, to General Braddock, and in April 1755, to Admiral Boscawen. The attack and capture, in July last, of two of the King's ships in the open sea, and without a declaration of war, was a public infult to his Majesty's flag; and his Majesty would have immediately manifested his just refentment of such an irregular and violent proceeding, if he could have imagined that Admiral Boscawen acted by the orders of his court. For the same reason the King suspended, at first, his judgment of the piracies, that have been committed for feveral months by the English men of war, on the navigation and commerce of his Majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law

X755.

of nations, the faith of treaties, the usages established among civilized nations, and the regard they rec procally owe to one another. The fentiments of his Britannic Majesty gave the King room to expect, that at his return to London, he would disavow the conduct of his admiralty and naval officers, and give his Majesty a satisfaction proportionate to the injury and the damage.-But feeing that the King of England, instead of punishing the robberies committed by the English navy, on the contrary encourages them, by demanding from his subjects fresh supplies against France; his Majesty would fall short in what he owes to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer the demanding of a fingle reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage done to the King's fubjects.

His Majesty, therefore, thinks proper to apply directly to his Britannic Majesty, and demand from him immediate and full restitution for the French ships, as well men of war, as merchantmen, which, contrary to all law, and all decorum, have been taken by the English navy; and of all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, merchandize, and in general of every thing belonging to these vessels.

The King will always chuse to owe to the King of England's equity, rather than to any thing else, that satisfaction, which he hath a right to demand: and all the powers in Europe will undoubtedly see in this step, which he hath deter-

mined

mined to take, a new and striking proof of that invariable love of peace, which directs all his counsels and resolutions.—If his Britannic Majesty orders restitution of the vessels in question, the King will be disposed to enter into a negociation for that further satisfaction, which is legally due to him, and will continue desirous, as he hath always been, to have the discussions relating to America determined by an equitable and solid accommodation. But if, contrary to all hopes, the King of England shall resuse what the King demands, his Majesty will regard this denial of justice, as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the court of London, to disturb the peace of Europe."

1755. 1-1, 1, 1y h o

Mr. Fox fent to M. ROUILLE the following answer, dated at Whitehall, January 13, 1756, by his Majesty's command.

## SIR,

Received on the 3d instant, the letter dated the Mr. Fox's 21st past, with which your excellency honoured answer. me, together with the memorial subjoined to it. I immediately laid them before the King my master; and by his command I have the honour to inform your excellency, that his Majesty continues desirous of preserving the public tranquillity: but though the King will readily consent to an equi-

y In French, ill becoming the first minister of state in the British court.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1755.

224

table and folid accommodation, his Majesty cannot grant the demand that is made of immediate and full restitution of all the French vessels, and whatever belongs to them, as the preliminary condition of any negociation; his Majesty having taken no step, but what the hostilities begun by France, in a time of profound peace, (of which he hath the most authentic proofs) and what his Majesty owes to his own honour, to the defence of the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms, rendered just and indispensible. I have the honour to be, &c.

Remarks on this correspondence. The incongruity of this correspondence between two nations so far engaged in hostilities, as Great Britain and France were at this time, would not permit his Britannic Majesty to answer M. Rouille's letter otherwise, than by his secretary of state, and required some method to take off the disagreeable apprehensions, which it began to disfuse amongst the people, already dissatisfied with the pacific conduct of the ministry, and to expose to the several courts of Europe, the falshood of the imputations and facts therein contained. Therefore the ministry caused remarks to be made on the principal articles of its contents; which were published and dispersed at all the courts of Europe.

The British minitish minitlry's remarks on M. Rouille's memotial. In the first place, it is therein remarked, That whatever may have been, or are now, the fentiments of the most Christian King, with regard to the differences concerning North America, it is unlucky,

A. D.

1756.

unlucky, that the conduct of the court of Verfailles, towards Great Britain, should correspond fo ill to the disposition, which M. Rouille's memorial ascribes to his most Christian Majesty, and to the professions of good faith and unreserved confidence, with which, it was pretended, the negociation was, on their part, carried on b. And if it be from the course of this negociation, "that the " authentic proofs, are to be drawn, by which "the most Christian King is able to demonstrate " to the whole world, that it is not owing to " him, that the differences in question have not "been amicably accommodated," it may not be improper to touch upon some parts thereof, and shew that every fact bears witness to his Britannic Majesty's moderation.

For, in the month of January 1756, the French ambassador returned to London, and made great protestations of his court's sincere desire, finally and speedily to adjust all disputes between the two crowns concerning America: and notwithstanding the extraordinary preparations, which were known to be making at that time in the ports of France, her ambassador proposed, "That before the ground and circumstances of the quarrel should be enquired into, positive orders should be immediately sent to our respective governors, forbidding them to undertake any new enterprize, or proceed to any act of hostility; and enjoining

See the proofs produced by the commissaries, on p. 49. &c. and p. 84, &c.

c See page 121.

A. D. 1756.

"them, on the contrary, to put things, without delay, with regard to the lands on the Ohio, on the fame footing that they were, or ought to have been, before the late war, and that the respective claims should amicably be referred to the commissioners at Paris, that the two courts might terminate the differences by a speedy accommodation."

The court of London immediately declared its readiness to consent to the proposed cessation of hostilities, and that all the points in dispute might be discussed and terminated by the ministers of the two crowns: but on this special condition, That all the possessions in America should previoully be put on the foot of the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle. Wherefore, the King of Great Britain proposed, "That "the possession of the lands on the Ohio, should " be restored to the footing it was on, at the con-" clusion of the treaty of Utrecht, and agreeable " to the stipulations of the said treaty, which "was renewed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle; and "moreover that the other possessions in North "America should be restored to the same con-"dition, in which they actually were at the " figning of the faid treaty of Utrecht, and agree-" able to the cessions and stipulations; therein ex-" pressed; and then the method of informing the " respective governors, and forbidding them to " undertake any new enterprize or act of hostility, " might be treated of; and the claims of both " parties reserved to be speedily and finally adjusted

" in

"in an amicable manner between the two courts." That is to fay, the French should repair the injury done by open force, before the parties should enter into treaty about the claim of right; after which the possessions of both parties might be settled on the foot of a definitive agreement.

To this equitable expedient to divert the horrors of an open war, the French ambassador was so far from agreeing, that he feriously delivered a kind of reply, which at bottom was only a repetition of his first proposal. However, to soften the affair, he produced, at the fame time, full powers from his court to treat, conceived in very specious and polite terms: though the effects were as little correspondent thereto, as before. France, likewise, soon after delivered a draught of a preliminary convention, which was nothing more than the first proposal enlarged. This, added to what was doing on the coast of France, was too plain to deceive any. Therefore, England would by no means agree to a convention, which should leave France in possession of all she had acquired by her violences and usurpations; the precise grievance Great Britain complained of: and, after the expiration of which, we should have been just where we were, when that convention was figned.

A draught of a counter-convention was afterwards delivered to the ambaffador, containing an offer of the most moderate terms, being confined to those points only, which were his Majesty's indispensible right, and effential to the security of his colonies.—To this France did not youchsafe A. D. to make any answer, and her ambassador was authorised only to hear what was said to him about the affair, but to make no proposals. In fine, after a long series of evasions, in which the cessation of hostilities was continually recurred to, the ambassador instead of receiving instructions to enter into a negociation upon the counter-convention above-

I. The fouth part of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes, that discharge themselves into that river.

mentioned, was ordered to demand, as a previous condition, that England should desift from three points, which made a principal part of the subject

II. The twenty leagues of country demanded along the bay of Fundi: and,

III. The lands between the Ohio and Oubecho?

The discussions, with which this extraordinary piece was followed, and during which France shuffled, at every turn, concluded with a memorial presented by the French ambassador, in which was treated the affairs of the islands, as well as that of North America. This also was answered by a very ample piece, that resuted the memorial article by article, and fully justified the terms of the counter-convention. But the French ambassador's studden departure, about this time, prevented any reply.

Secondly, it is remarked, that notwithstanding the measures taken to defend our rights and property in North America, both by sea and land, and the captures, which were made in July last,

purfu-

pursuant thereunto, his Britannic Majesty's assurances, of his pacific disposition, given to France, were as honest and sincere, as they were formal and precise: and he must have condemned himfelf, had he carried them so far, as to endanger the possessions of his crown, and the safety of his people, to purchase the friendship of France.

It is to no purpose that France gives the epithet of bostile to the orders and instructions given to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen. She would be glad to draw a veil over the hostilities committed by France in America, from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the date of those orders. For almost from the very instant of signing that treaty d, and even at the opening of the commisfion o, which in consequence of it was established at Paris, for the affairs of America; France diftrusted before hand her right; and, setting up for the judge, as well as the party, in her own dispute, caused the province of Nova Scotia to be invaded, and, after a feries of open hostilities against the inhabitants, the King's subjects erected three forts in the heart of that province; and, if fhe had not been prevented, was prepared and ready to destroy the new settlement at Hallifax. The like hostilities were committed, at the same time, against his Majesty's lands and subjects on the Ohio and the Indian lakes; where France, without any shadow of right, forbid the English to trade, seized them by force, and sent them

d See p. 22, 25, 41.

A. D. 1756.

prisoners f to France; invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort, which covers its frontier, and to secure their usurpations, erected, with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands they had invaded.

If his Majesty could have thought, that the governors of Canada acted by orders of their court, he would have been intitled to repell these hostilities with that vigour, which the case required. He contented himfelf with complaining to the court of France! but with fo little effect, that the French ministry, not satisfied with not answering, gave on this occasion a very singular instance of their honesty: for in spite of these complaints made by the Earl of Albemarle, (in consequence of an order from his Majesty) particularly by an express memorial delivered in May 1752 g, France had afterwards the modesty to alledge, that England had never complained of these proceedings, and consequently had nothing to find fault with.

At last the King's patience being worn out by the continuance of these violences, he found himself obliged to provide for the security and defence of his subjects. Yet, notwithstanding the just reasons he had for proceeding to extremities, he added, to his many years forbearance, a signal proof of his moderation in the smallness of the succours he sent to America, which consisted only of two battalions of 500 men each, escorted by

See p. 45. See this memorial at large on p. 45, &c.

1756.

two frigates: and in the orders given to the commanding officer, which were to dislodge the invaders of the King's territories, there is nothing in these facts irreconcileable with the assurances given of his Majesty's disposition towards peace. It is the invasion made by France, and the violences that attended it, which are *hostile*: and it never can be unlawful to repel an aggressor.

Therefore to make out the pretended infult offered to his most Christian Majesty's slag, France is obliged to invert the order of things. She affects to take the consequence and effect for the cause; and alledges, as the principal affair, what was only accessary, and proceeded from it; taking occasion from the small succours General Braddock carried to America, to make the fending of those succours, the rise of the troubles in that part of the world. France equips a fleet of a very alarming force, and the King, in consequence thereof, is obliged to make proportionable armaments. France fends that fleet to North America, (with three times the number of troops carried to the same continent by General Braddock) in order for her commanders to support the acts of violence already committed, and to add new ones.

Now the same law, the same principle of defence, which authorises the resistance of an invader, equally authorises the preventing of the part attacked, from being over-powered by so formidable a reinforcement: it was therefore very natural to expect, that the King would provide for the

A. D.

tection and fafety of his subjects, by hindering the landing of so powerful an armament in North America, and endeavour to preserve his American settlements from total ruin.

The same motive of self-defence hath forced the King to seize the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive the court of France of the means of making a descent; with which their ministers in all the courts of Europe have threatned England. A menace, which is the most significative to England, as it hath been accompanied or preceded by the precipitate recall of the ministers of France at London and Hanover; by the march and cantonment of large bodies of troops on the coasts of Flanders and the channel; and they publicly avowed the re-establishment of the port of Dunkirk h.

For the rest: it is hard to imagine why the French should conceive the King ought to disavow

h In August 1755, the Risbank, a very strong battery, on the right hand side going into the harbour, was restored to its original strength, or better fortised, though expressy contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle. It was built entirely new in form of a half moon, mounting 22 cannon, facing the mouth of the harbour, with embrasures for several more; and many men were still employed on that part of the fortistication. On the other side of the harbour they were erecting a large rampart for a battery of 50 or 60 cannon, facing the sea: 2000 men were then employed to finish it with all expedition, and was to be called the Bavarian Battery. They were also repairing the sluices, in order to form a back-water for cleaning and deepening the harbour.

the conduct of his officers, who acted by his orders: or why they should wonder at his Majesty's demanding the necessary supplies from his subjects to enable him to frustrate the ambitious and unjustifiable views of France.

How can that court pretend to be surprised at the acts of violence it complains of, after the court of Great Britain had, during the whole course of the negociation, constantly rejected the proposals made by France for a suspension of arms, unless it were preceded by a restitution of the possessions taken by open force from England? A condition, to which the court of Versailles would never agree. This was informing that court very plainly, what method the King proposed to take, in order to obtain his just right.

For these just and valid reasons the King rejected the peremptory demand contained in the memorial figned by M. Rouille: and to avoid taking notice of the terms made use of in it, which shock common decency, his Majesty caused a fhort and negative answer to be made to it, in the form of a letter, written by Mr. Fox, his fecretary of state: and he is the more determined not to admit what France demands, as a preliminary condition, prior to any negociation, as it appears from this very memorial, that after granting it, he would be as far as ever from obtaining an equitable and folid accommodation with respect to the injuries he has suffered for several years. And it does not appear how his Majesty's resolution to defend his American dominions, and hinder France

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

234

from infulting his kingdoms, can be construed in France to be a denial of justice, and a formed defign in the King of Great Britain to disturb the peace of Europe.

British **subjects** ordered to depart from France.

However, in consequence of that memorial and Mr. Fox's answer, the French King's orders were published, at Dunkirk, for all British subjects to leave his dominions, before the first of March, except fuch as might obtain his permission to remain. Another edict was published at the same time, inviting his most Christian Majesty's subjects to fit out privateers, promifing a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man, they might take on board the enemy's fhips; with a further promise, that in case peace should be concluded foon, the King would purchase his said privateers at their prime cost.

Privateers ordered and encouraged by France.

Pursuant to the above orders, the English ves-British thips seized sels in the several ports of France were seized, and in port. their crews fent to prison.

Whatever might be the real motive for this correspondence, it outwardly appeared, on the part of Britain, to be countenanced by the apprehenfions the ministry had all along entertained, and affected to entertain, of an invalion; and, on the part of the French to prolong our neglect of armaments for the Mediterranean; where now they had determined to strike that great blow, so long threatened against Great Britain. For, though our agents, confuls and ambaffadors at Paris, Carthagena, Turin, &c. perpetually represented cerning an in the strongest terms the naval and military preparations

Remarks on the feveral pieces of mtelliinvalion.

parations at Toulon; though Mr. Banks at Carthagena had informed the ministry, on the 27th of August, that these preparations were expresly making against Minorca: the French, by their emissaries in Holland, &c. and by their movements on the coast of the British channel, and fometimes by counter orders at Toulon, endeavoured to draw off their attention from the main object. The French knowing the foible of their neighbours, to be terrified with every motion they should make on the coast of the Channel, played off their old political engine of an invafion so effectually, that they dampt the British fire, which a few months before had threatened destruction to the navigation of France; and made the ministry so cool, that they seemed unconcerned, what became of the important tenures of their master's crown in the Mediterranean.

It is true that there was a report of the Pretender's being at Paris: but the same advice remarked, that it wanted confirmation: that an embarkation was intended for Scotland: that the Brest squadron was ordered to continue in the road: that the French ministry were extreme busy Dunkirk in repairing the fortifications of Dunkirk, and repaired, that there were sixteen battalions in and about that town, besides seven companies of marines. But there could be nothing so terrible in all these appearances, as to engage the whole attention of the British ministry, and our chief strength at sea,

<sup>1</sup> September the 16th, 1755.

A. D. 1756. No figns of an invation.

to wait upon their motions. For, other letters on the 30th of the same month informed, That though all the grenadiers in the French garrisons had orders to be ready to march, and the troops at Dunkirk were still encamped, the infantry, which are the only troops for an expedition against this island, had begun their march into winter quarters, and the cavalry were gone into Britany, French-Comte and Burgundy. A natural difpofition for covering their own coasts against a descent from Britain; but very improper to be interpreted a disposition for invading an island, whose bulwarks are the ocean, and whose cities and towns are without walls and fortifications. Had the French ever intended to invade us, they would have kept their infantry, and not their cavalry upon the coast.

Armaments at Toulon, and their deflination. The advices in the course of the month of October, confirm the armament's destination from Toulon against Minorca or Gibraltar. And from those advices it appears, with great perspicuity, that the French observed an exact uniformity of conduct in their ports of the Mediterranean; sometimes in a hurry; at other times shewing by way of seint, a slackness in their armaments, or a distant intention; but never losing sight of their real object, and making as much dispatch, as the nature of their expedition and the season of the year would permit. In which they discovered great policy and oeconomy; consounding our intelligence, and expending no more of the public money than was necessary, till the time of action

should discover their real design; while in the northern provinces they industriously kept up the report and appearance of an embarkation. But how could people be so infatuated with such an improbability, weighing all circumstances? Befides, the most penetrating intelligence received on the 20th of October, by Lord Holderness, ought to have rectified all fuch vague k fuppositions, founded on no better authority than hearfay. "No court, faid that correspondent, was " ever in a more cruel situation than that of " France; they have been led into a war by the " repeated affurances given them by the Duke " de Mirepoix, That however angry the English " nation was, the King and his ministry would " not enter into a war. As this was credited by

k Is it not amazing, that a person in the capacity of Admiral Smith, than whom nobody could be supposed to underfland the requisites for embarkation and convoying troops, destined for a descent upon an island better, should hearken to, and transmit to the admiralty, his own apprehensions of the truth of a report, which some French emissary had imposed upon him, That the descent was to be made with 100,000 troops: which would require more vessels to bring them over, than all their nation could then furnish; and a better stationed and equipped navy to convoy them, than the few ships of war at Brest and Rochfort, whose course down the channel to Calais and Dunkirk, must be exposed to the British sleets at Plymouth, Portsmouth, and at the mouth of the Thames. How Admiral Smith could be fo credulous on this occasion is beyond comprehension: for, about a month after, he assures the lords of the admiralty, That there was no movement in the French ports of Dunkirk, &c. that indicated an embarkation.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

" the French council in general, they took their A. D. 1756. " measures in consequence, and were never more

" furprized than when the news came of our

" taking the two French ships in America."

No fears of an invafion.

238

That the French King and his ministry were greatly enraged there is not the least doubt. Neither shall it be denied that an invasion of Ireland and Scotland was proposed. But upon examination, fo many difficulties arose that it was laid aside. However it was resolved to strike some stroke of great consequence, to indemnify the French merchants for the loss of their ships: not by a new embarkation for America, where their force was already greatly superior to ours, and which could not be undertaken with bad ships, and scarcity of artillery, men and provisions; nor by invading Britain or Ireland; because they had neither transports for such an undertaking, nor were making other dispositions in the northern provinces of their country, that could induce us to give credit to fuch a report; but by fome action in the Mediterranean against some place left unguarded.

Invalion niftry.

In the course of the next month, the alarm propagated of an invasion increased, and was rung in every body's ears by the ministerial agents and emiffaries, who in this particular joined heartily in the delusive pretences of the enemy. It appears by the intelligence received at the proper offices, that this terror of an invasion was founded upon no better authority yet, than trite accounts of the Irish brigade being quartered on the French coast;

Without fufficient grounds.

of a few merchantmen detained or laid up in Dunkirk and Calais; of seven frigates lying under failing orders in Brest road, for the protection of their mercantile navigation, and a gasconade to invade England with a fleet not in their power to fend to fea, and at the same time to attack Hanover. Whereas the most punctual and intelligible correspondents declared, That there did not appear the least disposition, nor was there any talk of an embarkation. For, though different plans had been proposed, they had all been rejected: because, in the first place, it was impossible for them to collect a sufficient number of transports in one or two harbours, as would be necessary: and because the Brest fleet, was it in a condition to put to sea, could not pretend to convoy them; for should that fleet meet the English, either in going or returning, it would be risking the whole trade of their country, and exposing both their fleet and forces to ruin.

Still our ministry kept the greatest part of their Naval force naval force inactive; to watch the event of uncertain, contradictory, and improbable reports, and paid no regard to the real armaments making at Toulon; except we may admit an order for Ge-General neral Stuart to repair to his command in Minorca, Stuart orgiven this month, to be an indication of their Minorca. first glance towards the defence of the important fortress of Mahon: but even this was done with so little grace, that the General could not procure a passage to his command till he sailed, in April, with Admiral Byng.

A. D. 1756. State of the in the winter.

As the winter advanced, the diligence in the port of Toulon flackened; and this furnished various conjectures, as if the French were inclined at Toulon, to pacific measures, and to lay the intended expedition aside in the Mediterranean. But yet it plainly appears, in the midst of that uncertainty, that the Toulon squadron, of twelve ships of the line, were in such forwardness as required no greater expedition at that feafon, and might be eafily put to fea, early in the spring: that, in the mean time, all diligence was used to recruit the land forces in Provence, and in the neighbouring provinces: that contracts were made for transports, and that a strict watch was kept to secure a sufficient number of failors against the time of action! Nay, our admiralty received letters from Marfeilles, dated the 24th of December 1755, which expresly said, That five frigates were ready to put to sea, and that twelve ships of the line were under orders to be equipped with all expedition, and would be ready to fail in three weeks, under the command of M. de la Galissionere, all the officers being appointed: which is generally the last step in the equipment of a French squadron.

Its deftination how to be collected.

Thus every particular, but the positive destination of the Toulon squadron was known; and the intention to attack Gibraltar or Mahon was eafily collected from their victualling, for a short time, the number of troops to be embarked, and

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Banks's letter of the 7th of December 1755. and feveral other correspondents.

the variety of small vessels taken up for transports, which were not fit to pass into the ocean.

A. D. 1756.

However our ministry continued to give credit Neglested to, and to fix their whole attention upon the ad- by the mivices of the transactions in the north of France: from whence Lord Holderness produced letters, dated from the 5th to the 15th of December, that mentioned great augmentations made to the militia of Normandy and Picardy, which already vain preconfisted of twenty-two battalions each, and that tences of an invanothing was talked of but a declaration of war, fion. and a resolution to fix the Pretender on the throne of England, in the March following: that 70 or 80,000 land forces were expected to arrive, and to be cantoned in the towns and villages near Dunkirk, to favour a squadron to be commanded by M. Bart, to fcour the north feas.

Whence was a fquadron to be expected fufficient to face the British navy? It could not be from Toulon, for obvious reasons. It could not be from Brest, nor from Rochfort; because advices of the first of December, to that same noble lord, expresly declared, that the squadrons in those ports, under M. Conflans went on very flowly; that the fquadron under M. Perrier consisted only of five ships of the line, and four frigates, when completely equipped; that there was but one ship fiting at Dunkirk; and that there was no other maritime disposition in that, or in its neighbouring ports.

It must be confessed that some advices, of the ninth of this month, related a design in France, to fit out every ship, that could be made capable THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

242

A. D. 1756.

to keep the seas, and to divide the whole into two sleets, one at Toulon, the other at Brest; to fall with force on the British squadrons dispersed in small numbers; and in the mean time to make a powerful invasion with 50,000 men. But, next day, this formidable gasconade was knocked on the head by fresh assurances, That France had no other views than to gain time: that there were no dispositions on the coast of the British channel for an embarkation: that eight frigates had sailed from Brest, but were employed only as convoys to merchantmen: and that there was nothing to be apprehended of immediate danger or trouble from the French on that coast.

Remarks on all the intelligence.

Sum up the whole intelligence, which brings us to the conclusion of the year 1755, you will not be able to find any ground for the ministerial pannic continually dreaming of, and alarming the people with the dread of an invasion. How then ought we to account for that passage in his Majesty's speech, where he informs his parliament, "That from various appearances and preparations "there was reason to think, there have been " formed deligns against his kingdoms and domi-" nions;" except, as a noble Peer, many years at the head of the law, has taught us, We consider fuch speeches as the language of the ministry, rather than the fentiments of their royal master: and then it may create a fuspicion, that this alarming invasion was a pure ministerial bubble, grafted upon the political conduct of the enemy, in order to raise a prodigious sum of money out of the fears of the people. On

On the 4th of February 1756, Mr. Fox received advice, dated the 17th of January, from Mr. Birtles, Conful at Genoa, a port greatly con-fine invanected with Toulon, That the Dukes of Riche-norca aflieu and Mirepoix were nominated to command in Provence, and that it was whispered, they intended to make a descent from Toulon, with a body of troops m, to surprize the island of Minorca. The lords of the admiralty, on the 20th, received an account of the state of the French marine as follows:

A. D.

At Breft 2 ships of 80 guns 1 - of 74 2 --- of 70 3 --- of 64 3 — of 50 1 — of 34 8 — of 30 4 --- of 24 In all 24

State of the French marine.

At Rochfort 2 ships of 74 guns 1 --- of 70 3 --- of 64 7 --- of 30 In all 13

m Sixty battalions under the command of the Duke of Riche-As the same gentleman wrote on the 26th of January.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

244

I ship of 80 guns At Toulon 3 --- of 74 7 --- of 64 1 --- of 60 4 --- of 30 2 --- of 24 In all 18

At Havre 2 ships of 32 guns

> Total 57

Minorca still neglected.

The state of Minorca did not yet seem to be rightly confidered and attended to by the British court, who fuffered themselves to be deluded, or were willingly engaged in the deception of a French invasion, which after Christmas revived with stronger symptoms of a determinate resolution. It was currently reported from the Hague, that the troops " were to be transported in oflatbottomed boats; that M. de Bellisle was to command the expedition, who was already with the Prince de Soubife making their circuit along the

the invafion refuted.

Reports of French coast: that 80,000 men were marching to Dunkirk, and that M. Perrier's fquadron was falling down into Brest road. But Mr. Joseph Cockburn, of the Hunter cutter, having ventured

<sup>&</sup>quot; One hundred and forty battalions, faid Lord Bristol in his letter from Turin.

<sup>·</sup> Seven or eight hundred faid M. Villettes at Bern.

into Brest water in his row boat, could see no more than nine men of war of 50 guns, and under, and fix fail of large merchantmen. Confequently all this talk was calculated by the enemy only to alarm and diffress us. For at this very juncture the Brest squadron above-mentioned sailed with a convoy of troops for Canada, and not upon that filly ineffectual errand to cover a fleet of flat-bottomed boats through the English, in defiance of the British navy.

The month of February increased the light into Certain the destination of the Toulon armament. Positive advice of an intendadvice was received q, that preparations were ed invation making to embark 25,000 men, with a train of ca. artillery, defigned against Minorca: that the ships were hove down, and that they would be ready to put to sea the middle of March. The same advice was confirmed very strongly from the Hague'. And Sir Benjamin Keene, the English From Sir minister at Madrid, who having given General Keene, &c. Blakeney, the commanding officer at Mahon, notice of the French armament, and his apprehenfions concerning its destination, writes to Mr. Fox t in these pathetic terms: "The uneasiness, I feel, " comes from the approach of an intended attack

P See letter in Lord Holdernesse's office, dated January 31, 1756.

<sup>9</sup> On the 26th of February, by the admiralty from Marfeilles.

Ibid. and Conful Birtles, from Genoa.

So early as the 14th of February.

t On the 24th of February.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

246

" on his Majesty's dominions in the Mediterra-" nean.-I mean the island of MINORCA in par-

"ticular; being forced to this idea by repeated

" accounts of numbers of troops affembled at

" Marfeilles, and on the coasts of the Mediter-" ranean, to be easily transported in small vessels,

" under the convoy of twelve capital ships ready

tain Harvey.

From Cap-" to fail from Toulon." Captain Harvey, of the Phœnix, then at Mahon, gave notice of the fame to the admiralty, and to Lieutenant-General Fowke, commanding at Gibraltar, That the Toulon expedition was certainly intended against Minorca; that there had been a council of war called at Mahon, and resolutions taken to prepare for defence; but adds, in his letter to General Fowke, we can do nothing if you do not fend us some beef speedily; and that the garrison was then in great distress. This intelligence was followed by a letter to Mr. Fox, from General

From Gen. Blakenev.

Blakeney himself, in these terms, "I cant't be too early in acquainting you, Sir, that by different informations from France and Spain, there is great reason to believe the French intend very shortly to make an attack upon this island-In consequence I've called a council of war-and we were unanimously of opinion, that considering who these informations came from, and the reports every where about, which feemed to tally with them, this island ought, with the greatest speed, to be put in the best state of defence it can:- and I am accordingly applying myself to every measure, I think for the safety and defence of this place."

A. D. 1756.

Yet nothing seemed to awaken the attention of Neglected by the mithe ministry for Minorca. The nearer the danger nistry. of that island approached, the more determined the French endeavoured to make us believe they intended to invade Britain, thereby to keep our navy in a state of inactivity, till the blow was struck in the Mediterranean. Belleisle's plan was magnified, which was to affemble 100,000 men between Cherburg and Dunkirk, in order to give Terrified an equal uneafiness to the south and west parts of by chime-England, and to oblige us to separate our forces: sions. to bring twelve ships of the line and as many frigates from Brest, to facilitate an embarkation of 600 fail of transports, each to carry 100 men, to be piloted by smugglers of Kent, Sussex and Hampshire, to three different attacks; two of which to be only feints, the real one to be commanded by the Marshal in person. All which was pretended to be feasible in a fresh south-easterly wind, a dark night, a fog, or a stark calm: because in any of these cases, the English fleet could not come to prevent their passage.

It was further faid, That there were already collected 140 vessels of different burdens at Dunkirk; a great convoy of provisions and ammunition fent to Calais, Dunkirk, &c. from Douay. and other places: that there were 600 flat-bottomed boats in the ports of Britany and Normandy for the same service; that the Pretender had R 4 been

A. D. been at Verfailles some time, and was to embark with the M. Belleisle; that the train of artillery was prodigious, and the preparations both for defence and offence were immense: that they were determined to execute Belleisle's plan, though they were sure to lose all their vessels employed, and risk the whole kingdom: but that they hoped, by their number of boats, and superiority of sire from the heavy cannon, they were to carry, they might form a safe passage, notwithstanding they should meet with the English sleets; and that, in

Refuted.

and Toulon.

Yet if we attend to the following intelligence, it will be found that all these preparations and gasconades, were no other than seints on the part of France: it will appear that there was not near the like certainty of a resolution to make a descent on Great Britain, as there was on Minorca.

case they could land their whole force, they would march directly to London; and secure Portsmouth, with the battering train and the ships from Brest

The bugbear of the squadrons sitting out at Brest was known on the first of February to amount to no more than a squadron under M. Perrier, to sail to St. Domingo; another under M. Beaufremont, to guard the coasts, and a third under M. Constans, to protect the French colonies. So that nothing was to be feared from the naval power of France in the Channel. The very mention of 100,000 men for the service of a maritime expedition was enough to deprive it of credit; and the same correspondents, who transmitted that

intelligence, shewed that they did not believe it to be ferious. 'It is believed, faid one, that their motion to the sea coast is nothing but an affected parade of marches and counter-marches.' Or, as another of the same date, 'An army to skreen their own coasts from a descent, and to intimidate England.'

On the fixth of February it was affured, from undoubted correspondents, that neither armament, nor embarkation was then ordered: that the troops ordered from the interior parts of France to the sea coasts, had received counter-orders: that every thing for the present seemed quiet at Calais: that neither troops nor vessels of any fort were collecting at Havre: that all reports of such armaments, as above-mentioned, on that coast, were false, and that there were no more than fourteen or fixteen fail of shipping in that port, including two frigates on the stocks, ready to be launched, and two others of 30 and 40 guns, fent from Brest, a few days before, to be refitted w.

It is, therefore, very extraordinary that his His Ma-Majesty was advised to send a message to the jesty's message to the House of Lords, on the 23d of this month, sig-parliament nifying, That he had received repeated advices an invafrom different places and persons, that a design sion. had been formed by the French court, to make an hostile invasion upon Great Britain or Ireland; and that the great preparations of land forces,

w Captain Whitwell's Letter to the Admiralty, on the 24th of February.

250 A. D.

1756.

ships, artillery, and warlike stores, that were then notoriously making in the ports of France, opposite to the British coasts, left little room to doubt of the reality of fuch a defign: that he had not only augmented his forces by fea and land, to put his kingdoms into a posture of defence; but that he

Takes no notice of gence concerning Minorca.

had ordered transports to bring over hither a body of Hessian troops, in order further to strengthen himself; without taking the least notice of the the intelligence concerning the hostile preparations for invading Minorca; which had been repeated uniformly, continually, and with greater certainty than any of the advices about the imaginary invasion of Great Britain or Ireland; and without mentioning any measures taken, or intended, by his ministry, for its defence. The time of action drawing nigh, and no pre-

Officers ordered to Minorca.

Duke of Richelieu declares his fervice against Minorca.

parations of a fleet, nor of an army by the English, except an order \* for all the absent officers from Minorca, but General Huske, to oppose the grand enterprize undertaken at Toulon; the Duke of Richelieu, on the road, to take the command of the embarkation, declared openly, at Lyons, that its destination was against Minorca, and to besiege Mahon.

This intelligence was immediately transmitted from Bern, by M. Villettes, who had all along discouraged the thoughts of such an expedition; but now adds, That the armaments, then carrying on in the neighbouring provinces of Spain

<sup>\*</sup> Dated the 3d of February 1756, in the war office.

with great activity, gave him room to think that the two courts would join their force against Minorca and Gibraltar. He particularly observed, That Galissionere was arrived to take upon him the command of the fleet: that feven ships of the line and five frigates were in the road y: that they were shipping 6000 bombs and 30,000 weight of biscuit 2: that twelve ships of the line and five frigates would be ready to fail by the beginning of April: that four gallies, four xebecks and feven or eight other vessels, fit for such a service, were ordered to attend the fleet, and to carry the ammunition and provisions, &c. viz. 2500 oxen, 6000 rations of hay, 6000 fascines, 1000 barrels of gunpowder, 12 cannon 36 pounders, 24 of 14 pounders, 8 of 12 pounders, 8 mortars of 12 inches, 6 of 8 inches, besides petards, fusees, &c. that cloth had been bought at Merfailles for 350 tents: that they stript the sea and land, and the The readiislands, of their artillery and ammunition, to arm appointthe fleet at Toulon; and that all these steps, and ments for the Toulon more, left no doubt, but that an attack would expedition. be made on Mahon; and that the whole embarkation of twenty-three battalions of foot and one of artillery would be in readiness to sail on the fifth of April. All which was literally true, and confirmed from all quarters.

In this fituation what did the British ministry do? Remarks They had intelligence, from most unexceptionable on the conauthorities, that there was a real armament at British ministry.

y On the first of March.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the eighth of March.

A. D. Toulon of twelve men of war of the line, five frigates, &c. ready to convoy a powerful army, openly acknowledged by the enemy to be defigned against Minorca: and they could not be ignorant of the distress Mahon was in for officers, for men, for provisions, and almost every necessary to defend that fortress against so powerful, skilful and enraged an enemy; and, consequently, of the

A fquadron ordered under Adm.
Byng, for Minorca.

of the distress Mahon was in for officers, for men. for provisions, and almost every necessary to defend that fortress against so powerful, skilful and enraged an enemy; and, confequently, of the danger of its falling a prey to the French, for want of a superior fleet, to cover the island from such , an attempt. Yet this could work no further upon the ministry than to procure an order on the 8th of March for ten ships of the line to hold themfelves in readiness for the Mediterranean. Which fquadron, on the 11th, was put under the command of Admiral Byng, a good disciplinarian, but never proved by any severe service, where he had the chief command; with an order for him to take on board the Earl of Effingham, General Stuart, and other officers, to the number of fortytwo, and some private men, ordered to their respective posts and corps at Minorca and Gibraltar. These ships were,

The Ramilies of 90 guns Culloden - 74 Buckingham - 70 Captain - 70 Revenge - 70 Trident - 64 - 64 Intrepid - 66 Lancaster Kingston - 60 Defiance - 60

A. D. 1756.

But the order for equipping these ten ships was attended with fuch directions, that their departure was protracted till the 6th of April, for want of layed. men 2; Mr. Byng being 'directed to haften the fitting out of the Stirling Castle, and to complete her compliment of men, in preference to any other ship; and restrained from meddling with the men on board the Nassau, Torbay, Essex, Prince Frederick and Greyhound, which the Secretary of the Admiralty faid, were wanted on the most pressing fervice, viz. to try to intercept four frigates and a convoy of forty merchantmen, drove into Havre by the Windsor; a service no ways so pressing, as the relief of Minorca!

What adds to the negligence of the British miniftry, in regard to his Majesty's dominions in the Mediterranean, is, that no advices, ever fo well attested and confirmed, could prevail with them, in the course of years since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to fend into those seas, for the protection of Minorca, and the lucrative trade carried on by our merchants through the Streights, more than

a Admiral Byng writes to Mr. Clevland, Secretary to the Admiralty, April 1st, ready for failing in every respect, except want of men: will take 336 men, now the regiments are all on board, to complete them. My own ship wants 222, 183 of them being lent to the Ludlow Castle. The Trident had 78 lent to the Hampton Court and Tilbury, which ships we are likely to meet with. April 3d, Intrepid, Ludlow Castle and Cambridge came but yesterday to Spithead-ordered men immediately.-Hope to settle to-day, to be able to set sail to St. Helen's. April 4th, wind west, disappointed to find the Intrepid short of complement 150 men.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

254

State of the navy, and how employed. three ships of 60, one of 50, three of 44, and a sloop, to cruise on that extensive station.

Our navy, at home, within this period, (from the 1st of August 1755, to the 30th of April 1756 b,) when the French carried on their armaments both by fea and land, in their fouth and north provinces, was employed only to reinforce Admiral Hawke, cruifing off Cape Finisterre; to form a squadron of observation in the Downs, under Vice-Admiral Smith; another squadron, as noted above, to cruife to the westward of Ushant, under Admiral Byng: and in another squadron of thirteen ships of the line, and one frigate, ordered on the 9th of January 1756, under the command of Vice-Admiral Osborne, to convoy a grand fleet of merchantmen, and to cruife to the westward . So that the whole maritime strength of the nation, which in the open seas would be a match for all the ships of war in Europe, was detained from its necessary service, by the policy of France and the fears of our own ministry.

Continental affairs in Europe.

Here let us leave Admiral Byng upon his voyage to Minorca, and enquire into the negociations carrying on between Great Britain and the

b According to the admiralty account of the state and condition of the sleet, in the several ports of Great Britain in January 1756, there were twenty-one ships of the line, and twenty-four frigates, ready to put to sea; and thirty-two ships of the line, and five frigates sitting, which were very forward: and there was actually mustered on board those ships 20,541 seamen, and borne upon the books 24,853.

N. B. Exclusive of what were at sea.

e He returned on the 16th of February.

powers on the continent, in the beginning of this year. We have already d cited the correspondence between the secretaries of the two crowns of Great Britain and France. Which put an end to any further overtures from that infidious enemy.

Upon this, the face of affairs began to bear an Hostile aphostile aspect, threatening not only this nation, Germany, but the King of Prussia with the most powerful efforts of arms, from France and her interest upon the continent of Europe; the conduct of the court of Vienna having 'convinced his Majesty, before he left Hanover, that there was a fecret intrigue between that court and Verfailles.

As his Britannic Majesty was anxious for the Hanover

fafety of his electoral dominions, and they were threatened by France. specifically threatened by France, it was natural for him to provide, the best way in his power, to defeat the intentions of his enemies, and to cover his German dominions from furprize and invasion. On the other fide, his Prussian Majesty, without Motives ally, and fully informed of the secret practices and for the treaty with destructive intentions of the Czarina, and the Em-Prussia. press Queen, and their allies on the continent, against him; and far from being pleased with the French conduct in case of an open rupture between him and those powers: these motives had, in the latter end of the year 1755, brought about a negociation for a treaty between England and Prussia, to keep all foreign troops from entering the empire of Germany, as a measure necessary

for the fafety of their respective dominions: which

A. D. treaty was concluded and figned, on the 16th of January 1756, and contained in substance,

The Pruf- I. That Great Britain, with her allies, and fian treaty. Pruffia, shall mutually assist each other, in endeavouring to keep all foreign troops from entering the Empire.

II. That Great Britain shall pay 20,000l. as an indemnification for the captures of that merchandize, which was taken on board Prussian bottoms, and sold during the last war; and in return, that Prussia shall pay the Silesia loan.

Remarks thereon.

