

Minto Entites 7.-6









THE GENERAL HISTORY of the Late WAR:

CONTAINING IT'S

Rife, Progrefs, and Event,

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA.

AND EXHIBITING

The STATE of the Belligerent Powers at the Commencement of the War; their Interefts 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 difinterefted STATESMEN, to whofe Wifdom and Integrity, and of the HEROES, to whofe Courage and Conduct, we are indebted for that

NAVAL and MILITARY

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

AND WITH

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

Illustrated with

A Variety of HEADS, PLANS, MAPS, and CHARTS, Defigned and Engraved by the best Artists.

VOL. III.

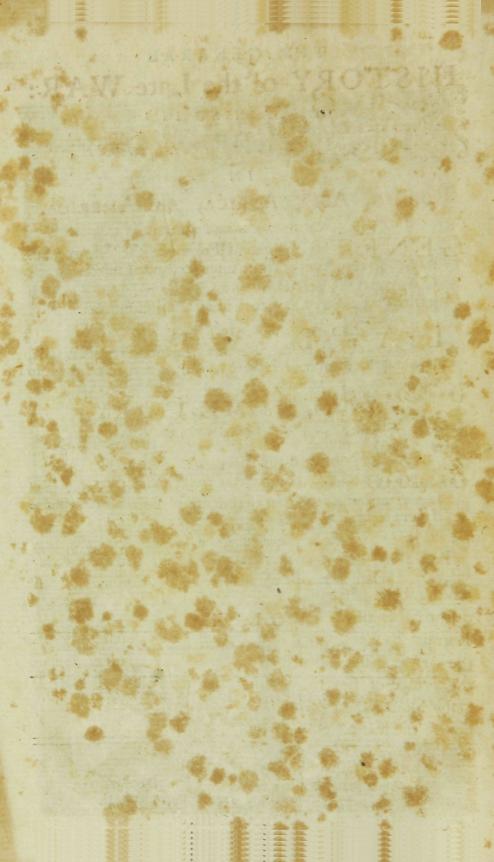
Historici est: nequid falsi, audeut dicere: nequid veri, non audeat. Polib.

OLIB.

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

LONDON:

Printed for EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultry; And JOHN MILLAN, at Charing-Crofs. M.DCC.LXIII.





THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OFTHE

LATE WAR.

{}*{ >*{ > HE Imperial army being utterly A. D. difabled by the defeat at Rofbach; 1757. and there being nothing to fear, King of nor to do in this quarter, his Prufia *** *** fian Majefty was left entirely at thoughts against the liberty to act in perfon against the Austrians. Austrians They had opened trenches before Schweidnitz, in in Silefia. Silefia, on the 26th of October, but had made little or no progrefs on the 9th of November, having been perpetually interrupted by the frequent fallies of the befieged. Prince Charles of Lorrain had encamped near Breflau, over-against the army commanded to cover that city, under the Prince of Bevern, waiting the reduction of Schweidnitz, that he might be able by the addition of the forces a employed in that fiege, to give

^a The troops of Bavaria and Wurtemburg.

A 2

Bevern

A. D. 1757.

4

Bevern battle, or make him retreat and leave Breflau to his mercy. By these circumstances Silefia was in danger of being forced out of the hands of Prussia. This was the principal object of the war between him and the Empress Queen. His Majesty, therefore, hastened to its assistance with a confiderable part of his victorious army, firmly believing that the garrifon would hold out, with hopes of relief, to the last extremity. But it was too late. For, though there was great encouragement to hold out, from the great loss fustained by the Auftrians, in a general affault, on the eleventh, when they could only carry two redoubts, without making any confiderable breach in the ramparts of the town, the generals, who commanded at Schweidnitz, thought proper against the inclination of the garrison, who had before, and then offered to force their way through the besiegers, to capitulate next day; and thereby furrendered themfelves and a garrifon of 4000 brave fellows prifoners of war, and that important fortrefs into the hands of the Auftrian auxiliaries, together with a great quantity of ammunition, provisions and money.

The lofs of this ftrong town was certainly a very great weakening of his Pruffian Majefty's intereft and ftrength in Silefia; but the depriving him of the fervice of fo many veteran foldiers would have been more feverely felt in his prefent circumftances had they not found an opportunity to difengage themfelves from the efcort, conducting them into Bohemia; which the garrifon of Schweidnitz were animated to do by the news of

the

The fhameful capitulation made by the officers in Schweidnitz.

The foldiersmade prifoners, fly from their efcort.

he atchievements of their fellow foldiers, under A. D. the command of their King in perfon, at Rofbach. So that not above 200 of these prisoners remained with the Auffrians.

Schweidnitz having furrendered, the corps b, The Auwhich had befieged it, rejoined the main army frians renear Liffa. Where it was refolved to attack the main army Prince of Bevern without delay; before the King, by forced marches, could arrive to his affiftance. Their force was three times more than the Prince's. and General Nadasti was posted with a separate body on the flank of the Pruffian right wing. The attack was begun at nine o'clock on the 22d Attack the in the morning. But notwithstanding their vast Prince of Bevern. fuperiority in numbers, and the advantage of their fituation, the Austrian right wing was entirely beat and forced to retire towards Newmarck. Lieutenant General Ziethen, who commanded the Pruffian left wing, gave Nadafti fuch a warm reception, that his feparate corps was also routed; and the enemy began every where to give up the battle for loft, and to confult how they might make a fafe retreat; and left the Pruffians in pof-Beaten. feffion of the field of battle. But the Prince of Bevern finding that fome of his regiments had fuffered greatly, did not think it proper to remain in that fituation. He first withdrew into his camp; Prince of and next night he paffed the Oder near Breflau: Bevern rea retreat equally as mysterious as the furrender of ti Schweidnitz; for according to the beft accounts, his army was far from being weakened in propor-

^b Had loft 8000 men in the fiege.

5

1757.

A. D. 1757.

6

tion to the Austrians, who, it is faid, amounted to 20,000 men killed, wounded and miffing.

Surprized and taken prisoner.

On the 23d the army remained behind Breflau: and on the 24th, about four in the morning, the Prince of Bevern, as he was reconnoitring with an efcort, was furprized and carried off by a party of Croats, who had paffed the Oder, under the command of General Beck. This misfortune did not come alone. Lieutenant General Lestwitz, the chief commander in Breflau, giving up all hopes of fupport from an army, that knew not how to improve the advantage of their late victory, and was now deprived of their commander, in a very mysterious manner, and thinking his own ftrength was very infufficient to maintain a place fo extensive and fo badly fortified, capitulated, on condition that the garrifon and wounded fhould have free leave to march out, and not act against the Emprefs Queen during the courfe of the war.

All communication between Pruffia and Silefia cut off.

Such was the fituation of his Pruffian Majefty, all communication between him and his armies in the King of Silefia being cut off by the enemy, that he could his army in have no advice of these transactions, till the 29th, when hearrived at Parchwitz. Here he affembled

> his whole ftrength; the refolute garrifon of Schweidnitz, that broke from their efcort, and the forces, that had done fuch great things under the Prince of Bevern, and Lieutenant General Ziethen. And by this junction, his Majefty, on the first of December, found himfelf in a condition to face the enemy, and his troops full of ardour to reftore affairs to their former state.

Thus difposed and animated, his Prussian Majesty, A. D. 1757. being but two days march diftant from the enemy, Marches in advanced with his whole army to Neumarck, on queft of the It Auftrian army. the 4th. The vifit was quite unexpected. threw the huffars and pandours, many thoufands Surprizes of which were refting themselves secure in that Neumarck. town, into great confusion, at the approach of the King's army. They endeavoured to escape towards Breflau, while they fhut the gates of the town on the fide of the Pruffians. But his Pruffian Majefty forefeeing that would be their attempt to escape, had ordered some squadrons of dragoons and huffars to file round the walls, and to cut off their retreat. By this means the action became desperate. The Prussians forced the gates and drove the enemy entirely out of the town : who falling into the hands of a large body of cavalry, flationed for that purpose, 300 of them Loss of the were cut to pieces, and 600 threw down their Auftrians. arms and were made prifoners; with the lofs of no more than five Pruffian huffars. There were found in this town all the enemy's ovens, a fmall magazine, and two pieces of cannon, belonging to the pandours.

The Auftrian army, upon the news of this in-Auftrian fult, demolifhed the entrenchments of their camp army march tonear Liffa, recalled all their ftraggling parties, give himbattle.and all the garrifon of Breflau, except a few battalions, in order to feek the King of Pruffia, andto chaftife him for his prefumption to come andbeat up their quarters. But as foon as his Majefty was informed of their motions and defign,A 4 he,

1757. King of vances to meet them.

A. D.

he, to fave fome trouble and time, refolved to meet the enemy : and at five o'clock next morn-Prufin ad- ing (the 5th) he began to march with his whole army. At day break the Auftrian cavalry were defcryed on a hill about half a league from Neumarck : who fpread themfelves fo much, that they carried the appearance of the whole Auftrian army, by that dawn of light; and accordingly the King commanded his troops to march forward in two columns.

Drives their advanced guard back.

Difpolition and Itrength of the Auftrian camp.

As the day advanced it was foon discovered that those troops, which occupied the hills, were only four regiments of Saxon light horfe, under the command of Lieutenant General Count Noffitz. The Pruffian huffars were immediately ordered to attack them. Which they performed fo furioufly, that they killed and took about 300 and put the reft to flight : who escaped under the protection of a thick fog. A circumstance that also greatly favoured the march of the Pruffians, as they proceeded. For, they were upon the main body of the Austrian army, about noon, under this cover, before they were apprized of their intentions. The Auftrians were drawn up in order of battle, in front of the village of Leuthen, upon a fine plain, with fome adjacent eminencies well furnished with artillery, fortified both on the right and the left by ftrong batteries of cannon, and in the intervals made difficult of accefs by trees felled and laid crofs the ways, where the thickets did not favour their operations and difpolitions. Moreover their left wing was well covered behind by a pretty large

large wood, where the enemy had cut down a A.D. 1757great number of trees, to prevent their being attacked in flank. However, after his Prussian Ma- Attacked jefty had reconnoitred their fituation, he refolved by the Profians. to attack their left wing, and made his difpofitions accordingly : and as General Nadafti was posted with a corps of referve on the left wing, in order to fall upon the flank of the right wing of the Pruffians, his Majesty placed four battalions behind the cavalry of this fame wing, which had a very good effect : for, thefe fame battalions not only routed Nadafti's corps, which, at the beginning of the action flanked the Pruffian cavalry in the right wing, and had made them give way; but fupported and covered the right wing fo effectually, that they acted with fuch vigour on the left of the enemy, as to oblige them foon after to fall back. This made way for the Pruffian infantry to advance; which they did in good order, though exposed on all fides to a fierce fire of artillery and fmall arms; of which the like was fcarce ever feen. But the Pruffian artillery performed wonders on this occafion. It was of fuch fignal fervice in fupporting the march of their infantry, that the enemy's cannon were foon filenced.

Nothing could excel their bravery and gallant Bravery, refiftance made by the Auftrians during the whole ^{&c. of} both engagement. But, they were at length, though armies. with great difficulty, obliged to give way. They rallied all their forces about Leuthen, which was defended on all fides by entrenchments and redoubts; and maintained the battle at this place about

A. D. 1757. Victory declares in

declares in favour of the Pruffians.

Purfuit.

Length of the engagement. about an hour longer; but were at length forced to yield to fate and to the fuperior bravery of the Pruffian battalions, who repeated their attacks till they became mafters of this poft. This decided the battle. The Auftrians beaten from their laft refort fled on every fide : and when the village of Leuthen was abandoned, his Pruffian Majefty met with no further oppofition. Victory having thus declared in favour of the Pruffians the purfuit begun. The cavalry and huffars purfued the flying enemy moft part of the night, killed many, and brought in many thoufand prifoners. The King, on his fide, purfued the enemy as far as Liffa, where his army fpent the night under arms.

Great generalship and remarkable bravery were shewn on both fides in this battle, which accounts for the length of the contest, and for the extraordinary lofs of men. The battle began at two in the afternoon and continued till night. But the line formed by the Auftrians was fo extensive, that they could quickly replace with fresh troops the lofs they fuftained. This prevented the Pruffian right wing's being employed at the beginning of the action : and this was the reafon why the battle did not become general till towards four o'clock, and of being obliged to bring up their fmall rearguard. Befides the cavalry at first found it very difficult to engage, being obliged to advance over caufeways and felled trees, with which the enemy was covered. But General Ziethen, their commander, delivered them at length out of that difficulty, and found them a way to come into a fhare of the action; and then they drove all before them.

The right wing of the Pruffian army was commanded by his Majefty in perfon, and conducted by Prince Maurice of Anhault-Deffau. The left was committed to the conduct of General Retzow. The whole difpofitions were made by his Pruffian Majefty, and furpaffed every thing he had yet done : and they were as happily executed ; otherwife the infantry, which performed wonders, muft have been obliged to give way in their Sovereign's prefence.