Whoever compares this treaty, with that made a few months before with Russia, though they are quite opposite to each other, will find that they are not contradictory, but very confistent: for, whatever they may appear in terms; it is manifest, that they are both formed to answer one intention, on the part of his Britannic Majesty. The King of Prussia's martial spirit; his disgust for a long time with the House of Hanover; his general attachment to the interest of France, which might dispose him to become a proper instrument to execute the projects of the French ministry, already provided for, against the Electorate of Hanover, and its dependencies; put the King of Great Britain, Elector of Hanover, upon measures to defeat any attempt to his prejudice by the aids of Prussia. Which could not be done so effectually by any other means, than engaging a power fufficient to deter him, and to keep him quiet, with an army hovering over, and ready to break in upon his regal dominions, the moment his Prussian Majesty dared

dared to join France in the execution of the invafion of Hanover. This was certainly a good reafon for the Russian treaty; and would not only have answered the end proposed by his Britannic Majesty, but completed the ruin of his Prussian Majesty, under the specious appearance of maintaining the liberties of the Empire, which was then resolved by the confederacy against Prussia, though not come to the knowledge of his late Majesty. But when his Majesty discovered an inclination in the King of Prussia to shake off his French connections, and to become fincerely an ally to Great Braitain; and was from thence thoroughly perfuaded, that his Electoral dominions had nothing to fear from his arms, it made the treaty with Russia useless; the power, whose motions the Russian army was hired to watch, having become a friend. The only dread, that now appeared, was an invasion by the French; whose entrance into the Empire was become the sole object of those councils, which were held for the protection of Hanover. The best means to preferve Hanover, was to feek for, and gain an alliance capable of resisting any foreign power, such as the French, from entering the Empire. This could not be done by the Russian troops, which were cantoned in Lithuania and other distant stations: but might be effectually undertaken with the aid of the King of Prussia. Therefore as the fafety of Hanover was the chief object of these two treaties; and that safety could be more effectually maintained by making the enemy, of whom VOL. I. S

whom we were jealous, a friend and ally, and to A. D. 1756. join in keeping the French from entering the Empire, it was a wife and good measure.

This treaty was foon perceived to contain the The Pruffian treaty the feeds of a German war: for, should the French persist in their resolution to invade Hanover, a German war. Hesse, Hanover and Prussia would be obliged to oppose them.

HisBritannic Majesty demands an aid of fix thou-

In Holland, the ministers of Great Britain and France, used their utmost endeavours to secure an interest with the States, for their respective masfand Dutch ters. The Honourable Colonel York, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the Hague, delivered a memorial on the 13th of February, importing, "That although his master had con-"vinced all Europe of his defire to maintain "the general peace, that had lately subsisted; " yet he found himself threatened with a war be-" ing kindled in his own dominions. That France " was at that time making immense preparations " of all kinds, particularly on the northern coaft, "which were evidently defigned against Great "Britain; and which the French ministers at the " feveral courts of Europe had confirmed by their " declarations: that it was the interest of their "High Mightinesses to defend Great Britain, "and the protestant succession in his Majesty's "illustrious house: that his Majesty was not " frightened by those threatning appearances; but " was determined to take every precaution to prevent their effect: and that the love he bore to " his people, his attention to their safety, and to ee the

"the preservation of their liberty and religion, and " his defire to protect all his coasts from the ra-" vages of the enemy, were motives, which ob-" liged him to demand the 6000 men, to be fent "over to his affistance, which the Republic was 66 bound to do by treaty; and that the necessary " fhipping for their embarkation would be got " ready immediately."

requisition.

But the French ambassador presented a memo- The rial, in which he infifted that Great Britain was ambaffador the aggressor; and threatened the States with the at the ophigh displeasure of his royal master, in case they poles that complied with the requisition of 6000 men made by England; putting them in mind of their expence and losses in the last war: and he seconded his menaces with shewing them, that there were 40,000 French troops in Flanders ready to invade their provinces. This threatning, and the weight of the French pensioners in the councils of the United Provinces, who are well paid, furnished the Dutch with excuses for refusing, or, at least, for procrastinating their answer to this feederal demand; till the court of Great Britain, rather than be obliged to refent such a breach of treaty in a national way, delivered them out of the embarraffment, by ordering Mr. York to acquaint the Princess Regent, That his Majesty would not infist upon his demand.

We must not quit the Dutch on this occasion, Remarks without fome remarks on a conduct, which shews on the conduct of the that there can be no dependance on their covenant- Dutch. ed faith, nor any expectations of grateful returns

for the innumerable favours they have received from England.—The dread of the French arms. and their inability to defend themselves against so powerful an invader was their plea, to make void their engagement by treaty. But, if we fearch the hearts of these politicians, it will be found, that, if France had not been so kind as to furnish them with this excuse, they were determined to find fome other means to evade our demand. Could the Dutch, that in the year 1745 picked out 6000 nien, who, they knew, were under a capitulation not to fight the French, and fent them, at our great expence, to defend this island against that very foe, landed in North Britain, be expected to act with fincerity and fidelity on any other like occasion? Their dependance is entirely upon trade: and as their expectations to increase their trade were to be attained only by an exact neutrality, it was refolved, from the moment a war between Great Britain and France was certain, to facrifice faith, gratitude, and every public virtue, to procure a neutrality: and that they would have acted no otherwise is evident from the refolutions, previous to Mr. York's declaration to the Princess Regent, delivered to the States of Holland, by the towns of Amsterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam and Enckhuysen, which flatly declared that England was uncontrovertibly the aggressor in Europe, by seizing a considerable number of French vessels; that the threatened invasion of Great Britain did not affect the Republic's guarantee of the protestant succes-

A. D. 1756.

fion, inafmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury fustained by the subjects of his most Christian Majesty; finally, that the fuccours demanded could not be of any advantage to the King of England; as it appeared by the declaration of his most Christian Majesty, that their granting these succours would immediately lay them under a necessity of demanding, in their turn, affistance from Great Britain.

Such fentiments destroy all thoughts of any fæderal aid from the Dutch, however strictly bound by treaty and gratitude. If in cases of such emergency our nearest allies can deny their affistance upon the bare excuse of convenience to their own interest; it is time for Great Britain to withdraw its dependance from all foreign connections, and instead of relying on the forces provided by treaties, to place its strength in a regular and welldisciplined militia, which we shall find wisely and honestly established under the next administration; and, if kept up under due regulation, will always relieve us from the necessity of calling in a foreign mercenary army to defend us from invalions.

The Empress Queen had set the Dutch an ex-Austria ample of the same kind of disregard to treaties joins with and of ingratitude, as observed before. But not content with departing fo much from the interest of that ally, which had so often, and to its own great detriment, faved her house from ruin; she, on the 1st of May, figned a treaty with France our natural enemy, and then in arms, and threatning us with destruction. By which extraordinary

revolution in the interests of Europe, its whole po-

litical system assumed a new face; and we find it

A. D. 1756.

Europe. Its causes.

Silefia ceded to the King of Pruffia, and its importance.

Queen of Hungary's practices to recover it.

Her treaty with Ruffia.

tem of po- necessary to shew the causes which produced it. The reigning King of Prussia having, in the course of the last war, taken advantage of the weakness to which the House of Austria was then reduced, made good the claims of his family to the most considerable part of the dutchy of Silesia, by force of arms; and, by the treaty of Dresden, obliged the Queen of Hungary to cede and guarantee to him his conquests in Silesia; a fine country, extending 200 miles in length, along the course of the large and navigable river Oder: a country of the most exquisite fertility and best cultivation, abounding with men, abounding with valuable manufactures, and yielding a clear yearly revenue of 800,000l. Sterling. The peace was scarcely signed, before this Austrian heiress set on foot practices to recover, what she had ceded in December 1745. For on May the 22d 1746, fhe entered into a league with the court of Peterfburg, one of whose secret articles provides, That in case his Prussian Majesty should attack her Majesty the Empress Queen, or the Empress of Russia, or even the Republic of Poland, that this attack should be considered as a breach of the treaty of Dresden: that the right of the Empress Queen to Silesia, ceded by that treaty, should revive; and that the contracting powers should mutually

> furnish an army of 60,000 men to reinvest the Empress Queen with that dutchy. The King of

> Poland was invited to accede to that treaty: and

King of Poland.

he did so far accede to it, as to shew he perfectly agreed in his fentiments, and was willing to cooperate with the two Empresses. But, his fituation in the jaws of a formidable enemy, should any thing perspire too soon, and the experience of past misfortunes, had rendered him so wary, that he declined figning the treaty, with the confent of the parties concerned; who agreed with his request, that he should have a share of the spoil, on the footing of a treaty (the 18th of May 1745,) for the eventual partition of the King of Prussia's dominions. So that though the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was excepted, he was, to all intents and purposes, a party to the treaty of Petersburg.

From this time every device was practifed to Intrigues embroil the King of Prussia with the northern and preparations for powers: and especially to render him odious to war against the Czarina in person. This being fully effected, of Prussia. magazines and armies were prepared in Bohemia and Moravia; and the King of Poland, under the pretence of a military amusement, raised an army of 16,000 men, to secure the important and strong post of Pirna. The Empress Queen went so far, as to try her interest with Great Britain, whether fhe might depend upon any support from thence in case of need, depending much upon the differences, which had fome time subsisted between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia. But they that were most ready to help her and her family in distress, could not be brought to do any thing for her ambition and revenge. This

A. D. 1756. Why the Queen of Hungary deserted

rebuff in England threw her into that humour, which made her refuse her aid, when demanded, by virtue of treaty, by Great Britain: and the British alliance with Prussia soon after furnished her Great Bri- with a reason for throwing herself into the arms of France d.

Those treaties could not be carried on without

Her practices difcovered by the King of Prussia.

the knowledge of his Prussian Majesty, who jealous of the Queen of Hungary's fincerity at the time of her ceding Silesia, watched all their motions, and spared no cost to gain perfect intelligence of their most hidden designs. Therefore, when he saw that the Empress Queen was resolved to avail herself of her alliances and her armaments, by means of the troubles between England and France, his Majesty ordered his minister at Vienna, to demand a clear explication and proper affurances concerning the preparations then making within her dominions: and being answered very dryly, That she was only taking measures for her own fecurity, and that of her allies and friends; the King believing himself no longer obliged to preserve any terms with one, that was preparing for his ruin; fensible of the advantage it would be to keep a ruinous war out of his own territories, and well prepared for action, he entered Saxony with a powerful army. Where we fhall leave him, till we have taken a further view of our own affairs.

Why the King of Pruffia had recourse to arms.

Some think that this was done in revenge for our making a separate peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and making Austria the victim. See page 2. The

The foundron under the command of Admiral A. D. Byng being fitting out, the Lords of the Admiralty ' fent him these instructions for his conduct. Admiral Byng's in-"Whereas the King's pleasure has been signified structions. to us by Mr. Fox, one of his Majesty's principal fecretaries of state, that upon consideration of the feveral advices, which have been received relating to the supposed intention of the French to attack the island of Minorca, a squadron of ten ships of the line do forthwith fail for the Mediterranean, under your command: and whereas we have appointed the ships named in the margin f for this fervice, you are hereby required and directed immediately to put to fea with fuch of them as are ready, (leaving orders for the rest to follow you, as foon as possible) and proceed with the utmost expedition to Gibraltar.

Upon your arrival there, you are to enquire, whether any French squadron is come through the Streights; and if there is, to inform yourself, as well as possible, of their number and force; and if any of them were transports. And, as it is probable they may be destined for North America, and as his Majesty's ships named in the margin s, are either at, or going to Halifax, and are to cruise off Louisbourg, and the mouth of the

e March 30, 1756, figned Anson, Villiers, Rowley, Bofcawen, Bateman, Edgecumbe and J. Cleland. N. B. The Admiral did not receive them till April the 1st, at ten in the morning.

f See before, p. 252.

g Grafton, Stirling Castle, Fougueux, 4th, Nottingham, Litchfield, Centurion, Norwich, 6th, Success, Vulture floop.

A. D.

1756.

Gulph of St. Lawrence, you are immediately to take the foldiers out of fo many ships of your squadron as, together with the ships at, and going to Hallifax, will make a force superior to the said French fquadron, (replacing them with landmen or ordinary seamen from your other ships) and then detach them, under the command of Rear-Admiral West, directing him to make the best of his way off Louisbourgh; and taking the afore-mentioned ships, which he may expect to find there, under his command, to cruise off the said place, and the entrance of the Gulph of St. Lawrence; and use his utmost endeavours to intercept and seize the aforesaid French ships, or any other ships belonging to the French that may be bound to, or returning fróm, that part of North America.

If upon your arrival at Gibraltar, you shall not gain intelligence of a French squadron having passed the Streights; you are then to go on, without a moment's loss of time, to Minorca: Or, if, in consequence of such intelligence, you shall detach Rear-Admiral West, as before directed, you are to use equal expedition in repairing thither, with the ships, which shall remain with you; and if you find any attack made upon that island by the French, you are to use all possible means in your power for its relief. If you find no fuch attack made; you are to proceed off Toulon, and station your squadron in the best manner you shall be able, for preventing any ships getting out of that port; or for intercepting and feizing any, that may get out; and you are to exert the utmost

vigilance

vigilance therein, and in protecting Minorca and A.D. Gibraltar, from any hostile attempt.

A.D. 1756.

You are also to be vigilant for protecting the trade of his Majesty's subjects from being molested, either by the French, or by cruisers from Morocco, or any other of the Barbary States; and for that purpose to appoint proper convoys and cruisers.

You are likewise to be as attentive, as possible, to the intercepting and feizing, as well ships of war and privateers, as merchant-ships, belonging to the French, wherever they may be met with, within the limits of your command. But in purfuance of the King's order in council, you are not to fuffer any of the ships of your squadron to take any French vessels out of any port belonging to the Ottoman Empire, upon any pretence; nor to moleft, detain or imprison, the persons of any of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire; and also not to feize and detain any French ship or vessel whatfoever, which they shall meet with in the Levant Seas, bound from one port to another in those feas, or to, or from any ports of Egypt, having any effects of Turks on board.

Upon your arrival in the Mediterranean, you are to take under your command his Majesty's ships and vessels named in the margin b, which are at present there.

If any French ship of war should sail from Toulon, and escape your squadron, and proceed out of the Mediterranean; you are forthwith to

fend,

h Princess Louisa, Portland, Deptford, Chestersield, Dolphin, Phanix, Experiment, Fortune sloop,

A. D. 1756.

fend, or repair yourself to England, with a proportionable part of the ships under your command: observing that you are never to keep more ships in the Mediterranean, than shall be necesfary for executing the services recommended to you.

To enable you the better to perform the abovementioned fervices, you are to take care to keep the ships and vessels under your command in constant good condition, and to have them cleaned as often as shall be requisite for that purpose."

More instructions.

By further instructions it was ordered, that, (whereas the King had been pleased to direct that the royal regiment of Fuzileers, commanded by Lord Robert Bertie, should serve on board his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, and that the faid regiment should be landed in Minorca, in case the governor, or commander in chief of that island, shall think it necessary for its defence; and the governor of Gibraltar having orders, in case a further reinforcement shall be necessary at Minorca, to make a detachment equal to a battalion, from his garrison; which detachment, the admiral, or commander in chief of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, is to convoy to Minorca, on board the men of war, or fuch transport vessels, as he shall be able to provide for that purpose;) he should pay due obedience to his Majesty's aforesaid directions, by landing Lord Robert Bertie's regiment, in case the said island of Minorca should be

Dated the 31st of March 1756, figned by Anson, Villiers, Rowley and J. Cleland.

attacked

1756.

attacked, and, upon confultation with the governor, the fame should appear to be necessary; and not to confine himself to the landing that regiment only, but also to assist with as many gunners and men from his squadron, as might be serviceable, and the ships could possibly spare; and that he likewise should pay due regard to his Majesty's aforesaid pleasure, in relation to transporting a battalion from Gibraltar to Minorca.

Before we proceed with the expedition, it will Remarks be proper to spend a little attention upon these tions. instructions, of whose breach, the Honourable Mr. Byng is accused. There is but one article in the fet of instructions, so far as they regard the operations of the enemy, that can be accounted positive; which is the order that requires him to put to sea as soon as possible, &c. Fo., though it is admitted in the introductory clause, That several advices had been received concerning the supposed intentions of the French to attack the island of Minorca; the next supposes, that their real design was, to slip through the Straits of Gibraltar, and direct their course to North America; and makes a fuitable provision for separating the fquadron, and fending off fuch a part of it, under Rear Admiral West, together with such a proportionable number of the foldiers on board, as, added to the ships, he was supposed to find there, would render him superior to the enemy: and all the other articles hanging in like manner upon events, were accordingly to be observed, or not, as circumstances agreed, or otherwise. And as the admiral's

admiral's instructions were, in general, founded on a persuasion, that the French armament at Toulon was destined to North America; so it was declared with the utmost considence, by those, who ought to have known better, that, for want of seamen, six or eight ships of the line at most, was the greatest number the enemy could possibly put to sea from that port.

Hence it is manifest, That, as there was no want of early intelligence of the nature and destination of the armament at Toulon, the ministry gave no credit to it: that instructions unprecise in their nature, being founded on mistakes and uncertainties, accompanied with orders, yet more unprecise and embarrassing, could not but be productive of perplexities and difficulties in every question, they gave rise to: consequently of snares and dangers in every resolution taken upon them: and that from the very different aspect of things on the admiral's arrival at Gibraltar, from that, which they had been made to wear in England, a difference of conduct became absolutely necesfary: and thenceforward, he was either to proceed discretionally, or not proceed at all-Instead of fix or eight ships of the line, he had been informaed were the most the enemy could send to sea on the 13th of April, just a week after Admiral Byng failed from St. Helens; he now found their Toulon squadron to consist of 12 ships, from 64 to 84 guns; four frigates, from 24 to 46; besides sloops, five bomb vessels, &c. which had already already got possession of all Minorca, except Fort St. Philip.

A.D. 1756.

This difference in the real state, as well as in the aspect of things, will, in some measure, account for part of that conduct, for which Admiral Byng was fo severely treated afterwards.

However, thus armed and instructed, the ad- Admiral miral failed for Gibraltar in his way to Minorca, for Gibralon the 6th day of April: but was kept at sea by tarcalms and contrary winds, till the 2d day of May, on which he arrived at Gibraltar, where he Arrives at received an information of the enemy's operations Gibraltar. and strength on the island of Minorca, and on that coast, very different from what he had been made to expect: and, without delay k, iffued his His conorders accordingly, on the very day of his arrival, duct therefor all the ships of his squadron to complete their provisions and water with the utmost expedition. On the 3d the admiral went a shore to communicate to the governor of Gibraltar his orders, relative to a battalion, to be detached from the garrison, and to be embarked on board the squadron for the relief of Fort St. Philip.

But General Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, General having also received instructions or orders upon conduct. this head from the war office, in three several let-

<sup>\*</sup> The first resolution of the court martial unanimously declares, " It does not appear that any unnecessary delay was made by Admiral Byng, in the proceedings of the squadron under his command, from the time of their failing from St. Helens, on the 6th of April, till the time of their arrival off Minorca, on the 19th of May."

ters, which either did not appear so intelligible to him, as to warrant a precipitate compliance with the admiral's demand; or, perhaps, new matter had arisen, which had not been so much as supposed at the time of penning them, and such as was productive of difficulties hardly to be furmounted. he thought it his duty, in the first place to take the opinion of the engineers best acquainted with the works of Fort St. Philip, (the principal of

Confults Engineers.

present post, on the merit of bringing home a model of that fortress) concerning the possibility of relieving the same. Who, the same day, sign-Their opi- ed an opinion, That all circumstances considered, it would be extremely dangerous, if not imprac-

ticable, to throw fuccours into it.

whom had been in fervice there, and enjoyed his

Calls a council of war.

nion.

Next day, the 4th of May, this opinion was submitted to a council of war, composed of the governor and all the field officers of the garrison. affembled to take into confideration the feveral orders above-mentioned. Those to Admiral Byng, have been recited at length. General Fowke produced Lord Barrington's letters to him, who in his first letter, dated March 21, 1756, writes, "That the King has ordered the royal regiment of Fuzileers to embark immediately for Gibraltar, and that upon their arrival, he is to make a detachment from the four regiments then in garrison, to Minorca:" which implies, That if the detachment was to go, the regiment was to stay. But least this should not be clear enough, the next paragraph adds, "That together with the recruits for the

corps

A. D.

corps in his garrison, the faid regiment was to be difembarked and quartered in the garrison under his command: upon which faid difembarkation, he, the faid General, in obedience to his Majefty's further pleafure, was to cause a detachment, equal to a battalion on the prefent British establishment, to embark for Minorca." The next letter, without the least reference to, or appeal of, any part of the former, repeats the order for causing a battalion to embark on board his Majesty's fleet for the relief of the island of Minorca, in case there should be any likelihood of its being attacked." And the third letter, dated April 1, only directs him, " to receive fuch women and children belonging to the royal regiment of Fuzileers; as Admiral Byng should think fit to land there."

As it was impossible to form any absolute judgment upon these inconsistencies; they had recourse to the admiralty instructions delivered to Admiral Byng, dated March 31st, for an explanation of their intention. Wherein it is not only signified, That the King had been pleased to direct, that the royal regiment of Fuzileers should serve on board his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, and also be landed at Minorca, in case the said island was attacked, and upon a consultation with General Blakeney, it should be found necessary: but moreover that the governor of Gibraltar had orders (only those above mentioned) to make a detachment, equal to a battalion, from his garrison, in case of a like necessity, for a further reinforce-

274

A. D. 1756.

ment: and this detarnment, together with the said regiment, the Admiral was required to land in Minorca, under the restrictions before specified; together with what other assistance of gunners and men his ships could possibly spare.

Their re-

But after mature deliberation upon these letters and instructions, and upon the written opinion of the engineers, and the fituation of his Majesty's garrisons and forces in the Mediterranean, the council came to this resolution, That the sending fuch a detachment, equal to a battalion, would evidently weaken the garrison of Gibraltar, and be no ways effectual for the relief of Minorca: affigning for the grounds and reasons of this refolution, the impracticability of introducing any fuccours into the place; the infufficiency of the number proposed, if thrown in, for the defence and preservation of the island in its present condition, which they apprehended to be the meaning of the letters and orders before them; and the imprudence of weakening the garrison of Gibraltar, unnecessarily risking the loss of an additional number of his Majesty's troops, without any reasonable prospect or hope of their being any affistance to Minorca: concluding with the following reason:-"Because the Toulon squadron, by the best ac-" counts the council have received, is at least equal " in force, if not superior to that under Admiral

"Byng: and should the British fleet be any way weakened by any engagement, or any other accident, the garrison of Gibraltar would be exposed to imminent danger; and as the garrison

" flands

A. D. " ftands at present, it is not more than sufficient " to the common duty of the garrison."

1756.

Though these considerations prevailed with the council not to come into any measures, which would have exposed Gibraltar, without preserving Fort St. Philip; they nevertheless discovered a laud- A supply able disposition to do whatever could be prudently granted. done for the good of the fervice, which was to furnish one captain, fix subalterns, nine serjeants, eleven corporals, five drums and 235 private men, to supply the deficiency of those soldiers, miners and feamen, put ashore at Fort St. Philip by Captain Edgecumbe, and without which reinforcement his ships 1 could not be of any service in an engagement.

Let us now revert to the conduct of Admiral Admiral Byng on this occasion. Having now, for the first Byng pretime, one positive fact to reason upon, namely, fail for Minorca. That Fort St. Philip was actually befieged, by a great force completely furnished with all manner of necessaries for such an undertaking, and that the flege was covered by a fquadron abundantly stronger and better appointed, than had been conceived by those, who dictated his instructions: His first concern was to consider in what manner he might conduct himself for the better fulfilling his orders.—The American if, on which his inftructions feemed to lay the greatest ftress of probability, with respect to the design of the French armament at Toulon, was now out of

The Deptford, Princels Louisa, and the Fortune sloop.

fleet's being still inactive in their port, and in that case, directing him to station his squadron in the best manner to prevent their getting out, was also made void: fo that his present duty was confined to use all possible means in his power, for the relief of the place; at the same time to take proper care to protect Gibraltar from any hostile attempt; to protect the trade of his Majesty's subjects in the Mediterranean, and to annoy the enemy within the limits of his command; except, &c. therefore Admiral Byng, having received on board the 267 men from Gibraltar garrison, on the 6th, and being joined by the Experiment, the Portland and the Dolphin, and having done all in his power to supply the wants of his squadron, though not fully supplied with water, a deficiency entirely owing to the insufficiency of the springs; he set fail on the 8th of May at eight in the morning, the wind eafterly. But it continuing variable, and often interrupted by calms, this fquadron could not reach the height of Palma, the capital of Arrives off Majorca, till the 16th, where the Phænix had been shut up, almost three weeks, by two French men of war, that cruised off that port, and retired immediately on fight of the British squadron in the Offing. The Experiment was fent in with a letter from the Admiral to the English consul for intelligence, which returned with the Phænix, Capt. Harvey, who in the course of this war has acquired great honour to his country by his naval conduct and personal courage; by whom he re-

ceived

ceived advice, that the Toulon fleet, under the command of M. de la Galissionere, consisting of ten ships of the line, sive frigates, and 180 transports, with 11,000 land forces, had failed from the French that port on the 12th of April; and landed in fleet, &c. Minorca, at Ciudadella, on the 18th of the same month. The French fleet consisted of,

Line of battle ships.

Le Foudroyant 84 guns. La Couronne -Le Guerrier ---74 Le Redoubtable 74 Le Temeraire 74 L'Hippothame 64 Le Fier -64 Le Triton 64 Le Lion 64 Le Contant -64 Le Sage -64 L'Orphée --64

## Frigates.

La Juno — 46 guns
La Rose — 30
Gracieuse — 30
La Topaze — 24
La Nymph — 24

The Admiral, before he failed for Minorca, dispatched a letter by express to the Lords of the Admiralty; in which, though it might contain no-

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

278

Admiral Byng's first letter from Gibraltar to the Lords of the Admiralty.

thing but truth, his zeal for the service, and chagrin at the many disappointments and delays he had met with, prompted him to expostulate too freely with those, he knew, could have dispatched him with more advantage and credit. He begins with a kind of accufation against their dilatory orders for fitting out his squadron: " If, said he, I had been so happy, as to have arrived at Mahon, before the French had landed, I flatter myfelf, I should have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that island. He complained that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for fupplying his fquadron with necessaries; whose necessities had not been fully supplied at the time he was obliged to fail from England, and had been greatly multiplied in a long and tedious voyage. In particular, he observed, that the careening-wharfs, pits and storehouses were entirely decayed, so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul: and this was the case, not only of those that here joined him from a cruise in the Mediterranean, under Commodore Edgecumbe; but even of some of those carried out from Portsmouth. He then very impoliticly gave his opinion, that, if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitic to throw any men into St. Philip's castle; which could not, he said, be faved without a land force fufficient to raife the fiege: and therefore, that a small reinforcement would only add fo many men to the number, which must fall into the hands of the enemy. He further faid, That it was the joint opinion of

fuch

A.D.

1756.

fuch engineers and artillerymen in Gibraltar, who had been at Minorca, that it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour, so as to bar all passage up to the fally-port of the fortress; and concluded, that his own fentiments were agreeable to their opinion."

This letter consists of two parts: the former is Remarks a politive impeachment of the ministry, for their thereon. not sending a fleet to the affistance of Minorca fooner, and better provided; and for neglecting, and fuffering the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar, the only place for the King's ships to careen at, and to be supplied with necessaries, when Mahon was invested, run to decay and ruin. - The latter part does as good as tell them, that they had fent him upon an impracticable fervice, and that if it mifcarried, as in all probability it was like to do, it must be laid to their charge, who had not fent a land force to raife the fiege, as well as a fleet, that was inferior to the enemy's.

The gentlemen in the administration not being used to be rallied by their officers, and foreseeing that Minorca must fall a prey to the French force upon it, and that its lofs would be attended with a general clamour against themselves, should they not be able to fix the blame elfewhere; it feems most probable, that from this moment, they united to throw the miscarriage, if it should so happen, upon Byng alone: for which purpose they

A. D. they could collect matter enough from this letter, 1756. where he doubts of the fucceis of his expedition. Which they interpreted, and had it propagated, to be a certain fign that Mr. Byng would not endeavour to relieve Fort St. Philip: and this was fo well improved from Byng's future conduct, that they effectually transferred the blame of the loss of Minorca from themselves to the person, who had taken upon him, fo unfeafonably, to hint a difapprobation of their conduct. This ferved to amuse the people, and made a facrifice of Byng; yet, the most fensible and impartial part of the nation faw through the artifice, and could not acquit the ministry of misconduct, delays and neglect, though they could not entirely approve of the conduct of Admiral Byng, on the day of battle; for which he fuffered death; yet his crime was no more, than not having done all that was in his power to do in the time of action; a

> crime, if deserving of death, that involved many more, even every one, through whose delay, impediment, or neglect, that expedition was put off to the 6th of April, and was so badly sitted

out.

Arrives on It appears by the journals of this voyage, that the coast of the wind continued easterly until the 18th, at nine at night, when a fine breeze sprung up northerly, and the squadron sailed large all night, and found itself on the coast of Minorca at break of day, on the 19th. The Admiral, about five in the morning, dispatched Captain Harvey, in the Phænix, with the Chestersield and Dolphin, a-head of his sleet,

to reconnoitre, as close as possible, the harbour's mouth, at Mahon, and the fituation both of the enemy and their batteries; as also to observe whether it was practicable, and where, to throw any fuccours into the castle; to look out for the French fquadron, and to pick up, if possible, any of their fmall craft, for intelligence, with proper fignals for all these purposes.

Captain Harvey was also charged with the fol-

lowing letter to General Blakeney.

Ramillies, off Minorca, May 19.

SIR,

I Send you this by Captain Harvey, of his Ma-His letter jesty's ship Phænix, who has my orders to designed for General convey it to you, if possible, together with the Blakeney. inclosed packet, which he received at Leghorn. —I am extremely concerned to find that Captain Edgecumbe was obliged to retire to Gibraltar, with the ships under his command, and that the French are landed, and St. Philip's Castle is invested; as I flatter myself, had I fortunately been more timely in the Mediterranean, that I should have been able to have prevented the enemy's getting a footing on the island of Minorca.

I am to acquaint you, that General Stuart, Lord Effingham and Colonel Cornwallis, with about 30 officers, and some recruits belonging to the different regiments now in garrison with you, are on board the ships of the squadron; and shall be glad to know by the return of the officer, what place you will think proper to have them

landed at.

The

The royal regiment of English fuziliers, commanded by Lord Robert Bertie, is likewise on board the fquadron, destined, agreeable to my orders, to serve on board the fleet in the Mediterranean, unless it should be thought necessary, upon consultation with you, to land the regiment for the defence of Minorca: But, I must also inform you, should the fuziliers be landed, as they are part of the ships compliments, the marines having been ordered by the lords commissioners of the admiralty, on board of other ships at Portsmouth, to make room for them, that it will disable the squadron from acting against that of the enemy, which I am informed is cruifing off the island: however, I shall gladly embrace every opportunity of promoting his Majesty's service in the most effectual manner, and shall assist you to distress the enemy, and defeat their designs, to the utmost of my power.

Please to favour me with information, how I can be most effectually of service to you, and the

garrison; and believe me to be, &c.

Captain Harvey had orders to deliver this letter, if possible, to the general; and as with a view to some such service as this, a private signal had been agreed upon between him and Captain Scroope, of the Dolphin, who was in the castle, and had kept his boat, in order to come off, upon occasion, it was expected that the letter would have been safely delivered.

1756.

The frigates above dispatched got round the Laire of Mahon, a small island, about half an hour before nine o'clock, and, though they met with light airs of wind, and sometimes a stark calm, they continued to make the best of their way for the harbour's mouth.

About half an hour past nine the whole squadron got round the Laire also, with a fresh gale; but foon fell in with light airs and calms, at about three miles from St. Philip's Castle.

In the mean time Captain Harvey, standing on what pro-for the harbour's mouth, made his private sig-vented its delivery. nals, but without the defired fuccess. No return was made: no boat was feen to come off: and the enemy's fquadron appearing at the fame time Enemy's in the fouth-east quarter, the Admiral thought it fleet apadviseable to call in the Phœnix, and the other frigates; bore away for the enemy, and made the general fignal to chase.

Both squadrons made sail to each other, and Byng pre-about two in the afternoon the admiral made the pares for battle. fignal for the line of battle a-head, which for want of fufficient wind, could not be formed for properly, as otherwise it might have been. His next care was to furnish such of his ships, as were fickly and ill-manned (which was the case of several) with seamen from the frigates . He or-

10.00 16- b

m Thirty out of the Phoenix into the Revenge; and twenty into the Deptford. Forty out of the Experiment into the Captain, and twenty into the Lancaster: and out of the Dolphin twenty into the Intrepid, twenty to the Defiance, and feventeen to the Portland.

A.D. dered the Phænix, which had long before been reported unfit for service, and was furnished with proper materials for such a purpose, to be converted into a fire-ship. He also disposed his squadron in line of battle, as you'll find it in the note at the bottom, according to the order he had made on the 3d of May, while he laid in the Bay of Gibraltar.

Theenemy About fix in the evening the enemy advanced in order, with twelve large ships and five frigates;

Tacks. but in an hour's time, at two leagues distance, they tacked, as it did seem, to gain the weather-gage; an advantage, which Mr. Byng would have committed a great error to lose, and therefore this obliged him to tack also, and to secure the landwind in the morning; being then about five leagues from Cape Mola, having stood towards the enemy, from the time of their first disco-

\* The line of battle,—The Kingston to lead with the star-board and the Defiance with the lar-board tacks on board.

Frigates	50	Ships	Ships Commanders Number of				
rigates	ati	Surps	Commanders			Division	
	Rates			Guns	Men		
	4	Kingston	Capt. Perry	60	400		
	4	Deptford	Amhurst	50	280		
Chefterfield	3	Culloden	Ward	74	600		
Phænix tore-		Ramillies	Hon. J. Byng, Efq; Capt. Gardiner		780	Admiral of the	
Fortunefloop	3	Trident	Durell	64	500	Dins.	
•	4	Prfs. Louifa	Noel	60	400		
	3	Revenge	Cornwall	64	48c		
Experiment	3	Intrepid "	Young	64	4801		
Dolphin to repeat fignals		Captain	Catford	64	480		
	3	Buckingham	Temple West, Esq;	68	535	Rear-Admiral	
	3	Lancaster	Hon, G. Edgecumbe	66	520	of the Red.	
	4	Portland	Capt. Baird	50'	300		
	4	Defiance	Andrews	60	400		

<sup>·</sup> See the third and fourth resolutions of the court-martial.

very, with calms and little wind; which conduct was afterwards approved of by the court-martial P.

A.D. 1756.

The enemy on shore, having got sight of our Is reinfleet, were not negligent in contributing all in their forced from the power to encourage and strengthen their fleet for island, engagement; and for this purpose they dispatched 600 foldiers in two tartans to reinforce Galiffionere, in the night. The two tartans, appearing close to the rear of the English fleet, were chased, and one Lose a tarof them, with two captains, two lieutenants, and tan with foldiers. about 100 foldiers, rank and file, fell into the hands of one of our frigates, that gave them chase: the other escaped.

The 20th, in the morning, proving hazy, the enemy's fquadron was not to be feen at day-break; but foon after the taking of this tartan, it came in fight, to the fouth east; and Admiral Byng, about two o'clock, threw out a fignal to bear Byng's fig-away two points from the wind, and engage q. nal to en-Thus, from the time of first seeing the French sleet gage. in the morning of the 19th of May, till our fleet weathered the French about noon the 20th, the admiral took proper measures to gain and keep

P Fifth resolution of the court martial.

<sup>9</sup> See twelfth and thirteenth resolutions, where it is said, That foon after the fleet was upon the lar-board-tack the admiral made fignals for leading two points to star-board, which brought the wind upon or abaft the beam, and the ships continued that course, nearly a-head of each other, till the admiral made the figual for battle, about twenty minutes after two o'clock.

the wind of the enemy, and to form and close the A. D. 1756. line of battle 1.

Admiral Weft's conduct in ment.

286

But Rear-Admiral West perceiving it impossible, at so great a distance as they were then theengage- from the enemy, to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind, and clofing down upon the enemy, attacked them with fuch vigour, that the ships, which opposed him were presently driven out of the line 5. This feems to have been the critical moment, that decided the fate of Minorca, and furnished matter for Byng's ruin. For, the other division not bearing down, and the enemy's centre keeping their station, Rear-Admiral West durst not pursue his advantage, least his communication with the rest of his sleet should be entirely cut off.

Errors of Admirai Byng.

What Admiral Byng was particularly blamed for, was his order for the Deptford to quit the line, before the engagement, and for all his divifion to fall a-back in the beginning of the action, when the Intrepid's fore-topmast was shot away . For his order to the Deptford, the admiral faid, it was to make the English sleet exactly equal to the enemy's, which confifted of twelve ships of the line and five frigates: as for the other point,

r See the eighth resolution of the court-martial.

The five head-most ships of the enemy went away to leeward, out of gun-shot. Ibid. resolution fifteenth.

A little before three o'clock. Ibid. resolution fixteenth.

though it shewed a good deal of care of his Majesty's ships, to prevent their running foul or damaging one another, it was ill-timed, and gave the cenforious world too much ground to question his courage, and to cast the whole blame of the miscarriage of this day upon him alone; and an opportunity for Galissionere to retreat with his fleet, and repair his damage; and as his ships were clean, they were foon out of reach of our fhips, which gave them chase, being very foul and unfit for the purfuit of a nimble enemy.

In this action it appeared, by the resolutions of The court the court-martial, That the van-division bore resolutions down properly for the ships opposed to them in concerning this action. the enemy's line, and disabled five of them: that the Intrepid, the sternmost ship of our van-divifion, after an engagement of about a quarter of an hour, lost her fore-topmast a little before three o'clock: that the Revenge, the headmost ship of the rear-division bore down, after the ships of the van bore down, for the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line, and that she brought up upon the weather-quarter of the Intrepid, upon the Intrepid's fore-topmast going away; and that she quickly afterwards, upon the Intrepid's fetting her fore-fail, bore down under the Intrepid's leequarter and brought up there: and that upon the fignal being made for battle, and the van putting before the wind, the admiral in the Ramillies edged away some points; and the Trident and

Princess

Princess Louisa thereby coming to windward of him, the admiral thereupon hauled up his forefail, backed his mizentop-fail, and endeavoured to back his maintop fail, to allow of their getting into their stations, and continued in that fituation for five, fix or feven minutes. Upon which that court gave it as their opinion, That the admiral, after the fignal was made for battle, feparated the rear from the van-division, and retarded the rear-division of the British fleet from closing with and engaging the enemy, by his shortning sail, by hauling up his fore-sail, backing his mizentop-fail, and backing or attempting to back his maintop-sail, in order that the Trident and Princess Louisa might get a head again of the Ramillies: And further, that instead of shortning fail, the admiral ought to have made the Trident and Princess Louisa signals to make more fail; and that he ought also to have fet so much fail himself, as would have enabled the Culloden, the worst sailing ship in his division, to have kept her station, with all her plain-sail set, in order to have got down, with as much expedition as possible, to the enemy, and thereby have properly supported the van-division ".

Galiffioduct cenfured.

Having loft fight, and all hopes of feeing the nere's con- French again under M. Galissionere, whose behaviour on this occasion seems more unpardonable than Admiral Byng's; his ships being clean, bet-

u See fifteenth to twentieth resolution of the court-martial.

ter manned, carrying a greater weight of metal w, and encouraged by a place of retreat, in case of a defeat; the want of which was certainly a grand confideration with an admiral, who had no other Admiral relief in case of a misfortune, than to return to conductaf-Gibraltar, where there were neither stores, con-ter the enveniencies, nor yet provisions to supply the wants of fuch a fquadron, if disabled from keeping the fea; Admiral Byng brought to about eight o'clock at night, to join the Intrepid, disabled and left to

1756.

fquadron, when he engaged M. De la Galissionere's off Cape Mola, 20 May, 1756.

w The Hon. Admiral Byng's M. De la Galissionere's squadron, when he landed the troops at Minorca, 18 April, and at the engagement with Admiral Byng's squadron off Cape Mola, 20 May, 1756.

				neta!			1	wt.ofmt.		Number .		
Ships Names		-	n th	e	men	Ships Names.		on the		10		men on
	Guns	low	mid	upp		1	Guns.	low	ирр	Sea-	Sol-	each
	ű	dec.	dec.	dec.			Č	dec.	dec.	men.	diers.	fhip.
		1b.	lb.					1ь.	1b.			
Ramillies	90	32	18	12	78c	Foudroyant	84		24	700	250	950
Culloden	74	32		18	600	La Couronne	74	42	24	65c	150	800
Buckingham	74 68	32		18	535	Le Guerrier	74	42	24	65c	150	8co
Lancaster	66	32		18	520	Le Temeraire	74		24	650		
Trident	64	24		12	50C	Le Redoutable	74	42	24	650		Soo
Intrepid	64	32		18	48c	l'Hipopothame	64	36	24	500		600
Captain	64	24		12	4.Sc	Le Fier	64	36	24	500	100	600
Revenge	64	24		12	48c	Le Triton	64	36	24	500	100	600
Kingston	60	24		9	400	Le Lion	64	36	24	500	100	600
Defiance	60	24		12	400	Le Content	64	36	24	500	100	600
Prís Louisa	56	24		12	4.0C	Le Sage	64	36	24	500	100	600
Portland	48	24		12	300	L'Orphée	64	36	24	500	100	600
		-					828					
Faire	778		_		5875	Frigates.	828			6800	-	8350
Frigates Deptford		-					- 6					
Chesterfield	48				28c	La Juno La Roze	46			300		300
Phænix	40				250	Gracieuse	30			250		250
Dülphin	22			111	160	La Topez	3c			250		250
	22				160		24			250		250
Experiment	22				16c	La Nymphe	24			200		200
Total	932				6885	Total	982			8050	1550	9620

the care of the Chestersield, and to resit his ships, as fast as possible, and continued so all night. But next morning the enemy was quite gone, and Mahon was north-north-west about ten or eleven leagues. He then sent cruisers in quest of the Intrepid and Chestersield, which had parted from the rest of the squadron in the night; and joined him next day; and having, from a state and condition of the squadron, brought him in by the proper officers, sound that the Captain, the Intrepid and the Desiance, (which latter had lost her Captain) were very much damaged in their masts, the admiral thought it proper, on the 24th, to call a council of war on board the Ramillies, before he went again to look for the enemy.