The confusion of the Austrians became so great Gallant that, in the pursuit, a cornet of Ziethen's regicornet. ment, with a party of ten men only, took, difarmed, and brought 100 Austrians prisoners to the head quarters. For which gallant action the Rewarded. King promoted him to the rank of a captain, and honoured him with the order of merit.

The Auftrian army was not only well officered; Strength of the Auftribut it was vaftly fuperior in numbers and ftrength, an army. confifting of 80,000 men, and a very large train of artillery. The Pruflians did not exceed 36,000 Of the horfe and foot; with a much inferior artillery. The Auftrians had 6000 and upwards flain in Lofs of the battle: had many more wounded: 21,500 were made prifoners, amongft whom were two generals, General O'Donnel dangeroufly wounded, the Saxon General Count de Noftitz: befides the fon of the late Marfhal Browne: and 291 officers, many of them field officers: they loft 4000 baggage and ammunition waggons, well filled; 168 cannon ^c and 51 colours and ftandards.

e Some accounts make them 200 and 241 pieces.

Prince

1757-

A. D. 1757.

12

Prince de Lichtenstein was also dangerously wounded; and General Count Luchessi was left dead in the field of battle.

Surprifing difparity. What exceeds almost all credibility is, the fmall lofs of the Pruffians on this memorable and most fevere occasion; they had no more than 500 killed, and 2,300 wounded; amongst whom was Major-General Krockow, who was also made prisoner ^d. But the account from Vienna of the fame action, is fo flagrant an inftance of misrepresentation, that we cannot but take particular notice of it: This account was contained in a dispatch bearing date the 14th of December, and directed to the ministers of their Imperial Majesties at foreign courts. The substance of which is as follows:

Austrian account. "YOU have had, as yet, Sir, but a very imperfect account of the affair on the 5th of December, between the Imperial and Pruffian army. As I am perfuaded the Pruffians will make great boaft, and magnify to an extreme degree, their victory over the Auftrians, I am glad I have it in my power to affure you, that, except the apparent advantage of having kept the field of battle, and having taken eighteen or twenty field pieces, they obtained none that were any way effential. The confequences of this action will place the matter in a clear light.

"The effusion of blood was, indeed, very great; but, I believe, the refult will prove more to the advantage of the Imperial than the Prussian army, by reason, that the loss was near equal;

d This battle was fought on the 5th of December 1757.

and that, if there was a difference with regard to the number of the flain and wounded, it feems to me, that it was in favour of the Imperialists. The Pruffians will not gain an inch of ground by this event. They will be obliged to fight a-new, which will only, in the end, weaken them; or they must feek out for winter-quarters.

" Breflau and Leignitz are provided with ftrong garrifons, and with provisions and ammunition in abundance. The Imperial army, by its polition near Schweidnitz, covers that place, fecures the communication with Bohemia, and fo keeps in awe the Pruffian army, that it cannot execute any thing against these two places, otherwise than by citing them to furrender : for to effect any thing real, there would be a neceffity of invefting and befieging them in form. This is what the King of Pruffia is not likely to attempt near an army, which, whatever reinforcement this Prince may receive, will also be reinforced on its fide, and will always be fuperior in number to him, and I dare fay, will not fail to equal him in courage. But now I will lay before you a clear and diffinct idea of the action of the 5th.

" It is expedient previoufly to obferve, that it were to be wifhed, that after the taking of Breflau, the Imperial army had been in a condition to purfue the broken remains of Prince Bevern's army, to beat or difperfe them, and at the fame time to march against the King of Prussia, who came to cover a retreat; but the necessfary celerity in such a cafe was not practicable. The Imperial army had suffered much in the action of the 22d of November. 13

A. D. 1757.

vember. The infantry wanted fhoes and flockings, which they were under a neceffity of being furnifhed with, before they could fet out on their march. The cavalry extremely fatigued, had occasion for reft to recruit their fpirits, and it was not till the fourth of this month, that they were in a condition to march against the enemy.

"This interval of time, which the King of Pruffia gained, a time always precious in war, facilitated the affembling of the troops difperfed by the action of the 22d of November, together with the arrival of the numerous garrifon of Glogaw, and a part of the heavy artillery of that place; as alfo, a confiderable detachment, as it is pretended, *from Marfhal Lebwald's army*: fo that by a moderate computation, this Prince's troops might be fuppofed to amount to 36 or 40,000 men, on the day of battle.

"The Auftrians had in all 50,000 men. They might have infured the victory, if they had had 10,000 lefs. This can be eafily proved. Their army was pofted very advantageoufly by the care and attention of Marshal Daun. The right, extending to the village of Nypern, was covered by ponds. The front was fecured by its fituation and a numerous artillery, and the left terminated in a village called Luthen. This village being fituated in a plain, Marshal Daun, who forefaw that the King of Prussia would direct his main attack on this point, had reinforced it, and covered the flank by five lines disposed behind each other; thus making, like an experienced general, the best advantage of the nature of the ground. It

₽. D. 1757.

was in this fituation that the Auftrian generals waited the coming up of the enemy. The Pruffians advanced about one in the afternoon, within cannon-fhot. The Auftrian artillery did fuch execution, that it immediately threw into confusion the first line of the enemy's infantry, which, with great difficulty was brought again to the charge. Towards three o'clock the fire of the fmall arms began. The two lines having closed each other, that of the Prussians was every where repulsed, except in the above-mentioned point of attack, where the troops posted on the left, at the first difcharge of the Pruffian infantry gave way, without firing a shot, turned their backs, and brought after them, in their flight, fome troops, and even intire regiments that flanked them. This unforeseen and unexpected accident broke the line, and gave opportunity to the Pruffian cavalry to penetrate into the empty space. The disorder was afterwards, in fome respect, rectified, and the line being closed by the corps of referve that advanced, reftored the battle, and hindered the left wing, that had been taken in flank, from being intirely defeated. This could not be well effected without lofing ground; but it was obstinately disputed, and as the front was fuccessful, the left was supported as much as poffible by the detachments fent to it. However, being greatly weakened by the first diforder, and the Pruffians still vigoroully attacking it, there was a neceffity at last of retreating, which was executed in good order, and ftep by ftep, fuch of the enemy as prefented themfelves being con15

A. D.

1757-

A. D. continually charged. The battle lafted from one 1757. till half an hour after four.

"Though we are not exactly informed of the lofs of officers and foldiers, there is reafon to prefume, that the lofs of the Pruffians comes not fhort of ours. A proof of the courage of the Imperial troops may be evinced from their defiring to fight again the next day, when the King of Pruffia prefented himfelf with his whole army to attempt the paffage of the Schweidnitz."

Reply of the Pruffians.