A council of war.

This council, befides the proper naval officers \*, who by right are consulted upon such occasions, consisted also of several land officers, by the admiral's particular request. For he desired General Stuart, Lord Effingham, Lord Robert Bertie and Colonel Cornwallis to attend, that he might collect their opinions, upon the present situation, and concerning the future operations of the seet under his command. And the questions debated, and the resolutions in this council were, as follows:

Questions debated.

- I. Whether an attack upon the French fleet gives any prospect of relieving Minorca. Ans. It would not.
- II. Whether, if there was no French fleet cruifing off Minorca, the English fleet could raise the siege. Ans. It could not.

<sup>\*</sup> The admirals and captains of all the ships.

III. Whether Gibraltar would not be in danger by any accident that may befal this fleet. Ans. It would be in danger.

A. D. 1756.

IV. Whether an attack with our fleet, in the present state of it, upon that of the French, will not endanger the safety of Gibraltar, and expose the trade of the Mediterranean to great hazard. Ans. That it would.

V. Whether it is not most for his Majesty's service, that the sleet should immediately proceed for Gibraltar. Ans. That it should proceed for Gibraltar.

At this council, fays the admiral, in his letter to Mr. Cleland, fecretary to the admiralty, dated on board the Ramillies off Minorca, May the 25th, 1756, not the least contention or doubt arose. In the same letter he informed the lords of the admiralty, that he was making the best of his way to Gibraltar.

In this action the killed and wounded on our Loss in this fide were,

On board the Buckingham,	wounded 7	killed 3
Captain	30	6
Lancaster	14	I
Intrepid	39	- 9
Princess Louis	ſa 13	3
Defiance	45	14
Portland	20	- 6
	Total 168	42
	-	
	U 2	The

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

292

The only person of distinction amongst the slain was Captain Andrews of the Desiance, whose ship the admiral gave to Captain Harvey.

The killed and wounded on the fide of the

French were, on board the

Foudroyant	wounded	10	killed 2
Le Redoutable	-	3	
La Couronne		3	
Le Tameraire	-	15	
Le Guerrier		43	
Le Lion		7	2
Le Sage		8	-
L'Orphée	-	9	10
Le Content	•	19	5
Le Triton	-	14	5
L'Hipopothame		10	2
Le Fier	<del></del>	4	
	Total	145	26
	-		-

Minorca being thus given up by our ffeet upon the coast, let us turn our attention to what was doing upon the island.

The French invade Minorca.

The Marshal Duke de Richelieu, who commanded in chief by land, on this expedition, and Count Galissionere, who commanded the sleet, attended by the principal officers of the army, had entered the city of Cieudadella without opposition. The English garrison, not able to dispute the disembarkation of the troops, retired: and the magistracy received the French officers with great ce-

remony

A. D.

remony at their entrance;—the Marshal telling them, That he was not come to attack them: but that he was sent thither for no other reason Richelieu's than to obtain fatisfaction for the infults and in-speech. juries done the King his mafter by the English. He promised them his protection, and assured them that he would take particular care of the behaviour of his troops, fo that they should commit no fort of violence, and pay for what they should buy. But he added: "beware of carrying on any correspondence with the enemy; for, " if you do, you shall be treated with the utmost " feverity."

This was upon the 18th of April; and on the 19th the Marshal took possession of a small fort, abandoned also by the English, which served to cover Fornelles, a small port, situate on the east fide of the island, at the point of a bay near a cape of the fame name.

On the 20th, the Marquis du Mesnil and the March for-Marquis de Monteynard, two lieutenant-gene-ward to rals, were detached from the army with twentyfour companies of grenadiers and a royal brigade, to encamp at Mercadel, from whence they were to advance towards Mahon, in order to block up that port on the eastern side of the bay, whilst the main body of the army invested Fort St. Philip, and the French fleet under Galissionere blocked Supported up the entrance of the bay of Port Mahon, with by a fleet. orders to give Admiral Byng's squadron battle, in case it should attempt to relieve the fort,

We have already feen that many of the prin-

A. D. 1756. Condition of Fort St. Philip.

cipal officers were absent from Fort St. Philip: for, though they had been sent on board Admiral Byng's fleet, they were not landed. The garrifon also was thought to be too weak for a long and vigorous defence of a fortress surrounded with fuch numerous works, against an army, fo eafily supplied and recruited from the fouth of France: for which reason a reinforcement had been ordered from Gibraltar, but without its proper effect. For, the fiege was begun some weeks before our fleet appeared upon the coast; and it returned to Gibraltar, with the troops on board, defigned to reinforce the garrifon of Fort St. Philip. Yet Governor Blakeney has been greatly blamed for his conduct. It has been faid, that he neglected his post, by shutting himself up in his own house during the whole siege, regardless of the command entrusted to his care: that he ought to have broke up the roads from Cuidadella and Fornelles, and pulled down the houses in St. Philip's town: that he ought also to have compelled the natives to go into the castle to ease the foldiers by doing the labour of the garrison: and that the fortress was not, in the whole, properly defended; and at last, given up without necessity y.

Governor Blakeney cenfured.

This is the fubstance of the charge; which, after the governor's return to England, was an-

**fwered** 

y See a letter to the Right Hon. Lord B—y, being an enquiry into his defence of Minorca,





LORD BLAKENEY.

fwered z minutely by a principal officer, with the A.D. concurrence of the other officers under his com-mand during the fiege. In which answer the in his conpublic are informed, That, as there was not one duct. colonel to take the chief command, in case of an accident; nor an officer between him and a lieutenant-colonel; and that there were fortyone captains and fubaltern-officers belonging to the four regiments in garrison absent, the Governor thought it most adviseable, and best for the fervice, to appoint one fixt place or station for him to receive intelligence from the officers commanded to go the rounds, or from any others, as circumstances and the exigencies of the service might require; laying it down as a maxim, That it should always be known, during a siege, where to find the Commander in Chief; and that the Governor of a fortification, who, out of vain curiofity, when the immediate fervice does not require his presence, goes to view the out-works, or hazards his life, when there is no need of his ate tendance, is guilty of great imprudence. He kept two lieutenant-colonels, and the aid-decamp to one of them constantly going the rounds: for which they were excused all other duty; that they might have no excuse for remissness in this. Besides, the fort-major and fort-adjutant attended the Governor as often as they could be spared: the captains, at every post, had orders

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sec a full answer to an infamous libel, &c. Printed for W. Reeve, 1757.

to inform the Governor, by a subaltern-officer, or a serjeant, immediately, of every proceeding or accident that might happen under their respective commands: A report was made every morning to him, by the field-officer of the day, of the particular incidents within the twenty-four hours of duty: with an account of the shot and shells fired during that time, describing their particular directions: and his own aid-de-camp was always ready to carry his orders when and wherever required.

The circumference of the works being about a mile, wholly invested by sea and land, and the approaches carried on every where, it might have been a fatal confequence, had the Governor, through a vain curiofity or imprudent bravery, gone to view one part of the fortifications, while another remote part of it had been attacked; or had he thereby lost his life. Therefore, it was thought most prudent, under these circumstances, to fix upon the castle for his station to receive intelligence, and to give his directions and orders. Not that the castle could be supposed exempt from danger: on the contrary, the Governor was here much exposed to the fire of the enemy's cannon and mortars; who in a particular manner were observed to level their shot and shells at the body of the castle and the Governor's house: But, it was from the top thereof, as from the centre of the fortress, he could best and almost instantaneously view all the works and posts under his command,

A. D.

and the operations, batteries, movements and approaches of the besiegers.

During the whole siege of seventy days, the Governor never went into a bed nor undressed himself. Every one had access to him at all hours, night and day: and in the day-time he exercised the serjeants and soldiers himself, on the public parade, in the manner of defence upon any attack of the fortifications, or subterraneans; until it became dangerous for the men, from the enemy's shot and shells; and after that he continued their exercise in his own apartments, when time would permit. Thereby discharging the duty of a good Governor, with an attention and application seldom to be met with in a man of eighty-two years of age.

When a place on the continent is threatened with a siege; the advance of armies, and the neceffary preparations to carry the defign into execution cannot be secreted: they soon grow notorious, and furnish the governor with time to break up roads, and to remove all buildings that may either obstruct the execution of his own batteries. or favour the approaches of the enemy. But in this case all the intelligence, that could be obtained by the governor, shut up in an island, was, that great preparations were making in the fouth of France, which sometimes were said to be intended against Gibraltar, or Minorca, and fometimes against Corsica, or against our plantations in North America, or to join the Brest squadron in the invasion of Great Britain or Ireland.

In which uncertainty, having no advice, nor orders for his conduct from England, he would have afted very improperly to break up roads and to remove buildings before the enemy's motions should put their intentions out of all doubt to be levelled against his government; and then Governor Blakeney did all that was in the power of one in his circumstances, to do. For, as soon as it was certain a that the French were making good their landing at Ciudadella, the governor, with the advice of the chief engineer, pulled down the engineer's own house, which was a fine modern building, and four windmills; these being the only erections, supposed to be of service to the enemy, during a fiege; there being fuch an efplanade between the village and the fortifications, that the houses in St. Philip's town could do no harm to the belieged, but, on the contrary, they did great mischief to the French, when beat about their ears by the cannon balls and shells from the castle. As to the roads; the difficulty both in regard to time, and to the nature of the ground, might be admitted in excuse. The French landed on the 17th, and meeting with no opposition from a land force b, that was obliged to flut themselves

up

b There was a finall redoubt, with one company, at Fornelles, and a polt with five companies at Ciudadella, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> General Blakeney had no certainty of this intended invasion of Minorca, till two days before they landed, which advice he received by a packet-boat dispatched on purpose. From which time he made the best preparations he could for the desence of the castle.

1756.

up in the fort, they took possession of Mahon on the 19th of the same month. Which was a space of time too short for removing the buildings of St. Philip's town, had it been necessary; or to break up the roads effectually, had they been ever fo easy to dig up. But, the surface of the whole island of Minorca is such a hard rock, that the French could not fink entrenchments for about a mile round the fort, with the labour of their whole army: How then was it possible for Governor Blakeney to break up the roads for thirty miles with his small number of men in three days, and when they had other work and duty upon their hands, which could not be left undone. Yet, even under these difficulties, the governor gave a fample of his attention to this part of duty. did order the bridges to be broken down, and the roads to be broken up: and they were actually spoiled, as much as the shortness of the time, and the few men, that could be spared, were able to execute his orders. In which, or any other labour or fervice, the Governor could depend upon no affistance from the islanders. The Spaniards, upon this occasion, refused to join in any act against the French. The more sensible part of them would frequently acknowledge, that their condition was greatly bettered, fince the English had possession of the island; and that their go-

the Governor recalled, as he did all his advanced parties, as foon as the enemy began to difembark.

Major Cunningham was charged with this part of the fer-

1756.

vernment was mild and good: but fuch was the influence of the priefts, over the lower class especially, by representing the English to be enemies to their religion, and in a state of damnation, or devils upon earth; that it got the better of all other confiderations, and kept up their aversion to us, even to the last. For, though the Governor isfued out a proclamation, with a promife of pay and other encouragements, to as many as would voluntarily enter the fort, only thirteen gentlemen gave in their names; only three of them entered the castle with the Governor; and one of them deserted afterwards. And of twenty-five bakers and artificers, whom the Governor hired, at a high price, to serve in the castle, and gratified with a priest at the public expence, for their fpiritual duties; fuch was the disaffection, that five or fix of them deferted over the pallifadoes; neither could the rest have been restrained without a proper guard always to watch them.

All that the Governor could do was actually performed with great diligence and circumspection. He destroyed all the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town, to prevent any miscarriage in his own men by drunkenness; and he carried the butts into the castle to serve for gabions and traverses. He drove all the cattle he could meet with into the fort, for the benefit of the garrison, and made such a provision of wine, that there was no want of these necessaries at the time of their capitulation. He, not in a condition to give the invaders battle, walled up his ports; he assigned

every party their posts; placed centinels; and ordered every other precaution becoming the best commander in his circumstances.

At this time Commodore Edgecumbe laid at anchor close under the walls of St. Philip's Castle, with feveral rich merchant ships; which must have all followed the fate of the fortress, had the French fleet, as it might, have blocked them up in the harbour of Mahon. But, they were permitted to escape; upon a supposition, that their crews would be too inconsiderable a reinforcement to the garrison, whose weakness the French Marshal was perfectly acquainted with. However, when Edgecumbe failed with his fquadron, he left behind him all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the Porcupine floop, and the greater part of the Dolphin's, as a reinforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of Captain Scroop of the

As foon as this little squadron had sailed for Gibraltar, the Governor sunk a sloop in the channel leading to the harbour. But the French sleet never attempted to approach the fort.

Dolphin, who voluntarily offered himself for that fervice, and signalized himself by his conduct and

bravery during the siege.

On the 22d of April Governor Blakeney sent a letter by a drum to Marshal Duke de Richelieu, demanding the reasons for such a hostile invasion of that island; to which he received for answer, That he was come with intention to reduce the island under the dominion of his most Christian

Majesty.

A.D. Majesty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of the King of England, who had seized and detained ships belonging to the King of France and his subjects.

It was conjectured by the French Commander in Chief, that he should have very little trouble in the reduction of a fortress, which, to all appearance, was not provided with sufficient strength to hold out a regular fiege: and therefore he himfelf did not come so well provided with engineers, as the fervice afterwards did require; and, as if the bare fight of his army had been enough to strike terror into the handful of men immured by their Governor in Fort St. Philip, he erected his batteries at Cape Mola, at fuch a distance, on the other fide of the harbour, that they could do no. execution, and at the fame time were most exposed to the fire of the castle; which was so well ferved, and so continual on this quarter, that it foon convinced the enemy of the vanity of their fanguine hopes of an easy conquest, and of the necessity of changing their plan of attack, and to make their approaches on the fide of St. Philip's town. Where, on the 12th of May, and near the fite, from whence the Governor had removed the wind-mills, they, about nine at night, opened two bomb batteries, with great fury. The fire was incessantly kept up on both sides, from mortars and cannon; and the French raifed new batteries continually, where they discovered the least advantage against the fortress.

1756.

In this precarious fituation Governor Blakeney took the direction of the whole defence upon himself. His order in writing was, "That no "officer, of what rank soever he might be, should "direct a measure of any consequence to be taken, "without being first communicated to him for his approbation." Which was punctually observed.

As the works were extensive, the besiegers much too numerous to be opposed by open force, and the garrison not half the number requisite for the defence of the fort, the Governor could make no fallies; and was confined to fuch operations, as would annoy the enemy from his batteries, and to fave his people for the defence of the place, in the last extremity. Thus he made as much use as he could of the subterraneans to shelter his men: he ordered the guards to parade in them, and to march to and from the feveral posts affigned them, under their covers by the communications: and that part of the garrison, not upon duty, was ordered to continue always under those covers. By which prudent disposition the garrison was faved, and the posts constantly supplied; and it was in a great measure owing to the obedience both of officers and men under this wife disposition, that five thousand of the enemy were cut off, with a fmall loss on our fide.

Having feen that all dispositions were made for defence, that providence could suggest, or the nature of the place could admit of;—let us add,

A. D. That the Governor, upwards of a year before the fiege, had ordered a furvey to be taken of the ordnance and of the stores; found forty cannon and upwards defective, and had them replaced by the Board of Ordnance. He also had the shot and shells carefully surveyed and gaged; and finding the suzees in store unserviceable by length of time, he ordered an equal number of empty ones to be drove; and by ordering a number of soldiers to be disciplined in the management of the artillery, many of them became expert gunners, and did good service in the defence of the place.

—All which were proper attentions of a good Governor.—In the time of the fiege councils of war were frequent, and the engineers always attended. The batteries of cannon and mortars were well ferved, and did great execution: but he had no miners, except fix or feven coal-heavers, or fuch

like men, picked out amongst the regiments.

On the 19th day of the month the brave garrison exulted with joy at the fight of Admiral Byng's squadron: and Mr. Boyd, Commissary of Stores, ventured in an open boat with fix oars, down a creek called St. Steven's Cove, on the west side of the castle, through a shower of musket and cannon-balls, from the enemy's post on the other side, to join the British squadron, and to inform the admiral of the condition of the garrison. This boat actually reached the open sea, but was obliged to put back by the same way he came out, not being able to reach the sleet, which

was too far distant, and then stretching to the fouthward, and also chaced by two light vessels from the enemy. But no tongue can express the surprize they met with next day, when the French sleet returned to their station, off Cape Mola; no English squadron was to be seen, and a general discharge or seu-de-joye, in the French camp, consirmed by the report of a deserter, that Admiral Byng's sleet had been worsted, and obliged to retire, by the French squadron under M. de la Galissionere.

How far Galissionere could pride himself, or the French were entitled to the claim, of a victory over the English sleet, by the action on the 20th of May, is beyond all conception: for, it is notorious, that Galissionere ran away from Admiral Byng. The misfortune on our side was the permitting the French sleet to retreat, without a general engagement, and to slee without being pursued, and to resume their station to block up Mahon by sea, without being molested. All which circumstances, duly considered, answered the purposes of the greatest victory to the enemy: because the sea was shut to the besieged, and open for every necessary purpose to the besiegers.

These were, no doubt, severe trials: but the garrison in no wise degenerated from their courage: though they found themselves abandoned by the English sleet, they resolved to exert their utmost in their own defence, and for the glory of their country; not without hopes, that the sleet might be reinforced, and return with sufficient

Vol. I. X strength

ftrength to their relief. With such spirits they sustained and returned the enemy's fire without ceasing, always ready to maintain the post of honour, and to seek for a station where they could do most execution. Neither did their vigour abate, but rather increased with their labour and danger; when their embrasures and parapets were demolished, and they stood exposed to every ball and shell from the enemy, encompassing them on every side; who at last were augmented, by reinforcements to twenty thousand men, and were incessantly carrying on their approaches with sixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, besides small arms.

There was no relifting such a formidable army, without further aid. And a well appointed fleet was the only effectual means to fnatch the prey out of the enemy's hands: which, as it was in our power to fend, might be expected in a very fhort time: And the French Marshal having intelligence, that the court of Great Britain had difpatched a strong addition of one eighty gun ship, three of fixty-four and one of fifty guns to join the squadron under Admiral Byng: as he could not but foresee his own disgrace in the consequences of a defeat of his fleet, which would infallibly lock his army up in an island where he could not find support of any kind, and oblige him to furrender prisoners of war: and the prolongation of the fiege being fo far beyond the time his court was taught to expect a furrender of Fort St. Philip's, that his enemies about the King had made

made use of it to lessen his abilities in their royal mafter's esteem, and were upon the point of getting him recalled: therefore M. Duke de Richelieu pushed matters with the utmost vigour; and having made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and confiderably damaged the other outworks on the 27th day of June, it was resolved to try the effects of a general affault, in that very night.

A. D. 1756.

The garrison was reduced to two thousand five State of the hundred men at the time the general attack was the general made: on the contrary, the enemy's army, which attack. had been continually reinforced by a regiment of artillery and supplies of troops, ammunition, &c. was stronger than at the beginning of the siege.

On the evening of the 26th the Duke de Riche- The plan for the atalieu called a council of war, at which were present tack. all the general officers, to whom he imparted the whole project, and received their approbation. He then proceeded to settle their respective charges for the execution of the plan; and took his own post in the centre of the attacks on the left, with orders for the Count de Maillebois, the Marquis de Misnil, and the Prince of Wirtemburg to attend him, to give the necessary directions for the support and fuccess of the attacks. It was likewise agreed, That the fignal, for the beginning of the attack, should be given by firing a cannon and four bombs, from the battery near the fignal house.

Things being thus disposed, the artillery con- The signal: tinued to batter the forts till the 27th at ten o'clock in the evening, when they all on a fudden

ceased firing. Immediately the fignal of a cannon shot and four bombs thrown into the castle, was given, according to orders; and M. de Monty marched against Strugen and Argyle, and Messrs. de Briqueville and de Sades, advanced successively against Kane and the Queen's redoubt. The men of wars boats, with troops and scaling ladders, went up to St. Steven's cove at the same time, and attempted to carry Charles's Fort, but were bravely repulsed.

The storm.

The belieged behaved like heroes, disputing the ground inch by inch; but after much execution, by the fire on both fides, the Strugen or Anstruther redoubt was taken by assault, and the Argyle and Queen's redoubt by escalade.-The Argyle was blown up: and three mines were sprung under the Queen's redoubt, the glacis of the Anstruther and Kane's lunette, with such execution, that they blew three companies of French grenadiers into the air. But the loss on this occasion to the garrison was much more fatal. For, Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffries, of Lord Effingham's regiment, the fecond in command, and, indeed the principal acting man in the fort, was taken prisoner, between the Strugen and Argyle, as he was hurrying with a hundred men to their relief. When he found the French in possession of the redoubt, he endeavoured to retreat: but was furrounded and obliged to furrender, with fifteen of his men. Here also Major Cunningham, who was in his company, though he had the good fortune to preferve his liberty, was fo disabled by a wound through

through his right hand with a bayonet, and by A. D. 1756. having his arm fhattered with a musket ball, that he was no longer able to continue on duty.

These three redoubts being taken, and the ene- A lodgmy in possession of the cannon and mortars found ment in them, made a lodgment instantly in that part, which was the principal attack, and carried on the other attacks with vigour. At the same time, the Prince de Beauveau, to whose charge was committed the attack against the western and Caroline lunettes, got possession of the covert way; but, as Kane's lunette was not taken; he was obliged to retreat, having nailed up twelve pieces of cannon, cut down the pallifadoes, destroyed the

gun carriages, and maintained this as long as he could, in order to favour the principal attack.

The impracticability of maintaining a fortress of fuch an extent, by fuch a thin garrison, against all these firings, and the combination of all these various 'attacks, fo animated the French commander, that he made fure of fuccess on the left; and by break of day, his men being totally mafters of the Queen's redoubt and the forts Strugen and Argyle, they posted 400 in the former and 200 in the latter: M. Richelieu and his noble attendants, above-mentioned, continuing all the time, as had been concerted, in the center of the attacks on the left.

The brave Governor and garrifon defended Bravery of themselves with all the intrepidity that is natural ed. to Englishmen in time of danger. But none distinguished themselves more than those in the

western

X 3

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

310

western and Caroline lunettes, where each officer and soldier, emulous of glory, maintained their ground with exalted courage and exerted bravery, under the greatest satigue, against a vast superior number of the enemy.

A parley, and its bad effects.

At day-break on the 28th, the besiegers, famous for stratagem, to accomplish what they can't perfect by force, beat a parley, and obtained a cessation of arms under colour of burying their dead, which indeed laid in heaps about the places of action. But the principal view of the enemy was, to snatch an opportunity to secure the lodgments they had made, by introducing into them a considerable number of troops, through a subterranean passage, which had been opened by a shell, and not discovered by the besieged, till the day cleared up; and then it was too late to dispute its possession with the enemy.

When this was discovered, and it was known that, by this passage under the Kane, the enemy might proceed to all the other communications of the subterraneans communicating with all the outworks, which the garrison was not in a condition, for numbers, to defend; the governor, during the cessation of arms, held a council of war; who having duly considered the circumstances of the garrison, and of the measures properest to be taken, the majority declared for a capitulation. Then the Governor consulted the officers of artillery: who all declared, that the works were in a shattered, ruinous condition, and irreparable in the present state of the garrison. He also sent for

A council of war in the castle.

Bad state of the gar-

all the captains not upon duty; who all agreed, that the garrison was not in a condition to fustain another general attack: that the body of the castle was greatly shattered: the embrasures were beat down: that the pallifadoes were in many places broken to pieces; that the garrison was worn out with incessant duty and watchings; and that the enemy, being in possession of the subterraneans, which communicate themselves under all the castle, the Governor must be obliged to defend these also, should he stand another storm, or leave the body of the place exposed to the enemy, without resistance: for which there was not a sufficient force under his commmand.

These considerations, and the want of intelli-Surrenders by capitu-gence, after the disappearance of the English lation. squadron under Admiral Byng, prevailed on the Governor to propose terms of capitulation, in order to preferve the remains of his brave garrison, and the lives of a confiderable number of his Majesty's fubjects, that were in the fort; and which, without distinction might have been thrown away in case of a general storm: and it was happy for them that he did capitulate; for the enemy, the very next day after the capitulation, landed 4000 men more with ammunition at Ciudadella.

Yet this measure has not escaped censure: there Objectiwas an opposition even in the council of war. ons. For, some officers argued that, as the garrison was very little diminished, was still in high spi-

d The loss of the English amounted to no more than three officers killed, five wounded, and 71 private men killed, and 326 wound-X 4

rits, and in want of nothing: that, as there was no breach made by the enemy in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach: that, as the lofs of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering a fortress of such a strength and importance: that, as the counterfearp was fo well fecured by its rocky foundation, as not to be taken, otherwise than by affault, which would cost the enemy more men, than in their last attempt: that, as the counterscarp must be taken before the enemy could attack the ditch, or batter in breach, and they must have recourse to galleries, before they could pass the fosse, which was furnished with mines and counter-mines: and that, as they might hope for relief from the English fleet when properly reinforced, they could not see the necessity of capitulating; especially, as they held it to be the duty of a Governor to defend his castle to the last extremity, without paying any regard to confequences.

The capitulation odid great honour to Governor Blakeney; Marshal Richelieu declaring, in his answer

326 wounded (twenty-five of which died of their wounds) ten died of diseases, and seventeen were missing.

c Articles of capitulation proposed by Lieutenant General Blakeney, for his Britannic Majessy's garrison of the castle of St. Philip's, on the island of Minorca.

Article I.

THAT all acts of hosfility shall cease, until the articles of capitulation are agreed upon and signed.

Richelieu]

I.

Granted.

fwer to the fecond article, that he had been induced, by the brave defence made by the Governor and garrison, A. D. 1756.

H.

That all the honours of war shall be granted the garrison on their surrender, such as, to march out with their firelocks on their shoulders, drums beating, colours slying, twenty-four charges for each man, match lighted, four pieces of cannon, and two mortars, with twenty charges for each piece, a covered waggon for the Governor, and sour others for the garrison, which shall not be searched on any pretence.

Richelieu] II.

The noble and vigorous defence which the English have made, having deserved all the marks of esteem and veneration, that every military person ought to shew to such actions; and Marshal Richelieu being desirous also to shew General Blakeney the regard due to the brave desence he has made, grants to the garrison all the honours of war that they can enjoy, under the circumstances of their going out for an embarkation, to wit, firelocks on their shoulders, drums beating, colours slying, twenty cartouches each man, and also lighted match; he consents likewise, that Lieutenant-General Blakeney, and his garrison, shall carry away all the effects that shall belong to them, and that can be put into trunks. It would be useless to them to have covered waggons; there are none in the island, therefore they are resused.

III.

That all the garrison, including all the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, as well civil as military, shall have all their baggage, and effects secured, with liberty of removing and disposing of them, as they shall think proper.

Richelieu] III.

Granted, except to the natives of the island, upon condition that all the lawful debts of the garrison to the Minorquins, who are to be considered as French subjects, shall be paid.

IV.

That the garrison, including the officers, artificers, foldiers, and other subjects of his Britannic Majesty, with their families,

### THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. garrison, to grant them such generous terms, which entitled them to march out with all the honours

314

lies, who shall be willing to leave the island, shall be provided with proper vessels, and conducted to Gibraltar by the shortest and most direct navigation: that they shall be landed immediately upon their arrival, at the expence of the crown of France, and that they shall be supplied with provisions, out of those that may yet be remaining in the place, at the time of its surrender, as long as they shall remain in the island, and during their voyage at sea, and that in the same proportion that they receive at present. But if a greater quantity should be wanted, that they should be furnished with it at the expence of the crown of France.

Ricehlieu] IV.

Transport vessels shall be furnished from among those which are in the pay of his most Christian Majesty, and proper for the military and civil garrison of Fort St. Philip, and their families. These vessels shall carry them by the safest navigation to Gibraltar, with the shortest delay possible, and shall land them immediately, upon condition, that after their being landed, these ships shall be provided with sufficient passports, that they may not be molested on their return to the port of France they shall be bound for: and hostages shall be given for the safety of the transport vessels and their crews, who shall embark in the first neutral ship that shall come to setch them, after the said vessels shall be returned in the port of France.

The garrison shall also be supplied with provisions as well during their stay in the island, as for twelve days voyage, which shall be taken from those that shall be found in the Fort St. Philip, and distributed on the footing, that they have been situally surnished to the English garrison; and if more be wanted, it shall be surnished, paying for it as it shall be agreed by commission so both sides.

V.

That proper quarter shall be provided for the garrison, with an hospital sit for the sick and wounded, whilst the transports

honours of war, and to be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. And his Majesty, our late sovereign, who could

A. D. 1756.

are getting ready, which shall not exceed a month, to be reckoned from the day of signing this capitulation; and with regard to those, who shall not be in a condition to be transported, they shall stay, and care shall be taken of them, 'till they are in a condition to be sent to Gibraltar by another opportunity.

Richelieu] V.

The vessels being ready for the transporting the garrison, the providing quarters, as demanded, becomes unnecessary; they shall go out of the place with the least delay, in order to proceed to Gibraltar; and with regard to those, who cannot be embarked immediately, they shall be permitted to remain in the island, and all the assistance they shall want, shall be given them for their going to Gibraltar, when they shall be in a condition to be embarked; a state of them shall be drawn up, and the necessary passports shall be left, for a ship to go and return; and an hospital shall also be surnished for the sick and wounded, as shall be settled by the respective commissions.

#### VI.

That the Governor shall not be accountable for all the houses that shall have been destroyed and burnt during the siege.

Richelieu] VI.

Granted for the houses destroyed or burnt during the siege: but several effects, and titles of the admiralty court, which have been carried into the fort, shall be restored, as well as the papers of the town house, which have been carried away by the receiver; and the papers and titles relating to the ladings of the French merchant-ships, which have been also retained.

#### VII.

When the garrison shall come out of the place, no body shall be permitted to debauch the soldiers, to make them de sert from their regiments; and their officers shall have access to them at all time.

# THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A.D. could not be supposed to be ignorant of any part of the attack and defence of Fort St. Philip, not only

Richelieu] VII.

No foldier shall be excited to defert, and the officers shall have an entire authority over them to the moment of their embarkation.

VIII.

An exact discipline shall be observed on each side.

Richelieu] VIII. Granted.

IX.

That fuch of the inhabitants of the island, as have joined the English for the defence of the place, shall have leave to remain, and to enjoy their goods and effects in the island without being molested.

Richelieu] IX.

General Blakeney, and Marshal Richelieu cannot fix or extend the authority of the Kings their masters, over their subjects; it would be setting bounds to it, to oblige them to receive in their dominions, those whom they should not think proper to have settled there.

X.

That all prisoners of war shall be restored on each side.

Richelieu] X.

All the prisoners that have been made during the siege shall be restored on each side, so that when the French return those they have, the piquets, which were taken going to join the French sleet, the day Admiral Byng appeared before Mahon, shall be restored.

XI.

That Mr. Cunningham the engineer, who acted as a volunteer during the siege, shall have a passport, and leave to go wherever his affairs require.

Richelieu] XI.

Granted.

only approved of General Blakeney's conduct; but, upon his arrival in England, ennobled him; and distinguished him with other particular marks of his regard and favour.

This brave commander, General William Blakeney, was a native of Ireland, and born at Mount Blakeney, in the county of Limerick, A. D. 1672,

#### XII.

Upon the foregoing conditions, his excellency the lieutenant general governor consents, after the hostages shall have been exchanged for the faithful execution of the above articles, to deliver up the place to his most Christian Majesty, with all the magazines, ammunition, cannons, and mortars, except those mentioned in the second article, and to point out to the engineers all the mines, and subterraneous works. Done at the castle of St. Philip, the 28th of June 1756.

Richelieu] XII.

As foon as the foregoing articles shall have been figned, the French shall be put in possession of one of the gates of St. Philip's castle, as well as of the Forts Marlborough and St. Charles, upon the hostages being sent on both sides, for the faithful execution of the foregoing articles.

The stoccado that is in the port shall be removed, and the going in and the coming out shall be lest open, at the disposition of the French, until the whole garrison has marched out: in the mean time, the commissaries on both sides shall be employed, those on the part of his excellency General Blakeney, in making an estimate of the effects in the military magazines, and others; and those on the part of his excellency the Duke of Richelieu, in receiving them; and to deliver to the English such part thereof, as has been agreed upon. Plans shall also be delivered of the galleries, mines, and other subterraneous works. Done at St. Philip, the 29th of June, 1756.

 By the title of Lord Blakeney, of Mount Blakeney in the kingdom of Ireland.

the antient feat of his family. He entered into the land service in the beginning of Queen Ann's war, and was made an enfign by Lord Cutts at the fiege of Venlo. But he was long overlooked and neglected, till he found a friend in the late Duke of Richmond, by whose interest he was promoted to a regiment. He ferved against the Spaniards at Carthagena, and recommended himself to his late Majesty by his courage and conduct in the defence of Stirling castle, against the rebels and their French auxiliaries in 1745. Yet his great merit and unblemished character could procure nothing better for him in the decline of life, when old age bore hard upon him, than a command on the island of Minorca, where he was obliged to reside several years as lieutenant-governor.

The castle, &c. fur-rendered.

The articles of capitulation being figned, and the hostages given, M. de Richelieu entered Fort St. Philip, on the 29th of June at noon: where he found 240 cannon fit for service; besides 40 ruined or nailed up during the attack, 70 mortars, 700,000 lwt. of gunpowder, 12,000 cannon balls and 15,000 bombs. The garrison consisted of 2963 men, about 2300 of whom were military, (the rest labourers, &c.) commanded by three lieutenant colonels only, 23 captains, and a very few fubalterns. In the defence of this fort there were expended, 27,018 shells of different sizes, 1032 during the hand granades, 32,706 round shot, 332 double

headed shot, 959 grape shot, 353,639 pounds

Ammunition expended fiege.

13 ounces

13 ounces of gunpowder, 73 carcasses of 12 inches. 41 of 10 inches, and 86 fire balls.

A. D. 1756.

Admiral Byng, agreeable to the last resolution Admiral of the council of war, which was held on board the Byng's re-Ramillies, on the 24th of May, gave orders for Gibraltar. the ships under his command to stand to the westward; and they accordingly did so, in the afternoon of the same day. But, what by contrary winds, and what by the detention occasioned by the care neceffary to be given to the crippled ships, the Intrepid being sometimes forced to be taken in tow, the foundron did not arrive at Gibraltar till the 19th of June; where the admiral found Commodore Reinforce Broderick, who had arrived four days before, with ed. five ships of the line f, to reinforce his squadron.

By the date g of Commodore Broderick's in-Remarks structions or orders, it is evident, that this rein-inforceforcement was ordered, before it was possible for ment. the ministry to have received any advice from Admiral Byng himself, or any authentic intelligence relating to his fquadron: and by the letter fent by the Admiralty, and delivered by Captain Broderick, to Admiral Byng, at Gibraltar, which you have at the bottom of this page h, it is also evident.

The Prince George of So guns, Hampton Court, Ipfwich, and Nassau of 64, and the Isis of 50 guns.

SIR.

MY lords commissioners of the admiralty having received certain intelligence, that the French are fitting out more thips at Toulon, they have thought proper to reinforce the **fguadron** 

g May the 17th.

h Admiralty office, May 21, 1756.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D.

320

evident, that the necessity of reinforcing the admiral was known soon after his failing from England; and therefore that, had those five ships been originally added to, instead of following, his squadron, too late, it would have given Admiral Byng such a superiority in the Mediterranean, that the French admiral would not have dared to wait for him.

Admiral Byng prepares to feek the enemy. Thus reinforced, Admiral Byng refolved to return in quest of the enemy, and once more to give them battle; with this resolution, he gave immediate orders to remove the sick men in his squadron, amounting to near 1000, into the hospital; for all the captains to resit their ships for sea with all possible expedition, to complete their ships with water, to assist the master-shipwright and store-keeper, with as many hands as possible, from every ship, to carry on the service of the sleet; and for the agent-victualler to surnish all the ships with wine and provisions.

All those, with several other duties and services, were forwarded with the utmost diligence; and the admiral resolved to put to sea, and to attempt the relief of Fort St. Philip, which according to

fquadron under your command with the ships named in the margin, by whom this is sent to you.

These ships carry out a regiment of soldiers, and will probably take more on board at Gibraltar, if they can be spared.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble fervant,

J. CLEVLAND.

To the Hon. Adm. Byng, Mediterranean.

the

the intelligence he had received, continued still to hold out.

A. D.

Admiral Byng also dispatched a letter to the admiralty containing the particulars of the late action, and of the resolutions of the council of war concerning his present motions. But the contents were not made public, for feveral days after its arrival, and then garbled in fuch a manner, as to throw the odium of the miscarriage upon him, and to suppress those passages, which tended to his own justification, or reflected upon the conduct of the ministry; especially in the department of the admiralty. For which partiality they were much blamed by the friends of the admiral, and cenfured by the generality of the people. Because it exposed the commander in chief entirely to the resentment of the public, without a possibility of exculpating himself; and suggested strong suspicions against the integrity of those, who durst not trust the people with a fight of those passages in the admiral's letter, that regarded their own conduct, in the affair of Minorca. But this will best appear from the entire letter, as it was afterwards published by the admiral in his own vindication, as follows:

Ramillies, off Minorca, May 25, 1756. SIR,

Have the pleasure to desire you will acquaint Admiral their lordships, that having sailed from Gib-Byng's letter of the raltar the 8th, I got off Mahon the 19th, having 25th May been joined by his Majesty's ship Phænix, off

VOL. I.

Y

Majorca,

Majorca, two days before, "by whom I had con-"firmed the intelligence I received at Gibraltar, " of the strength of the French fleet, and of "their being off Mahon. His Majesty's colours " were still slying at the castle of St. Philip, and "I could perceive feveral bomb batteries playing " upon it from different parts; French colours we " faw flying on the west part of St. Philip's. I "dispatched the Phœnix, Chesterfield and Dol-" phin a-head, to reconnoitre the harbour's mouth, " and Captain Harvey to endeavour to land a " letter for General Blakeney, to let him know ce the fleet was here to his assistance, though every " one was of opinion, we could be of no use to " him, as by all accounts no place was fecured for " covering a landing, could we have spared any " people. The Phœnix was also to make the " private fignal between Captain Harvey and " Captain Scrope, as this latter would undoubtedly "come off, if it were practicable, having kept "the Dolphin's barge with him; but, the enemy's " fleet appearing to the fouth-east, and the wind " at the fame time coming strong off the land, " obliged me to call those ships in, before they " could get quite fo near the entrance of the har-"bour, as to make fure what batteries or guns " might be placed to prevent our having any " communication with the castle." Falling little wind, it was five before I could form my line, or diftinguish any of the enemy's motions, and not at all to judge of their force more than by their numbers, which were feventeen, and thirteen appeared

1756.

peared large. They at first stood towards us in a regular line, and tacked about feven, which I judged was to endeavour to gain the wind of us in the night; fo that being late, I tacked, in order to keep the weather-gage of them, as well as to make fure of the land-wind, in the morning, being very hazy and not above five leagues off Cape Mola. We tacked off towards the enemy at eleven; and at day-light had no fight of them. But two tartans with the French private fignal being close in the rear of our fleet, I fent the Princess Louisa to chase one, and made the signal for the rear admiral, who was nearest the other, to fend ships to chase her; the Princess Louisa, Defiance, and Captain, became at a great diftance; but the Defiance took her's, which had two captains, two lieutenants, and 102 private foldiers, who were fent out the day before with 600 men on board tartans to reinforce the French fleet, on our then appearing off the place. The Phoenix, on Captain Harvey's offer, prepared to ferve as a fire ship, but without damaging her as a frigate, till the fignal was made to prime, when fhe was then to scuttle her decks, every thing else being prepared, as the time and place allowed of. The enemy now began to appear from the mast head; I called in the cruisers, and when they had joined me, I tacked towards the enemy, and formed the line a head. I found the French were preparing theirs to leeward, having unfuccessfully endeavoured to weather me: they were 12 large ships of the line, and five frigates. As

foon as I judged the rear of our fleet to be the length of their van, we tacked all together, and immediately made the fignal for the ships that led, to lead large, and for the Deptford to quit the line, that ours might become equal in number with theirs. At two I made the fignal to engage, as I found it was the furest method of ordering every ship to close down on the one that fell to their lot. And here I must express my great satisfaction at the very gallant manner in which the rear admiral fet the van the example, by instantly bearing down on the ships he was to engage with his fecond, and who occasioned one of the French fhips to begin the engagement, which they did, by raking ours as they went down; I bore down on the ship that lay opposite me, and began to engage him, after having received the fire for some time in going down. The Intrepid " unfortunately" (in the very beginning) had his fore-topmast shot away, and as that hung on his fore-sail and backed it, he had no command of his ship, his fore tack and all his braces being cut at the same time, fo that he drove on the next ship to him, and obliged that, and the ships a head of me, to throw all aback; this obliged me to do fo alfo for fome minutes, to avoid their falling on board me, though not before we had drove our adverfary out of the line, who put before the wind, and had feveral shot fired at him from his own admiral. This not only caused the enemy's center to be unattacked, but left the rear admiral's division rather uncovered for fome little time. I fent and called

called to the ships a-head of me to make fail on, and go down on the enemy, and ordered the Chefterfield to lay by the Intrepid, and the Deptford to supply the Intrepid's place. I found the enemy edged away constantly, and as they went three feet to our one, they would never permit our closing with them, but took the advantage of deftroying our rigging; for though I closed the rear admiral fast, I found I could not again close the enemy, whose van was fairly drove from their line; but their admiral was joining them by bearing away. By this time 'twas past six, and the enemy's van and ours were at too great a distance to engage; I perceived some of their ships stretching to the northward, and I imagined they were going to form a new line; I made the fignal for the headmost ships to tack, and those that led before with larboard tacks, to lead with the starboard, that I might by the first keep (if possible) the wind of the enemy, and by the fecond, be between the rear admiral's division and the enemy, as his had fuffered most, as also to cover the Intrepid, which I perceived to be in a very bad condition, and whose loss would very greatly give the balance against us, if they had attacked us next morning, as I expected. I brought to about eight that night to join the Intrepid, and to refit our ships as fast as possible, and continued so all night. The next morning we saw nothing of the enemy, though we were still lying to; Mahon was N. N. W. about ten or eleven leagues. I sent cruifers out to look for the Intrepid and Chefter-

field, who joined me the next day; and having, from a state and condition of the squadron brought me in, found that the Captain, Intrepid and Defiance (which latter has lost her captain) were much damaged in their masts, " so that they were " endangered of not being able to fecure their " masts properly at sea; and also that the squadron " in general were very fickly, many killed and " wounded, and no-where to put a third of their " number, if I made an hospital even of the 40 " gun ship, which was not easy at sea;" I thought it proper in this fituation, to call a council of war before I went again to look for the enemy. I defired the attendance of General Stuart, Lord Effingham, and Lord Robert Bertie, and Colonel Cornwallis, that I might collect their opinions upon the present situation "of Minorca and Gi-" braltar, and make fure of protecting the latter, " fince it was found impracticable to either fuc-" cour or relieve the former with the force we " had; for though we may justly claim the victo-" ry, yet we are much inferior to the weight of " their ships, though the numbers are equal; and " they have the advantage of fending to Minorca " their wounded, and getting reinforcements of " feamen from their transports, and foldiers from " their camp; all which, undoubtedly has been " done in this time that we have been laying to re-" fit, and often in fight of Minorca; and their " fhips have more than once appeared in a line " from our mast-heads. I send their lordships " the resolution of the council of war," in which there

there was not the least contention or doubt arose. "I hope indeed we shall find stores to refit us at "Gibraltar, and if I have any reinforcement, " will not lose a moment's time to seek the enemy " again, and once more give them battle, though 56 they have a great advantage in being clean " ships, that go three feet to our one, and there-" fore have the choice how they will engage us, or if they will at all, and will never let us close "them, as their fole view is the disabling our fhips, in which they have but two well succeeded, "though we obliged them to bear up." I do not fend their lordships the particulars of our losses and damages by this, as it would take me much time, and that I am willing none should be lost in letting them know an event of fuch confequence. 66 I cannot help urging their lordships for a rein-" forcement, if none are yet failed, on their know-" ledge of the enemy's strength in these seas, and " which, by very good intelligence, will in a few days be strengthened by four more large ships from Toulon, almost ready to fail, if not now " failed to join these." I dispatch this to Sir Benjamin Keene, by way of Barcelona, and am making the best of my way to "cover" Gibraltar; from which place I propose sending their lordships a more particular account. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN BYNG.

To the Hon. John Clevland, Esq;

Remarks on the mufages, marked with ".

When this entire letter was published by Mr. Byng's friends, it was accompanied with some remarks very difadvantageous to the ministry; wherein it is observed, That the first mutilation tilated paf- concealed an allusion made to his former letter from Gibraltar, which it was apparently the interest of the ministry to keep in darkness. It feems likewise intended by this omission, to infinuate that Byng never came within fight of Minorca, and that he was caught unexpettedly by the French. The words could we have spared any people would have discovered the weakness of the armament; and the opinion of the officers that the landing place was covered, would have shewn the folly of those, who contrived the expedition, and fent out a weak fleet, when they might have made it stronger, by adding the ships of which the crews were uselessly devouring their provisions at Spithead; and amused the nation with an attempt to relieve Minorca, while they fent no land forces, or none proportioned to the purpose, and fent them out at a time, when they could not be landed.

> The next omission was likewise equally unfair, and equally malignant, and appears defigned partly to cast reproach on the admiral, and partly to hide the faults of the ministry. To conceal the fitness of Byng's retreat, they suppress the damage done to the ships; to conceal their own negligence, they omit the mention of the wounded, and the want of an hospital ship for their reception.

This is the first time that a fleet was sitted for such an enterprize, without store-ships, fire-ships, hospital-ships, or tenders; and why this fleet was thus imperfectly surnished, what reason can be given, if the relief of Minorca was intended.

The intent of this omission being principally to fix upon Byng the reproach of returning without necessity, it may now be enquired, whether it was proper to have hazarded a second engagement? No man was ever expected to sight without hope of victory, or without prospect of advantage, proportionate to the danger of defeat. Hope of victory he could have none; the French sleet was at first superior, and was far more superior after the battle; prospect of advantage was now at an end, for he could not now relieve St. Philip, though Galissionere had delivered up his ships without a shot: it was already invested by an adequate force, and though the siege might have been prolonged it could not have been raised.

It is much harder to discover why Galissionere suffered our shattered ships to escape.

The next mutilation suppresses the account of the enemies superiority. The French had an army from which the fleet was supplied with fresh men: Byng had more than 1000 sick, without an hospital ship for their reception.

The next passage omitted describes another advantage enjoyed by the French, that their ships were clean, to which it might have been added to the honour of our ministers, that their ships were better. A clamour was raised by the affertion, that

they failed three feet to one: a feaman's phrase, never designed to be understood literally, nor ever interpreted literally before; by which nothing is implied but that they sailed faster, and had great advantage by superior celerity.

He hoped to find stores to refit him at Gibraltar; where, in effect, from the state, in which he had left it, and which was carefully concealed from the public, he had little hopes of finding them: yet this delay, which the ministers knew to be unavoidable, was imputed to him, as a new crime.

The next paragraph omitted, is the "urging "the admiralty to a speedy reinforcement, if "none was already sent:" a request which he had before made; at the same time "acquaint-"ing them with the increasing strength of the enemy at Toulon, by sour large ships;" which circumstance, though it tends not to justify the admiral's behaviour, gives a favourable idea of his zeal for success, and a contemptible one of those, who, presiding at the head of affairs, had been totally ignorant of what was preparing at Toulon, and negligent at best of what happened to Minorca.

The last paragraph has but one word omitted, which, instead of "making the best of my "way to Gibraltar, is, to cover Gibraltar;" a very material alteration; the going to cover a place, being very different from going to a place; the one signifying an act of prudence, and of a soldier; the other, in such instances, of slight, and of a fugitive. Was not this word premeditately

tately left out, to prevent the asking what danger Gibraltar was in, and to what part of the letter this referred?

A. D. 1756.

But, the court of London had received advice of the action of the 20th of May by the way of France, with fome hints very difadvantageous to the character of Admiral Byng, and greatly improved afterwards to his destruction: though it must not be forgotten, that the French Admiral Galissionere, was as highly censured by his court, for his conduct on the same day; and was superfeded, recalled, and put under arrest; and, if he was not difgraced with the ignominy of a public execution, he disappeared soon after, not without suspicion of a violent death, upon the road to Paris.

Upon these advices, every instrument of the The whole ministry was employed to degrade the unfortunate upon Adadmiral, to represent him to be the fole cause of Byng. the national difgrace in the Mediterranean, and to prepare them to cast the whole blame of the loss of Minorca upon him, should it be forced to furrender to the French.

The importance of Minorca, which had been Importfo much flighted by the British ministry, was now Minorca. rung in every ear. It was now represented to be the most happy for us in its situation: to be capable of vast improvements; to have the two best ports in the Mediterranean sea; which might make that island a magazine of British commodities, and the center of a most extensive commerce. This island, said they, who took no effectual meafures for its defence, before it was too late, fo justly

1756.

justly the object of our hopes; the trophy of our A. D. victories; which drew to Great Britain, the respect of Spain; the confidence of Italy; and the fubmission of the pyratical States of Barbary; is not only loft, but loft in such a manner, as should give every Briton a manly, rational and patriot concern.

> Before we quit this island, it may be agreeable to the reader to give a description of it; for which

Descrip-Minorca. Its fitua-

tion of

tion.

we are chiefly obliged to John Armstrong, Esq; engineer in ordinary to his Majesty. This gentleman informs us, that the island of Minorca lies in the Mediterranean sea, about 60 leagues S. of the coast of Catalonia, and is one of those islands that constituted the ancient kingdom of Majorca; cut and indented with a prodigious variety of creeks and inlets on the north fide, occasioned by

Extent.

frequent and violent northerly winds. It is upwards of 33 miles long, and varies in breadth from eight to twelve miles, and in some parts more: computed to contain 236 square miles, and

Division.

151,040 square acres. It is 62 miles in circumference, and divided into four terminos or diftricts; the termino of Mahon, of Alajor, the united termino of Mercadal and Fererias, and the termino of Ciudadella: which together contain about 28,000 inhabitants.

Inhabitants. Mahon.

Mahon is the feat of government, in the neighbourhood of St. Philip's castle, the only fortress of any confideration in the island. This city is built on an elevated fituation, and the ascent from the harbour is steep and difficult. It was formerly furrounded



Almost opposite to this island, on the Mahon Oyster side, lies the Oyster Cove. This cave or cove is Cove.

scooped.

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It was former! furrounde furrounded with a wall; but at present the buildings have extended themselves into large and elegant fuburbs, beyond those limits. The buildings are univerfally of free stone, either covered with tiles, or flat-roofed and terraced. ffreets are not paved, the native rock appearing almost every where: and they are generally very narrow. At the foot of the hill, on which Mahon stands, is a fine wharf, of great extent in length, and proportionably broad. The whole western end thereof, was fet apart for magazines of naval stores, and other uses of his Majesty's ships. The water at the key is deep enough for any ship to come as near, as it has occasion. The eastern part of the dock is fet apart for the merchant's fervice.

A little out of the town, in the way to St. Philip's, stands a small convent of Carmelite friars: and about a mile below the town is English Cove, the general watering place for the navy: where there is a plentiful supply of sweet water. The harbour at this place, is near a mile over; which is almost its greatest breadth: half a mile lower, and about a mile short of St. Philip's, lies Bloody Island, Bloody whose area contains about 12 acres, making almost an equal division of the harbour, leaving the greatest breadth and deepest water next Mahon. On this island stands a capacious hospital belonging to the navy, with convenient apartments for the proper officers.

Almost opposite to this island, on the Mahon oyster side, lies the Oyster Cove. This cave or cove is Cove.

scooped

A. D. scooped out of the rock, with a north-east aspect, and takes its name from an oyster fishery, managed by Spanish divers, who venture ten or twelve fathoms, with a hammer to break oysters from the bottom of the rock.

Quarantine Island.

From hence, on the left hand, in the way to St. Philip's, by water, is the Quarantine Island; which is less than Bloody Island, and nearer to Cape Mola shore. Here all vessels from Barbary and the Levant, when those parts are visited by the plague, are obliged to perform quarantine.

St. Philip's Castle.

St. Philip's Castle next presents itself at the entrance of Mahon harbour; and is situate on a neck of land between Mahon harbour and St. Stephen's Cove. Its numerous works extend themselves to the shore on both sides. The body of the place consists of four bastions and as many curtains, surrounded with a deep ditch, hewn out of the solid rock, which surnished free-stone for the walls. The area is surrounded with the governor's house, a chapel, guard-room, barracks, &c. and in the center there is a pump to supply the troops with rain-water from a cistern; and the whole square is paved.

Over the flat-roof of the arched buildings is a spacious rampart, affording an extensive prospect, and the bastions are mounted with guns. The communication from the lower area to the top of the rampart is by a pair of stairs, made likewise of stone, and so wide, broad and easy of ascent, that mules and assessment to the arched buildings is a spacious rampart.

apart-

apartment, and great guns can be drawn up them, when wanted.

A. D. 1756:

The whole body of the place is undermined; and very ferviceable subterraneous works are contrived in the rock, and communicate with one another, where necessary.

Before the entrance of the castle is a horn-work; with other out-works to this and the rest of the front; which works are better conceived by the eye from the plan, than any words would be able to describe them.

There is a great number of large guns mounted towards the entrance of the harbour, besides those that point to the land, which would require the service of a vast many artillery-men on occasion; as indeed the various works demand a very considerable garrison to dispute them with an enemy.

The capacious galleries, that are cut out of the rock, and extend themselves throughout all the works, are of the utmost advantage: for here the people are secured from the splinters of stone, which in time of action would tear them to pieces, as well those off duty, as those obliged to expose themselves. These subterraneans afford quarter and shelter to the garrison, impenetrable to shot and shells, and not to be come at, but by cutting a way to them through the living rock; against which a number of countermines are provided, at proper distances, and in such places as are most exposed by their situation.

In the main ditch is a fmall powder magazine: there is a much larger under the covert-way of

A. D.

the place: where also there are store-houses sufficient for every occasion, with an hospital near St. Stephen's Cove. Besides the cistern, which is liable to many accidents, there are several wells within the works: and a quantity of every species of provisions is constantly kept up, to support the whole soldiery of the garrison, in case of a siege.

On the point of land, east of the castle, stands Charles Fort, of little use. The grand battery lies down at the water-edge, and has a high stone wall to cover the gunners, who play their ordnance through a long range of embrasures. This is the common burial-place of the garrison.

The Queen's Redoubt is the most advanced of all the works towards the country, on the side where it stands: between it and the harbour are two other works. On the other side of St. Stephen's Cove stands the Marlborough.

The Araval, or Suburb of St. Philip's, confifts of quarters for officers, of barracks for foldiers, a church, and, at one time, of so many houses inhabited by Spaniards, that the glacis of the fortress almost reached those buildings; which being foreseen to be favourable to an enemy, in case of a siege, the houses were cleared away to such a distance as to leave a sufficient esplanade between the village and fortifications.

St. Stephen's Cove. St. Stephen's Cove, is a small inlet of the sea, easily admitting boats with fish and provisions, when the circumstances of a siege shall render it

difficult to approach the garrifon by way of the A D. harbour.

The Laire of Mahon, otherwise Coney-Island, Lair of Mahon. is separated from the main land by a sound about two miles over, and very dangerous to ships of burden, on account of its shoals and soul ground. Here are a multitude of rabbets, and no inconsiderable quantity of salt.

There is a good key at St. Philip's for ships; Fort Philiand on the other side of the harbour, a little lower pet. down, on the narrowest place, stands Fort St. Philipet, in which is a small magazine of powder, and a guard, with a battery of guns, on a level with the surface of the water, for the defence of the harbour.

Cape Mola is a high land, fevered almost from Cape Mothe island by Philipet Cove and a small bay on la. the north side, and is universally esteemed capable of being rendered an almost impregnable fortress, at a moderate expence. On the elevated top of this cape is the signal-house, to give the garrison due warning of ships and vessels approaching from the sea. A bush hung out denotes a small vessel, a ball a ship, two or three balls two or three ships, and a slag a sleet: these signals are hoisted on the quarter the ships are discovered.

Pursuing the great road to Ciudadella, made by Alajor. Governor Kane, and called after his name, we meet with the shire town of Alajor, and the next in goodness to Mahon and Ciudadella. This town stands high and airy, and is tolerably well Vol. I.

A. D. built, with a handsome Gothic free-stone church on an eminence. The buildings are of stone also; and the streets very narrow and not paved. Here are also quarters for a regiment of soldiers; but the garrison usually consists of no more than nine companies, the other being sent to the castle of Fornelles. There is only one convent in this town, which is of Franciscan friars.

Mercadal.

Mount

Toro.

Mercadal, the next shire-town, is situated on a hill about the center of the island, is a very poor place, and meanly built. A little to the east of which is Mount Tor or Toro, the highest ground in the island: on whose eminence stands a convent of Augustine friars, in a most agreeable situation.

Fornelles.

About fix miles north of this mount is the castle of Fornelles, built on the western side of the entrance of a large harbour of the same name. This fort is square, faced with hewn stone, and consists of four bastions, and as many curtains, a very little ditch, and no out-works before it. The fquare within is filled with houses for the troops, and for laying up provisions and ammunition: which are all strongly vaulted and covered with ramparts. The fignal-house is situated at Athalia, upon a high land on the opposite side of the harbour. But the duty of this fort is done by one company only, detached from Alajor. The port is large and spacious; but the shoals and foul ground make it very hazardous for ships of burden.

Mount Agatha, fo called from the chapel A.D. fituate on its fummit, dedicated to St. Agatha, flands about four miles north-west of Mercadal, Mount Agatha. is a very high barren rock: on the top of which the Moors fortisted themselves, and held out against a numerous army, long after the Christians had driven their countrymen from the lower parts of the island. The ruins of which works are still to be seen; and within their limits there still continue two remarkable rain-water cisterns entire, containing together 2173 tons, or 547,596 wine gallons, which, at the allowance of one gallon a day, would furnish 1500 men with water for one year.

Ciudadella is the next place worthy of our at- Ciudadeltention. It was the antient capital of Minorca, la. till the feat of government was removed by the English to Mahon. By this means it has declined in its trade and wealth. This town is furrounded by a wall, bold and of great height, built by the Moors upwards of fix hundred years ago, next the Baranco. The rest is more modern. and confifts of a rampart, with a great many bastions and curtains, all of squared free-stone. Though the rampart is narrow at the curtains, the bastions are roomy enough; and the parapets are all of stone. A good ditch has been laid out. and cut to a confiderable depth in the folid rock, in some places, with the parapet of a covered-way before it; but it is little more than marked in other places. These works, says Mr. Armstrong, have been slighted ever since Minorca has been in

A. D. 1756.

our hands, and the garrison, upon an alarm, is to make the best of its way to St Philip's Castle, (as was the case in 1756) driving before it all the cattle, that are to be easily found; and spoiling the roads, the better to obstruct the enemy on his march i. This antient town is built at the head of a little harbour, where coasting vessels find shelter in a sufficient depth of water, close to the very walls of the town. The garrison, which confifts of a regiment of foldiers, find the best quarters in the island here. The chief buildings are the exchange, an antient structure, raised on Gothic arches of a confiderable height: The Governor's house, a large irregular fabric, built in the gorge of a bastion. Divine service is performed for the garrison in the great hall of this house. Here is the cathedral of the whole island. It stands near the center of the town, is the largest church in the island, and a noble Gothic building. Here is also another neat church at a little distance. Near Mahon-gate stands a convent of Austin friars, a large edifice, with a handsome church within it. Fronting the great parade there is a Franciscan convent of friars. This building is large, but irregular. The nuns of St. Clara have also a convent in this town. Near the entrance of the harbour, which is about a mile from the town, stands another chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, the Popish patron of seafaring people; adjacent to which are the ruins of

A. D. 1756.

a small castle, intended formerly, but very unfit, to defend the entrance of the harbour. And a little without Mahon-gate is a convent of the order of St. Antonio; it is a small house, but well endowed. The fignal on the light-house for this fortress stands about two miles north-west, and is called Torre del Rain: from whence, if a fleet, in time of war, approaches, the country is alarmed by a great fmoke in day-time, and by a great fire in the night.

As for the court of France; their King's man-Rejoicings

date to the Archbishop of Paris to sing Te deum in France. upon the conquest of Minorca, and his rewards bestowed upon the officers concerned in the reduction of Fort St. Philip, give a full idea of their fentiments and rejoicing on that occasion. In the mandate the French King tells the Arch-King's bishop, That after having waited too long in vain the Archfor the satisfaction he had promised himself from bishop of the King of England's equity, as a reparation for the outrages committed by his navy upon the French ships, to the great scandal of all Europe; he found himself obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to avenge the honour of his crown, and to protect the commerce of his dominions. "It " is, faid he, from fuch just motives, that in the "month of April last I sent a body of troops into "the island of Minorca, under the command of "my cousin, the Marshal Duke de Richelieu, "with a squadron commanded by the Marquis " de la Galissionere, Lieutenant-General of my " naval armies, to drive the English from a port,

A. D.

" which they had feized upon through the spirit " of general domination, which they want to ex-"tend over the two worlds. After a dangerous " and toilfome fiege, during which the English " fquadron, that came up to relieve Minorca, " was repulfed by mine; and Marshal Richelieu, " in confequence of a disposition, as boldly con-" trived, as it was to be rapid in its execution, "at last gave French valour its full swing; and " whilft the enemy trufted to the strength of their "ramparts, my troops carried the out-works of "Mahon by affault, in the night between the 27th "and 28th of last month: terror did the rest: "the garrison was forced to capitulate, and retire to Gibraltar; abandoning about 200 pieces of "cannon and 80 mortars. The fuccess of so "important an enterprize, wherein my troops "were to furmount all the obstacles, which art, "affifted by nature, can contrive for the defence " of a place, must be attributed to nothing, but "the favour, which the Lord of Hosts is pleased " to grant to the justice of my cause: and there-" fore, to render him a public homage of my "thankfulnefs, and to befeech him to continue " unto me his divine protection, I write you this "letter, to acquaint you, that it is my intention, "that you cause Te deum to be sung in the me-"tropolitan church of my good city of Paris, " &c." And the vanity of the French nation was fed fo highly with this unprecedented and unaccountable success over the English, their antient conquerors, and the present obstacle to those vast **fchemes** 

1756.

schemes of universal monarchy, for many years carried on by Gallic councils; that the people immediately conceived, either that the British courage was degenerated into cowardice, or that the British ministry had drank so deeply of the fountain of corruption, as to become indifferent, and infensible of their national interest.

However, to efface such disagreeable imputa- Resolutions of this disaster, brought the privy the British ministry to a resolution to supersede, council. and to put under arrest the two Admirals, Byng and West, charged with misconduct on the day of action, and General Fowke, Governor of Gibraltar, for not obeying his orders, which were to embark 700 men on board of the fleet fent to relieve Minorca. For which purpose the Antelope Admiral Hawke, of 50 guns, was ordered to fail immediately for &c. fent to Gibraltar, with Admiral Hawke, Admiral Saun-Gibraltar. ders, feveral navy captains; also the Earl of Panmure and the Lord Tyrawley. The two admirals To fuperhad orders to supersede, to put under arrest, and fede and to fend home Admirals Byng and West: and Byng, &c. Lord Tyrawley had the like orders in regard to General Fowke. The Antelope failed from Portsmouth on the 16th of June, and arrived at Gibraltar on the third of July, when Admiral Byng was preparing, and was very near failing for the relief of Port Mahon. Admiral Hawke obeyed his orders, and fent the state prisoners to England on the 9th, in the same man of war that brought him to Gibraltar.

### THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

344

Letter to fuperfede Admiral Byng.

On this occasion the Secretary of the Admiralty wrote this letter to Admiral Byng, to acquaint him with his Majesty's pleasure.

## "SIR,

"HIS Majesty having received an account that the squadron under your command, " and that of the French under the command of " Monsieur Galissionere, came to action off the "harbour of Mahon, the 20th of last month, " and that the French (though inferior to you in " force) kept before the harbour, and obliged you to retreat; I am commanded by my Lords; "Commissioners of the Admiralty, to send you "herewith an extract of Monsieur Galiffionere's "letter to his court, giving an account of the "action, and to acquaint you that his Majesty " is fo much diffatisfied with your conduct, that "he has ordered their Lordships to recal your-" felf and Mr. West, and to send out Sir Edward " Hawke, and Rear-Admiral Saunders, to com-" mand the fquadron.

"I am extremely forry to be obliged to inform you of fuch a difagreeable event, being with great regard,

#### SIR,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

Admiralty-Office, June 8, 1756. " J. CLEVLAND."

To this he returned a letter, which neither betrayed consciousness of guilt, dread of resentment, nor confusion of mind.

A. D. 1756.

# Gibraltar-Bay, July 4, 1756.

"SIR,

" DY Sir Edward Hawke I have received their Admiral Lordships orders, and your letter of the Byng's anseth of June, which I have immediately com-" plied with, and have only to express my fur-" prize at being so ignominiously dismissed from "my employment, in the fight of the fleet I had commanded, in fight of the garrison, and in " fight of Spain, at fuch a time, in fuch a man-"ner, and after fuch conduct, as I hope shall "fhortly appear to the whole world. 'Tis not "now for me to expostulate; I flatter myself "that Mr. West and I shall make evident the in-" jury done to our characters, which I know of " nothing in the power of any being whatever "that can atone for; fo high an opinion I have " of that, which was ever unfullied before, and "which I hope to make appear, has been most "injuriously and wrongfully attacked now, on "the grounds of a falfe gasconade of an open " enemy to our King and country, and which " would

k Galissionere's letter, dated the 22d of May, in which he writes: The 19th in the morning we descried the English fquadron from the top-masts-head, and the two squadrons drew pretty near each other that day, but never were within gun-shot; which was not our fault, as the English were to wind346

A. D. 1756. "would have evidently appeared, had the poffible time been allowed for my own express's
arrival, in which there was nothing false, nothing vaunting, nothing shameful, nor any
thing, which could have prevented our receiving his Majesty's royal approbation, for having,
with a much inferior force, sought, met, attacked, and beat the enemy: of this, it is
needless for me to say more at present, than
that I am forry to find Mr. West, with the
captains, lieutenants, and officers of the ships,
we had our slags on board of, are to be sufferers
for what I alone, as commander in chief, am
answerable: But it is so much of a piece with

windward of us. The 20th the French admiral worked about fo as to gain the wind; but just as he had got into a favourable position for it, the wind shifted in such a manner as still left this advantage to the English squadron. At half an hour past two in the afternoon, the two squadrons were in line of battle, and began the engagement. The English consisted of eighteen fail, of which thirteen were of the line; and ours of twelve ships of the line and four frigates. The action lasted above three hours and a half, but was not general all the time. The English ships that suffered most from our broadfides got to the windward again out of gun-shot; they all along preserved this advantage, that they might keep clear of us as they pleased. After having made their greatest efforts on our rear-division, which they found so close, and from which they were fo fariously canonaded, that they could not break in upon it, they resolved to sheer off, and did not appear again all the next day, being the 21st. In general, none of their ships long stood the fire of ours. The ships of our squadron suffered but little; they were repaired in the night, and ready to fight the next morning.



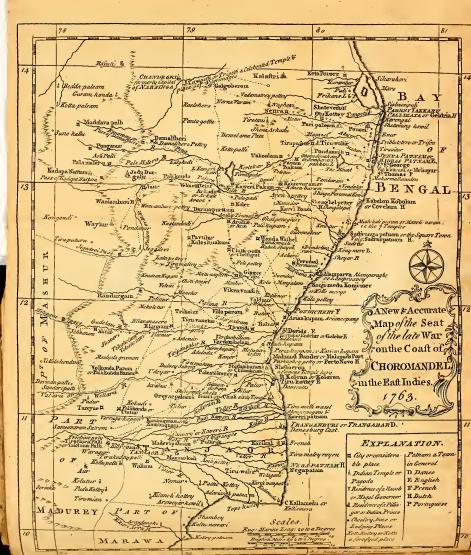
## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

346

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18 mm	S. Sikaruhari  B. A. Y.  B. A. Y.  Sabanyadi  F. Anuar Takaan  T. Marinaran  T. Marinaran  T. Sikaminy kamil  E. Shau  Tribulutara or Trifin  Tribulutara or Tribulutara	LO E. N GAL	Hiller I Hilliam I Grantin
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- 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1	MANUFACTURE AND ADDRESS OF THE PROPERTY OF THE	io muun	9

A.D. 1756.

"the whole unheard of treatment I have met "with, that neither they, the fleet, or myfelf, can

" be more aftonished at that particular, than at

" the whole.

J. BYNG.

The captains and others, who were superfeded Prisoners and ordered home, on this account, were, Rear-fent to England. Admiral West, Captain Gardiner of the Ramillies, the Admiral Byng's fix lieutenants, gunner and purfer, and his mafter and furgeon; and Captain Gough of the Experiment, and Captain Baffett of the Fortune-floop, who had been appointed by him to those commands, occasioned by the death of Captain Andrews and Captain Noel.

Here we will leave Admiral Byng and his fellow-prisoners to meet their destiny; and defer the narrative of the effects, this miscarriage in the Mediterranean produced at home, till we shall have drawn a concife representation of the operations and transactions performed by our arms in distant parts of the world.

In the East Indies we left the British fleet at Affairs of Bombay, preparing for an expedition against An-the East Indies. gria, the scourge of those seas; whose territories, Expedition a nest of pyrates, was become a fort of emtion against pire, and subsisted much in the same manner, on Angria. that coast, as the states of Barbary, which sprang from a like original, make themselves formidable for in Europe.

348

The origin of this Eastern pyratical govern-A. D. 1756.

ment, was laid by one Conogee Angria: who His origin, having been advanced by Saha Raja, from the station of a private maratta to the post of general and admiral in his wars with, or rather rebellion against the Mogul, about one hundred years ago, and rewarded for his fervice with the government of Severndroog, he foon threw off the yoke, and seized upon several of his Prince's vessels, which he had commanded, and with which he turned an arch pyrate. His first care was to fortify himfelf on that island, and to ruin the Marattas fleet, that they might have no way to attack him. However the Marattas built three forts upon the main, within less than point-blank shot of his little territory, which was not above a mile in circumference, but a rock of stone by nature, and well fortified by art. This did not answer their expectations to reduce Angria to obedience, or to restrain him from encroaching upon their dominions, and interrupting the trade and navigation of that coast. For, having the sea open, and much superior to his countrymen in maritime affairs and in bravery, he left them to purfue a fruitless attempt against his fortifications, and furprized feveral of their fea-ports, and carried his conquests from Tamana to Rajapore, containing fixty leagues of fea coast, including several commodious harbours; and a district of inland coun-

> try from twenty to thirty miles backward; which he fecured by forts properly disposed on such eminences, as commanded the narrow passes and de-

His territories.

files.

files. But what made all his forts more formid-A. D. 1756. able, they were receptacles for fugitives, renegadoes and vagrants of all nations.

The Marattas despairing of success by their Becomes arms, proposed to his successors terms of accom-tributary to modation, for Angria to keep possession of his tasacquisitions, on condition that he should acknowledge the fovereignty of the Raja, and pay him an annual tribute. To which Angria, then upon the throne of this pyratical state, agreed.

against his countrymen, he bent all his force to- armed verwards the fea, and fitted out a fleet, that made the Engfeveral confiderable captures both from the English, French and Dutch. Amongst them were the Darby, an English East-Indiaman, richly laden from Europe, with one hundred and fifty men; and the Jupiter, a French ship of 40 guns, with 400 flaves on board. The Prince of Geriah, as Angria was then called, grew fo infolent at last, that he dared to attack Commodore Lisle, in the vigilant of 64 guns, the Ruby of 50 guns, and several other ships in company, as the Commodore was departing from the Malabar coast. He stood a siege by seven armed ships and two Holds out bomb vessels, sent by the Dutch from Batavia, a siege. with a number of land forces, and obliged them to retire without fuccess; and then brooking no

of the Marattas; and by way of contempt, ordered the ears and noses of the messengers sent by

Angria's armaments having now no employ Turns his

kind of subjection, and presuming on his own Rebels aftrength, he threw off his allegiance to the Raja gainft the

his Sovereign to reclaim him to obedience, to A. D. 1756. be cut off. Such a provocation inspired the Marattas with a spirit of vengeance, and drove them to a resolution to sollicit the government of Bombay for affistance, to attack him with their marine force, while he should press him close by League be- land. Which ended in a treaty figned by the

tween the English and Marattas a-

Dutch.

Nanna or Chief of the Marattas, and by the Governor of Bombay, on the part of the company. gainst him. But before the confederates were ready for action, which was more than a year, occasioned by the backwardness or dilatory proceedings of the Marattas, Angria was fo elevated with his fuccess His fuccess against three Dutch ships, one of fifty guns, one against the of thirty-six, and one of eighteen guns, the two former of which he burnt, and took the last; that he had the vanity to declare his expectations to be foon superior to any force, that could be brought against him in the Indian seas; and accordingly

> continued to augment his marine with feveral veffels, and one that was to carry 40 guns.

Expedition against him from Bombay.

This shewed the necessity of more activity on the part of the confederates, to humble this common enemy, already too formidable on the Malabar coast: Accordingly, the Marattas being ready, the Protector of 40 guns, the Swallow of 16 guns, and the Viper and Triumph bomb-veffels, failed on the 22d of March from Bombay, under the command of Commodore James, then commander in chief of the company's maritime force in India. This fmall fquadron fell in, next day, with feven fail of Angria's grabs, and eleven

galli-

A.D. 1756.

gallivats, off Rajapore, and chaced them to the fouthward. On the fecond day, still continuing the chace, Commodore James was joined off Choule by feven Maratta grabs and fixty gallivats. But, as foon as this fleet got the length of Comoro Bay, the Marattas, under pretence of performing some religious acts, not practicable on board of ship, according to their superstition, went ashore, where they dallied away thirty hours. In the mean time Angria's squadron got into the harbour of Severndroog. But upon the approach of Commodore James, who with much difficulty brought up his dilatory allies, the enemy flipt their cables and put to sea, the gallivats towing their larger veffels; and, as there was but little wind, that gave them confiderable advantage over the English ships of war. So that, though the commodore gave them chase, it was all in vain: for the enemy threw The escape out every thing to lighten their vessels with amazing of his fleet. industry and dexterity, and not only spread their yards with all the fail they had, but they tried to catch every breath of air by fastning their garments, quilts, and even their turbants extended on the flag-staves. By this manœuvre they gained their point; whilst our allies, the Marattas, whose ships are light, and built floaty for sailing large and in light gales, kept all aftern. Which obliged Commodore James to give over the chace, and to return to Severndroog; a fortress on an island severnwithin musket-shot of the main land, with no droog, more than two fathom and a half in the Firth; frongly, but not regularly fortified; the greatest

# THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. part of the works being cut out of the folid rock, and the rest built with stones ten or twelve seet square; and mounts sifty-four guns on the bastions. On the main land there are three forts; one, the largest, is called Fort Goa, built in the same manner, with large square stone, and mounts 40 guns. The other two, built with stones of an irregular

Befieged.

352

shape, mount about 20 guns each. The commodore began to cannonade and bombard the Island Fort on the 2d of April 1755, but not being able to penetrate the walls, which were fifty feet high and eighteen thick, on the fide where he made his first attack, he moved his station so, as to reach Fort Goa with his lower deck guns, while he plied Severndroog with his upper tier. By this prudent disposition and a vigorous fire, the north-east bastion of Severndroog and part of the parapet were laid in ruins, about noon; when a shell set fire to the houses, and the English from the round-tops, with an incessant fire, prevented the garrison's extinguishing it: and the wind being northerly, fpread the flames all through the fort, blew up one magazine, and caused a general conflagration. A multitude of men, women and children, ran out and endeavoured to escape, on the other side of the island, in boats; but they were taken up by the Swallow floop, flationed to the fouthward to prevent the throwing in of succours on that side. This enabled the commodore to turn all his fire thenceforward upon Fort Goa: which was ferved with fuch a fevere cannonade, that the enemy was foon obliged

to hang out a flag of truce; but the governor, A. D. 1756. without waiting the event of a capitulation in his necessitious circumstances, crossed over with some chosen Sepoys to Severndroog, where he seemed determined to maintain his ground, till he should receive fuccours from Dabul, trusting in the natural strength of the place, notwithstanding the ruin it had fustained in its walls and magazines by the bombardment. This being evident from all his answers to the summons and messages sent him, the commodore increased his fire, both from the ships and from the three forts on the main, now in his possession: under which siring a num-Stormed. ber of feamen were landed, with a determination to carry their point, who ran up resolutely to the gates of the fortress, and with axes opened to themselves an entrance through the fally port without much loss.

This conquest was followed by the surrender of Surrender Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, the most of Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, the most of Bancote, northern part of any consequence under the dominion of Angria, which submitted upon the commodore's summons. The harbour is commodious for a trade in salt and other goods, which are sent thither from Bombay in great quantities: and was therefore preferred in the choice of the English in the distribution of the conquests with the Marattas; who consented that our East-India company should quietly possess this fort and port for the future. The commodore delivered mup

m On April 11th.

Vol. I.

1 On the 8th of April.

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1756.

the other fortreffes, he had reduced, to them; and on the 15th he was recalled, as he was anchored before, and was preparing to attack Dabul; the feafon for action at fea being too far advanced. However, the governor and council of Bombay conceived such an high opinion of Commodore James's conduct and courage, and were so animated by the success under his command, that they prepared to follow the blow, in due time, against their troublesome and dangerous neigh-

bour, whose destruction was resolved upon.

Admiral Wation arrives at Bombay.

In this fituation stood affairs between the English and their allies, and Angria, in November, when Rear-Admiral Watfon arrived with his fquadron at Bombay. While these ships were cleaning and repairing, Commodore James was dispatched in the Protector, with the Revenge and Bombay frigates, to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of Angria's dominions, and to found the depths of water at the entrance of the harbour: and upon his return and report, on the last day of December the admiral ordered the Bridgwater and King'sfisher sloop, and some of the company's armed ships, to proceed to the port of Geriah, and to cruise off it. These were joined on the 27th of January 1756, by Commodore James in the Protector and Guardian frigate: and on the 11th of February, by the admiral and his whole fquadron.

Sails againft Angria.

Angriadif- Such a formidable fleet, so far beyond the apprinted flies prehensions of Angria, struck him with such tertattas. ror, that he abandoned his fort, and threw himself

entirely

1756.

entirely upon the mercy of the Marattas, with whom he faw it was necessary for him to purchase a peace at any rate. And they, without regard to their treaty with the English, preferred the advantages, that they hoped to reap from his riches, to every other confideration; and agreed to receive him under their protection, on condition, that they might immediately be put in possession of the fort of Geriah, in which he had hoarded up all his riches. To which Angria submitted, and even figned an order for that purpose to his brother, whom he had left in command. Yet this clandestine treaty was not carried on so secretly, but the admiral got information of it: and, in order to defeat their union, he next day, in the morning, fent a fummons to the fort, and, receiving no answer, in the afternoon he marched, His fort and flood into the harbour in two divisions, the besieged. Bridgwater leading his Majesty's ships the Tyger, Kent, Cumberland and Salisbury, and the company's ship, Protector of 40 guns: the other division was made up of the company's ships, the Revenge, Bombay grab, and Guardian frigate; the Drake, Warren, Triumph and Viper bombketches, led by the King's-fisher. When this fleet had taken its station, there began such a fire, as prefently filenced both the grabs and batteries. About four in the afternoon the Restoration, an armed ship, taken by Angria some time before, from the East India company, was set on fire by a shell, which communicating to his whole fleet, they very foon shared the same fate.

356

A. D. 1756.

In the night, having no enemy to diffurb them by fea, the admiral ordered Colonel Clive to land with all the troops, to prevent the Marattas entrance into the fort: and next morning the admiral fent a letter to the commander in chief, declaring, that he would give no quarter, in case he would not surrender, and admit the English troops into the fort, in an hour's time-Which not being complied with, the attack was renewed with fuch vigour, about four in the afternoon, that the garrison, in less than half an hour, hung out a flag of truce. However, the commandant neither hauled down his colours; nor admitted the English troops. This obliged the admiral to repeat the attack, which was carried on with so terrible a fire, that the garrison cried out for mercy, and let in our troops; being fubdued only by the terror of fo unufual a fire; it being impossible for the heaviest metal to make a breach in the walls of that fortress, whose height and thickness were extraordinary; either hewn out of the folid rock, or built of stones ten feet in length laid endways.

Surrenders.

Loss of the The strength of these walls, within which the English. enemy was safe, after they were driven from the ramparts, accounts for the smallness of the num-

n'This was proved to be their defign, by an offer they made to the Captains Buchanan and Forbes of 50,000 rupees, if they would fuffer them to pass their guard: which they rejected with indignation, and disclosed it to Colonel Clive: whose vigilance the Marattas found it impossible to elude.

See Cambridge's account of the war in India, p. 109.

ber,

ber, that were killed: and the inconfiderable loss of the English must be attributed to their own bravery and spirit, which soon drove the enemy from their works by the briskness of their fire. A. D. 1756.