To which the Pruffians replied :-- " Such is the account which the court of Vienna thought fit to communicate to her ministers at foreign courts; what credit fuch ministers deferve is now manifest to all the world, and what must be the fituation of a court which is driven to fuch expedients is equally apparent. The furrender of Breflau, in which was 14,000 of the troops of Auftria, befides almost all their ablest generals and officers, is the best possible testimony, that this battle was decifive in favour of the Prussians; and fo far was the Auftrian army from covering this capital, as was pretended, that all who escaped, and could not find refuge in the fortified towns, fled in the utmost terror and confusion, not knowing what to do, nor where to repair for fafety or protection ; infomuch that the whole boafted army, the remains of which was still superior to the Prussians on the 14th, was to broken and difperfed before the 26th of December, that it was, in a manner, annihilated." The

A. D. The immediate effects of this victory was the furrender of Breslau. His troops, in the heat of Breslaubetheir courage, were eager to affault and to attempt fieged. this ftrong city, garrifoned by 14,000 men, by ftorm; but that method might have been attended with fatal confequences. Therefore his Pruffian Majefty abated their ardour, and prevailed with them to hearken to more adviseable measures. He ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. The Prussian army was not prepared to form a fiege; it was however neceffary that they should not leave behind them fuch a ftrong garrifon placed by the Austrians in that capital for its defence. They at first took possession of the fuburbs called Ohlau, and of the convent of the brothers of charity, and of St. Maurice's churchvard. There they established two batteries, which were foon ready to be played. From thence they carried a parallel within 400 paces of the ditch of the city, advancing towards Schweidnitz gate. One of the first effects of their bombs was the blowing up a tower, fituated on the fhoulder of a baftion, which ferved as a magazine of powder; and the explosion made a confiderable breach in . the ramparts. This happened on the 15th at night, and greatly facilitated the fuccefs of the attack. The greatest part of the cannon of the befieged was already difmounted, and the fire of their batteries was, on the 16th, almost entirely ceafed. On the 17th the Pruffians advanced confiderably by fap. On the 18th they erected a new battery on the right of the parallel. On the 19th VOL. III. they. B

21

A. D.

1757.

Capitulated.

Lofs.

they were advanced within 140 paces of the ditch, and the breach was confiderably augmented; Thus by the ardour of the troops, which the rigour of the feafon could not abate, the approaches were carried fo far as to oblige the enemy to think of furrendering. The belieged had no outwork that covered the body of the place; nor any covered way. The befiegers had turned off the little river Ohlau, and by that means had left the ditch dry; and thus there remained no refource for the enemy to defend themfelves with fuccefs. They therefore refolved to capitulate, which was done on the 20th. The commanders of the garrifon would have flipulated for advantages, but were obliged to fubmit to the condition of being made prifoners of war, with the whole garrifon.

At Breflau 144,000 florins were found in the Auftrian military cheft, and the magazines were well flocked. Thirty-feven pieces of Pruffian cannon, which were loft in the action of the 22d of November, were retaken; and befides the artillery belonging to the place, forty-four pieces of Auftrian cannon were found in it.

Lignitz

On the 29th the town of Lignitz furrendered, furrenders. the garrifon of which was fuffered to retire, as the number of prifoners was already fo great as to render the entertainment of more inconvenient. A confiderable magazine of meal and oats, fome artillery, and a large quantity of ammunition were fecured.

The vigilance of the King of Pruffia to improve every advantage is aftonishing, for, notwithstand-

ing

ing the deep fnow that lay upon the ground, his A. D. Majefty marched on the 24th, at break of day, with part of his army and a train of artillery, to nitz attacked.

Thus his Pruffian Majefty, in a month's time, Rapidity of beat the Imperialifts, and their auxiliaries the thePruffian French; entirely routed the Auftrians, and regained all Silefia, except the town of Schweidnitz; about which he formed a blockade, the fame day that Breflau capitulated. And at this time the number of his prifoners exceeded the number of his whole army.

The fiege of Schweidnitz did not prevent other operations in Silefia. The King ordered his troops under the command of Baron Fauqué, to pursue Freyberg the Austrian fugitives, who, on the 18th, arrived taken. at Freyberg, from whence the enemy was inftantly diflodged : nor did they make a more vigorous And other defence at Fredberg, Strigau, Kunersdorff, nor places. any of the open towns; but fled precipitately on the first approach of the Pruffians. On the 19th four officers and 200 private men were made prifoners, and fixty waggons laden with meal for Schweidnitz taken. The 20th the Baron purfued the enemy as far as Reichenau, and attacked them on the hills near Landshut, where they had halted and intrenched themfelves, having received in the morning of that day, a re-inforcement of 2000 men from Liebau, which made them fuperior in infantry to their purfuers; yet, notwithstanding this fuperiority, they were driven from their trenches, and purfued through Griffau and Liebau : of which towns the Pruffians took poffeffion, B 2 and

A. D. and found in them 2000 tons of meal, great quantities of forage, and many thousand bombs, bul-Loss of the lets, and granadoes. Thus the mountains of Silefia were entirely foured, and those of the enemy that escaped driven half naked and starving into the circle of Konigsgratz.

In Upper Silefia, the towns of Jaggendorff, Troppau, Teffohen, and Strigau, were likewise taken.

The love of the Englifh for the King of Pruffia.

20

These brave actions, fo glorious and fo rapid, endeared him to the people of England, who had but just before given him up for lost and a prey to his numerous enemies. They loved him; and . they beheld him with aftonishment and admiration, extricating himfelf with fuch activity and galantry, out of fo many and great difficulties; and every man, at that time faid, " It was a pity fo " brave a monarch fhould be unfupported, or per-" mitted to be crushed by fuch a powerful, yet " cowardly confederacy." So warm were the whole people in his favour, and fo eager to fhew all teftimonies of their good wifhes to his caufe, that they celebrated his birth-day with marks of affection, equal to those they give to their own Sovereign, on those joyous occasions.