But the loss to the enemy was irrecoverable. Of the one-There were found in the place 200 cannon, fix my. brass mortars, and a very large quantity of provisions of all kinds, besides 120,000 l. and upwards, in money and effects. There were eight ketches, one ship, a great number of small vessels called Gallivats, and two large ships upon the stocks, one of 40 glins; without any possibility of recovering that power, by which Angria had for fo many years reigned a terror to the maritime powers of Europe, frequenting those seas, as well as to his neighbouring states. Amongst the prifoners were the wife, children, and mother of Angria; who received the admiral with a flood of tears, and on their knees, with their faces to the ground. Mr. Watson comforted them with asfurances, that he would be to them a friend and a father. Upon hearing of which, the youngest fon feized the admiral's hand, and fobbing, faid, "Then you shall be my father." Three hundred Europeans, and as many Sepoys were left to guard the fort, and four of the companies veffels to defend the harbour.

Our fuccess on this coast was greatly checkered with our losses in other parts of the East-Indies. We left the M. Legrit and M. Bussy seeking a

A.D. pretence for rekindling the war, on the coast of Coromandel.

M. Buffy's fcheme to feize Gol-conda.

M. Buffy not getting his ends of Salabatzing, from whom he demanded the possession of the fort of Golconda, under pretence of security for the expences he had been at in his cause against the rebels; the haughty Frenchman behaved at last with such an air of arrogance, that the Moorish Prince ordered him immediately to return to Pondicherry, with his handful of Europeans. But Buffy did not depart from the Moorish army without giving strong hints of his intentions to accomplish that by force, which he was not able to acquire by intrigue and solicitation.

Salabatzing applies for aid to the English.

His march for Massulpatam, by the way of Hydrabad, the capital of Golconda, alarmed Salabatzing, who immediately wrote to the governor of Madrass for an aid of troops to prevent any infults from this enraged and persidious Frenchman, who committed some disorders in the countries through which he passed with his forces: tho narrowly watched by a party of Maratta horse, which hovered about his little army all the way.

Buffy reinforced. Bussy had with him 400 Europeans, about as many Seapoys, and he had ordered the governor of Pondicherry to reinforce him with 400 or 500 more Europeans, to be landed at Massulpatam, about 15 days march from Hydrabad; where he arrived with a large stock of provisions of all forts, which he took by violence from the Bazars in his march.

At Hydrabad Buffy converted a large house into A. D. a fort; whereon he mounted some great guns, and prepared to defend himself, and to maintain himself that station, in case of an attack; which he had Hydrabad. reason to expect from his injured ally, the Viceroy Salabatzing.

The governor of Madras having nothing to fear Aid profrom the fide of Pondicherry, so much weakened batzing. by the large supplies fent to Mr. Busly from thence, agreed to affift Salabatzing with 400 Europeans, including a train of artillery, and 400 Sepoys; which joined to 50,000 Moorish horse in the Viceroy's pay, were thought sufficient to defeat the attempts of Buffy's whole army, that did not exceed 1000 men. But when every thing How difwas fettled for their rout and subsistence, the loss appointed. of Calcutta and all the subordinate English settlements or factories in the kingdom of Bengal, obliged the governor and council to drop this expedition, and do the utmost in their power to reestablish those settlements.

How far the French may be suspected to have favoured or fuggested that fatal catastrophe at Calcutta has not yet transpired: but, as it had such an influence upon our affairs at this critical conjuncture, it will be proper to give the following account.

Bengal is the most eastern province of the Mo-Bengal, its gul's dominions in India, lies upon the mouth of ituation and extents the Ganges, extending near 400 miles in length, from E. to W. and 300 in breadth, from N. to S. annually overflowed by the river Ganges, which

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

makes it one of the richest and most fruitful provinces in that quarter of the globe.

Bay of Bengal.

260

The Bay of Bengal is the largest and deepest in the known world; extending from the fouth part of Coromandel to the river Huguley. In which fpace it receives the great rivers Ganges and Guena from the west side, and the Aracan and Menamkiori or Avat river from the east side. But Bengal, as a coast, is supposed to extend only from Cape Palmiras on the N. of the coast of Gol-Ganges ri- conda, to the entrance into the Ganges; which rises in the mountains of Nigracut, part of Great Tartary, receives many other rivers, and after a course of 3000 miles falls into the Gulph of Bengal by fo many mouths, that travellers are not agreed in the number of them. However the common

Importance of Bengal.

wer.

The richness and fertility of the country, and the extensive and safe navigation of this large river, shew the importance of the settlements, within these limits; and have engaged the trading companies of the maritime nations in Europe to establish factories upon the banks of the Ganges: which will be better described by the following survey of the villages, &c. on each shore, so far as they serve to convey an idea of the interest of the English united East India company.

passage for European shipping is up the river Huguley, one of the most western branches.

Deferintion of Culculla.

The first town worthy observation on the side of the river Huguley is Culculla, a good market for coarse cloth, and for corn, oil, and other produce of the country. A little higher is the Dutch Bankshall,

Bankshall, or place, where their ships ride, when A. D. the currents prevent their getting up the river.

1756.

From Culculla and Juanpardoa two large deep rivers run to the east; and on the west side there is another that runs by the back of Huguley island to Radnagor, famous for manufacturing cotton, Radnagor. cloth, and filk romaals, or handkerchiefs: and on the same river is grown the greatest quantity of fugar in Bengal.

Ponjelly, a little market town for corn, stands Ponjelly. a little higher on the east bank of Huguley river, and exports more rice than any place thereon. About a league above Ponjelly, stands a pyramid, which ferves for a landmark or boundary of the English East India company's settlement of Cal-

cutta, that is about a league higher.

At Calcutta, when this difafter happened, there Calcutta. was a fort, in which flood the governor's house; and convenient apartments for the factors and writers; magazines for their ammunition, and ftore houses for goods and provisions; garrisoned by two or 300 foldiers; who were generally employed in conveying the company's ships from Patana, or Patna, loaded with falt-petre, piece goods, opium and raw filk: for, as the company hold the colony of Calcutta in fee-tail of the Mogul immediately, they were under no apprehensions of being difpossessed by an enemy; tho' the Rajas, whose governments extend along the Ganges, between Patana and Cassimbuzzar, had sometimes interrupted that navigation, and endeavoured by force of arms to exact the payment of certain duties for all mer-

chandize.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

chandize, that passed on the coast, by or through their dominions, which extend upwards of 1000 miles.

Trade of Bengal.

1.63

The English attack-

ed by the

Nabob of Bengal.

362

The trade of Bengal supplies rich cargoes for fifty or fixty ships yearly: besides what is carried in fmall veffels to the neighbouring countries: and the article of falt-petre only is become of fo great

consequence to the European powers, that every thing has been attempted by the French and Dutch to deprive the English of that advantage. For

which reason it was greatly to be suspected that these rivals in trade, that were always seeking an

opportunity to ruin the English interest in the East Indies, had spirited up a new Nabob of Ben-

gal to extirpate the English factories within his dominions, under various flight pretences; of being treated with difrespect by Governor Drake; of

a right to certain duties, which were refused by the company, and for giving protection to such

person or persons, that had fled to him for sanc-

tuary.

Whatever might be the real cause it does not so much concern, neither does it appear, as yet, with any certainty. Intrigue on the part of the French and Dutch; avarice and ambition of the Nabob; and fome indifcretions and neglect on the part of the English, are the most reasonable

conjectures.

About the end of May 1756, Saradjot Dollah, the new Nabob, immediately upon his establishment, took the field, with an army of 30,000 horse, 30,000 foot, and between three and 400 elephants.

His army and proceedings.

Why

He

He detached about 600 men to reduce Cassimbuzzar P, which fort q he summoned to surrender; affuring them that they should have cause to repent their refistance: which not being complied with, and expecting a resolute and powerful opposition, the cunning Nabob had recourse to Aratagem to facilitate his intentions. He ordered 20,000 men to join the 600, and proposed a truce for an amicable determination of the subject of complaint. By this means he inveigled Mr. Watts, the chief of this factory, to his tent, under promise of a safe conduct: but Mr. Watts was no fooner in his power, than he was obliged, by threats, to fign an acknowledgment of a debt to the Nabob in a large fum of money. He then infifted upon Mr. Watts's fending for Meffrs. Collet and Batson, two of the council; which being complied with also, the Nabob detained both Watts and Batson, and sent Collet to prevail on

P Cassimbuzzar, about 100 miles above Huguley, and 20 leagues west from Dacca, are sactories both English and Dutch, of which, by their company's orders, the seconds of the council ought to be the chiefs. It is a large town, much frequented by merchants, and stands in a very healthy and fruitful island of the Ganges, whose inhabitants are employed in many valuable manufactories, especially muslins and silks, which are naturally yellowish, till the natives whiten them with the ashes, which they call there, of Adam's fig-tree. Tavernier says, that the Dutch export 7000 bases of them from hence annually; and, except what the natives keep for themselves, the Tartar and Mogul merchants ingross the rest, which is about 15,000 bales.

<sup>4</sup> Was fmall, regularly built, mounted 60 cannon, and had about 300 men in garrison.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

364

the factory to furrender, threatning death to his two prisoners, whom he treated with the utmost indignity, and hurried them away to Moxoudavat, or Muxedabad; and destruction to them all, if they would force him to take it, by affault.

Caffimbuz-

This was opposed warmly by several of the genzar furren- tlemen in the company's fervice: but the majority of the people prevailed; and accordingly on the 4th of June, the factory of Cassimbuzzar was surrendered to the Nabob of Bengal: which was fo far from delivering the English out of their distress; that it encouraged the haughty eastern Prince to proceed with all his force against our principal fettlement at Calcutta. The Moors having thus got possession of the fort at Cassimbuzzar without exchanging a fingle shot, seized upon every thing; ill treated the people; left them fcarce a shirt to their backs, and, a few days after, fent them also to Moxoudavat, the capital of Bengal, to be confined in different prisons and dungeons.

Calcutta belieged.

The Nabob dispatched near 60,000 troops, 300 elephants, and 500 cannon to reduce Calcutta, charging the commander in chief with a letter for Governor Drake; in which he offered to accommodate matters with the English, on condition that he would pay the arrears of his duty on trade, for 15 years past; to defray the expence of his army, till it should return to Moxoudavat, as well as what it had cost him already, and to deliver up fome Moorish nobles, which had taken shelter from his tyrannies, with all their effects, in that factory.

1756.

To which Mr. Drake made no reply; but on that letter's being repeated twice, thrice and four times, he tore it to-pieces and trampled upon it. This fo exasperated the Nabob, that he came in person with the refidue of his army, and arrived by long marches on the 17th, before Calcutta, having driven the advanced guards from the passes into the fort. The Moors were permitted to commit the greatest excesses in the town, which they plundered for twenty-four hours, and stript not only the houses, but the inhabitants, without distinction of age or fex, and left them naked.

The enemy then threw up a small breast work opposite to the fort, and mounted two twelve pounders upon it; which fired twice or thrice in an hour; and fo badly ferved, that it was impoffible for them to make a breach: however, long before any real attack had been made, Mr. Drake, who declared himself a quaker, resigned the fighting-post to his second, and under the favour of a The Gothick smoak, occasioned by the store-houses and vernor flies magazines fet on fire by the Moors, conveyed all hips. the treasure he could collect from the merchants, &c. and the company's books, and carried all the ladies, and the counsellors, with him on board the ships, which laid off in the Ganges; leaving Mr. Holwell behind, who faid he would fray and defend the place to the last extremity; though the party that fled on board had carried 100 foldiers from the garrison with them.

Mr. Holwell thus left with only a few gentle- The fort men and fome military officers, called a council how de-fended.

A. D.

1756.

of war: after which, to appease the grumbling of the soldiers, left in the fort, he divided three chests of treasure amongst them; made them large promises for their sidelity and courage; secured the keys of the gates himself; and next morning stood to the defence of the place gallantly.

The attack was made very brisk; the Moors having got possession of the counsellors houses, which were built close and round the fort, galled the English much, and drove them from the bastions: but they were feveral times diflodged by the fire from the fort; which killed upwards of 12,000 Moors, with the loss of only five or fix English, the first day: but on the third day, most of the English foldiers being either killed or wounded, and Mr. Holwell feeing himfelf deferted by almost every body, attempted to make an honourable and fafe retreat on board the ships. For this purpose, he is said to have hung out a flag of truce, and to have demanded a capitulation, to amuse the enemy, till he could carry his retreat into execution. But the ships were now fell feveral miles below the fort, without leaving a boat to affift the befieged in their escape; which defeated all expectations of fafety, that way; and, it is very probable the same circumstance giving the Nabob reason to think the fort would furrender at discretion, when thus deserted, without hopes of fuccours and relief, he would attend to no terms of capitulation.

A. D.

The foldiers despairing of success, and quite disabled with their continual service, in the evening of the 19th, knocked off the lock of the Little How deli-Gate and let in the Moors; who killed feveral that first presented themselves; stripped all naked, and loading them with irons, crammed 146 into a dungeon, called the Black-Hole, of about 18 foot square, with only two windows to the westward, at eight in the evening; out of whom next day, there were no more than twenty-three left alive, at fix in the morning; the rest being fmothered by the excessive heat: and their release was owing more to the avarice of the Nabob, than to any bowels of compassion. For, being informed that there was a confiderable treasure secreted in the fort, entrusted to the confidence of Mr. Holwell, the barbarous tyrant was moved to order him and his companions out of the Black Hole. Yet this was not the end of Mr. Holwell's mifery. He, not privy to any fuch trea-Miferies of fure, as the Nabob questioned him about, and Mr. Holthree of his companions, were loaded with irons, well, &c. and conveyed three miles, in a putrid fever, to the Indian camp, and there exposed to a heavy rain all night; next day brought back to Calcutta, under the intense heat of the sun, and embarked in an open boat, for Moxoudavat, not only without help for people in their diffress;

Cocasioned by a profuse sweat on every individual, attended with an infatiable thirst; and at last by the intolerable steam that arose from the dead bodies, as well as the living, as pungent and volatile as spirits of hartshorn.

A. D. 1756.

but treated in a manner, that would shock a merciful reader. Arrived at the city of their destination; they were lodged in a stable, led captives in chains through the streets, and treated as the worst of criminals; till released by the pity and intercession of the Nabob's grandmother. Mr. Watts and his companion in flavery received the same grace. But having received advice, that the English ships were making some motions to recover their fettlement and to revenge themselves, he ordered that all the inhabitants of Calcutta should withdraw and quit the country within three days, under pain of having their nofes and ears cut off: fent pioneers to raze the town to the ground; and wrote to the governor of Madrass, that no English subject should thence forward settle within his territory of Bengal.

This was the case, that so immediately required all the aid of the government of Madrass to prevent the English being driven out, and extirpated for ever from the most lucrative trade in salt-petre and the other produce, and the manufactures of those countries watered by the Ganges; and to give this service the preference to any other.

Aid fent to Bengal.

Accordingly it was refolved to drop the agreement with Salabatzing s, and to dispatch 600 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, under the command of Captain Clive, against the Nabob or Suba of Bengal, in order to restore the company's factories and commerce.

s See before, p. 359.

In confequence of this refolution, Salabatzing was under necessity to hearken to the French terms of accommodation, and to receive them into his fervice: and Buffy, reinforced by 500 Europeans, under Mr. Law, began the new year (1756) with the bad the conquest of Ingeram, Baudermalanka and his agree-Vizagapatam, factories belonging to the English. the French. This having been foreseen, the greatest part of the company's effects were shipped off, from the two former places, immediately upon the first alarm of hostilities. And as the latter was in no condition to withstand 600 Europeans, 6000 Sepoys, 4000 Pikemen, and 30 pieces of cannon, which M. Buffy brought against it, whose garrison confifted of no more than 140 Europeans, and 420 Sepoys and Topasses, it surrendered by capitulation; in which it was agreed, "To deliver up Capitulas "the place, the fortifications, the artillery, marine zagapa. "and military stores, arms, ship-stores, &c. to tam. "the company of France; as also all that should 66 be found in the different magazines belonging "to the English company; that the chief, the " council, and all those employed in the English "company's fervice, the officers and all others, " both civil and military, to be prisoners of war, " on their parole: that all the foldiers, failors and other Europeans should be prisoners, as long as "the war should continue between the King of " France and the King of England, or till they " should be exchanged." Besides the capture of this place gave the French the entire possession of the coast from Ganjam to Messulapatam.

A. D. 1756.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756. f Revolt and ufurpation of MauphusCawn.

370

Affairs did not succeed much better in the fouthern provinces of the Indies. The governor of St. George resolved to send 1000 Sepoys and the Coffree company from Trichinopoly, under the command of Mahomed Isouf Cawn, to reduce the rebel Polygars, who, by the instigation of the French, had united against the Nabob's brother Mauphus Cawn; had obtained feveral advantages over his troops, and had blocked up a large party in a strong fort, between Madura and Tinevelly. But the day before these troops began their march, advice came that Mauphus Cawn, had not only obtained a compleat victory over the rebels, killed the general and 2000 colleries, and taken 300 horse, and all their baggage, guns, and some elephants, in a battle fought within feven miles of Tinevelly; but that he had usurped and seized upon his brother's country; having first, under false and frivolous pretences, prevailed with our Sepoys to quit the fortress of Madura.

Affairs of North America. In North America the losses and disappointments of the expeditions, for the desence of the Ohio, the territories yet uncultivated, and the settlements made by the British subjects on the back of our provinces, on the south of the bay of St. Lawrence, exposed our colonies to the inroads and barbarities of the French and their Indian confederates, during the winter; and were chiefly ascribed to the appointment of improper commanders on that continent. For, it must be confessed, that there was a great oversight in the ministry; first, to chuse a man for that service, who was totally

A. D. 1756.

totally unacquainted with the country, to which he was fent, and with the fervice, which he was to perform: and one, whose rash and precipitant temper made him unqualified for a service, whose fuccess depended upon the most cool, wary and circumspect attention and foresight: and then to fend him without a companion, equal to the post, and to fucceed him in the chief command, in case of death, or other fatal accident. By the first fault, we have feen that Braddock's expedition was rendered unfuccefsful t, and the territory on the back of Virginia and Penfylvania was particularly left exposed to the ravages of a cruel enemy: and by the fecond mistake, the chief command, upon the death of General Braddock, devolved on General Shirley, a man who had been worn out in General the practice of the law, as a barrister; who was character. naturally diffident, flow, and inert; who had never feen battle, or fiege, and who had, neverthelefs, been made commander in chief of the King's armies in North America, with the appointments and pay of the great Duke of Marlborough. This points out the erroneous conduct of the ministry; but in no wife intended, as a flur on the character of Mr. Shirley, who obtained the government of Boston by his merit; was reckoned an able politician; understood the interest of his country well; had the honour of his Majesty and the welfare of his country very much at heart; was employed in the commission to settle the limits between

1 See page 145, &c.

A. D. 1756.

England and France in North America, &c. in which great trust he acquitted himself with honour; and from his thorough knowledge of his Britannic Majesty's title to that continent, he seems to have been entrusted with the affairs thereof.

The miseries, to which the back settlements were exposed, by several miscarriages of the expeditions carried on last summer, against Fort du Quesne, Niagara and Crown Point, and the fatal consequences, which were foreseen would follow a want of a superior force, to oppose and repel the French, and to drive them off from the British territories; and that disunion and disagreement, which still continued amongst the provinces, about raising necessary supplies of men and money, for the common fafety, greatly alarmed those, who were nearest the seat of danger, and produced feveral spirited remonstrances to their rulers, and instructions to their representatives, setting

thrances of the proexposed to danger.

Remon-

vinces most forth, That when they saw the views of an ambitious potent Prince, extended in defiance and in open violation of the most solemn treaties with the native Indians, and the crown of Great Britain; and his subjects seizing lands undoubtedly within his Majesty's grants, fortifying themselves thereon, affifled by all the native forces of Canada, and large numbers of veteran foldiers from France, opening thereby a short and easy passage to our own back fettlements: that, when they reflected, that these intruders are the avowed enemies of our trade, liberty, property, laws and religion, the utter extirpation of which, can only fatisfy them:

when

when they confidered that this appears to be the grand leading stroke in all their ambitious views, and the only way to bring about an arbitrary and tyrannical empire, and introduce a bloody and perfecuting religion, throughout all the continent of North America: to fucceed in which, they obferved them to act in one uniform manner, guided by one fleady council, all directed to one fixed and unalterable point; their strength consisting in union, and their prospect of success founded on the present unhappy disjointed state of our colonies; which appears so evident to our Indian allies, that felf-preservation has induced many of their warriors to go over to the French, believing either that our circumstances are desperate, or that we are an easy, effeminate and daftardly people, and confequently not to be relied on, being doubtful that the English would not make any provision against the impending dangers. They could not forbear being alarmed at a situation so shocking to every true subject of Great Britain: and that it was with the utmost concern they had feen those evils, from small beginnings, rise by degrees to the most threatning dangers; and that they could not help attributing their monstrous growth to the private views, inaction, irrefolution, and disunion of the several legislative powers of British America: So that, an invasion, which the natural strength of the colonies united, and an easy expence, might have once repelled, is now become matter of ferious concern and importance to their mother country, and calls for a provincial as-B b 3

fiftance

A. D. 1756. fistance in arms and money; and must cost immense sums to those colonies, which a friendly union and care might have faved.

Had no effect upon Penfylvania.

Solemn and well grounded as these remonstrances were, the spirit of opposition still continued, the qua-kers in the especially in the assembly of Pensylvania; in assembly of which the leading men, amongst the quakers, did all in their power to obstruct the passing any bill for railing money, and for establishing a militia; and some of them went so far as to vindicate the enemy, and to advise forbearance, as the best means to fecure their liberty and property. To confirm this delufion, which had feized upon the majority of the representatives, many preachers, or speakers, both men and women, ran about with more than common affiduity, declaiming against all preparations for war, and declaring, "That whatever evil might come upon our provinces, it was of their own feeking: that the French were fettled on their own lands, and that the defeat of the King's troops was a judgment for diffurbing the enemy in their peaceable habitations: that their colony was under the immediate protection of heaven; and that it was in vain to endeavour to drive the French out of their forts; and particularly, that it was unnecessary for the Pensylvanians to take up arms." This doctrine had fuch effect, that the unhappy Pensylvanians despised all military arts and military officers, and were deaf to all measures towards maintaining the common fafety; till the French themselves, by pushing on their encroachments upon this province, after

after the defeat of Braddock, so as to threaten their very capital with defolation; and the incontestable proofs, that daily arrived from the back fettlements, of the barbarities exercised by the enemy upon men, women and children, gave the affembly a more natural turn to acknowledge the necessity of preparing for the defence of their province.

On the 3d of November, the affembly fitting, Several meffages the governor informed them, by a message, that from the he had received intelligence of the encampment governor concerning of 1500 French and Indians " on the Sufqueha- the imnah, within 80 miles of Philadelphia; that they bending danger. had gained the Delawares and Shawanese to their interest w: that he could have put the province into a posture of defence to prevent the mischiefs, already committed by this party, had his hands been properly strengthened; but that he had neither money, nor arms, nor ammunition at his disposal; that there was no militia, and that it was not posfible for him to form the backfettlers into fuch regular bodies, as the present exigence required; and he earnestly entreated them to grant proper

<sup>&</sup>quot; A body of 1400 Indians and 100 French, who marched from the Ohio, with an intention to divide into separate parties, when they came near to the frontiers; viz. forty to go against Shamakin, forty against Juniata, and forty against Harris's Ferry; and thus to spread themselves in small parties quite over the province of Penfylvania, taking up their winter quarters at Lancaster.

w These two tribes of Indians declared that they had received a hatchet from the French, and were determined to use it against the English, as long as any of us were alive.

fupplies of money, and to prepare a bill to establish a militia, excepting such as are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms; it being impossible, without such law, to prevent confusion and disorder, and to answer the purposes of government, whatever money might be raised.

The affembly admitted that the back-fettlers had been greatly alarmed, and that great cruelties had been committed by the Delawares and Shawanese: but instead of proceeding immediately to enable the governor to repress and avenge these incursions by the bill desired, they requested him to inform them, whether he knew of any disgust or injury the Delawares and Shawanese had received, or by what means their affections had been alienated from the province; and put other queries of like tendency, to avoid coming to an explicit answer to the governor's message.

Just as this answer was dispatched, the assembly received another message, acquainting them with the utter destruction of the settlers at the Great Cove. Which had no effect towards facilitating resolutions for the common safety. On the 10th of November, the governor acquainted the assembly, that the Indians had publicly demanded the assistance of the province, and had declared, that unless they should be immediately supported, they must in their own defence take part with the French, whom they were not able to resist alone; and further, that he was determined, with the advice of his council, to set out in person to succour the back-settlers by his presence, and to put

them

A. D. 1756.

them into the best order he could, despairing now of doing any thing in concert with the affembly. This menace did not produce its defired effect: eight days more were trifled away in fruitless and disagreeable messages about the supplies. On the 18th the governor acquainted the affembly, by meffage, that the Indians had destroyed and driven away the inhabitants of Tulpehocken; and obferved, that the means they had under confideration for raising money were too dilatory; that, as no money could be iffued thereby, in less than fix weeks, in which time a great part of the province might be laid waste, he urged them for an immediate supply, and a law to regulate a militia, and to fubmit them to discipline. This brought on farther delay. But next day, November the The back 19th, many hundreds of the back-fettlers arrived come to at Philadelphia, and in a body demanded that re- Philadellief, to which they were intitled by the laws of Demand God and nature, and under the protection of go-relief and vernment. These unhappy and deserted people protection. applied themselves first to the governor, who pitied their diffress; told them that he had done all in his power to gain from the affembly the relief they follicited, and shewed them the order for 50001. from the proprietaries, to be laid out as a free gift in defence of the province. Upon which Bring they hurried to the Stadt-house with a waggon down their loaded with the dead bodies of their friends, who friends. had been scalped about fixty miles off, by the Indians; threw them down at the door of the affembly house; cursing the quakers principles, and

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

378

Attended with threats. bid the committee of affembly behold the fruits of their obstinacy, and confess that their pretended sanctity would not save the province without the use of means; at the same time threatning, that if they should come down on the like errand again, and find nothing done for their protection, the consequences should be fatal \*. And this was declared with such marks of grief and misery in their faces, who had lost their wives, their children, and the labour of their whole lives, that they, either moved by the distress, or over-awed by the threats of the injured people, immediately dropped all their disputes; passed the money-bill for 60,000l. on the same terms offered to them in August last; and also passed a militia-bill, by

\* The quakers, least the assembly should waver in their opposition, folemnly conjured them, in a public address, not to grant any money for purposes inconsistent with the PEACE-ABLE TESTIMONY they professed, as it would destroy the religious liberties, and the fundamental part of their conflitution; for which their forefathers left their country, and fettled that, then a wilderness; declaring also, that if a tax should be granted to raise money for any unpeaceable purposes, many would be under a necessity of fuffering, rather than consent thereto, by the payment of it. The other inhabitants of the province addressed them in the strongest terms, to come into contrary measures. "We hope, said they, that we shall always be able to preserve that respect for you, which is due to the faithful representatives of freemen; but on the prefent occasion you will forgive us, if we assume characters higher than that of bumble fuiters, PRAYING for the defence of our lives and properties, as a matter of GRACE: you will permit us to make a positive and absolute DEMAND of it, as a gnatter of perfect and unalienable RIGHT by the laws of God and man.

which

which those, who bear arms, might be formed into regular bodies, subject to discipline, and rendred more able to serve their country, and more terrible to their enemies. Which being the first militia-act ever passed in Pensylvania, and containing some very remarkable passages, in regard to the scrupulosity of those, who refuse to bear arms for the defence of their country and of their own liberty, property and religion; the reader will find it at the bottom of the page y.

In

I An Act for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes within the province of Pensylvania, passed Nov. 25, 1755.

W Hereas this province was first settled by (and a majority of the assemblies have ever since been of) the people called Quakers, who, though they do not, as the world is now circumstanced, condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against bearing arms themselves; and to make any law to compel them thereto, against their consciences, would not be only to violate a fundamental in our conflitution, and be a direct breach of our charter of privileges, but would also in effect be to commence persecution against all that part of the inhabitants of the province: and for them by any law to compel others to bear arms, and exempt themselves, would be inconsistent and partial. Yet forasmuch as by the general toleration and equity of our laws, great numbers of people of other religious denominations are come among us, who are under no such restraint, some of whom have been disciplined in the art of war, and conscientiously think it their duty to fight in defence of their country, their wives, their families, and estates, and such have an equal right to liberty of conscience with others. And whereas a great number of petitions from the several counties of this province, have been presented to this house, setting forth, A. D. In Virginia the government, prevailed upon by the miseries suffered by the back-settlers, who had been

that the petitioners are very willing to defend themselves and country, and desirous of being formed into regular bodies for that purpose, instructed and disciplined under proper officers, with suitable and legal authority; representing withal, that unless measures of this kind are taken, so as to unite them together, subject them to due command, and thereby give them considence in each other, they cannot assemble to oppose the enemy, without the utmost danger of exposing themselves to confusion and destruction.

And whereas the voluntary affembling of great bodies of armed men from different parts of the province on any occafional alarm, whether true or false, as of late hath happened, without call or authority from the government, and without due order and direction among themselves, may be attended with danger to our neighbouring Indian friends and allies, as well as the internal peace of the province.

And whereas the governor hath frequently recommended it to the affembly, that in preparing and paffing a law for fuch purposes, they should have a due regard to scrupulous and tender consciences, which cannot be done where compulfive means are used to force men into military service: Therefore, as we represent all the people of the province, and are composed of members of different religious persuasions, we do not think it reasonable that any should, through a want of legal powers, be in the least restrained from doing what they judge it their duty to do for their own fecurity and the public good; we, in compliance with the faid petitions and recommendations, do offer it to the governor to be enacted, And be it enacted, by and with the advice and confent of the representatives of the freemen of the faid province in general affembly met, and by the authority of the fame, That from and after the publication of this act, it shall and may be lawful for the freemen of this province to form themselves into companies, as heretofore they have used in time of war without

been killed or taken, to the number of 70 persons, ordered the militia of the counties of Dumfries,

Prince

without law, and for each company, by majority of votes in the way of ballot, to chuse its own officers.

And that as foon as the faid companies and regiments are formed, and their officers commissioned, it shall and may be lawful to and for the governor, or commander in chief, by and with the advice and confent of the colonels, lieutenantcolonels and majors of all the regiments, to form, make, and establish articles of war, for the better government of the forces, that shall be under their command, and for bringing offenders against the same to justice; and to erect and constitute courts-martial, with power to hear, try, and determine any crimes or offences by such articles of war, and inflict penalties by fentence or judgment of the fame on those, who shall be subject thereto, in any place within this province.

Provided always, that the articles fo to be made and established, shall contain nothing repugnant, but be as near as possible conformable, to the military laws of Great Britain, and to the articles of war made and established by his Majesty in pursuance of the last act of parliament for punishing mutiny and defertion, the different circumstances of this province compared with Great Britain, and of a voluntary militia of freemen, compared with mercenary standing troops, being duly weighed and maturely confidered.

Provided also, that nothing in this act shall be understood or construed to give any power or authority to the governor or commander in chief, and the faid officers, to make any articles or rules that shall in the least affect those of the inhabitants of the province who are confcientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, either in their liberties, persons or estates; nor any other persons, of what persuasion or denomination soever, who have not first voluntary and freely figned the said articles, after due confideration as aforefaid.

Provided also, that no youth, under the age of twenty-one years, nor any bought fervant or indented apprentice, shall be admitted to enroll himself, or be capable of being enrolled A. D. 1756. Prince William and Fairfax to be draughted; and that 160 of them should march out of Winchester towards the south branch of the river Potomac, where several late murders had been committed: and 500 more were draughted about the middle of October, from the regiments at other places, and ordered to rendezvous at Fort Cumberland, to prevent further excesses from the French and Indians in those quarters, who had depopulated five or six counties, and cut off the correspondence with Fort Cumberland and Will's Creek, for a time.

The Moravian fettlement at Guaden Hutten, or Mohony Creek, about 85 miles from Phila-

rolled in the faid companies or regiments, without the confent of his or their parents or guardians, masters or mistresses, in writing under their hands first had and obtained \*.

Provided also, that no enlistment or enrollment of any perfon in any of the companies or regiments to be formed and raised as aforesaid, shall protect such person in any suit or civil action brought against him by his creditors or others, except during his being in actual service in field or garrison; nor from a prosecution for any offence committed against the laws of this province.

Provided also, that no regiment, company, or party of volunteers, shall, by virtue of this act, be compelled or led more than three days march beyond the inhabited parts of the province; nor detained longer than three weeks in any garrison, without an express engagement for that purpose, first voluntarily entered into and subscribed by every man so to march or remain in garrison.

This act to continue in force until the 30th of October next, and no longer.

delphia,

<sup>\*</sup> See how this agrees with the clause in the act passed in November last at Westminster, page 212.

delphia, was destroyed by the Indians, led on by the French, only two persons escaping alive; who continued burning and destroying every thing they met with, and barbaroufly murdered all, without regard to age or fex. Which had fuch an effect, that the fettlers at Bethlem and Nazareth, amongst whom were many Moravians, formed themselves into bodies, to oppose and defend themselves against the enemy, and thereby prevented the like outrages for the future in those parts.

These, and an infinite more calamities, were Strength of daily reported from the western frontiers of our the French. colonies; where the French were in possession of the vast country on the Ohio, secured for the prefent by Fort du Quesne; and had cut off the Indian nations from our colonies by Crown Point and Fort Cohasser, Niagara and Frontenac, and a multitude of small forts, on the back of New England and New York, that commanded all the passes and the lakes, and by Fort Condé, and its commandaries, properly established behind the Carolina's, to finish that chain, intended to girt all the English colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia: and the French in Canada employed the whole winter in preparations for the fiege of Ofwego, and to complete their operations on the Ohio; placing strong garrifons at Crown Point and Ticonderoga; from whence, and other stations, they fent out small parties to distress the English out-settlements.

On our part, General Shirley exerted the utmost of his skill and interest to unite the Pro-

vinces

vinces in vigorous measures for the next campaign; and was so successful, as to effect in some measure the long-wished for union of the governors of New England and New York, in the common cause of defence against the encroachments of the enemy; in particular, to avenge the destruction of their back-fettlements, and to attack Crown Point with 8000 New Englandmen and 1,200 men from New York; and to conciliate many of the Indians to the British interest, who had gone over unto, or had given great fuspicion of their intentions to ioin, the French. But he was recalled before an opportunity ferved to carry his winter councils into action; being superseded in his chief command, at Albany, by Colonel Webb, who delivered to him his Majesty's orders to repair to England without delay, dated the 21st of March; his Majesty having, on the 17th day of February preceding, appointed John, Earl of Loudon, General and Governor in Chief of Virginia; and on the 20th, General and Commander in Chief of all his forces in North America.

Affairs in Nova Scotia.

In Nova Scotia matters did not favour the enemy at all. General Lawrence pursued his success, and was obliged to use much severity, to extirpate the French neutrals and Indians, who resused to conform to the laws of Great Britain, or to swear allegiance to our Sovereign, and had engaged to join the French troops in the spring, expected to arrive from Old France, as early as possible, on that coast, or at Louisbourg; some of which, with ammunition, stores, &c. fell into the hands

A.D. 1756.

hands of our cruizers off Cape Breton. General Lawrence did not only pursue those dangerous inhabitants with fire and fword, laying the country waste, burning their dwellings, and driving off their stock; but he thought it expedient for his Majesty's service, to transport the French neutrals fo as entirely to extirpate a people, that only waited an opportunity to join the enemy.

This measure was very commendable. But the execution of it was not quite fo prudent. The French method taken by the general to secure his pro-how disvince from this peft, was to distribute them, in posed of. number about feven thousand, among the British colonies, in that rigorous feason of winter, almost naked, and without money or effects to help themfelves. In which distribution too many were transported to those colonies, where they might with great ease get to the French forts, or might facilitate any enterprize from those forts, on the back of our provinces on the fouth of the Bay of St. Lawrence. Besides it was exercising a power he had no right unto. For his command reached not beyond the limits of Nova Scotia: and this was loading each government, into which those neutrals were transported, with an arbitrary and great expence.

This may be exemplified in the case of Pensil- In Pensilvania. The quota imposed upon that province vania. were 415, men, women and children. landed in a most deplorable condition at Philadelphia, to be maintained by the province, or turned loose to beg their bread: and this city not

VOL. I. Ccbeing

being above two hundred miles distant from Fort du Quesne, it was very probable, the men might endeavour to get unto, and join their countrymen at that fort; or to strengthen the parties, which hovered about the frontiers, and were continually laying waste the back settlements.

The government, in order to get clear of the charge, fuch a company of miserable wretches. would require to maintain them, proposed to sell them, with their own consent: but when this expedient for their support was offered to their confideration, the transports rejected it with indignation, alledging, That they were prisoners, and expected to be maintained, as fuch; and not forced to labour. They further faid, That they: had not violated their oath of fidelity, which, by the treaty of Utrecht, they were obliged to take; and that they were ready to renew that oath, but that a new oath of obedience having been prefcribed to them, by which, they apprehended, the neutrals would be obliged to bear arms against the French, they could not take it, and thought they could not be compelled to do it. Thus General Lawrence cleared the country of the French neutrals; and the Indians in their interest, who had been very troublesome, being most of them Roman catholics, retired to Canada for protection. - Which established peace and tranquillity throughout the province of Acadia or Nova Scotia, according to its ancient limits, as ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht; till February 1756, when a party of 300 French and Indians

Indians returned to make inroads about Chiegnecto, and to cut off the English wood-cutters, as they lived in a state of security from an enemy. French and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, having intelligence of enter Nova this party, marched with 300 provincials in quest of them, came up with them, killed eight Indians on the spot, and wounded a considerable number of the enemy; as was conjectured from the vast quantity of blood, which the English saw, in the pursuit after those invaders.

Let us hence return to Europe, and resume the Affairs of affairs on the continent. The treaty concluded Europe. between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia, furnished the court of Vienna with a pretence to form an alliance with the court of Ver-Treaty of alliance failles, in order to facilitate a much further view, between which it had been watching an opportunity to Austria. effect, against the King of Prussia. In consequence of this alliance, treaties were drawn up between those two courts, under the name of treaties of friendship and neutrality 2, with a for-

mal

2 By which the contracting parties reciprocally obliged themselves to the guarantee of all their dominions in Europe: and to furnish each other with 18,000 foot, and 6000 horse; or with a proportionable fum of money, viz. 8000 German florins for 1000 infantry, and 24,000 ditto for 1000 cavalry, in case of any attack from any power whatever.

This treaty was preceded by the following convention of

neutrality, which was figned the same day.

The differences between his most Christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, concerning the limits of their respective possessions in America, seeming more and more to threaten

C c 2

A. D. 1756.

mal invitation to neighbouring powers to accede thereunto; and folemn affurances that the contracting parties had no other view than to preferve the general tranquility of Europe, and to prevent the flames of war, already kindled between Great Britain and France, from spreading to other countries. But, notwithstanding these pacific declarations, the King of Prussia soon discovered, that the principal end proposed by the Empress Queen, in this alliance, was the recovery of Silesia; in

Its intention.

threaten the public tranquility, his most Christian Majesty, and the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, who equally defired the unalterable duration of the friendship and good understanding that now happily subsists between them, have thought it necessary to take proper measures for that purpose.

To this end the Empress Queen declares and promises, in the most folemn and binding manner, that she will not, either directly or indirectly, take any part in the above differences, in which she is now no way concerned, but on the contrary she will observe an exact and perfect neutrality during the whole time of the war that may be occasioned by the said differences between England and France.

His most Christian Majesty on his part, far from desiring to engage any other power in his private quarrel with England, reciprocally declares and promises, in the most solemn and binding manner, that he will, on no pretext or reason whatsoever, attack or invade the Low Countries, or any other kingdoms, states or provinces, under the dominion of her Majesty the Empress Queen; as likewise neither directly nor indirectly injure her possessions or rights; which her Majesty the Empress Queen doth in the same manner promise with respect to the kingdoms, states, and provinces, of his most Christian Majesty. This convention or act of neutrality shall be ratisfied by the Empress Queen within the space of six months, or sooner if possible.

which

which France, who had affifted him in the conquest thereof, a few years before, did now concur with her new ally; it being, at this time, the interest of the French court to reduce the power of one, who is no longer to be made their tool in the ruin of Germany. His Prussian Majesty was further confirmed in his opinion concerning the hostile intentions of those powers towards him, by the intercourse of these two courts with Peterfburgh. To which first Vienna, and then Verfailles fent a special minister. From thence he concluded that a project was carrying on, by those three courts, against him; because his power was obnoxious to them all. And he was foon convinced of the truth of these conjectures: for, early in the spring of this year, he received certain intelligence, that the two imperial courts had agreed upon a plan to unite their forces, and to invade his dominions. In this situation, he took every measure, that could be suggested by the utmost vigilance and magnanimity; as will foon appear in the course of this history.

The actual invasion of Minorca, at last, drew Domestic on that open and formal declaration of war from affairs. Great Britain, which had been provoked, and ought to have been done long before; as we have shewn by sufficient evidences, in the course of this history; wherein almost every page exhibits fome breach of faith, hostile intrigue or open hostility of the French, from the very signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and which is confirmed by

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. by his Majesty's declaration, published on the 18th of May, 1756, in this form and these words.

His Majesty's declaration of war against the French King.

## GEORGE REX.

Declaration of war against the French King.

390

HE unwarrantable proceedings of the French in the West Indies and North America, fince the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. and the usurpations and encroachments made by them upon our territories, and the fettlements of our fubjects in those parts, particularly in our province of Nova Scotia, have been fo notorious, and fo frequent, that they cannot but be looked upon, as a fufficient evidence of a formed defign, and resolution in that court, to pursue invariably such measures as should most effectually promote their ambitious views, without any regard to the most folemn treaties and engagements. We have not been wanting on our part, to make from time to time the most serious representations to the French King upon these repeated acts of violence, and to endeavour to obtain redress and fatisfaction for the injuries done to our subjects, and to prevent the like causes of complaint for the future: but though frequent affurances have been given, that every thing should be settled agreeable to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly, that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West Indies should be effected, (which

was expresly promised to our ambassador in France) the execution of these affurances, and of the treaties, on which they were founded, has been evaded under the most frivolous pretences: and the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and of the officers acting under their authority, were still carried on, till, at length, in the month of April 1754, they broke out into open acts of hostility, when in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war; and without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French forces, under the command of an officer bearing the French King's commission, attacked in a hostile manner, and possessed themfelves of the English fort on the Ohio in North America.

But notwithstanding this act of hostility, which could not but be looked upon as a commencement of war; yet, from our earnest desire of peace, and in hopes the court of France would disavow this violence and injustice, we contented ourselves with sending such a force to America as was indispensably necessary for the immediate defence and protection of our subjects, against fresh attacks and insults.

In the mean time great naval armaments were preparing in the ports of France, and a confiderable body of French troops embarked for North America; and though the French ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate these differences, yet it appeared, that their real design was only to gain

A. D. 1756.

time for the passage of those troops to America, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in those parts, and enable them to carry their ambitious, and oppressive projects into execution.

In these circumstances we could not but think it incumbent upon us to endeavour to prevent the success of so dangerous a design, and to oppose the landing of the French troops in America; and in consequence of the just and necessary measures we had taken for that purpose, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from our court; the fortifications of Dunkirk, which had been repairing for some time, were enlarged; great bodies of troops marched down to the coast, and our kingdoms were threatened with an invasion.

In order to prevent the execution of these defigns, and to provide for the fecurity of our kingdoms, which were thus threatned, we could no longer forbear giving orders for the feizing at fea the ships of the French King, and his subjects: notwithstanding which, as we were still unwilling to give up all hopes that an accommodation might be effected, we have contented ourselves hitherto, with detaining the faid ships, and preferving them and (as far as was possible) their cargoes entire, without proceeding to the confiscation of them: but it being now evident, by the hostile invasion actually made by the French King, of our island of Minorca, that it is the determined resolution of that court, to hearken to no terms of peace, but to carry on the war, which has been long begun

on their part, with the utmost violence, we can no longer remain, consistently with what we owe to our own honour, and to the welfare of our subjects, within those bounds, which, from a defire of peace, we had hitherto observed.

We have therefore thought proper to declare war, and we do hereby declare war, against the French King, who hath fo unjuftly begun it, relying on the help of Almighty God in our just undertaking, and being affured of the hearty concurrence and affiftance of our subjects in support of fo good a cause: hereby willing and requiring our captain-general of our forces, our commisfioners for executing the office of our high admiral of Great Britain, our lieutenants of our feveral counties, governors of our forts and garrisons, and all other officers and foldiers under them, by fea and land, to do and execute all acts of hostility, in the prosecution of this war, against the French King, his vasfals, and subjects, and to oppose their attempts; willing and requiring all our subjects to take notice of the same, whom we henceforth strictly forbid to hold any correspondence or communication with the faid French King, or his fubjects: and we do hereby command our own subjects, and advertise all other persons, of what nation foever, not to transport or carry any foldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the faid French King; declaring, that whatfoever ship or vessel shall be met withal, transporting or carrying any soldiers,

A. D. 1756. arms, powder, ammuniti n, or any other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations or countries of the faid French King, the fame, being taken, shall be condemned as good and lawful prize.

And whereas there are remaining in our kingdom, divers of the subjects of the French King, we do hereby declare our royal intention to be, that all the French subjects, who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall be safe in their persons and effects.

Remarks on the declaration of war.

Certainly the found of war never echoed with more fatisfaction, than at the present conjuncture. It was the general request of the nation; especially of them who were to fight our battles, and of those who, by their fortune and condition in life, were likely to contribute most to the expence thereof. For, they reasoned thus: can a declaration of war, to oppose French hostilities by open force, and to treat the French King and his fubjects as our avowed and irreconcileable enemies; be attended with more calamitous circumstances, than to be continually alarmed with invasions and other attempts upon the British dominions, and trade? Is it not as expensive to be driven to the necessity of maintaining an army on our coasts, and a fleet in a capacity to fail upon the first orders, as to ferret the enemy out of their lurking holes, from whence they are continually making new encroachments; and to repel force by force? War is the only remedy against injuries in times

of peace. But there was another fort of men, who, on this occasion, propagated very industriously a disagreeable representation of this measure, as if the ministry had been forced to adopt it, not by choice, but in order to stop the mouths of a people ready to exact an account of the money already expended in the greatest armaments ever known in Britain, both by sea and land, and at the same time permitting France to invade our territories. And these infinuations gained too much upon the timorous and avaricious.

However, national virtue made a strong push against every effort of the ministry to render this just and necessary war unsuccessful. The friends of our king and country could not help their doubts of the fincerity of the court, and their fears for the fatal consequences of a collusive war. "Should this war, faid they, prove to be a mi-"nisterial collusion, only a measure to facilitate "the raising new taxes; or an expedient, after "the people have been fleeced full as much as they "are able to yield at one shearing, to frighten "them into an infidious peace; what would be-" come of Britain? And to relieve the nation from "these apprehensions, it is incumbent upon those "in power, not only to conduct the war with "integrity, prudence and vigour; but to patch up no peace till the just cries of the nation " shall be satisfied for losses and damages, and 45 upon such terms, as no free parliament can disss approve.

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

396

"A war committed to the management of " fuch, whose integrity does not stand in the " best light; or whose abilties in martial affairs " have been suspected to favour the enemies escape, " rather than of that inviolable fecrecy, with which " the councils of our King and country ought to " be kept, would be far from answering the end " of his Majesty's declaration, or obtaining for "Great Britain and its dominions, fecurity from "injuries in time of peace. Nothing less than " pursuing every measure with fidelity and vigour, " and opposing, counteracting and distressing the " enemy in every place and attempt, according "to the supplies granted by the people, can quit "the ministry from the guilt of pusillanimity, "ignorance, or corruption. Nor can the war " procure for us the defirable fecurity of a laft-"ing and peaceable possession of our rights and " property, should it be protracted with other "views than to force the enemy to equitable \*cc. terms.

"A peace, worded in a dark, ambiguous man"ner, can never guard us against cavils and dis"putes: it would expose us to the artifices of
"those, who are not in a capacity to decide the
"right in the field. It is by those kinds of peace,
"Great Britain has so often been obliged to re"turn to arms. Had there been no claims left
"undetermined at Aix-la-Chapelle; had the
"peace-makers, on the part of Britain, insisted
"upon the evacuation of Crown-Point, of the
"encroachments and fortresses on the Ohio, and
"in

"in Nova Scotia or Acadia, there would have been no pretence left for this French aftergame. If this was an overfight, now is come the time to rectify the mistakes of former ministers, and to restore the honour and welfare of Britain and her colonies. The sword is drawn: and it is drawn to defend our property, and to punish the usurpations, encroachments and persidy of France; and it is the hearty wish of all good subjects, that it may never be sheathed till the enemy shall make full satisfaction, and be disabled from giving Great Britain any surther reason to lie upon her arms in time of peace.

"Can there be too much caution in giving peace to a people, who are infamous for their breach of faith? for embroiling all nations by their intrigues; and noted for risking the event of a war, rather than yield any point by negociation. Whose quiet consists in the trouble of all others; and whose advantage always takes root in the public calamities of their neighful.

"Let us then pursue the war with that vigour and sidelity, which have so often made the Gallic throne to shake. Let all factions subside, and all parties unite in such measures, as will best coerce that power, which has broke through all treaties and promises, and under the fanction of peace was carrying on war secretly into our bowels. May all the secret instruments (if there be any) of that persidious power be discovered

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D.

298

"and brought to condign punishment: and may heaven direct our councils, and inspire us with a resolution never to accept of any terms of accommodation, which might affect either our religion, reputation, peace, trade, or navigation.

"Should these be neglected, it would be dif-"ficult to persuade a Briton that the times are "mended, or that more falutary measures are "pursued, than when they had reason to com-" plain of those traitors to their country so often "mentioned in history, who joined with the or prince in the spoil of the subjects, or kept him "under fuch restraints, as obliged him to be " content with their misrepresentations of facts, in order to extort from him unjust orders to justify " or to skreen their wicked counsel. They will "look upon this declaration of war to be only a " scheme to keep the minds of the people under "constant fears and alarms, in a constant hurry "and agitation about their own fafety, to pre-"vent their looking into public frauds; and to " reduce them to fuch a low state as to render "them incapable of punishing those, who under "the name of peace, attempt to enflave the peo-" ple, impoverished by the excessive burden of a " collusive war."

Engagement between two
English bety
and two

On the 17th of May, 1756, the very day that his Majesty signed this declaration of war, there happened a very warm engagement off Rochfort, between the Colchester of 50 guns, Captain Obrian, with the Lime of 20 guns, and two French men

of war, the Aquilon of 48 guns, M. de Maurville, with the Fidelle of 36 guns, M. de Litardais: an action that begun at fix in the evening, French men of and lasted till half an hour past eleven between the war off Lime and the Fidelle, and till half an hour past Rochfort. twelve between the Colchester and Aquilon, when diftress and the darkness of the night obliged them to part honourably.

A. D. 1756.

They engaged fo close and warmly, that the foresail of the Lime was set on fire by the wads of her adversary, soon after the fight began. Which being extinguished, the Lime returned to the charge, and continued the battle, till the Frenchman flacked his fire, and she was obliged to bear away, to stop the holes received between wind and water, having three feet and a half of water in the hold: in about twenty minutes returned a second time to the charge; but the Fidelle, though she fired the signal of distress, made fhift to escape; the Lime being in no condition to give chace, all her rigging, main, fore, and mizen stays, all her main shrouds, being shot away, except two on a fide, and every mast and yard in the ship wounded and rendered unserviceable a. The Colchester never quitted her adverfary till she took fire, occasioned by red-hot bullets fired by the Aquilon, as supposed; which obliged her to bear away b.

On

a Eighty-fix shot went through the maintop fail, fifty-four through the main fail; every fail looked like a fieve; and a great number of shot went through the hull.

b About this time the admiralty received advice of the loss of the Warwick of 60 guns, Captain Shouldham, taken by

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

400

On the 27th of May the parliament, after granting all that the ministry asked, to enable his Majesty to carry his declaration of war effectually into execution against France, was adjourned, by his Majesty's command, to the 18th of June: upon which occasion the Speaker, when the money bills were presented for the royal assent, addressed his Majesty in the following remarkable speech.

May it please your Majesty,

The Speaker's address to his Majesty.

YOUR faithful Commons, justly sensible of the blessings they have enjoyed under your happy reign, in just indignation at every attempt to disturb it, have exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities, to support your Majesty in the just war, which the ambition and persidy of France have obliged you to enter into, by giving, for the fervice of this year, ordinary and extraordinary, ten millions, besides a vote of credit to answer any unforeseen emergency.

They beg leave most humbly to say—they hope the sword you have so bravely drawn, and they so effectually supported, will be entrusted only in brave, capable, and honest hands; that so the naval, the natural strength of England, will make

the Prudent man of war of 74 guns, who had in company with her a 60 gun ship, and a frigate of 36 guns, off Martinico. The Warwick perceiving herself over matched, endeavoured to get clear by a running fight; and had actually got clear of the large ships, but the frigate got under her stern, and raked her so terribly that the Prudent came up again, and the Warwick struck; having lost the captain and a great number of men.

a figure, will do fervice; as much greater, as it is exalted higher than ever before.

A. D. 1756.

They apprehend; the present critical juncture convinces, that alliances on the continent, as they are unnatural, so they must ever be prejudicial to the true interest of England; that there is no gratitude to be expected from, no dependance to be had on, such allies: allies, who though saved, supported, subsisting by the blood and treasure of this kingdom for more than an age, have taken the opportunity of the sirst prospect of present prosit, to break through every tye.

Not discouraged by the ingratitude of allies, nor the ambition of enemies, they have with pleasure beheld the sword drawn to vindicate your honour, the honour and interest of England; convinced, and proud to let all the world see, that England is able to fight her own battles, to stand by her own natural strength, against all her enemies.

Though ever attached to your Majesty's person, ever at ease under your just government, they cannot forbear taking notice of some circumstances in the present situation of affairs, which nothing but the considence in your justice, your love to the people devoted to you, could hinder from alarming their most serious apprehensions; and to whom should they make their fears known, to whom should they complain, but to their protector, their guardian, and their father?—Subsidies to foreign Princes, when already burdened with a debt scarce to be borne, cannot but be

VOL. I.

Dd

feverely

A. D. 1756.

feverely felt; an army of foreign troops, a thing unprecedented, unheard of, unknown, brought into England, cannot but alarm: but still they depend, still they conside in your Majesty, and only beg leave most humbly to say, they hope that their burden may be lightened; their sears removed, as soon as possible; and in the mean time, that the sword of these foreigners shall not be entrusted a moment out of your own hand, to any other person whatsoever.

His Majesty's speech.

His Majesty then closed the sessions with a most gracious speech, thanking the members of both houses for their unwearied application to public business, and for their vigorous and effectual support in maintaining the just and national cause.-He acquainted them, that as the injuries and hostilities, which have been, for some time, committed by the French, were now followed by the actual invasion of Minorca, an island guaranteed to Great Britain by all the powers of Europe, and in particular by the French King; he had therefore found himself obliged to declare war in form, and relied on the divine protection, and the vigorous assistance of his faithful subjects.-Then addressing the Commons, his Majesty particularly thanked them for their readiness and dispatch in granting the large supplies; and gave his royal word that they should be strictly applied to the good purposes for which they were granted.—Then speaking to both houses, he concluded with these words: Nothing has given me more inward fatisfaction.

tisfaction, than the confidence which you repose in me. It is the most acceptable return you could make to me; and you may be affured, shall be made use of only for your good: the preservation of your religion, liberties, and independency, is, and always shall be; my great aim; and I trust you will not be wanting to yourselves.

In this fessions of parliament a bill for establishing a regular and well-disciplined militia passed the House of Commons; and though it did not meet with the same success in the House of Lords, who threw it out at the third reading; it was recommended to the members of both Houses to take the sense of the people on it, in their respective neighbourhoods, during the recess of parliament; that an effectual act might pass for that purpose at their next meeting.

Soon after b the French King thought proper also to make a formal declaration of war; in which he concealed and evaded all the hostilities committed by his governors and commanders in the distant parts of the world, and fully set forth in this history, before the year 1754: which take in his own words.

The French King's declaration of war against Great Britain.

England, in the year 1754, was the aggressor King's declaration of the contests concerning the settlements in North war against America; and that in the month of June last, the tain.

b On the 9th of June.

A. D. 1756.

British sleet, in contempt of the laws of nations and the faith of treaties, began to commit the most violent hostilities against the ships of his Majesty, and the navigation and commerce of his subjects.

The King, justly offended by this perfidious conduct, and the many insults that were offered to his flag, would not have suspended his resentment, and with-held what he owes to the dignity of his crown for eight months, if he had not been unwilling to expose Europe to the calamities of a new war. It was upon this salutary principle, that France behaved with the utmost moderation, during the most injurious proceedings of England.

While the British fleet, sometimes by the basest artifices, and sometimes by the most outrageous violence, were seizing the vessels of France, which were sailing without suspicion of danger, under the common safeguard of public saith, his Majesty sent back to England a frigate which had been seized by the French sleet, and suffered the British merchantmen to continue trading without interruption in the ports of France.

While the French foldiers and failors, captives in the British islands at a time of peace, were treated with a severity by which the bounds that the laws of nature and the common principles of humanity have set to the rights of war, were exceeded, the English lived and traded without molestation in France, under the protection of that reci-

reciprocal kindness and respect, which civilized nations owe to each other.

A. D. 1756.

While the British ministry, under the appearance of sincerity, imposed upon his Majesty's ambassador by false protestations, they caused orders, directly contrary to the deceitful assurances they had given of an approaching reconciliation, to be executed in all parts of North America.

While the court of London was exhausting all the subtilties of intrigue, and all the subsidies of England, to engage the other powers of Europe to act offensively against France, his Majesty did not demand even the succours which guarantees, or defensive treaties, authorized him to require of them, but advised only such measures as might best conduce to their peace and security.

Such has been the conduct of the two nations; and the striking contrast of their proceedings cannot but convince all Europe of the jealousy, ambition, and unreasonable desires of the one, and the honour, justice, and moderation of the other.

His Majesty hoped that the King of England, acting upon principles of natural equity and the true interest of his honour, would at length have disavowed the scandalous excesses, which the officers of his sleet continued to commit; especially as his Majesty gave him an opportunity of doing it with equal justice and decorum, by demanding a speedy and complete restitution of all the vessels of France, which had been taken by British ships; and had offered, upon this preliminary condition, to enter into a negociation concerning other satis-

A. D. 1756. factions, which his Majesty had a right to expect, and readily to concur in an amicable accommodation of the differences concerning America.

The King of England having rejected this proposition, his Majesty could not but consider his refusal as the most authentic declaration of war, as his Majesty had said he should do in his requisition.

The British court therefore might have dispensed with a formality, which was become needless; the manner, in which she had already declared war, was a better reason than any that was explicitly assigned, why she would not submit, to the judgment of Europe, the pretended grievances, which were alledged against France in the written declaration of war, that was published at London.

The vague imputations, which that writing contains, have not the least foundation in truth, and the very manner, in which they are set forth, would have consuted them, if they had not been demonstrated to be false in the memorial, which his Majesty has caused to be remitted to all the courts of Europe, containing an exact state of all the falls relative to the present war, and the negociations that preceded it, supported by incontestible evidence.

There is however one fact of great importance, which is not mentioned in that memorial, because it was not possible to foresee that England would carry her indelicacy in the choice of the means of illusion, so far, as she now appears to have clone.

She talks much of the military works carrying on at Dunkirk, and of the troops which his Majefty has caused to affemble upon the coast; and it might fairly be concluded from her declaration of war, that these works and these troops have alone determined her to seize whatever she finds at sea belonging to his Majesty, or his subjects.

It is however univerfally known, that the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after the capture of two of his Majesty's ships, which were attacked in a time of profound peace by an English squadron of thirteen men of war. It is equally notorious, that the English sleet had been making prizes of French vessels more than six months, when the first battalions, which his Majesty ordered to the sea-coast, began their march.

If the King of England should ever reslect on the falshood of the reports, which have been made to him concerning these facts, he will not surely forgive those, who have betrayed him into the affertion of what is so far from being true, that it cannot by any artistice be rendered specious.

That which his Majesty owes to himself and to his subjects, has at length obliged him to repel force with force; but being still sleady to his favourite principles of justice and moderation, he has directed his military operations to be carried on only against the King of England, his aggressor; and all his political negociations have been intended merely to justify the confidence, which has been placed in his friendship, and the integrity of his intentions, by the other nations of Europe.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D.

408

It is not necessary to assign more particularly the motives which have induced his Majesty to send a body of his troops into the island of Minorca, and which have at length obliged him to declare war against the King of England, as the King of England has declared war against him, both by land and sea.

His Majesty thus acting upon principles so worthy to determine his resolutions, doubts not but to find, in the justice of his cause, in the valour of his troops, and in the love of his subjects, such affistance, as they have always hitherto afforded him: but above all he relies for protection upon the Lord of Hosts.

This declaration concludes with a fevere prohibition of all communication, commerce, and intelligence with the subjects of Great Britain, upon pain of death.

Remarks thereon. In this declaration the most Christian King lays aside that politeness, for which his court take great pains to adopt in all their transactions, and that veracity, on which the French monarch endeavours to avail himself in all negociations and communications. He, forgetful of that decorum, which is due to sovereign Princes, like a man raving with despair, charges his Britannic Majesty with piracy, persidy, inhumanity, and deceit, even against the conviction of his own conscience; which told him that the very acts, falsely imputed, in the declaration, to the King of Great Britain, were practised continually by himself and his ministers: as

has been proved at large by the facts so often produced in the course of this history, and summed up in the declaration of war, made by his Britannic Majesty. Besides this farago of abuse and fcurrillity, there is nothing more than an accusation of our making reprizals, and opposing an open force to the French hostilities, without the ceremony of an open declaration of war: which, though it is not justified strictly in point of formality, or usage between nations at peace with each other; yet it can never make that Prince the aggreffor, who is obliged through necessity to defend himself and his dominions, against one, that in time of peace invades and destroys his property, and feizes, imprisons, and murders his subjects; as the French had done, with impunity, for feveral years in America.

As the success of this war seems to depend chiefly on a naval force, it will be proper to give the following list of the royal navy of Great Britain, at the time it was declared.

FIRST RATES.

900 Men, 100 Guns.

R Oyal Ann
Britannia
Royal George
Royal Sovereign

SECOND RATES.
750 Men, 90 Guns.
Blenheim
Duke

Royal William

Saint George Namur Prince Ramillies Princess Royal Union

List of the royal navy of Great Britain, 1756.

THIRD RATES.

600 Men, 80 Guns. Barfleur

Boyne Brings

Princess Carolina Cambridge

#### THE GENERAL HISTORY OF 410

A. D. 1756.

Cambridge Cornwall Prince George Marlborough Neptune Newark Norfolk Ruffel

600 Men, 74 Guns. Culloden . Invincible

> Monarque Terrible Torbay

Fougueux

600 Men, 70 Guns.

Bedford Berwick Buckingham Burford Captain Chichester Dorsetshire Edinburgh Elizabeth Effex Prince Frederick

Grafton

Hampton-Court

Kent Lenox Monmouth Naffau Northumberland

Royal Oak Ortord Princessa

Revenge

Stirling-Castle Suffolk Somerfet **V**anguard Yarmouth Swiftfure Magnanime

600 Men, 66 Guns. Princess Amelia `Cumberland Devonshire

600 Men, 64 Guns.

**Ipfwich** Intrepide Trident

Lancaster

FOURTH RATES.

400 Men, 60 Guns.

Saint Alban's Anfon Augusta Canterbury Defiance Dragon

Dreadnought Dunkirk Eagle Exeter Greenwich

Jersey Kingston Lion Medway

Princess Louisa Princess Mary. Prince of Orange

Montague

#### THE LATE WAR.

411

Montague
Nottingham
Pembroke
Plymouth
Rupert
Rippon
Strafford
Sunderland
Superbe
Tilbury
Tyger

Vigilant
Windfor
Weymouth
Worcester
York

300 Men, 50 Guns.

Advice
Affistance
Antelope
Briftol
Centurion
Chatham
Colchester
Chester
Deptford
Falkland
Falmouth
Gloucester

Gloucester Guernsey Hampshire Harwich

Ifis

Litchfield Leopard Newcastle

Nonfuch Norwich Oxford Portland Preston

Preston Panther Ruby Rochester Salisbury

Severn Sutherland Tavistock Winchester

FIFTH RATES.

250 Men, 44 Guns.

Adventure America Anglefea Ambufcade Chefterfield Crown Diamond Dover Eltham

Prince Edward
Expedition
Enterprize
Gosport

Glory
Prince Henry
Humber
Hastings
Hector
Jason
Kinsale

Launceston
Ludlow-Castle

Lark Liverpool A. D. 1756.

Looe

# THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

412

Looe
Lynn
Mary Galley
Pearl
Penzance
Pool
Rainbow
Roebuck
Romney
Saphire
South Sea Caftle
Thetis
Torrington
Woolwich

SIXTH RATES.
130 Men, 20 and 24 Guns.
Amazon

Amazon
Alderney
Aldborough
Arundel
Bellona
Biddiford
Bofton
Bridgewater
Blandford
Centaur
Deal Caftle
Durfley Galley
Dolphin
Experiment
Flamborough
Fowe

Fox Gibraltar Greyhound Garland

Glafgow Grand Turk

Hinde

Inverness
Kennington
Leostoffe
Lively
Lys
Lyme
Margate
Mercury
Mermaid
Nightingale
Phænix
Portmahon
Queenborough

Renown Ranger Rofe Rye Sea-Horfe Shoreham Squirrel Seaford

Sheernefs
Syren
Sphinx
Surprize
Succefs
Scarborough
Solebay
Tartar

Tartar Triton Unicorn Winchelfea Wager Royal Caroline

BOMBS.
Firedrake
Furnace
Granado

SLOOPS.

A. D. 1756.

SLOOPS. Albany Badger Baltimore Cruizer Dispatch Falcon Ferret Fly Fortune Grampus Happy

Scorpion Shark Speedwell Swallow Swan Swift Trial Viper Vulture Wafp Weazle Wolf

Hazard Hornet Hound Tamaica Kingfisher Otter

YACHTS. Catherine Charlotte Dorfet **Fubbs** Mary

Peregrine Porcupine Ranger

Peggy

William and Mary Bolton Chatham

Raven Saltash Savage

Drake Portsmouth Queenborough.

\*\*\* There were also a number of fire-ships, hoys, transports, smacks, lighters and hulks.

Besides these ships of war, his Majesty ordered Letters of that a commission should be prepared to empower mark granted. the lords commissioners of the admiralty to grant letters of marque, or commissions to privateers, for feizing ships and goods belonging to the French King and his subjects, or others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories or dominions, and fuch other ships and goods, as are or shall be liable

A. D. to confifcation, pursuant to the respective treaties between his Majesty and other Princes, States and Potentates.

Encouragement for privateers. There was also a proclamation issued by his Majesty for the encouragement of privateers, and for regulating prizes, &c. by which the sole interest in, and property of, every ship and cargo, was given to the flag-officers, commanders and other officers, seamen, mariners and soldiers on board his Majesty's ships, from and after the 17th of May 1756, during the continuance of the war with France: and further allowing to them, and to privateers, the sum of sive pounds for every man alive at the beginning of the engagement, on board of any ship taken, sunk, burnt, or otherwise destroyed.

Claufe relating to neutral ships.

By the British declaration of war it is manifest that our court was determined to feize and condemn, as good and lawful prize, any ship or vessel, of what nation foever, that should be found transporting or carrying either foldiers, arms, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations or countries of the French King: accordingly we find that his Majesty's ships of war kept an immediate look out for Dutch ships, and brought a number of them into the Downs, in the beginning of June, from off the coast and ports of France; and one into Portfmouth; some of which were laden with masts and yards, from Riga for Brest; of which the Dutch complained as a hardship: and the magistrates of Rotterdam proceeded so far as to lay a tax, equal to four guineas a week, upon every English

English ship that should take in lading at that port; and even in a manner prohibited our ships taking goods in there at all. But of this affair more hereafter, when, in the course of this work, we shall have occasion to shew the iniquitous practices of the Dutch carriers for the French, and to confute their claim of right by treaties, to fuch a trade and navigation, in a state of strict neutrality.

These were measures perfectly agreeable to the National inclinations of the people; yet England never discontent. wore a more melancholy aspect. The loss of Minorca raifed a clamour not only against Byng, but against the ministry, in every corner of the nation; fo much as to address his Majesty, from every quarter, in the strongest terms, to remove the ministers of state; and to change those meafures which had brought fuch a difgrace upon Great Britain, and exposed us to derision and ruin.

The voice of the nation was collected, as it The voice were, and handed up to the citizens of London; of the naamongst whom every art was tried, to diffuade way of petition to the them from that part, which they had always taken, city of in any public calamity, or danger, to lay the national grievances before the throne, and to fue for redress. "In the time of the most alarming " circumstances, the whole kingdom, said the " common voice of the people, flies to the an-

" cient and famous city of London for fafety:

" upon her it casts her eyes for deliverance: to

" her it will impute its destruction, if it should

" become (which heaven forbid!) a province to

46 France.

# THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1756.

416

" France. The city of London is still able to " fave three kingdoms; to fave millions and mil-" lions from French tyranny and popish superstic tion. O let not the Syren luxury, let not a " mean felfish spirit, the bane of every virtuous " action, lull you into indifference! consider po-66 sterity, and hand down to them that freedom and happiness, which were delivered to you, " for that purpose, by your forefathers. Providence often fends great evils upon nations to " rouze them from a state of indifference and in-" activity, and thereby to fave them from utter " destruction. If this has no effect, a total disso-" lution and ruin must follow: this has always " been the case under every government. Angels as well as men are witnesses, ye honourable ci-66 tizens, that ye are now publicly told this im-" portant truth: angels and men will bear wit-" ness against you, if you do not regard it. Long " has it possessed your minds, that England has " an invincible fleet, that we are entirely fecure " in these wooden walls; but the experience of " late affairs has shewn, that without some confi-"derable amendments, you trust in that, which " may fail you. " Deceive not yourselves by thinking (though

"may fail you.
"Deceive not yourselves by thinking (though
"he deserves your highest resentment) that one
"man only is faulty; but, remember, and let it
"ftrike deep on your minds, that a whole council
"of war approved of your fleet's flying before the
"enemy, inferior in number and strength; —Think
"not yourselves safe, because you surpass in num-

" ber of ships; for if you are not equal in cou-

A. D. 1756.

ec It

"rage, skill, and conduct, you will soon become inferior in number, or your number will be of no service. The divine Providence has, persisted the shameful disgrace, which has befallen us, to awaken you from a false security. Hear, O citizens, the divine voice calling to you from your seet sleeing before the enemy: a sight never beheld before! awake, or you, and we all, are undone.

"Our wars of late years having been chiefly " on the continent, and our fleets almost excluded " from any share in them; it has been a received "opinion, that we were possessed of an immen-" furable fuperiority over our dangerous rival " upon the fea, which nature has bestowed upon "this island for our fecurity: a bulwark in which "all our fafety consists. But now the time is come, that our despised rival in this element, "defies us upon it; and strives, as much as we " ourselves have done, to confine the contest for "dominion and trade to a fea-war. Which fide "has shewn superior conduct, skill and courage, "the annals of the times will tell. But this is or plainly evident, that unless some considerable reformation; unless some new laws and regulations "are made; unless posts of command are made "the rewards of merit only; unless an higher " fense of honour, love and glory be lighted up; " unless an improvement in knowledge be made "the study of our navy, we shall in a few years " become the fcorn of our enemies, and must live "in perpetual dread of them."

Ee

418

A. D. 1756.

"It is, then, your duty, O citizens! as the me-" tropolis of the kingdom, to have your eyes open " to these plain truths: to unite in one body (call-

ing on the other chief cities, &c. in the king-

"dom to do the fame) and address our sovereign

" to inquire into the causes of our miscarriages: " to exert our naval and natural strength; and to

" displace and punish bad ministers and officers."

Address to of London.

The city of London, accordingly, in common the King by the city council affembled, presented their humble addrefs to his Majesty, "humbly begging leave to approach his facred person, and with hearts full of gratitude for his Majesty's paternal care of the true interest of his people, to express their forrow and apprehensions, from the disquietudes, which the late losses and disappointments must have created in his royal mind." Then they fignified their fears, "That the lofs of the important fortress of St. Philip, and island of Minorca, (posfessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great Britain) without any attempt, by timely and effectual fuccours, to prevent or defeat an attack, after such early notice d of the enemy's intentions, and when his Majesty's navy was so evidently superior to theirs, would be an indelible reproach on the honour of the British nation. They expressed their apprehensions for the great danger his Majesty's possessions in America were in, by the mismanagement and delays, which had attended the defence

o On the 20th day of August.

1756:

of those invaluable colonies, the object of the prefent war, and the principal fource of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms. They begged permission to lament the want of a constitutional and well-regulated militia, which they accounted to be the most natural and certain defence; under Providence, of his Majesty's sacred person and government, against all invaders whatsoever; because thereby his fleets and armies might be more fecurely employed abroad, to the annoyance of the enemy; assuring him, that they were ready and willing, whenever called upon by his Majesty; to shed the last drop of their blood in his service: They fignified their hopes, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be enquired into and punished: that his Majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his fubjects in their rights and possessions, might be faithfully and vigoroully carried into execution; and, that the large supplies, so necessarily called for, and fo chearfully granted, might be religioufly applied to the defence of these kingdoms and colonies; and to their commerce; and to the distressing of our inveterate and perfidious enemies; as the only fure means of obtaining a lasting and honourable peace: concluding with the utmost fincerity of heart, to assure his Majesty, that his loyal city of London would, at all times, readily and chearfully contribute to whatever might be necessary for the defence of his Majesty. and his illustrious family, and towards the attainment of these great and desirable ends." To which

A. D. 1756. his Majesty answered, That his concern for the lofs of Minorca was great and fincere: that he would maintain the honour of the nation and the commerce of his subjects with the utmost care and vigilance: That nothing should be wanting, on his part, towards carrying on the war with vigour, in order to a fafe and honourable peace, and for recovering and fecuring the possessions and rights of his crown: and that he would not fail to do justice upon any persons, who might have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to enforce obedience and discipline in his fleets and armies, and to support the authority and respect due to his government.

Infirucreprefentacity of London.

The citizens did also instruct their representatives tions to the in parliament, " calling upon them most earnestly tives of the to exert their utmost ability towards procuring a ftrict and impartial parliamentary enquiry into the causes of so many late national calamities. An almost total neglect of our important fortresses in the Mediterranean, of fuch inestimable 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 that filled them with amazement and concern. But when they reflected on the great preparations for an embarkation of troops and artillery, and the equipment of a powerful fleet publickly known to be carried on at Toulon, whose neighbourhood to Minorca was fufficiently alarming, they could not impute

impute those fatal events to neglect alone; and therefore conjured them 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, fire-ship, hospital-ship, transport, or troops beyond their ordinary compliment? and this at a time when the British naval force was confessedly Superior to the enemy's. As the cruelties suffered and loss suffained by their fellow-subjects in North America, had long called for redrefs; whilft the mismanagement in the attempts for their support, and the untimely and unequal fuccours fent to their relief, have only ferved to render the British name contemptible; they therefore required them, to use their utmost endeavours for detecting all those, who by treachery or misconduct, have contributed to those great distresses. They added their pressing request, that they would use their earliest endeavours to establish a well-regulated and conflitutional militia, as the most honourable defence of the crown, and the most consistent with the rights of the people: And this, they faid, they were more anxious to recommend to their particular care and attention, as every apprehension of danger has furnished a reason for increasing the number of regular forces, and for the introduction of foreign mercenaries; the expence of which is insupportable: trusting that they would pursue this measure before they should consent to the grant of supplies; experience having convinced shem, that their laudable endeayours afterwards

A. D. 1756.

might prove abortive. They hinted at fome violation of the bill of rights, by a fuspension or interruption of the ordinary form of justice in favour of the foreign troops, then in England; and defired that they would endeavour to bring to justice the advisers and instruments of such an insult offered to our laws. They intreated them, at all events, to oppose the continuance of any foreign troops within the kingdom; a circumstance, which would ever be confidered as a reproach to the loyalty, courage and ability of this nation. They expressed their hopes, that they would endeavour to limit the number of placemen and penfioners, that had of late fo remarkably increased; and at a proper feason to restore triennial parliaments; as they conceived it to be the only means to obtain a free representative of the people. The immense sums fo chearfully paid, when almost every measure reflects national difgrace, they faid, called upon them strictly to enquire into their application; and they expressed their dependance upon their wisdom and integrity to prevent all unnatural connections on the continent, in order to preferve the independency of these kingdoms."

Followed by all parts tion.

This example was fpeedily and strongly copied of the na- by the most respectable parts of the nation; all of them breathing a true patriotic and loyal spirit, and fome of them fo truly British, that it would be doing injustice both to those patricts and to posterity, should we pass them over in silence.

Southwark's ad drefs.

The borough of Southwark, after affurances of loyalty and readiness to support his Majesty, &c.

begged

begged permission "to express their deep forrow and amazement at the loss of Minorca, at a time "when our naval power fo eminently exceeded "that of our enemies, and the destination of theirs " had been fo long apparent. But, they added, " ftedfast in our allegiance, unalterable in our loy-" alty, unanimous in the defence of your Majesty's " facred person and government, and animated with " a just sense of your Majesty's martial virtues, if " fupported by a well-regulated militia, we fear not "the vain threats of foreign invaders, and most "most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, "with the greatest fincerity, that we will chear-"fully devote the utmost exertion of our abilities " to crush all impious attempts, either foreign or "domestic, to subvert our present happy constitu-"tion; and also to support and invigorate those " measures, which your Majesty's great wisdom " shall dictate, in conducting the scenes of this "most necessary and important war, and for bring-"ing to justice those, however dignified and ex-"alted, who by their bad counsel, or misconduct, " have occasioned this our present and ignoble

A. D. 1756.

The county-palatine of Chester addressed his Majesty in these terms.

"diftressful fituation."

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Address of fubjects, the High-Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentle-the county of Chefter. men and Freeholders of the county-palatine of Chefter, most humbly beg leave, at this very extraordinary juncture, to address your facred person E e 4 with

with hearts firmly attached to the preservation of your Majesty's government, and the liberties of our country: which we apprehend to be so closely connected, that they must mutually depend on the existence of each other.

Conscious, therefore, of your Majesty's wonted justice and paternal affection for your people, we dutifully hope, that your Majesty will kindly and duly consider the present unhappy situation of these once slourishing kingdoms.

We are too apprehensive, from many alarming circumstances, that the supplies, so chearfully and liberally given, for the support of your Majesty's British dominions, have been fatally misapplied.

We reflect, with the utmost concern and abhorrence, that our fleets and armies have been rendered ineffectual by ignorance, cowardice, or treachery: That our American plantations, by which our trade principally flourishes, are shamefully torn from us, notwithstanding the large sums allowed for their defence: And that Minorca, once gloriously acquired, and since, no less valiantly defended; an island so essential to our commerce, and a jewel, so conspicuous in your Majesty's crown, has been unaccountably abandoned, to the perpetual disgrace of this nation and your Majesty's glory, to our persidious enemy; an enemy we have hitherto never feared, but have often humbled.

Our concern naturally increases, when we reflect farther, that the taxes are grievous, the national debt immense; that our trade daily lessens, though

they

they multiply; by which, we fear, we may be too foon disabled from raising the necessary supplies for the support of your Majesty's and our country's rights.

We behold also, with the deepest forrow, foreign troops unavailingly imported, and expensively maintained within this kingdom, while your Majesty's faithful subjects are unarmed and rejected; who, innately brave, and cordially interested, would strenuously defend your sacred Majesty, and their

now endangered country.

These melancholy reflections fill us with fear and amazement; and our allegiance to your Majesty, and love of our native country, once the arbitress of Europe, induce us to unbosom our thoughts to your royal consideration; not doubting redress of our grievances from a King, who loves to be esteemed the father of his people.

Permit us, therefore, most humbly to represent to your Majesty the absolute necessity of having our natural guards, a well-regulated militia, upon the footing of the English constitution: and we likewise most humbly hope, from your Majesty's known justice and goodness, that you will be pleased to direct such a speedy and strict enquiry into the conduct of all those, who, when it was in their power, did not prevent our losses; but have conduced, or conspired, to overwhelm this nation, and your Majesty's crown, with reproach and dishonour; that they may receive their due punishment, which they so justly deserve."

A. D. 1756.

Instruccounty of York,

In the instructions from the gentry, clergy and freeholders of the county of York, are the following remarkable paffages. "We most earnestly tions of the " recommend to you a diligent attendance on " parliament, and an active ferutiny into all those " dire and fatal springs of our military disasters " and perplexed negotiations, which have brought "fuch indignity and burden upon these abused " realms.

> "The extremity long predicted feems now to "advance with most hasty strides. It is, alas! " a truth, which every voice authenticates; and, therefore, your constituents conjure that you " will be the faithful and honest counsellors of so royalty, and be no longer amused with the " futile projects and venal speeches of felf defign-"ing men, who, in proportion as they promife " and dispense, only attempt to enslave, and be-" come the prodigal spendthrists of our patrimo-" nies and acquirements.

> "That the welfare of this country may not be " totally unhinged, either through our crimes, or "the abuse of secondary means, we hope, that "you will not only endeavour to introduce a " change of men, but of morals and measures; ff that the rank enormities, which deluge this land, " may not be laid to the charge and example of "its magistrates and senators: That venality and gaming, the bane of business and the ruin of "integrity, may, in particular, no longer make " their proselytes to servile dependence, or press

ff into their fervice advocates for foreign and perff nicious fystems.

"We farther lament, for the fake of ourselves, and the illustrious family on the throne, that when, through the fate of human nature, his most gracious Majesty shall be demanded to other glory, that the heir apparent must succeed to so disadvantageous a prospect: We mean, to fo immense a debt, as makes each proprietor tremble and each neuter sad.