The Prince of Brunfwick, after his retreat from Zell, which was occasioned chiefly by the pontoons not arriving at the place appointed in the well-regulated plan^e, that General had ordered

• The pontoons were ordered to be marched to Bey, and two bridges to be layed there. Lieutenant-General Spoerke was ordered to pafs over his irregulars, his grenadiers, and his work-men, to make directly a *tete du pont*, to march over his

de-

to

to be executed for a coup de main upon that city, A. D. 1757. having eftablished his head-quarters at Ultzen, received intelligence, that the bridge, which the enemy had broke down at Zell was repaired, and that M. Broglio, with a large body of cavalry, had paffed the Aller, to the right, and that other bodies had paffed the fame river below; fo that an attack might be inftantly expected. Therefore Motions of Lieutenant General Spoerke, and the Major Ge- both arneral Steplin and Gilfe were detached the fame Zell. night^f, with five battalions and as many fquadrons, to obferve the motions of the enemy. Thefe were next day reinforced with four battalions and four squadrons. But no action enfued : the motions of the French parties being no more than a feint, to favour an efcort of waggons, laden with baggage, which M. de Richelieu had detached from his army into the interior part of the country, for greater fecurity. So that as foon as the Hanoverian parties appeared Broglio and the

detachment, and the fecond line was under arms, to be ready when fent for. At the fame time Lieutenant-General Oberg, with two battalions and eight fquadrons, was ordered to march to the right of Zell and Helen, and there to make all the flew he could of paffing, to fire away, and to make it appear ferious. Major-General Ifenberg, with three battalions and two fquadrons, was ordered to do the fame at Laethenfen, on the left of Zell, and Major-General Kilmanfegge was to try to force into Zell, with two battalions under his command, and to get poffeffion of the town, on the first appearance of the enemy's abandoning it; Frince Ferdinand intending to march the army over the bridges at the fame time, and to have attacked the enemy on their left flank.

f Of the 23d of December.

B 3

other

other French parties returned to their pofts at A. D. 1757. Zell.

Having purfued the wars in Germany all the rigour of the feafon, and the neceffities of the armies, both the victorious and the defeated, obliging them to retire out of the field, to refresh and re-A view of cruit themselves in winter quarters; let us change the scene, and view the transactions of the British the British ministry. about this

Inregard to Hanover.

councils

time.

We have informed you that the army of obfervation was put again in motion, and that the refuming of their arms was justified by the notorious infraction of the capitulation of Clofter-Seven by the French. This was approved of and advifed by the British court with promise of support.

Infidious the Dutch towards Great Britain.

The Dutch, under the professions of friendship conduct of for Great Britain, contributed greatly to facilitate the operations of the French, by granting them a free paffage through Namur and Maestricht, for provisions, ammunition and artillery. A conduct highly prejudicial to the interest of our allies, and contrary to the laws of neutrality, under which they claimed great advantages from this nation. Our court were justly displeased with their High and Mightineffes for the facility, with which they yielded to this demand of the French Monarch; and ftrongly remonstrated against a concession to our enemies, that was fo manifeftly in their favour. But where inclination, or interest bends, there never wants an excufe. Inability to refift a powerful neighbour, was pleaded as a fufficient reason for them to acquiesce in the peremptory demand

mand of a hoftile nation, from whom they expected to reap great commercial profits: and a plea of poverty was invented to cover an unwillingness to put their republic into a state of defence and respect. This was only a specimen of that attachment and partiality, which the Dutch shewed towards France, during the whole war. They pleaded neceffity or conveniency for every thing, that the enemy could wish to have them do or to connive at.

This was foon exemplified in that tamenefs and Favours indifference, with which they faw France take poffeffion of Nieuport and Oftend, delivered to them by the heirefs of the houfe of Auftria, in defiance of treaties, of which the Republic were guarantees, for their own fecurity, against the ambition of France. So that both duty and intereft required their concurrence with Great Britain to prevent, as far as in their power, the furrender of those two sea ports and barrier towns, into the hands of the common enemy^g.

Colonel

g On the 6th of July Count Colloredo, envoy-extraordinary from the Empress Queen of Hungary, fet out for Vienna without taking leave : the letter he wrote on this occafion was as follows:

My Lord, &c.

" His Britannic Majefty having thought proper to espouse the caufe of the enemies of my court and its allies, in the prefent fituation of things, I have just now received my recall, and purpose to be gone as soon as possible. I shall take M. de Lohzem with me ; and I defire that your excellency would be

²³ A. D. 1757.

Colonel Yorke, his Majesty's plenipotentiary at A. D. the Hague, on the 28th of November, endea-1757. voured to make them fenfible of the danger and Remonftrance againft it by injuffice of remaining indifferent on fuch an event; that threatened to defeat all the advantages gained by the treaty of Utrecht; and to fpirit them up to a vigorous refolution to interpofe, and at leaft to remonstrate against such open violations of that treaty .- ' Confidering, fays the Colonel, the critical fituation, which Europe has been in, during the courfe of this year, in confequence of meafures concerted to embroil all Europe, the King of Great Britain was willing to flatter himfelf, that the courts of Vienna and Verfailles, out of regard to the circumfpect conduct obferved by your High Mightineffes, would have at leaft, in-

> be pleafed to grant us the necessary paffports for our baggage and attendants.

> " It was with the greateft regret I beheld the caufes of my recal growing up; and I can affure your excellency, that I leave this court with the deepest fense of the many favours I have received. I am particularly fenfible of the civilities which your excellency hath fhewn me : I fhall always retain a grateful remembrance thereof; and I have the honour to be, with the utmost confideration, &c."

> To this letter it was answered. " That the King received with aftonishment the news of the minister's recal; and that he looked upon this step as a confequence of the alliance, which his fovereign had contracted with his Majefty's natural enemy, the French King; that in the mean while he had given orders to Mr. Keith, his minister at Vienna, and Mr. Ayrolles, his refident at Bruffels, to quit those courts immediately." formed

24

Colonel

Yorke.

formed you of the changes they have thought A.D. proper to make in the Auftrian Netherlands.

' It was with the utmost furprize the King heard that, without any previous confent from your High Mightiness, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whils France continues to fend thither a formidable quantity of both.

' The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his Majefty, is indeed fo unmerited, and fo extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretexts the may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended fo far as to excuse the infringment, in concert with France, of the most folemn treaties between her and your High and Mightineffes.

⁶ The King never doubted that your High Mightineffes would have made proper reprefentations to the two courts, newly allied, to demonftrate the injuffice of fuch a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards refult from it.

• Your High Mightineffes will have perceived, that your filence on the firft ftep encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others: and who can fay, where they will ftop? the pretext, at firft, was, the need which the Empress Queen ftood in of the troops for the war kindled in the Empire,

A. D. 1757. Empire, and the neceffity of providing for the fafety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England.

• But high and mighty Lords! it is but too evident, that the powers, who have taken thefe meafures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations, with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring ftates.

• The late demand made to your High and Mightineffes, of a paffage for a large train of warlike implements, through fome of the barrier towns, in order to be fent to Oftend and Nieuport, could not fail to awake the King's attention. The fincere friendship and parity of interests of Great Britain and Holland, require that they should no longer keep filence, least, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights.

• The King commands me therefore to recal to your High and Mightineffes, the two-fold right you have acquired, to keep the Auftrian Netherlands under the government of the Houfe of Auftria, and that no other has a title to make the leaft alteration therein, without the confent of your High and Mightineffes, unlefs the new allies have refolved to fet afide all prior treaties, and, at pleafure, to difpofe of every thing, that may fuit their private intereft.

' In the treaty between your High and Mightineffes and the crown of France, figned at Utrecht, on the 11th of April 1713, in the fifteenth article,

are

are thefe words: " It is alfo agreed, that no " province, fort, town or city of the faid Nether-" lands, or of thofe which are given up by his Ca-" tholic Majefty, fhall ever be ceded, transferred " or given, or fhall ever devolve, to the crown " of France, or any Prince or Princefs, of the " houfe or line of France, either by virtue of any " gift, exchange, marriage contract, fucceffion by " will, or by any other title whatever, to the " power and authority of the moft Chriftian King, " or of any Prince or Princefs of the houfe or " line of France."

. In the barrier treaty thefe very flipulations are repeated, in the first article : " His Imperial and " Catholic Majefty promifes and engages that no " province, city, town, fortrefs or territory of " the faid country shall be ceded, transferred, " given or devolve to the crown of France, or to " any other but the fucceffion of the German do-" minions of the house of Austria, either by do-" nation, fale, exchange, marriage-contract, he-" ritage, teftimentary fucceffion, nor under any " other pretext whatfoever; fo that no province, " town, fortrefs or territory, of the faid Nether-" lands shall ever be subject to any other prince, " but to the fucceffor of the ftates of the houfe of " Auftria alone, excepting what has been yielded " by the prefent treaty to the faid Lords of the " States General."

' A bare reading of these two articles, is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your High and Mightiness; and whatever pre-

text

2

27

A. D.

A. D. text the courts of Vienna and Verfailles may al-¹⁷⁵⁷ ledge, to cover the infraction of thefe treaties, the thing remains neverthelefs evident; whilft thefe two courts are unable to prove, that the towns of Oftend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their defigns are juft, or agreeable to thefe treaties, they will, doubtlefs, not fcruple, in the leaft, to make your High and Mightineffes eafy on that head, by openly explaining themfelves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indifputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the ftipulations of the faid two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands.

• The King hath fo much confidence in the good fenfe, prudence and friendfhip of your High and Mightineffes, that he makes not the leaft doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of fuch importance, and of your being pleafed, in concert with his Majefty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose fituation, and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded, as one of the principal fupports of your liberty and commerce.'

The Dutch alarmed.

This remonftrance, enforced greatly by the apprehenfions the Dutch patriots entertained of the impending danger from Embden, which was alfo poffeffed by the French, on the other fide of their republic, worked powerfully amongft the States of Holland. The moft fenfible, and fome of the moft powerful members, began to express their uneafinefs, by remonftrances, full of zeal for the liberty and independence of their country. But the

the French faction in their government prevailed, A. D. 1757. and a way was found to diffipate all their fears and jealoufies, to make them difregard the advice Yield to of Great Britain, by a declaration from the French. minister, of the good and upright intentions of the King his mafter, towards their High and Mightineffes, with affurance of fecurity, not only from infult from the French troops; but of protection from any others; to which he faid they were more in danger to be exposed, on account of their observance of the neutrality. A most Infufficienglaring inftance of the infufficiency of treaties cy of treaand guarantees, to fecure and perpetuate the beft conditions of peace! What could be more firmly flipulated by the barrier treaty, and the treaty of Utrecht? What could be devifed on the continent to ftop the torrent of French ambition for ever invading and encroaching upon Holland and Germany, better than a ftrong barrier ? What could prevent France entering the united provinces, if the barrier should be destroyed ? What could be more folemnly engaged than by the Dutch to guarantee, to exert the utmost of their strength to maintain, that barrier against all attempts of the French ? Yet, you fee the two principal fea-ports within that barrier, which coft fo dear, fo many millions in money, and fo many thousand lives to obtain it, for the fole benefit of Auftria and Holland, was wantonly given into the poffeffion of France, to over-awe and prevent the Dutch taking part in the war with Great Britain, which had faved both Auftria and Holland from deftruction, and

A. D. 1757-

30

and beheld with indifferency by the Dutch, whole very existence depends upon the friendship of Great Britain, and a coertion of the power of France.

Spain's conduct.

Spain, during all this fummer, after Mr. PITT refumed the feals, behaved with more decency towards the English nation : though their councils were very much suspected of an inclination to favour the interest of France; and the States of Italy were kept in awe by the cruizers fent from Gibraltar, up the Streights. But, if poffible, it was good policy to give them no foundation of a quarrel with us.

In this fituation of Europe, the time approached for the meeting of the British parliament; which was fummoned to do bufinefs on the first of December. But as the bufinefs of this feffions does most properly relate to the next year, we shall not touch upon any affairs on matters done in either house of parliament, till we have fummed up the memorable contents of the prefent year. and given an account of the fhips taken on both fides.

A review of the tran-

In what light posterity will view the transactions factions of of the year 1757, is uncertain; they appear to us, this year. that live at the time, and know them to be facts;

in a marvellous light. It is fcarce credible, what we have feen atchieved, and what we have feen In Germa- miscarried. The space of a single year never exny: hibited, on the scene of a fingle country, never contained so many firiking events, never difplayed fo many revolutions of fortune, as those we have

feen

feen in Germany. Revolutions! not only beyond the most fanguine expectations; but far beyond what the most fegacious forefight, reafoning from experience and the nature of things, could poffibly have imagined. Behold, in the beginning of the year the King of Pruffia was triumphant; the whole power of the Auftrians was totally defeated, and their hopes were utterly ruined .- Suddenly the Auftrian affairs were re-eftablished, their armies victorious, and the King of Pruffia defeated, abandoned by his allies; furrounded by his enemies, and reduced to the very brink of defpair .---He rifes and triumphs again, beyond all hopes, and defeats and levels to the ground the united power of France, Auftria and the Empire .- Forty thousand Hanoverians, a whole army, fubmit to 80,000 French, and are only not prifoners of war : the French become poffeffors of all the country, between the Wefer and the Elbe: yet thefe fame Hanoverians refume their arms; and recover their country. Within this year there have been 400,000 men in action. Six pitched battles have been fought. Three great armies demolished. The French army of 80,000 men reduced and vanquished without fighting. The Ruffians victorious, yet flying, as if they had been vanquished. A confederacy of the five greateft powers in Europe, to reduce one finall potentate : all the ftrength of those powers exerted and baffled in one fingle campaign by the King of Pruffia.