"Let it then be your constant endeavours, by all equitable means, to make this burden light, and the yoke easy: And, if a continent must be fupplied, if our spoils must be shared, let America partake, rather than ungrateful Germany, the sepulchre of British interest.

"It is with no little concern we find those to be the open tenets now, which formerly were, with some modesty and address, concealed. But we apprehend, and it is hoped you will also conceive it, that where the interest of two estates, centering in the same person, interfere, that the lesser should give way, and be subservient to the greater. This is the manifest rule of right, the most usual and natural expectation.

"This loyal and martial country, the leader in a late season of danger, the first in rank for opulence, extent, and natural advantages, presumes farther to advise, that you will oppose (unless exigencies change,) all future schemes of receiving foreign mercenaries into this land;

" and

A. D.

" and that a conflitutional militia, with our own troops, may supply the occasions, for which aliens were imported; and that we may have no further cause to fear and say, with Mattast thias, God forbid that we should for sake the law and the ordinances."

Of Somerfetshire.

The constituents of the knights of the shire of the county of Somerset applied to their representatives with the like zeal, and amongst other particulars, referred them to the perfidy of France, and the misconduct of the British ministry, ever since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: "How unhappy, " fay they, must it make every honest and generous 66 Briton, to find, that notwithstanding the treaty " of Aix-la-Chapelle, our trade, rights, and our " most invaluable privileges are not effectually se-66 cured to us? for no fooner were we pleafing our-" felves with the thoughts of peace and tranquilif lity, but we were alarmed with the augmenta-"tion of the naval force of our enemies, and our so colonies in America were claimed, encroached upon, and hostilely invaded; and all this per-" mitted without the least inquiry made, or re-" fentment shewn, by those who had the conduct " of our public affairs. -- A supineness unaccountable " and unparalleled!"

Of the city of Bristol.

In the instructions from Bristol, the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and other principal inhabitants observe, that "there is nothing so reason-"able, or so just, as the desire, universally expressed by the nation, that a clear and full account may be obtained, of the immense supplies "given

"given by their representatives in, and raised upon the people, since the last sessions of parliament. The motives on which, and the ends for which, those vast sums, in our present circumstances especially, were so readily voted, and fo chearfully paid, were sufficiently divulged; and therefore the manner in which they have been applied, ought to be no secret. The Arcana Imperii are well suited to despotic governments, but are inconsistent with, and dangerous to, the liberties of a free people. Besides, it is no way reconcileable to the nature of our constitution, which is sounded on reason and equity, 
the liberty of the subjects persons, and the se-

" curity of their properties. "We find some additional reasons to strengthen "the people's claim, which we could wish, though "warm friends to it, that they had rather wanted. "These additional reasons consist in disappoint-"ments and losses. In reference to the former, " we had felt fomething of them before, and expe-" rienced them abundantly in the last war; witness "our attack on Carthagena, our invasion of Cuba; "our descent upon Bretagne, and many other's. " However, we must allow our present disappoint-"ment to be of quite a new species, and yet much " more galling and provoking than all the rest put "together.-For, notwithstanding all our liberal " grants, and the sanguine known expectations of "those who gave, at least of those who paid them,-" we have attempted nothing.

"Our losses are to the full as wonderful, and

A. D. 1756. "rather more affecting: In the West Indies out enemy has a confessed superiority, which has been augmented by the capture of almost the single ship of force we had then cruizing in those seas. In North America our colonies have been ransacked for many months, by the most barbarous nations, almost without defence. We have been deprived of Minorca in a manner; which does as little honour to the French as to us. Our navy has been disgraced in the Mediterranean. If this, instead of a public, were a private case, on such suggestions as these, a court of equity would, beyond a question, decree an account."

Of the county of Essex.

The county of Essex, in their representation of the grievances on this occasion, observe, That "flanding armies and foreign troops have " not heretofore been thought the proper means "to repel an invasion: They are grievously bur-"denfome to the subject, always dangerous to the " constitution, and in every respect disagreeable to "the nation, as well as every way inadequate to " the real fervice against our enemies, without the " assistance of a greater part of our fleet, than " ought to be confined for that purpose. " fore, when a truly loyal, brave, and generous be people, from every quarter, ardently defire that " arms may be put into their hands for the de-" fence of themselves, their families, their King "and their country, against the encroachments " and attacks of a perfidious and dangerous ene-"my, it was hoped, that they would do all in " their their power to prevent the denial of so natural A.D. 1756.

" a right to a free people.

They the more earnestly requested their as-" fiduity in promoting a constitutional militia for these good purposes, from a thorough conviction "that it would have as certain a tendency towards "the fecuring the crown to his Majesty and his

" heirs, as the preserving the liberties and proper-" ties of the subjects."

In these acts of the people, it is clear that they Remarks were ready to support his Majesty in the just and on these necessary war he had been forced into by the ob- &c. flinacy, perfidy and hostilities of France, after very long and fruitless negociations and forbearance: even almost to the irreparable injury of our national interest: But that they were discontented with, and diffident of the ministry, and unwilling to trust the national money, or that the conduct of the war should be committed to them, who had given such umbrage for suspicion of their abilities and neglect in the fervice of their country: who, they prayed, might be removed out of the administration: whose measures they requested might be ferutinized: and that the foreign forces should be fent home; a national militia established, and the authors of our late miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

His Majesty, ever attentive to his faithful subjects, had already pledged his royal word for a ftrict application of the supplies, granted in the last session of parliament; and now, he not only promifed to redrefs their grievances and com-

plaints,

## THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

' A. D. plaints, but commanded an immediate examina-1756. tion into the causes of the loss of Minorca: and, as we shall find, proceeded to satisfy them in every other part of their petitions.

Admiral Byng ar-

432

Admiral Byng and the other state prisoners arrived on the third of July, at Portsmouth. Where the faid admiral was immediately put under arrest, and escorted some time after from thence to an appartment in Greenwich-Hospital; there to be kept close prisoner to prepare for his trial: which was delayed by the absence of many evidences, in' the Mediterranean, required both in his favourand against him. Admiral West and Lieutenant-General Fowke

Admiral don.

West, &c. were ordered up to London. Where the admiral was graciously received by his Majesty; but Lieu-Lieut.Gen, tenant-General Fowke was ordered to take his trial, for disobeying his Majesty's orders transmitted to him from the fecretary of war, relating to the embarkation of a battalion of troops to be fent by Mr. Byng to reinforce Fort St. Philip.

Fowke to be tried.

The court-martial commissioned to try Lieute-His court-nant-General Fowke, confifted of two Generals, martial. eleven Lieutenant-Generals, and three Major-Ge-The Judge-Advocate read the letters,

which

e Gen. Sir Robert Rich, president-Gen. Sir J. Ligonier-Lieut. Gen. Hawley-Lieut. Gen. Lord Cadogan-Lieut. Gen, Guife-Lieut. Gen. Onflow-Lieut. Gen. Pulteney-Lieut, Gen. Hufke-Lieut, Gen. Campbell-Lieut, Gen. Lord de la War-Lieut. Gen. Charles Duke of Marlborough-Lieut. Gen. Wolfe-Lieut. Gen. Cholmondeley-Major Gen. Lascelles-Major Gen. Bockland-Major Gen. Lord George Beauclerk.

which you have at the bottom of the page f, and were faid to contain the instructions broken, or

A. D.

To Lieutenant General Fowke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's garrison of Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, March 21, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison Lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in case you shall apprehend, that the French threaten to make any attempt upon his Majesty's island of Minorca, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison, equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant and major, such lieutenant and major to be the eldest in your garrison, to be put on board the sleet for the relief of Minorca, at the disposition of the admiral.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

BARRINGTON.

To Lieutenant General Fowke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief at Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, March 28, 1756.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, in case you shall apprehend, that the French threaten an attempt upon Minorca, that you make a detachment from the troops in your garrison, equal to a battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet at the disposition of the admiral; such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison.

BARRINGTON.

To Lieutenant General Fowke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majessy's garrison in Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, April 1, 1756.

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

BARRINGTON.

VOL. I.

Ff

not

A. D. 1756.

not fulfilled by Lieutenant-General Fowke, as governor of Gibraltar. To this accusation the prifoner delivered a written answer by way of defence; and he desired that the Judge-Advocate might read it, and that he might be allowed to ask such questions, as should necessarily arise from the nature of the case.

The defence fet forth, "that he had received those three letters together, by the same hand; and must therefore take them together:" that his orders were confused at least, if not contradictory: "that if they were confused, then he could not know when he had executed them; and if they were contradictory, they could not be executed at all."

Here the Secretary of War being asked several questions by the prisoner, he candidly acknowledged, that he apprehended the second letter superseded the first; that he ought to have said in his second letter, notwithstanding my former orders: and that the reason for his incorrectness was his little experience, having been only about four months in that office.

Then the judge proceeded with the written defence, in which the defendant faid, "My orders being confused and contradictory, I called a council of war, not to deliberate whether I should obey my orders, or not, but only to take their sense, what was the meaning of them."

Mr. Fowke here, and frequently, urged, that his orders were not absolute, but discretionary; and that the execution of them was left to his

and Mr. Byng's discretion and judgment; for which he particularly referred to a letter from the Secretary at War to the Commander in Chief at Gibraltar, which throughout supposes a discretionary power in the execution of the former orders <sup>8</sup>.

He proceeded to defend the measure itself, even if the orders had not been inconfistent and contradictory. "The whole number, faid he, which I had then in garrison was but 2,700 men. I had spared to Mr. Edgcumbe's ships 230, which with 40 of my men; left by him in St. Philip's, made 270: the ordinary duty of the garrison required, in workmen and guards, eight hundred men, fo that I had then only 130 men more than three reliefs. If I had made the detachment of a battalion, and put it on board the fleet, I should not then have had much more than two reliefs, and this at a time, when I believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reasons, which I don't think myself at liberty to mention "

The lieutenant-general having explained himfelf in this particular, returned to exculpate him-

For in the fecretary's letter it was faid, "if that order has not been complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of 700 men out of your own regiment and Guise's, and also another detachment out of Poultney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But if that order has been complied with, then you are to make only one more detachment of 700 men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, and to fend it to Mahon."

felf

### THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D.

436

felf upon the doubtfulness of his orders: and adding, that he knew very well that his duty did not allow him to hold a council of war, to deliberate upon the obeying of the orders; and that he had fummoned that council only to affift him in the understanding of them, the Judge-Advocate rested the whole proof upon this concession, and observing that his own letter, and the minutes of the faid council plainly implied, that they had no doubt at all about their meaning, the court found him guilty of the charge, and adjudged that he should be suspended for the space of one year h. His Majefty did not only confirm this fentence, but difmissed him from his service. To which he was never restored; but was, not long after, favoured, as we are informed, with a handsome pension.

Arts made use of to injure Admiral Byng.

In the mean time every thing feemed to inflame the public against Mr. Byng. His character was artfully delivered over to the populace, to gratify upon it the worst pa ons, that the worst artifices and instruments could raise. There was not a species of libelling in print, in verse, or in prose, that was not exhausted to render him odious: the very ghost of his honourable father was raised, advising him to lay violent hands on himself—Last-dying speeches and confessions were prepared in his name—Mock-executions were spirited up,

h When the question was put, to quit or suspend for a year, the voices were equal: but the president being, in such cases, vested with the cashing vote, he gave it against the prisoner.

to make the way easy for a real one-These sanguinary discourses and practices pointed out the prisoner to be the stricken-deer, which all the dependants and followers of his profecutors were to unite in goring out of the herd, and to represent him to be the fole cause of the disgrace and loss fustained by this nation in the Mediterranean.

A. D. 1756.

A letter was published, and said to be dated at Letters to Gibraltar 24th of June, in which it was affirmed, his preju-Mr. Byng might have feveral times fent letters, and whatever he pleased into Minorca, but that he had never attempted it: that private fignals had been appointed, by which the fleet and garrison might have understood each other; but that the admiral, when in fight, did not return one fignal. That he shewed no inclination, in any one instance, of coming near the object he had to relieve: that every thing shewed, the enemy knew their man; and the plan of his operations: that he had formed his own division with the strongest ships in the fleet, but would not fuffer one of them to affift the wing that was engaged: that he fired fix barrels of powder, but a great deal of it was in fignals to hinder others from doing their duty: and he kept at so great distance from the enemy, that the balls directed against the French fell short of their ships 500 yards at least.

Another was dated from the same port on the 4th of July, under the description of a sailor, who delivered himself thus: "on the 20th of May, "it was in our power to finish the war, and make "ourselves gentlemen: but the Lord knows if ec We

A. D. 1756.

" we ever shall have the chance again. We en-" gaged and disabled the French admiral, a brave " 80 gun ship; which fell to our lot in the line; "and we should certainly have made her our " prize, if we had been permitted so to do. We "broke our line to run through the French and "pick her up, but were immediately ordered to "keep our station. We set her on fire twice on "the quarter; likewise drove two ports abast into one; besides carrying away her maintop-sail " yard, and her top-fail sheets fore and aft, and "her fails also; so that she could not escape at " any rate, if we only had the liberty to have " gone after her. And if she had struck, being "the chief, no doubt but the rest would have folco lowed her example; for if feven fail beat off "twelve, what must our thirteen have done, if " they had all played their part."

Hanged and burnt in effigy.

There was fearce a village in the nation, but dressed up a man of straw, and committed him to the gallows and to the slames, under the execrated name of one, that had betrayed his country. London and its environs exhibited many of these scenes. The populace at Greenwich were permitted to insult the prisoner in the most outrageous manner, by executing him in essign even before the windows of the quarter, in which he was confined. And, what is most unaccountable, a Byng, as the children were taught to call it, with indignation, was, at an extraordinary expence, brought by day-light upon Tower-hill, dressed in the regimentals of an admiral escorted

by a file of mercenary wretches hired for that purpose, with muskets on their shoulders; and, after parading feveral times round that area, with drums beating, under the walls of the Tower of London, he was hanged upon a gallows, there erected, twenty feet high; cut down and burnt in the fight of 10,000 people, with strong imprecations, to the prejudice of his future defence.

It is not collected only from the principal To whom to be afactors at the popular bonfires and incendiary exe-cribed. cutions, how to form an idea of the fecret springs of fuch actions, promoted and conducted chiefly by the understrappers of great men, and inferior officers under the crown: but from the correspondence between Admiral Byng and the Admiralty, in which, during his confinement, he could His come not forbear complaining of being put under an Plaints. arrest, after an unprecedented manner, without any reason affigned, which every criminal has a right to be acquainted with i: of being treated with greater feverity and stricter confinement, than other officers; who, when their conduct was doubted of, were ordered to prepare for their trials, and were indulged with leave to regulate their affairs on shore, at large k: that his conduct had been placed in England, before his arrival, in an odious light by the industry of some, as yet invisible persons, who were indefatigable in pro-

i See Byng's letter, dated Antelope, Spithead, July 27, 1756.

k See ditto, 30th of July 1756.

A. D. 1756.

pagating falshoods to his dishonour 1. Being told of the tenderness and indulgence shewn to him by the Lords of the Admiralty, this unhappy prifoner could not contain himself. "What, says " he with aftonishment, can being kept moving " backward and forward, from one place of con-"finement to another, for near three weeks after "my arrival in England, fo as to make it im-" possible for me to prepare any thing relating to "my defence, be called by either of these names? "or, can my close confinement at Greenwich, "without fuffering even my menial fervants to " remain in the house after dark, be called so? "And I think I have a right to complain of that " cruel countenance and belief, which feems to " be given to a groundless report m of my having 66 attempted to make my escape, and the rigid

<sup>1</sup> See Byng's letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated Greenwich, September 6, 1756.

m This was the shameless forgery of his attempting to make his escape in his sister's cloaths, an invention calculated by somebody to countenance more appearance of guilt, and authenticated to the public by an order for additional bolts and bars, additional guards of soldiers; and, as if all were not sufficient, a boatswain and twelve men of the hospital, by way of supplement, were appointed to watch in the court below. Then an alarm was given, that four men were seen at his window, in the upper story, and in the middle of the night; but they could not be found, though strict search was made by the officer on duty; nor could they find any trace of such an attempt, yet this siction was propagated for an infallible truth, by an addition of a number of smiths and bricklayers to wall up the doors (except one) to bar up all the windows, and the very shimnies.

1756.

" orders given in consequence of it, as if intended to confirm it; a report so injurious to me, and " fo absolutely without foundation .- And I canon not here avoid observing, that all charge of " keeping me in custody seems to be taken from "the marshal, and committed to the governor of "the hospital, who seems diligent in distinguish-" ing himself in the service of his country, by " imposing upon me all the indignities and incon-" veniences, that power can enable him to do; " being-restrained and distressed by all the 46 methods power can impose, and personally di-" flurbed day and night, with unparallelled treat-" ment and unprecedented hardships and incon-" veniences "." And being denied the right of fending for an additional number of witnesses, he writes °, " My case is very sufficiently hard, if in-" dulged with every legal advantage: for I have " too much reason to believe, that my prosecution " is carried on by persons too powerful for me to " contend against, whose influence must add great weight to their accusations against me."

After the whole art of political necromancy had been exhausted, in conjuring up alarming spectres

a See Byng's letter to the secretary of the admiralty, dated September the 14th, 1756.

<sup>•</sup> Do. October the 17th, 1756. N. B. When he was brought to Greenwich hospital; though he was an admiral, the son of a peer, and a member of parliament, he was hoisted up to the top of the hospital, into an apartment, where people were in bed, after midnight, and was obliged to lay himself down on the floor, with his portmanteau for a pillow, for refreshment, the remainder of the night.

A. D. 1756. Ordered for trial. of cowardice, treachery and treason, and the witnesses were arrived from the Streights, the admiral was ordered to prepare for his trial; in which his fate seems at last, to be determined upon a disputable point of discipline only, or by a law quibble, upon the words of the 12th article of the statute 22 Geo. II. But this will best appear from the proceedings of the court martial.

Whereand by whom.

The place appointed for this trial was on board his Majesty's ship the St. George, in Portsmouth harbour, and the court was composed of four admirals and nine captains. They sat one-and-thirty days, Sundays excepted q, examining witnesses, and hearing the prisoner's defence; which he made in the following words, or to that effect:

#### GENTLEMEN,

Admiral Byng's defence.

"HE articles of the charge exhibited against
me, are of such a nature, that every thing
which can be supposed interesting to a man, is
concerned in the event of this cause. My character, my property, and even my life are at

" ftake; and I should indeed have great reason

r Thomas Smith, Efq; vice admiral of the red, president — Francis Holburne, Esq; rear admiral of the red—Harry Norris, Esq; rear admiral of the white—Thomas Brodrick, Esq; rear admiral of the blue—Captain Charles Holmes—Captain William Boys—Captain John Simcoe—Captain John Bentley—Captain Peter Dennis—Captain Francis Geary—Captain John Moore—Captain James Douglass—The Honourable Captain Augustus Keppel.

9 From the 28th of December 1756, to the 27th of January

of to



The Honble JOHN BYNG Efq. Admiral of the Blue.



to be alarmed, were not I conscious of my innocence, and fully persuaded of the justice and equity of the court. A. D. 1756.

"It is no new thing, gentlemen, to be ac-" cused: court martials have of late, been very " frequent. I have been a long time under the " difagreeable fituation of a confined prisoner, of " a man accused, and consequently condemned " by many. No means, no artifice bas been omitted by my enemies, to injure my reputation. However, "I will not take up your time with a detail of "these matters, but beg leave to observe, that "the nature of a sea service is complicated, deor pending on fo many circumstances, and subject to fuch variety of accidents, that for a com-" mander even of the greatest capacity, to pro-"vide against all contingencies, is impossible. "But to set upon a soft chair and censure, and, after the event of an action, to point out how, " and by what means it might have fucceeded better, is extremely easy. This fort of science requires no other abilities, than a great deal of "ill-nature and little wit. Even those actions, " which have been attended with the greatest suc-" cess, and reflected the greatest glory on this na-"tion, have not escaped the venom of these macollicious critics; and, perhaps, there never was " an action fo complete, but it might have been " better conducted, were it possible to have fore-" feen all circumstages attending it. But I confide in the candour and the equity of this court, "that my enemies will be disappointed.

A. D. \$756.

444

"As to the article exhibited against me, relating to my making any unnecessary delay in sailing of the sleet from St. Helens to Gibraltar,
and from thence to Mahon, the testimonies of
the evidence have, doubtless, sufficiently proved
the contrary; I shall therefore trouble the court
with nothing further on that head.

"As to the other articles exhibited against me, I hope to make my innocence appear, by a concice relation of the whole of my conduct." Which he began with the account, as related above, on page 276 to 283, and then added:

"This behaviour will, I hope, appear to the court to be fuggested by prudence, all that " could have been attempted in the space of an "hour, and the most advantageous step, which could have been taken on that occasion. It or proves that I did not depend on the hear-fay evidence which I had received even from the 66 best authorities at Gibraltar, nor on the united opinion of every officer at that place; but that I was determined to be certified of the true fate of the harbour and citadel from General " Blakeney himself, as I expected that Captain " Scroop, who, together with all the foldiers and " marines of Mr. Edgecumbe's ships, and 100 " feamen, had been left to reinforce the garrison, " would come off in his barge, and bring me a just " relation of every circumstance necessary to be "known; and though I meitioned in my letter " of the 25th of May, 'That it was the opinion " of all the fea and land officers, that they could " render 2

1756.

" render no service to the garrison, as no place was covered for the landing of any men, could they

" bave spared any; in this I only gave my opinion

" agreeable to that of all the other officers. Their opinion had no influence on my conduct, and

" was only meant to fignify what might have

" been the event supposing the French fleet had

" not appeared at that time.

"So far then I hope it will appear to the court, that neither knowledge in my profession, pru-

"dence in conducting the expedition, or duty to

"my King and country, appear to be deficient in me.

" My letter to General Blakeney, sent by Mr.

" Harvey, though never delivered, for reasons

"immediately to follow, will, I think, evince

" this truth.

"My first care, after coming in sight of the port, was to know the true state of the harbour

" and garrison, to encourage the General and sol-

"diers, by acquainting him that I was arrived to

" his fuccour, and defiring to know how it might

" most effectually be put in execution.

"Thus then I hope all things will appear to the court, to be well conducted to the time of

"the French fleet's appearing in view; when, on

" feeing the enemy, confiderations of another na-

" ture took place, and it became necessary to defer

"the execution of all resolutions, which I had

" taken fince I saw Mahon, and to recall the men

" of war which I had dispatched to reconnoitre

the harbour, and procure intelligence from

" General

A. D. 1756.

446

"General Blakeney. It was now to no purpose " to know the state of the citadel and harbour, " before I had engaged the French fleet; I had of no foldiers to land, but what made part of the complement of my ships, and served as marines; " and if I had been provided with them, it would " have been absolutely imprudent to have landed "them before the engagement with the enemy, and thereby render that force less, which was " already too little, for the intent it ought to 44 have been fent upon. Landing the troops would "have rendered the fleet unfit for action, and ob-" liged it to flee before the enemy. Had I be-" haved in that manner, fuch a prepofterous act se could not have failed rendering me justly delin-" quent, and unequal to the command I presided

"I was very fensible that if success was the consequence of engaging the French, that I should
shave it more in my power to relieve the citadel;
as far as landing the troops, which served as
marines, could effect it. But I suspected also,
and with reason, that I might probably be rendered unable to keep the seas, though I obtainded the victory, and therefore prevented from
effectually succouring the citadel.

"So far all, I hope, will appear to the court to have been conducted with knowledge and prudence.

"Am I deserving of blame for not seeking the enemy in the disabled condition I was in after the engagement?

A.D.

1756.

To what purpose would this second engage-" ment have been attempted with a fleet originally of greatly inferior to the French, and now ren-"dered much more fo by the damages received in "the late battle? A total defeat, in all probabiit lity, is the answer of reason; and if Mons. la "Galiffionere had fought it, which providentially he did not, it is a reasonable presumption that " the whole English squadron would have perished, or fallen a prey to the French, fince there "was no port to shelter them. Whereas, had I " been in the Mediterranean before the arrival of "the French at Minorca, a defeat on my fide " even might have faved the island: I could have "then faved my shattered remains in Mahon, and "though conquered at fea, by means of the failors " and foldiers, have preferved St. Philip's, and " probably the island. Thus a defeat of our fleer, " had it been timely fent out, would have done

"It has been the settled rule of all generals, that no commander should ever risque an engagement, but when there is greater expectation to gain by a victory, than to lose by a defeat.

"more fervice than a victory, after St. Philip's

" was invested.

" nothing could be reasonably expected but mis" fortune and disgrace; or if, by the greatest
" efforts of good fortune, victory should declare
" for our fleet, that no advantage could be drawn

"When then, from the inferiority of the English,

" from it; when the risque of losing the whole

" fleet

A. D. 1756.

448

"fleet was the refult of an unanimous council of war; and the nation, confidering the real state of the English and French navies, so little able to sustain a loss of that kind; when Gibraltar would have been left defenceless, and fallen of course to the enemy; could the seeking the French admiral, by a commander who foresaw these probable consequences, with not only an inferior, but a shattered steet, and no other ships in the Mediterranean to reinforce him, have been justified in the judgment of men, who have studied the nature of military atchievements, or according to the rules and observations of ancient and modern writers on this head?

"The utmost advantage could have been but
a prolongation of the siege, without the least
probability of raising it; because the sleet, unable to keep the sea, must have retreated to Gibraltar, the port of Mahon being still commanded by the enemies batteries.

"manded by the enemies batteries.
"Are commanders then at all events to show no other token of generalship, but what is to be learned from brutes? an excess of courage only? and are all who use the superior attributes of the human understanding to be considered as delinquents in their duty to their King and country? What commander of common sense will serve his country under such discouraging conditions, where, unless he sights against all kinds of disadvantage, he is to be stigmatised with the eternal infamy of cowardice; and if he

" does

A. D. 1756.

does engage his enemy, and does not fucceed " against this great superiority of force, he is to " be deemed a coward also, and be given up to "the rage of the multitude? It appeared im-" practicable to relieve Mahon, and probable, that Gibraltar would be attacked, and therefore "the determination of proceeding thither, was " become the most prudent decision, which could " have been made; the most likely to conduce to "the nation's service, and a just resolution of the " council of war.

" It is a matter of consequence to consider, that "though two fleets may be of equal number, "they may yet be of unequal force, as it has happened in this instance: and a sickly squadron, " without means of providing for the difeafed and wounded, or recruiting their seamen and soldiers. " of which, more than a thousand sick, which at "their return to Gibraltar, were fent to the hospi-66 tal, was a confideration that ought greatly to influence at that moment; especially when it " was evident, beyond all contradiction, that "the enemy possessed every advantage, which I was in want of, having a power of procuring " recruits of seamen from the 200 transports, and "foldiers from the camp of the beliegers."

But Admiral West having deposed, That there Evidences appeared to him no impediment, why Admiral against Byng and his division could have got up to the Of Admienemy, and engage them as close as the van ral West.

A. D. 1756. General Blakeney.

did ; and that the fignal for chasing was never made: Lieut. General Blakeney having deposed, That boats might have passed with great security on the 20th of May, between the garrison and the fleet, and that if the detachment ordered from Gibraltar had been landed, he could have held out till Sir Edward Hawke came with more ef-

Captain Philips.

Captain Bailie.

Captain Ourry.

Captain Young.

Mr. Boyd. fectual relief: Mr. Boyd having deposed, That the fuccours were wanted, and might have been certainly thrown in, Captain John Philips having deposed, That there was not fail enough made at the first: and that he never saw nor heard of any fignal made by the admiral for more fail: Captain Thomas Bailie having deposed, That the admiral's division was never within a proper distance to engage: Captain Ourry having deposed, That there was wind fufficient to have carried the admiral down close to the enemy, during the time of engagement: Captain Young having deposed, That he did not perceive the loss of his fore-topmast occasioned any impediment to the rear divifion from going down and engaging; nor that it endangered any ship being on board him; that if the rear division had bore down as the van did, . they might have come up as near the enemy, as if they had bore in a line of battle abreast; there would have been no danger of their being on r Confirmed by the evidence of Captain Everit, Lieutenant

of the Intrepid.

Bover, Lieutenant Higgs, Lieutenant Wood and Lieutenant Man, all of the Buckingham, Captain Gilchrift and the Hon-Captain Harvey.

board each other, as every ship appeared to him to have room to wear; that there was no possibility of bringing on a general engagement, without the admiral and the rear division going down right before the wind upon the enemy; that the spoiling of his ground-tier of powder, and his defect in men, were no detriment to him in his engagement: and Captain Gardiner, of the Ramil- Captain Gardiner. lies, having deposed, That he had advised the admiral to bear down, without being able to prevail with him fo to do; that the admiral, on the 20th, took the whole command of the ship from him, and that nothing was done, that day, but what he ordered: the court, upon fumming up the evidence, were of opinion t. "That Admiral Byng Opinion of the court. did not do his utmost to relieve St. Philip's castle, in the island of Minorca, then besieged by the forces of the French King: That during the engagement between his Majesty's fleet, under his command, and the fleet of the French King, on the 20th of May last, he did not do his utmost to take, feize and destroy the ships of the French King, and to affift fuch of his Majesty's ships as were engaged in fight with the French ships: That the admiral ", notwithstanding he did see the enemy's fleet approaching, ought to have left the frigate to endeavour to land the military officers: That when the British fleet on the starboard tack, were

A.D. 1756.

fretched abreast, or about the beam of the enemy's line, the admiral should have tacked the fleet al-

t Art. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. 4 Art. 7 and 11. Gg2 together,

A. D. 1756.

together, and immediately have conducted it on a direct course for the enemy; the van steering for the enemy's van, the rear for their rear, each ship for her opposite ship in the enemy's line, and under fuch a fail as might have enabled the worse failing ship, under all her plain fail, to preserve her station: That the admiral, after the fignal " was made for battle, separated the rear from the van division, and retarded the rear division of the British fleet from closing with and engaging the enemy, by his shortning fail, by haling up his forefail, backing his mizentop-fail, and backing, or attempting to back his maintop-fail, in order that the Trident and Princels Louisa might get a-head again of the Ramillies: That instead of shortning fail, the admiral ought to have made the Trident and Princess Louisa's signals to make more fail; and that he ought also to have set so much fail himself, as would have enabled the Culloden (the worse failing ship in his division) to have kept her station with all her plain fail fet, in order to have got down, with as much expedition as possible, to the enemy, and thereby have properly supported the van division: That \* after the ships, which had received damage in the action, were as much refitted, as circumstances would permit, the admiral ought to have returned with the fquadron off St. Philip's, and have endeavoured to open -a communication with that castle: and to have used every means in his power for its relief,

before he returned to Gibraltar." They then came to the following RESOLUTIONS y, That the admiral appears to fall under the following part of the Refolutions of the twelfth article of the articles of war: to wit, "Or court. " shall not do his utmost to take or destroy, every

1756.

A.D.

" ship which it shall be his duty to engage; and

" to affift and relieve all and every of his Majefty's " ships, which it shall be his duty to affift and re-

" lieve." And as that article positively prescribes death, without any alternative left to the discre-

tion of the court, under any variation of circumflances, they adjudged him to be shot to death. --- Sentence But as it had appeared by the evidence of Lord that.

Robert Bertie, Lieutenant Colonel Smith, Captain Gardiner and other officers of the ship, who were near the person of the admiral, "That they did Acquitted not perceive any backwardness in him, during the of cowardice and action, or any marks of fear, or confusion, either difastec-

from his countenance or behaviour; but that he feemed to give his orders cooly and distinctly, and did not feem wanting in perfonal courage; and from other circumstances, the court did not believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice or disaffection; and did therefore unanimously think it their duty, most earnesly to recommend Recomhim as a proper object of mercy." So that when mend him to the adthey made a report of this fentence of death, of miralty for which they found him guilty, these same members mercy.

of the court martial, added the following remon-

y Art. 36 and 37. See also the report made by the said court martial of their fentence.

A. D. strance, to the lords of the admiralty, in favour of the criminal.

"We the underwritten, the president and mem-" bers of the court martial, assembled for the " trial of Admiral Byng, believe it unnecessary to " inform your lordships, that in the whole course of this long trial, we have done our utmost en-"deavours to come at truth, and to do the strictest " justice to our country and the prisoner; but we " cannot help laying the diffresses of our minds " before your lordships, on this occasion, in find-" ing ourselves under the necessity of condemning "a man to death, from the great feverity of the "twelfth article of war z, part of which he falls "under, and which admits of no mitigation, " even if the crime should be committed by an error " in judgment only; and therefore for our own " consciences sakes, as well as in justice to the " prisoner, we pray your lordships in the most " earnest manner, to recommend him to his Ma-" jefty's clemency."

Lords of the admiralty reply.

454

The lords of the admiralty, in pursuance of this recommendation from the court martial, presented

#### Z Twelfth article of war, 22 of Geo. II.

"Every perion in the fleet, who through cowardice, neg"ligence, or disaffection, shall, in time of action, withdraw
"or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or
"shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it
"shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and
"every of his Majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which
"it shall be his duty to assist and relieve, every such person so
"offending, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of
"a court-martial, shall suffer DEATH."

a memorial to his Majesty, in which after setting forth the proceedings and fentence of the faid court upon Admiral Byng, and the representation jesty for of the faid court, and the petitions of George, the opinion of the Viscount Torrington, Nephew to the unhappy twelve admiral, for his Majesty's mercy, fay, That after their most serious and deliberate consideration of the proceedings of the court martial, doubts had arisen with regard to the legality of the sentence, particularly whether the crime of negligence, which is not expressed in any part of their proceedings, can, in this case, be supplied by implication; and that they found themselves obliged to befeech his Majesty that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken, whether the faid sentence was legal.

to his Ma-

His Majesty not only referred the sentence to The senthe twelve judges, to consider thereof, as requested; which was pronounced by them to be a legal the King fentence: but after a warrant had been figned by judges. the lords of the admiralty, for carrying the fen-Declared to be legal. tence passed upon Admiral Byng into execution, Execution sufpended certain members of the court martial having ex- at the repressed their scruples, alledging that they had quest of sefomething to disclose-relative to the said sentence, bers of the which greatly affected their own consciences, and tial. which, it was necessary, should be disclosed in order to do justice to the said Admiral John Byng; and one of them applying to the house of commons, praying to be released, by act of parliament, from that part of the oath of fecrefy

A. D. 1756.

a relative to the subject in question; his Majesty, agreeable to his usual tenderness for the lives of his subjects, consented to the said act, and respited his execution till the bill had passed the house of commons, and the parties had passed a separate examination upon oath in the house of lords, to find out what ground there was for that application.

Bill to abfolve those members from the eath of secresy.

The bill for this purpose passed the house of commons with great rapidity; but in the house of lords, at the second reading, each member of the said court-martial being called separately, was asked in substance as follows: "Whether he knew any matter that passed, previous to the sentence pronounced on Admiral Byng, which might shew that sentence to have been unjust; or to have been given through any undue practice or motive; and was desirous that the bill then unged the consideration of the house, for dis-

a "I A. B. do swear, That I will duly administer justice, according to the articles and orders established by an act, passed in the twenty-second year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Second, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament, the laws relating to the government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea, without partiality, favour, or affection; and if any case shall arise, which is not particularly mentioned in the said articles and orders, I will duly administer justice according to my conscience, the best of my understanding, and the custom of the navy in the like cases; and I do further swear, That I will not, upon any account, at any time whatsoever, disclose or discover the vote or opinion of any particular member of this court-martial, unless theremunto required by act of parliament."

" pensing with the oath of secrety, should pass A. D.
" into a law; and whether he was of opinion,
" he had any particulars to reveal, relative to the
" case of, and the sentence passed upon Admiral
" Byng, which he judged necessary for his Ma" jesty's information, and which he thought likely
" to incline his Majesty to mercy?" but they
separately answering those questions in the negative; the said bill was rejected; and the cri- Rejected.
minal b was accordingly executed on the 14th of Admiral
Byng executed.

March cuted.

b During these proceedings to save the Admiral's life, the public were presented with the two sollowing letters, one from the Marshal de Richelieu to the celebrated M. de Voltaire, written originally in French; the other written in English, by M. Voltaire to Mr. Byng, under sentence of death for that very conduct which extorted, the praise of a generous enemy.

#### Clux delices pres de Geneve.

SIR.

Though I am almost unknown to you, I think 'tis my duty to send you the copy of the letter which I have just received from the Marshal Duke de Richelieu: Honour, humanity, and equity order me to convey it to your hands. This noble and unexpected testimony, from one of the most candid as well as the most generous of my countrymen, makes me presume your judges will do you the same justice.

I am with respect, Sir, &c.

To the Hon. J. Byng, Esq;

VOLTAIRE.

SIR.

I am very fensibly concerned for Admiral Byng; I do assure you whatever I have seen or heard of him does him honour. After having done all that man could reasonably expect from him, he ought not to be censured for suffering a deseat. When two commanders contend for victory, though both are equally

A. D. 1756.

458

March 1757, on board his Majesty's ship Monarque in Portsmouth harbour, for the sake of justice, and of example to the disciplining of the navy, and for the safety and honour of the nation, as his Majesty's message to both houses of parliament on the 26th of February did signify.

A few minutes before he was called out of the cabin to die, the Admiral addressed himself to the Marshal as follows: "Sir, these are my thoughts "on this occasion: I shall give them to you, that you may authenticate them, and prevent any thing spurious being published, that might tend to defame me. I have given a copy to one of my relations."

men of honour; yet one must necessarily be worsted; and there is nothing against Mr. Byng, but his being worsted; for his whole conduct was that of an able seaman, and is justly worthy of admiration. The strength of the two sleets was at least equal; the English had thirteen ships and we twelve much better equipped and much cleaner. Fortune that presides over all battles, and especially those that are fought at sea, was more favourable to us than to our adversaries, by sending our balls into their ships with greater execution. I am persuaded, and it is the generally received opinion, that if the English had obstinately continued the engagement, their whole sleet would have been destroyed.

In short, there can be no higher act of injustice than what is now attempted against Admiral Byng, and all men of honour, and all gentlemen of the army, are particularly interested in the event.

RICHELIEU.

I received this original letter from Marshal D. de Richelieu, the 1st of January 1757, in witness of which I have figned my name. VOLTAIRE.

The paper was wrote in his own hand, and contained as follows:

A. D. 1756.

On board his Majesty's ship Monarque in Ports-His last words de mouth harbour, March 14, 1757.

His last words delivered to the Marshal in

Few moments will now deliver me from that in writing. " farther malice of my enemies; -- nor need I " envy them a life, subject to the sensations my in-"juries and the injustice done me must create. "-Persuaded I am, justice will be done to my " reputation hereafter—The manner and cause " of raising and keeping up the popular clamour " and prejudice against me, will be seen through. "-I shall be considered, (as I now perceive "myself) a victim, destined to divert the in-"dignation and refentment of an injured and de-"luded people, from the proper objects.-My " enemies themselves must now think me inno-" cent.—Happy for me at this last moment, that "I know my own innocence; and am conscious, "that no part of my country's misfortunes can " be owing to me.—I heartily wish the shedding " of my blood may contribute to the happiness and " fervice of my country—but cannot relign my "just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty, " according to the best of my judgment, and the " utmost exertion of my ability, for his Majesty's "honour and my country's fervice.—I am forry "that my endeavours were not attended with " more fuccess, and that the armament under my « com-

A. D. 3756.

460

"command proved too weak to fucceed in an " expedition of fuch moment.-Truth has pre-" vailed over calumny and fallhood, and justice has " wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed " want of personal courage, or disaffection-my "heart acquits me of these crimes,-but who " can be presumptuously sure of his own judg-" ment? If my crime is an error in judgment or " differing in opinion from my judges; and if yet, "the error of judgment should be on their side, "-God forgive them, as I do; and may the "distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their con-" sciences, which in justice to me they have repre-" fented, be relieved, and fublide, as my refent-"ment has done.-The supreme Judge sees all " hearts and motives, and to him I fubmit the " justice of my cause."

JOHN BYNG.

Thus ended the enquiry into the conduct of General Fowke and Admiral Byng, with the fingular punishment of the Governor of Gibraltar broke and dismissed his Majesty's service, for not complying with instructions or orders he could not understand, and appeared to him inconsistent and contradictory: and of the Admiral for adhering to a council of war, and for not doing all that, in the opinion of others, was in his power to do, for diffreffing the enemy, and for the relief of Minorca.

Reasonsfor ftantial an

We have thrown the proceedings of this refo circum- markable case together, though they were, by several

veral incidents, protracted nine months, or thereabouts, to prevent any unnecessary digressions: and we have been more particular in this narrative, account of Admiral because, on the part of the Commander in Chief, Byng's in this expedition to defend or relieve Minorca, it exhibits the best view of the causes of its loss: which he attributes, primarily, to the neglect of the ministry, to the weakness of his squadron, and to a want of land-forces sufficient to raise the siege: and on the part of the ministry, it shews how far the influence of a court interest is able to Ikreen men in power from the resentment of the nation; and how far they are able to expiate their own guilt with the blood of that fervant, who dares to complain of their misconduct. But more especially, because this act of justice upon a person of a noble extraction; and this example, the difciplining of the navy in the person of an admiral, the fon of an admiral enobled for his fervices, contributed greatly to convince the people that his Majesty would spare nobody, of what rank or degree foever, if found deficient in his duty; that he would do all, in his power, for the fafety and honour of his people; and that he was determined to maintain discipline, as well as to punish cowardice and treachery in his navy. In the mean Enquiry time his Majesty, by warrant dated November into the 22d, appointed Sir John Ligonier, General Huske the landand General Cholmondeley, to enquire why Ma-to Minorjor-General Stuart, and the Colonels Cornwallis, ca. and the Earl of Effingham, did not join their respective commands in the island of Minorca? and

1756.