Change the scene to Great Britain: We see the In the Bri-British flag infulted, and the laws of nations trod nions.

upon

A. D. 1757.

upon by Spain, in favour of France, with impu-A. D. nity. A great fleet and army returning from Rochefort without attempting to land on the continent, where there was neither fleet nor army fufficient to withstand their force. All the northern provinces in America left exposed to the enemy. The troops, that fhould have defended them, transported to be exercifed at Hallifax, while the French ravaged and conquered what they pleafed. A fleet and army, that cost the nation upwards of a million, to hold a council of war in Nova Scotia: while the French, with a few Indians, were conquering all before them : fo that the British glory feemed to fink in every place, except where those unparallelled military atchievements were performed in the eaft. In Bengal, Clive upheld his country's fame for feats of arms. With lefs than 3000 men he defeated upwards of 40,000 Moors and French: he recovered our fettlements; ruined the French in those parts; delivered the natives of Bengal, &c. from a tyrant, and placed a Nabob upon the throne; he even conquered that extensive, populous, rich kingdom with less force, and in lefs time, than an infignificant fortrefs has been reduced in Germany. In the other parts of East India our people were neglected, and not in a condition to face the enemy in the field; while the French were confiderably reinforced from Europe, and preparing to give the last stroke to our trade and interest on the coast of Coromandel. To which the conquest of Visagapatam, by M. Buffy, was only a prelude.

In Eaft India.

2001 3

1757.

The

The captures, in the course of this year, con-A.D. 1757. tributed greatly to weaken and to impoverish the enemy, and to complete the ruin of their naviga- Captures. tion and trade. But it must be confessed, that the enemy were extremely diligent, and, confidering our vaft fuperiority at fea, their privateers performed wonders, and did our commerce confiderable damage, by interrupting our navigation, making many prizes, and raifing the premium of infurance to a most exceffive height, which became an intolerable burden upon our manufactures and merchandize.-The number of thips Made by taken from the French, and laden with French lifth. property, were 364, of which 115 were confiderable privateers and armed merchantmen; carrying 1460 guns, and upwards of ten thousand feamen. The fhips taken by the French from By the the fubjects of Great Britain, greatly exceeded French. this number, and amounted to 571 great and fmall veffels. But they were neither fo full of men, nor fo well armed with cannon as the French.

Amongst the French prizes we find feveral va- Remarkluable cargoes, as well as ftout privateers. The able prizes most remarkable, both as to their contents, and tions. to their defence, were, the Pondicherry, an East Indiaman, burden 1000 tons, taken by the Dover man of war, after a refolute engagement of about an hour, in which her fecond captain and five men were killed :- The Bien Acquis, carrying 30 foldiers, 1346 cafks of flour, 60 barrels of gun-powder, fix pieces of heavy cannon, VOL. III. 60 bombs

21

and ac-

33

A. D. 1757.

34

60 bombs and bomb-shells, ammunition, foldierscloaths, &c. was taken by the Tyger privateer of Briftol .- The Esperance and the Nom de Dieu, laden on the fame account, both for the Miffiffippi :---- The Grand Biche, carrying 22 nine pounders on one deck, and the Henry, laden with foldiers and naval ftores for Louifbourg :- The Invincible privateer of St. Maloes, which mounted 24 guns, nine pounders, shipped 286 men, and engaged his Majefty's fhip unicorn two hours and a half; during the action the captain was killed, but Lieutenant Clements fought the fhip till he obliged the Frenchman to ftrike. The privateer had near fifty killed and wounded, the Unicorn had no more than the boatfwain, armorer and a marine killed, and five men wounded :- The Mount Ofizer privateer of 20 guns, nine pounders, which, after ftriking to the Tartar, had the affurance to refume their arms and to board their conqueror. But they paid dearly for their treachery, fix and thirty being killed and many of them wounded :---- The Renomée, burden 350 tons, laden chiefly with pork, flour and 200 mufkets; and the Superbe, burden 750 tons, laden with bale goods, warlike ftores, provisions and 242 officers and foldiers, 240 barrels of powder, 320 mufkets and bayonets :-- The Queen of Angels, a Domingoman, of 18 guns, valued two millions of livres :- The Duke de Aquitane h, an Eaft

h This fhip had landed her cargo, which was very rich, at Lishon some months before; and was now fitted out as a man of

East India ship, of 1500 tons, mounting 50 guns, 18 pounders, and carrying 493 men; the fought his Majefty's fhips Eagle and Medway, very brifkly for three quarters of an hour, and then ftruck her colours, having loft 50 men killed and 22 dangeroufly wounded, befides many more, that were hurt. All her mafts, fails and rigging were fo fhattered, that they broke away and fell overboard. The lofs on our fide was ten men killed and 32 wounded on board the Eagle, the Medway, which was employed only in raking the enemy, had no more than ten men wounded :- The Duc d'Aquillain privateer, of 24 nine pounders and two four pounders, each large gun weighing 300lb. heavier than the Tartar's, was taken by his Majefty's fhip Tartar, Captain Lockhart, off the Ine of Wight, after an engagement of one hour and twelve minutes. The Tartar fired 42 broadfides, and killed and wounded 50 of the enemy, with the lofs of only four killed and one wounded :- The Aquillon, a French man of war, of 48 guns and 450 men, mantained a running fight for two hours with the Antelope i, and then was forced upon the rocks in the north part of Hodierne Bay, where the was irrecoverably loft :--The Melampe privateer of Bayone, of 700 tons, 36 guns and 320 men, taken after an engage-

of war, with orders to cruife off the rock of Lifbon, to intercept the Mermaid, a 20 gun English frigate, expected to fail from that port in a few days.

1 The Antelope had three men killed and thirteen wounded.

C 2

ment

35

A. D. 1757.

ment of three hours, by his Majefty's fhip Tartar, of 28 guns and 200 men, Captain Lockhart. —And the Hermoine * French frigate, of 26 thirteen pounders and two nine pounders, ftruck to Captain Elliot, of his Majefty's fhip Huffar, built of fir; who alfo, about the fame time, funk a large French two decker, without being able to fave a man.

Let us not conclude the annals of this year without recording the gallant action of Peter Murray, the boatfwain of the St. George from Smyrna, richly laden, and taken by the Bien Aime, a French privateer. Peter Murray and three failors belonging to the St. George, were left on board the prize, and feventeen Frenchmen were put on

* A On board the Hermione were fome of the Tilbury's people, who greatly praifed the humanity of the inhabitants of the little fishing town, near the place where they were wrecked : who not only concealed them from the barbarous favages. but fupplied them with all neceffaries they could fpare .- An example, that greatly upbraided their mother country, where at this very time, the English prifoners were most cruelly treated, according to the account of Captain Clarke, of the Exeter, published in the London papers, and dated Fischamp in Normandy, July 6. " We both live worfe, fays he, and lie worfe than the hogs do in England : we lie on fint pavement, and have but a pound of ftraw each man to fpread under us, and nothing but the roof of the house and heavens to cover us. Our living is most miferably bad ; we have nothing but bread allowed for breakfast, and at dinner a quarter of a pound of beef a man, boiled all to-pieces for foup, and fome musty cyder to drink ; at fupper we have bread, water, and green cale boiled up together." And this was better treatment, than fome met with in Old France.