A. D.

whether

A. D. 1756.

4.62

Their

pleas.

whether they had used their utmost endeavours to throw themselves into Fort St. Philip's? and why, being only passengers, they affisted at the seacouncil of war; which advised Mr. Byng to return immediately to Gibraltar? To which they pleaded, That it was not in their power to be at Minorca before Mr. Byng's fleet; that they were ready and willing to join their commands, but had no means to land them at Fort St. Philip: and that they affisted at the council of war by order of the admiral, under whose command they thought themselves to be; and that they thought it their duty to co-operate with the sea-officers, to the utmost of their power, for the advancement

Acquitted. of his Majesty's service. Upon which the Board fubmitted to his Majesty, That in their most humble opinion, the conduct of these three officers was clear from any fuspicion of disobedience to orders, or neglect of duty.

Parliamentary enquiry into the lofs of Minorca.

When the parliament met, one of their proceedings was to enquire into the causes of the loss of Minorca, and they addressed his Majesty for all papers, that might explain that intricate affair. To which his Majesty condescended. But they whose safety depended upon intricacy, confusion and a majority, fo managed, that this enquiry was committed to the whole House, and the papers were swelled into fuch a prepofterous number, that it required more time to digest them, than a whole session of parliament would allow . However, though this

How baffled.

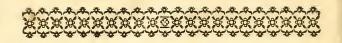
method

The most material facts in those papers are to be found in page 234 to 254.

1756.

method of enquiry may be faid to deliver some people from the loud accufations of the people, under the protection of a parliamentary approbation of their conduct, which on this occasion declared that the ministry had done all in their power both by fea and land to fave Minorca; yet it must be allowed, that it was this countenance and disposition of the King to gratify his faithful fubjects with all the lights he could help them to, and to inflict exemplary punishment on delin- Its effects. quents, without distinction, that discouraged and terrified fuch, as knew themselves to be obnoxious and guilty, and brought about that grand change both of men and measures, which delivered the nation from a timorous and inactive ministry; and revived that courage and conduct, for which our progenitors had been univerfally effeemed, and without which not only Minorca, but our colonies, our allies, and these kingdoms, must have fallen a prey to an enemy, whose courage was founded upon our timidity, and whose success was owing to our negligence; as will more fully appear from a due attention to the facts in the sequel of this history, compared with those already published in this book.

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THE

# GENERAL HISTORY

OFTHE

# LATE WAR.

### BOOK II.

Containing its progress in the East Indies and North America. Our operations by sea and land. The German war, wherein the Austrians, Russians, French, Swedes, Saxons, and Imperialists were confederate against the King of Prussia: And the French invasion of Hesse Cassel and the Electoral dominions of his Britannic Majesty: to the conclusion of the year 1757.

A. D. 1756. THE voice of the people having prevailed with the Sovereign to refolve upon vigorous measures; and his Majesty provoked to declare war against the French, by an actual invasion of his dominions, and with threats to pour a numerous army into Great Britain; they omitted nothing that might convince him of their willingness to support him in so just and necessary a war. Great as the supplies were, granted by parliament, the national generosity discovered itself in

1756.

many laudable affociations for the public good. The landholders and corporations, thinking that their property and rights were at stake, not only fubmitted with pleasure to the resolutions of their representatives; but raised great numbers of men. for the service of their country, by voluntary contributions and large premiums. Nay, some merchants of London, convinced, by the difficulties Marine Go. the state met with in manning the navy, upon ciety. fuch an emergency, that there was a necessity to train up a young nursery, from whence the government might always draw an immediate fupply on any occasion, joined heartily in that extensive and most commendable plan, called the Marine Society; and by their exemplary subscriptions engaged fuch a fund, as, during the course of the war, equipped for the fea fervice on board his Majesty's ships many thousand orphans, friendless and forlorn boys; who were thereby rescued from misery, and made useful members of the commonwealth d.

The

· Some account of the Marine Society, from a letter addressed by a member to the public.

In order to make an account of the views of this fociety generally understood, it is necessary to premise that the officers of every ship of war, which carries 60 guns and 400 men, have a right to carry 30 fervants, and to receive their wages, which wages are confidered as part of the officer's pay.

These servants are generally boys between thirteen years of age and eighteen; for when they are at or near their full growth, as they can then rank as feamen, and receive pay in that VOL. I.

A D. 1756. First object of the

466

The first object of the court, after the loss of Minorca, (which the ministry could not but be fensible,

that class, it is not to be supposed they will be content to enter on board as an officer's servant, for sifty shillings a year, which is their stated wages.

The government therefore has allowed this number of boys to officers, not only because they are necessary in the ship; but because by this means every ship becomes a nursery of young seamen, who acquire skill and strength together, and are not only able, but expert sailors before they are one and twenty years of age.

These servants, however, it has been found very difficult to procure; the poor vagrants, who are covered with filth and rags, and subsist either by begging or by pilsering, had no immediate inducement, wretched as they were, to enter on board a ship, where they must at once renounce their lounging and idleness for constant activity and labour; and if they had at any time a transient wish for such a change of situation, they did not know how to apply to bring it about; the officers, who wanted them, had neither time nor opportunity to search and sollicit them, and the gentlemen who reside in the country, though they might be inclined to render the children of the poor thus serviceable to their country, there being no establishment to which they could apply, had no means of putting their intention into practice.

But befides that it is defirable for every ship to have its compliment of boys, it is defirable, in a time of war, that not more than one third of the number should be less than fixteen or seventeen; because it would be too long before those, that are younger, can be rated as seamen; nor can they create a quick succession of youth into the service of officers, as a state of qualification. It must also be observed, that the youth, that are procured, lose several advantages by the difficulty of procuring others; for an officer, when he loses a servant, loses his wages, and he will naturally be unwilling his fervant should be rated as a seaman, when he knows not how to get another.

The

1756.

fensible, had fallen to the French arms, through their neglect of that island, occasioned by too much attention paid to the French threats to in-

The view of this fociety, therefore, is to encourage the industrious poor to fend their children to fea, and invite the vagabond and pilferer, not only boys and lads, but men, to

1. They shall be received immediately upon application, and taken care of in a proper place, where they will be accommodated with fire and beds, and three meals a day, of good bread and broth, and roots, and meat, till they are sent on board.

become useful to the state by the following advantages.

2. If any that offer are distempered, they are immediately put under proper methods of cure, and when they are sent on board, they are compleatly fitted out with cloathing and bedding.

Thus are men and boys stripped of their rags, cured of their distempers, and sent clean and well cloathed, with as good bedding and accommodations as any common seaman on board. As to the lads, if they are fixteen or seventeen, they are very soon qualified to receive wages as seamen; and as to the men, the distinction between landmen and seamen on board, which used to create animosity, and subject the landmen to some hardships, is lost, as they are no longer known by their apparel.

These accommodations, besides that they are an immediate inducement to lads and men to enter, are so necessary to health and life, that for want of them many have miserably perished, who might otherwise have been of singular service to their country.

The advantages are not less to the community than to the individual; for it procures a speedy supply of stout mariners in the room of those, who, in the prosecution of a war, must necessarily be cut off, at the same time that those evils are prevented, which the idle and dissolute poor of the rising generation would produce, if they had continued at home.

vade

A. D. vade these kingdoms) was the defence and security 1756. of our colonies and territories in North America. From which object it was very evident the French intended to draw the British councils, by attempting to carry the feat of war into the Mediterranean. For, there was nothing in the conquest of Why Minorca was now difregarded.

Minorca of that fingular importance to the French, as to prefer it to the support of their American fchemes; except we look upon it, as we ought to do, to be a feint to keep England employed in a contest for that island in the Mediterranean, while their marine from Brest, &c. might be at liberty to recruit and support their forces and encroachments in America.

Therefore Minorca was fuffered to remain under the dominion of France, till a more proper time should favour our arms to retake it, or it should be restored at a peace.

His Majesty had promised to prefer the security

Meafures purfued for Ñorth America.

of his American subjects, and the chastisement of the French usurpations and hostilities in North America, to all other confiderations. For this purpose, it was thought necessary, not only to send more troops, but to have the army, on that con-Lord Lou- tinent, better officered. We have feen that Lord Loudon was appointed commander in chief, with powers, that were supposed sufficient to remove all the delays, and the causes of their obstructions, which had defeated most of the former operations, and falutary measures, proposed for their common defence: and General Abercrombie was

fent.

don appointed commander in chief. fent before f with two regiments, and with orders to supersede General Shirley.

A.D. 1756.

Every one wished for, and turned their thoughts towards an American war; and looked upon thefe measures to presage a vigorous effort to drive the French out of their usurpations, and to avenge the inhuman practices of their Indian allies. But, Obstrucas if procrastination had been the favourite mea-delays in fure of that administration, his Majesty's good American intentions, and the people's expectations, were measures. once more disappointed, by a detention of the Earl of Loudon, who was charged with the chief directions of the operations and plans in North America; but ordered to wait for certain foreign officers of experience, invited from Germany, to command in a royal American regiment, confifting of four battalions, to be raifed in Virginia; and of which the Earl was to be the Colonel. So that notwithstanding the preparations made by the provincials under General Shirley, to open the campaign early in the year, they were obliged to halt at Albany, for the arrival of a commander in chief, and of the regular forces from England, till the latter end of June, when General General A-Abercrombie arrived there, and took the com-bercrombie mand of the two regiments led off by Dunbar, America. after the defeat of Braddock, two battalions raifed in America, two regiments brought with him The numfrom England; four old independent companies ber of forces, belonging to New York, a New Jersey regiment,

Hh 3

four

f In March 1756. It was the latter end of May before the Earl of Loudon failed.

A. D. 1756.

470

four companies levied in North Carolina, and a body of provincials fent from New England only.

Refolutions for the operations this fummer.

It had been refolved in the council of war held last year, at Albany, by Mr. Shirley, &c. to endeavour to cut off the French communication, between Canada and Louisiana, by the reducing of fort Niagara, situate between the lakes Ontario and Erie: which also would have obliged their new forts on the Ohio, to submit to the British arms, without much bloodshed: to cover the borders of New York, and secure the navigation of Lake Champlain, by the conquest of Ticonderoga and Crown Point: to besiege Fort du Quesne on the Ohio; and, while these several and distant services were carrying into execution, to alarm the capital of Canada by a body of troops detached up the river Kennebeck b.

Why not executed.

But Abercrombie, though approving of the plan, thought it, by far, too extensive for the forces under his present command, to be carried effectually into execution. Besides, the season was too far advanced, to promise success. He therefore waited the arrival of Lord Loudon; and by that determination another year was lost; the provinces left exposed to the invasions and barba-

s See page 166. " ,

h The troops destined for the campaign on Lake Ontario, were intended to march for Oswego, thence to be carried over in 200 whale boats, built long, round and light, last winter at Schenectady, on Mohawks river, and already brought into the lake.

to strengthen their posts, and to distress the British fettlements with impunity.

A. D. 1756.

During this state of inactivity, and of dependance upon reinforcements from their mother country, the army received the disagreeable news of the enemy's entring the country of the Five Na-Operations of the enemy's entring the country of the Five Na-Operations tions, our ancient allies; where they reduced a French. small fort, garrisoned by 25 English, whom they put to the sword, and butchered in a most barbarous manner.

The French improved the opportunity: they formed a camp at Ticonderoga of 330 tents, and 70 log houses, with 3000 troops at that place and Crown Point, and daily increased their numbers. But the defence of this fort was not their only object; and as they were perfectly informed of the orders for the English army not to undertake any expedition, till the arrival of Lord Loudon; and that his lordship could not land in North America, before the time would be elapsed, either to attack Crown Point, or to prevent Oswego falling into their hands; the enemy resolved upon the fiege of Oswego: and in order to facilitate their operations against that fort, ambuscades were formed to harrass and intercept any reinforcement, or convoy of provisions, &c. which might be sent to Oswego, from Albany, or from Schenectady.

Hh4

However,

Who received a reinforcement of about 3000 men, under the command of M. Montcalm, from Europe, under a strong convoy of men of war.

However, a confiderable convoy of provisions

A.D. 1756. Colonel Bradthreet's advantage over the enemy.

472

and stores were conducted thither very fafely by Colone! Bradstreet, before the ambuscade was laid. But in his return down the river Onondaga, and ftemming the stream with his battoes, formed in three divisions, he was faluted k by a party of Indians, secreted amongst the bushes and trees, on the north shore, with the war-hoop and a general discharge of musquetry: which killed about 70 of the battoe men. Colonel Bradstreet landed his men immediately on the opposite bank, and took possession of a small island, where he with six men only drove off 40 of the enemy, who forded the river to attack them. Then quitting the island, and collecting his whole strength of about 200 men, he marched to meet another party of French and Indians, who had forded the river a mile higher; whom he with only 40 men, fell upon, fword in hand, in a large fwamp, and cut most of them in pieces or drowned them; then he boldly marched up and attacked the main body of the enemy, confifting of 660 men, which had passed at another ford, and entirely routed them also. This action lasted upwards of three hours. Our chief loss was amongst the battoe men, by the first fire from the Loss of the bushes: but the enemy had about 200 killed and 70 taken prisoners; and had not the rest been favoured in their flight by a heavy rain, and the fwelling of the waters, which put an end to Bradftreet's pursuit, it is very probable, that the whole

enemy.

k July 3, 1756.

<sup>1</sup> About nine miles from Ofwego.

detachment, confisting of 700 French and Canadians chiefly, would have been entirely cut off: for, Colonel Bradstreet was joined the same night by Captain Patten and his grenadiers, marching from Oneida to Oswego, and next morning by 200 men detached to his affiftance from Ofwego. So that these parties separated. Bradstreet made the best of his way to Schenestady: and the others marched together for Ofwego.

By the prisoners brought in by Colonel Brad-The siege of Oswego street, General Abercrombie was informed that resolved Oswego was the immediate object of the French upon. arms, and that its siege was determined upon by a large body of Europeans, encamped on the eastern shore of Lake Ontario.

The importance of this place, to interrupt the Its defence commerce, as well as the motions of the enemy; layed. and its being the only place to build vessels, for the navigation, upon that lake or inland-sea; and to fecure an interest with the Indians, that had not declared against us; determined General Abercrombie to detach a regiment of regulars, under the command of Major General Webb, to its relief. But, notwithstanding the advantage, which the loss of Oswego would give the enemy in all their future operations, and measures; and altho' the English army at Albany could muster 2600 regulars, and 7000 provincials, or thereabout, under the command of General Winflow m, befides a confiderable number of battoe men; their

A. D. 1756.

474

march was stopped by the arrival of Lord Loudon, while the necessaries were providing for their subsistence on the road. For, his lordship, how much foever inclined to forward General Abercrombie's orders for the relief of Oswego, was fo peremptorily and obstinately opposed, in that measure, by New England, New York and the adjacent provinces, which infifted upon the reduction of Crown Point previous to all other operations, that, although they were at last prevailed with to consent to the march of Major General Webb, with the regiment first ordered by General Abercrombie, it was the 12th day of August, before this supply could set out from Albany, and indulged the enemy with fuch an unaccountable opportunity to complete their plan against Oswego, that, by the time Major General Webb could reach the Carrying Place, between the Mohawk's river and Wood's Creek, he met with the disagreeable news, that the French were mafters of Oswego, and had made the garrison, and 200 workmen and failors, employed to defend the passes between the fort and Burnet's field, prisoners of war.

The fiege of the Forts Onwego, &c.

By this misfortune the nation loft the two forts Ontario and Ofwego n: forts, that had been run up tario, Of- in a hurry, unfinished, and untenable against a regular force. The Marquis de Montcalm, an enterprizing officer, and fuccessor to Mr. Dieskau, was charged with this expedition, having under

<sup>\*</sup> See page 164 and 165.

A. D. 1756.

his command 1300 regulars, 1700 Canadians, and. a confiderable number of Indians. His first care was to prevent fuccours and intelligence between Ofwego and Albany; which he effected by posting a strong body of Canadians on the road by land, and by blocking up Oswego by water with two large armed veffels. This done, he, without opposition, or danger of being disturbed, transported ohis flores and artillery over the lake to the Bay of Nixouri, appointed the place of general rendezvous for this expedition. Having proceeded with all the caution in his The ap-

power to prevent a furprize: and, in case of a proaches miscarriage, to secure a safe retreat, he made the French necessary dispositions for the siege, and opened Fort Ontathe trenches before Fort Ontario, with about 5000 rio. men, and 32 pieces of cannon, from 10 to 18 pounders, besides several large brass mortars and hoyets (part of the artillery which had been taken from General Braddock) about midnight, on the 12th of August, at the distance of 90 toiles (or fathoms, of fix feet each) from the fosse of Fort Ontario, and like unto a parallel of about 100 toiles in front, and in ground vastly embarrassed with trunks of trees, and fuch like obstructions. The parallel was finished at five in the morning, when the workmen began to erect the batteries in the midst of a hot fire, kept up by the garrison very briskly from day break to fix o'clock at night,

and killed their chief engineer in the trenches,

But,

o From Fort Frontenac, where he had arrived on the 29th of July.

476 A. D. 1756.

But, as Colonel Mercer apprehended, that the fort was not tenable against such a superior force, and several pieces of heavy cannon mounted on a battery at no more than 60 yards from it; he, about three in the afternoon, having received an account from the commandant, of his bad situation, ordered him to fire away all his shells and ammunition, to spike up the cannon, and to make the best retreat he could to Oswego. Which was punctually executed by destroying the cannon, ammunition and provisions, and passing the river so as to join the troops on the western shore, without the loss of a man.

Against Olwego.

The French general, informed of this defertion of Fort Ontario, immediately took possession thereof, and ordered the communication of the parallel to be continued to the bank of the river; where, early in the same night, he begañ a grand battery, formed in such a manner, that it could not only batter Fort Oswego, distant about two miles English, and secure the way from thence to Fort George, situate on a hill, about four miles and a half up the river, but annoy the entrenchment of Oswego.

Behaviour of the gar-

On the part of the English, the troops, to the number of 370, or thereabout, which had retreated from Fort Ontario, were ordered to join Colonel Schuyler immediately, who was charged with the defence of the fort on the hill to the westward of the Old Fort, under the direction of Mr. Mackeller the engineer. But the advantages, proposed by a communication between these two

forts, were foon frustrated; not so much by the fire from the enemy across the river, who at that distance could never have pretended to batter in breach, and to have reduced Ofwego to the neceffity of furrendering; but from a bold action of a body of 2500 Canadians and favages, who fwam over the river in the night between the 13th and 14th, and cut off the communication between the two forts.

At the same time the enemy were very busy in bringing up their cannon; and raising a battery of ten cannon, 12 pounders, on the east side of the river, against the Old Fort: though there was kept up a constant fire of cannon and shells, from the Old Fort and works about it.

On the 14th day, General Mercer, informed that a large party of the enemy had croffed the river, to fall upon him on the west side, ordered Colonel Schuyler to march against them with 500 men. But this order was annulled by a cannon Colonel ball, which, a few minutes after, killed Colonel Mercer killed. Mercer.

Colonel Littlehales, who succeeded Mercer in Council of the chief command, being better informed of the numbers of the enemy, that had croffed the river; that they were 2500 men; countermanded the detachment under Colonel Schuyler; and observing, that the enemy had, with great celerity, raised a battery of nine guns, and another of mortars ready to play: that there were 2500 irregulars and Indians on the back of his garrison, ready to storm them, on that fide, and 2000 regulars ready to land

478

A. D. land in front, under the fire of their cannon, and 1756. that all the places of defence, under his command, were either enfiladed or ruined by the constant fire of the enemy, he called a council of war: who, after taking the opinion of the engineers.

furrender.

Resolved to were unanimously of opinion, that the works were no longer tenable; and that it was by no means prudent to risk a storm with such unequal numbers.

Not agree-able to the foldiery.

A capitulation was accordingly refolved upon; a white flag was hung out, and the chamade was beat, and the firing ceafed on both fides; though not without great reluctance of the foldiery, who for some time kept and used their arms, declaring their resolution rather to die, than yield and surrender to the French. But the officers, though they had behaved like men, determined to dispute their post and liberty to the last extremity; yet, to prevent a mutiny, and any miscarriage, that might happen by the bad use the enemy could make of the interval of this ceffation of arms, two of them are faid to have been inconfiderately fent out to

the French general, not with the conditions a brave garrison has a right to demand, and seldom fail of gaining by a proper countenance in their diffressed circumstances; but, -but to know the terms he was willing to grant: and the enemy were permitted openly to bring up more cannon; to advance the main body of their troops, within musket shot of the garrison; and, to prepare every thing for a storm, while the treaty for

Milcondn& in the proposals.

> a furrender was carried on. The Marquis of Montcalm

1756.

Montcalm, informed by these officers of the difficulty, with which the garrison were brought to submit to a capitulation, answered, That the English were an enemy he esteemed; that none, but a brave nation, would have thought of defending so weak a place so long against such a strong train of artillery and superior numbers; that they might expect whatever terms were consistent with the service of his most Christian Majesty. But tied them down to the following proposals, viz.

"The Marquis of Montcalm, Army and Field Marshal, commander in chief of his most Christian Majesty's troops, is ready to receive (a capitulation) upon honourable conditions, furrendering to him all the forts: he requires them to be prisoners of war: they shall be shewn all the regard the politest of nations can shew: I fend an Aid de Camp on my part, viz. Mons. de Bougainville, captain of dragoons; they need only send the capitulation to be signed: I require an answer by noon: I have kept Mr. Drake for an hostage.

" MONTCALM."

August 14, 1756.

And accordingly the following demand was made:

A. D. The demand made by the commandant of Oswego from the Marquis of Montcalm, Army and Field Marfhal to the King, commander in chief of his most Christian Majesty's troops in North America.

#### ARTICLE I.

The capitulation.

480

"THE garrison shall surrender prisoners of war, and shall be conducted from thence to Montreal, where they shall be treated with humanity, and every one shall have treatment

" agreeable to their respective ranks, according to

66 the custom of war.

"II. Officers, foldiers, and individuals shall have their baggage and cloaths, and they shall be allowed to carry them along with them.

"III. They shall remain prisoners of war until they are exchanged."

To which the Marquis de Montcalm gave answer as follows:

"Accept of the above articles in the name of his most Christian Majesty, under the condi-

"tion of delivering up faithfully the fortifications,

" ammunition, magazines, barks and battoes, with

" their appurtenances.

"I give full power to Mons. de la Pauze, Ma-"jor-General, to reduce this present capitulation, "and to agree upon the manner of becoming

"mafter of the faid fort, of which our troops

" fhall take possession, and to insure the garrison

" from receiving any infult.

"Given at the camp before Oswego, the 14th day (at eleven o'clock in the morning) of the month of August, 1756.

" MONTCALM."

By virtue of this capitulation we lost Oswego, A. D. our only post on the Great Lakes; the garrison The forts laid down their arms, and furrendered prisoners of destroyed war; and the French immediately took possession by the of Oswego and Fort St. George, which they enfirely destroyed, agreeable to their orders, after removing the artillery, warlike stores and provifions; with the loss of no more than one engineer, Loss of the one Canadian, one foldier and one gunner killed, French. and twenty flightly wounded, on the part of the enemy. Whereas we loft Shirley's and Pepperel's Of the regiments, and part of Schuyler's militia, in all 1600 men, including 80 officers; 121 pieces of artillery, (feven were brass) 55 of which were cannon of different bores, and 14 brass mortars. 23,000 wt. of powder, 8000 wt. lead and ball, 2950 bullets, 150 bombs of nine inches, and 300 of fix inches, 1476 grenades, 730 fuzees for grenadiers, 340 common fuzees; 704 hogsheads of bifcuit, a very great quantity of pork, beef and meal.

A magazine of fo great importance, deposited Remarks on this massine a place deemed altogether indefensible and with-gazine. out the reach of immediate succour, gave the nation great room to suspect the integrity or to impeach the understandings of those, who, for the sake of gain, by agencies and contracts, or through ignorance of its situation and strength, exposed so valuable a prize to the first invader.

There were at Ofwego seven armed ships, viz. one of 18 guns, one of 14, one of 10, one of eight guns, and three others mounted with swivels,

VOL. I.

482

A. D. 1756.

Future

besides 200 battoes of different sizes, whose officers and crews were included in the capitulation.

As foon as the forts were demolished the French conduct of marched with the utmost speed, with their prifoners n and booty, to join their army at Ticondaroga, and to oppose the motions of the provincial army, of about 7000 men, which ought to have long before attacked Crown Point; but had laid idle, under General Winflow, till reduced by fickness and desertion to 4000, and till the French. were now in a condition to hold them at defiance. The provincials deferted, because they were difheartened by an inactive campaign; and the newraised troops contracted many disorders, for want of care and cleanliness. But no enemy appearing, they proceeded to Montreal, and thence to Quebec, where the prisoners were immediately embarked, and fent to Portsmouth in a cartel ship.

Remarks on this lofs.

Thus within the space of four days, from the time the trenches were opened before Fort Ontario, we have feen the lofs of the only post Great Britain had on the Great Lakes; much in the fame way as Mahon was lost in the Mediterranean; though it was of as much or greater importance to maintain this post on the continent of North America, to overawe the wavering and hostile Indians, to protect our allies, to cover our fettlements and to chastise our enemies; as to preseve

" Such as were left alive; for, contrary to the faith of the capitulation, Montcalm not only suffered the garrison to be stripped and many of them to be murdered by his army; but he delivered twenty of them up to the mercy of the Indians, by way of atonement for the loss of their friends, that had fallen in battle.

Fort

A. D. 1756.

Fort St. Philip's in Europe. For, though the vast quantity of artillery, ammunition, stores, and provisions of all forts, and the number of workmen employed in building, and of others in the navigation upon Lake Ontario, is a convincing proof that the persons concerned in the management of the American war, were not insensible of the importance of this post, both for defence and offence; yet nothing can appear more notorious, except the procrastination of the defence of Minorca, that this post was also lost by delays and neglect, and, at last, by not doing all that was in the power of a garrison to do; as will more fully appear from the following review of the state of Ofwego for fome time before; when there was the greatest reason to expect a visit from the French, who made no scruple to call it an encroachment, or an invasion upon the French King's territory, made in the time of a profound peace; and it was declared that they would attack, take and destroy it, as foon as opportunity would permit.

Nevertheless Oswego was so neglected that the How Os-French might have executed their design upon it wego had been negin the spring of the year 1755, when this fort was lested. garrifoned only by 100 men, under Captain King, had no works but the Old Fort, mounting eight four pounders only, and fo commanded by an eminence directly a-cross a narrow river, whose banks were covered with a thick wood, that made it utterly incapable of defence; or to command any respect upon the Lake. As was the case on the 24th and 26th of May 1755, when forty-one bat-

484 A. D. 1756.

passed in fight, and bid defiance to a fort, which they might then have reduced in a few hours with one single mortar.

A resolution was then taken to enlarge the fort, or rather to erect some additional forts, to build vessels upon the lake, to increase the garrison, and to provide every thing necessary to annoy an enemy, and to render the place tenable. Accordingly Captain Bradstreet was dispatched with a reinforcement of two companies, some swivel guns, and the first set of workmen to build vessels: but these men were employed in building fuch craft, that when, foon after, eleven more French battoes, with troops on board passed by Oswego, and we had a greater number of those boats in the harbour, they were suffered to pass unmolested, to the great danger and terror of our back fettlements; our battoes not being stiff enough for the foldiers to fland to fire off at fea; so ticklish that the inadvertent motion of one man would overfet them, and fo fmall, as not able to carry more than fix men each. Yet, if that was the real case, no care was taken to build their boats upon a more ferviceable plan, against any future emergency, and to main, tain the dominion of the Lake. But there was another most unpardonable oversight in those, who had the direction of these works. Capacious stout vessels require a considerable deal of iron work in their composition. The managers had provided fmiths enough: but there was no more than one pair of bellows. So that the first acci-

dent,

dent, which might unavoidably happen to that neceffary instrument, would stop all the operations of the forge at once.

The next step, towards improving the naval force at Olwego, was a schooner of forty feet in the keel, with fourteen oars and twelve swivel guns, launched on the 28th of July 1755. This was the first vessel of force we ever had on this lake, and, with 320 men, was all the strength we had to defend this post in the beginning of July, that year: and the French were expected daily to attack it, on the 13th of the same month, when General Shirley, with all his forces, was 300 miles diftant, without making all the expedition, the fervice required: for, it was the 8th of August before that General arrived at Olwego, and the 31st before the last division arrived under Colonel Mercer. Where this army, at that unseasonable time of the year, ferved only to eat up the provincial flores, and brought on fuch a fearcity of provifions, that they were almost famished, and the party, left to fecure the important Carrying Place at Wood's Creek, were actually obliged to defert it for want of food.

About the middle of September four other veffels of were got ready, as per margin; with which armed veffels, and a confiderable number of those battoes, which had been reported unserviceable,

<sup>•</sup> A decked floop, eight guns four pounders, thirty fwivels. A decked schooner, eight guns four pounders, twenty-eight swivels. An undecked schooner, sourteen swivels, sourteen oars. Ditto, twelve swivels, sourteen oars.

A. D. 1756.

or too small to live, and to dispute with an ener my upon the lake in the calmest weather, General Shirley prepared to attack Niagara, under another most unhappy circumstance, the want of provisions to carry his army in fight of the enemy, and the impossibility of getting any supplies within 300 miles of the place they were going against. However, the improbability of succeeding in an expedition, undertaken without victuals, was difcovered time enough to countermand the orders to embark; and a friendly storm, says an officer then present, prevented an embarkation, when a flock of provisions was got together, fufficient to prevent the men from eating one another, during the first twelve days. All thoughts of attacking Niagara were laid afide; the General, indeed, made a great shew of his intention to maintain the post of Oswego, by the directions given for firengthening the old, and for building new forts'; but his leaving the place before the additional works were completed, and permitting the veffels belonging to the fort to be unrigged and laid up, without having been put to any use, while a French vessel was permitted to cruize on the lake, and to carry supplies to Niagara, without interruption, and five more, as large as ours, were ready to launch at Frontenac; and while our garrison at Oswego increased, by insensible degrees, to the number of eleven hundred, without pay, and in perpetual terror, on the brink of famine; it gave very little reason to believe that his inten-

As related before on page 163 to 165.

tion was real, and filled every one with fad appre-A. D. 1756. hensions for the fate of that important post.

The reason why the French did not strike the Why not blow, when Oswego remained in this defenceless by the state, was founded upon good policy, and not to French before. be ascribed to any oversight or neglect in their commanders. They knew that it would be impossible for their arms from Canada to complete their grand scheme on the Ohio, without the aid of the Indian tribes, or at least against the united strength of the Indians and English. They also were acquainted with the fentiments, which the Indians entertained of the proceedings of the Ohio company, and particularly of their objection to the erecting fortifications at Oswego's, which they made the grounds of their refusing to join him in the pretended expedition against Niagara. Therefore, they first tried to inflame the Indians against the proceedings of the English on the lake Ontario; cast upon them the sole cause of the miseries to which their country was exposed by war; conciliated the friendship of the most confiderable tribes, with promifes to protect them from the encroachments of the English upon their lands, and prevailed with them to affift in the reduction of Oswego, with a promise to raze the forts to the ground; and, as foon as these Indians were, by those means, alienated from the English, and the French operations on the Ohio were thought to be irrelistible, they, as you have read, put their defign in execution.

. See page 109 and page 165.

A. D. 1756. Extraordithe defence

General Shirley continued inactive from September 1755 to March 1756, when he refumed the project of his execution against Niagara or of delay in Frontenac, making proper provisions at a prodiof Ofwego. gious expence: but upon the crisis for carrying this plan into execution, orders arrived from England to attempt nothing till Lord Loudon should arrive, early in the spring, as it was signified by the fame express. But this Lord's departure from England was attended with fuch delays t, that, before he reached the army in North America, Montcalm had time to arrive from France at Canada with 3000 men, and to take the field before us; notwithstanding the navigation of the river of

> 2 Not only the departure of Lord Loudon was protracted to an unreasonable and to an unseasonable time, for an American campaign; but the inferior officers of his Lordship's regiment, together with arms, ammunition, and other military preparations, lay at Portsmouth so late as the 12th of June, waiting for transports; which were not then hired to take them on board. And when the military flores were shipped, it was done in such a manner as to make the risque of the voyage as great as possible: for the cannon were put on board one thip; the carriages, on which they were to be mounted, were thipped on board another; the balls on board a third, and the gunpowder, on board a fourth. By which contrivance the chance of defeating the whole expedition, was encreased as four to one; for the loss of any one of the four ships would have made the contents of the other three ufeless. And as, if there was never to be an end of this conduct; the powder fent upon this important expedition, which confilled of five hundred barrels was bought of the Dutch, and taken away without proof of its capacity. So that, when it came into use, it was found no better than faw-dust.

St. Lawrence being shut up with ice till the month of May. Whose success against Oswego entirely depended upon his activity, during the time that our armies were under orders, not to march in quest of the enemy, nor to defend our own forts; and the northern provinces, filled with apprehenfions for their own fafety only, opposed the expedition against Niagara, and the necessary supplies for the defence of Ofwego.

Thus, we fay, fell the key of the lake Ontario, by the neglect of the managers; the impropriety and insufficiency of the means to defend it from the attacks of an enemy; from the delays that prevent- The ined a feafonable or timely relief, and from too great portance of this lofs. a fear for the prefervation of New York, and New England: as Minorca, the key of the Mediterranean sea in Europe, was lost by the terrors of a pretended and impracticable invalion, which locked up our ships and soldiers at home, when they should have attacked the enemy on their own coasts; by paying no regard to the intelligence, given concerning the real design of the enemy against that island; by neglecting the necessary means to recruit and strengthen the garrison, and by sending an infufficient force, and at a time it was impracticable to fave it.

But the loss of this post, and of the garrison, and Its sad efof the implements of war, which had been flowed feets. up there without discretion, was not the worst effect of fuch fatal' misconduct. It was followed with that imprudent measure of immediately stopping up Wood's Creek, our only communication from

the Mohawks river to Oneida, with great logs and trees for several miles; and of deserting and destroying the forts at the great Carrying-Place; which, after the loss of Oswego, was become our most advanced post into the country of the Six Nations; though there were at that time 2000 men, including 1200 battoe-men, at that post: a post so strongly fortified, and so inaccessible to the enemy's artillery, that it might have defied the whole French army in North America to take it. Which, with General Webb's retreat with his forces to a place called the German Flatts, about 60 miles nearer to Albany, and foon after to Schenectady, not more than 17 miles from that city; having exposed the Six Nations, and all the adjacent country, to the mercy of the enemy (who were at liberty to over-run the fine country on the Mohawks river down to Albany, and to penetrate into the provinces of Pensylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and Virginia) either encouraged the Indians to join our enemies, or to observe a firict neutrality, when they found, that we were either not able, or not willing to protect them; and that the French had not only conquered, but performed their promise to destroy the forts at Ofwego ".

Besides, during the state of inactivity, so fatal to the British nation, this year, both in Europe

It is remarkable, that while the French were busy in demolishing the works at Oswego; we, to save them the trouble and hazard of attacking the forts at the great Carrying-Place, had them demolished by General Webb, in his retreat.

1756,

and North America, there were above 1000 inhabitants of the western parts of Philadelphia masfacred in cold blood by the Ohio Morians; against vantages whom, nothing was attempted, till Colonel Arm- the Ohios strong, with a party of 280 povincials, marched from Fort Shirley, on the Juniata witver, (150 miles west of Philadelphia) to Kittinning, an Indian town, and the rendezvous of the Morian murderers, situate about 25 miles above Fort du Quesne, on the Ohio, a rout of 140 miles through the woods; with whom he came up in the morning early of the fifth day, while the Indian warriors were regaling themselves at a dance. Colonel

w In order to revenge the particular cause of the inhabitants and of Fort Granville, on this river, which is thus related in a letter from Philadelphia, dated Aug. 19. That on the 30th of July, Captain Ward marched from the fort, with his enfign, and all the men belonging to it, except 24 under the command of Lieutenant Armstrong, to guard some reapers in Shearman's valley: that foon after he left the fort, it was attacked by about 100 French and Indians, who took Juniata creek, and creeping under its banks to a gut about 12 feet deep, came within 30 or 40 feet of the fort, where the shot from our men could not hurt them, and there, by gathering together pine knots, and other combustible matter, they made a pile, and set fire to the fort. The enemy called to the befieged, offering them quarters, if they would furrender; on which one John Turner immediately opened the gates, and gave them possession; 22 soldiers, three women, and five or fix children were made prisoners, of which the French took the young men and women, and the Indians the old men and children; and having loaded them with flour, &c. they fet off in triumph; but when they had marched a little way, the French commander ordered Captain Jacobs back to burn the fort, which he did,

Armstrong

A. D. 1756:

492

Armstrong discovered their situation by their whooping; and, halting about 100 perches below the town, on the bank of the river, he prepared his men, and began the attack as soon as it was light.

Colonel Armthrong's expedition.

Captain Jacobs, the chief of the Indians, gave the war whoop, and defended his house bravely through loop-holes in the logs. The colonel offered them quarter; but they, fearful of our fincerity to pardon the many and inhuman murders they had been guilty of, upon the innocent and defenceless British subjects, most of them refused to submit prisoners of war. Wherefore Colonel Armstrong ordered their houses to be set on fire; which was immediately and with great activity done by the officers and foldiers. By this obstinacy many were fuffocated and burnt; others were fhot in their attempt to reach the river \*; and Captain Jacobs, his fquaw and a boy, called the King's fon, were shot as they were getting out of a window, and were scalped.

These Indians had a large quantity of arms loaded in their houses, and of gunpowder. The loaded arms went off in a quick succession, as the fire reached them: and the gunpowder, which was stowed in every house, completed their destruction, by blowing up the houses and all that were found in them, when it took fire.

Eleven English prisoners were happily released from captivity, or violent death; who informed

<sup>\*</sup> They were 40 in all that perished in this assault.

1756.

the colonel, that on that very day two battoes of Frenchmen, with a large party of Delawares and French Indians, were expected to join Captain Jacobs, in order to proceed in an expedition concerted for attacking and reducing Fort Shirley, and that an advanced party of twenty-four warriors had been detached, the preceding evening, to reconnoitre and alarm the country. This was foon after confirmed by Lieutenant Hogg, who upon the report of the scouts, that there were not above four Indians about a fire, on the road, about fix miles from Kittanning, was ordered, the night before, to halt with twelve men, and to endeavour to furprize them, and to bring them up to the main body: but the lieutenant, upon his approach, found them to be the twenty-four warriors above mentioned. They stood upon their defence, killed three of his men, mortally wounded the lieutenant, and put the other nine men to flight; who abandoned their commander, not able to help himself, when Colonel Armstrong sent out a party to bring him and his men into the conquered town.

These, we apprehend, are some of the bad cir- Lord Loucumstances to which Lord Loudon refers in his don's letletter to the governors of the provinces, after the the loss of loss of Oswego. "As, fays his lordship, by Oswego. " accounts I have received, his Majesty's fort and "garrison of Oswego, together with the naval " armaments and stores, have, by a feries of bad " circumstances, fallen into the hands of the " French; and as from the condition and number " of the troops left to me, when I came to my 66 command.

A. D. 1756.

494

command, I can scarce hope to do more than "to refift French power in that quarter: I most " earnestly recommend to you, to consider with-"out delay, how far the provincials, now in " arms, are exposed to the weight of the French, "in the parts towards Crown Point; and the "dangerous events of any accident happening "to them in consequence of these circumstances, " and what forces you can fend immediately to reinforce them, as it feems absolutely neces-" fary to do, for the fecurity and fafety of the country. Therefore, in consequence of the of power given to me by his Majesty's commis-"fion, under the Great Seal; and of his orders 66 fignified to you by his Secretary of State, I do demand of you an aid of as confiderable a body " of men with arms, as you can fend off, as fast " as raised; and also a number of carriages and ox-teams, wherewith I may be able to transport or provisions, as this province alone is not able to " fupply all y."

Remarks on this letter.

By this letter it is evident, That his lordship, the commander in chief of the British forces in North America, gave up all thoughts of acting offensively against the French this year. But how just soever his lordship's reasons were for that inactive resolution, it is certain that the delay, which followed our retreat from the lakes, when we had a sufficient force in the field, raised, maintained and supplied with all things necessary for the ex-

y Dated at Albany, October 20, 1756.

pedition against Crown Point, which was the only measure, that could promise to retrieve our late loss; wasting the remainder of the season in entrenchments at Lake George; and fortifying Fort Edward and Fort William Henry; gave the enemy time to strengthen Crown Point, to recruit and to refresh their forces, and to improve their late success.

A. D.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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