36

A. D. 1757.

board

board to navigate her to Marfeilles. In the paffage Peter found means to fecure the arms, and then, by confining fome, wounding others, and obliging the reft to affift him, he, with his three Englifhmen, retook poffeffion of the fhip, without killing one man, and carried her fafe into the port of Barcelona¹.—Neither ought we to pafs over in filence the engagement of his Majefty's fhip Southampton, Captain Gilchrift, with five French privateers, off the Ifle of Wight. Two of the privateers were of equal force with the Southampton. The captain fought them almost three hours, one hour of which time was between two fires. In this fituation his men behaved fo gallantly, that, though it was not in his

¹ The Mills of Hull, Mr. Claude, mafter, from Virginia, was taken off of Nantakett-shoals, in October 1756, by a French privateer from Louisbourg, of which ship Captain Zachariah Norman, of the Porter, of Liverpool, gave the following account in August last. " The Frenchmen took out the mafter and most of the crew, leaving the mate, William Lawfon, fecond mate, carpenter, and two or three more Englifhmen on board, along with thirty-two Frenchmen, with an intent to fend her to Louisbourg. By diffress of weather they were beat off the coaft, and having exhaufted all the provifions, even till they were obliged to eat the cat and dog, a fharke's tail that was nailed on the vessel's stern, a horfe hide, defigned to preferve the rigging when gauled, and fowls dung fried in oil, they refigned, in December, the ship to the hands of the English, who carried her into Placentia-harbour in Newfoundland, having then little or no water left, and in the utmost distress for all necessaries of life."

A. D.

1757.

C 3

power

A. D. 1757.

38

power to bring them into port, he entirely filenced one of them, and obliged the other to drop aftern of her comrade, Captain Gilchrift's fhip having received eight dangerous fhot between wind and water; ten men killed, fourteen mortally wounded, and as many rendered uncapable of their fervice; he was not in a condition to purfue, and therefore put into Weymouth to repair damages and to recruit.

There were feveral other gallant atchievements by our naval commanders, whole accounts not being transmitted to England till the next year, will more properly come within the contents of the following book.



THE



THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OFTHE

LATE WAR.

BOOK III.

Containing the several expeditions against the coast of France; and the coast of Africa. The conquests of Senegal, Goree, Louisbourg, Cape Breton, and of feveral forts in North America. The fuccess of the army of Observation, under the command of Prince Ferdinand. Great Britain's connections with Pruffia. The campaign in Germany between the King of Prussia and the Imperialists, Austrians, Rusfians, French and Swedes. The state of the war in East India : and the success of our naval power against the French, during the year 1758.

HE inactivity and difgraces of the laft campaign, both in America and on the coaft of France, were not less diffatisfactory to the na- Domeffic tion, than the miscarriages in the preceeding year : but their fears were fomewhat relieved by the good opinion the generality of the people enter-

A. D. 1758.

C 4

A. D. 1758. tertained of Mr. PITT, and with the expectation that the time was at hand, when delinquents would be brought to punifhment, and the fervice both by fea and land would be put into better hands.

Sentiments upon the late expedition.

The patriots could not be filent upon the occafion, " It has, faid they, been the great miffortune of Britain to have the grand business of the nation retarded at home by party debates, and the fuccefs of her arms abroad fruftrated by tame affemblies and councils of war. When a commander in chief holds fuch councils to deliberate whether, or not, he shall carry his orders into execution, there is certainly great room to entertain suspicions of his conduct .-- From such cautious proceedings, we may be led to conclude, That he is either afraid of doing his duty; or that he has received fome fecret counter-orders to warrant his inactivity : and that, therefore, he chufes to fkreen himfelf under the refolutions of a council of war, as a colourable pretext for not purfuing his public and visible orders.

" Indeed it may be prudent, in a general or admiral, to advife with his officers about the particular means of executing his orders; but whether it is advifeable to execute them, or not, ought to be the determination of his own judgment. For, it is eafy to conceive, that, if a commander in chief intimates his inclination to the inferior officers, he will find no great difficulty to procure a majority to acquiefce in his opinion. Befides, the very calling a council of war, to deliberate whether he fhall execute his orders, or not, is a fuffifufficient intimation, that he is inclined to pacific or inactive measures; and, in such a case, no doubt, the inferior officers will not fail to adapt their advice, to the general disposition; for, few are animated with such enthusiastic valour, as to give their votes for braving the dangers of war, when their general affords them so handsome a plea for keeping out of harm's-way.

" If the myfterious reafons are not unravelled, which induced the conductors of the late expedition (against Rochefort) to return without attempting to perform the intended fervice, we can never hope to fucceed in any future undertaking. Part of their orders have been inferted in the Gazette, for public information and fatisfaction: and the publication of them does honour to the fecretary, who fubfcribed them. We are not now under the administration of a minister, who will countenance fallhood, or feek to palliate mifconduct, or facrifice *innocent blood* to their own fafety.

"We are told, in the Gazette, openly and ingenuoufly, that no attempt had been made to land: and as they were bound by their orders, to make a defcent, if practicable, they have certainly acted in direct breach of their duty, if, by their delays and deliberations, they rendered that impracticable, which might have been originally feafible.

" It is difagreeable to reflect, that England must once more be difturbed with the melancholy parade of a court-martial; for frequent courtsmartial are certain indications of the decline of military

A. D.

1758.

military virtue. But it is to be hoped that this extraordinary inftance of ill-conduct will undergo the cognizance of a higher judicatory; and that the parliament will infpect into this myfterious tranfaction.

"As the meeting of that great affembly is near at hand, it is much to be wifhed, that inflead of wafting our time in vague conjectures, and ineffectual exclamations, we would apply ourfelves to make remonftrances to our feveral reprefentatives, and earneftly intreat them ferioufly and vigoroufly to inveftigate the caufe of this fhameful event, by means of a national enquiry. Such an application from their conftituents will animate their zeal: and when they meet in parliament may no party divisions diffract their councils. Such perforal differentions are always prejudicial to the nation, but they would now be immediately fatal.

"No parliament ever affembled under fuch critical circumftances. The kingdom has this year expended above eight millions and a half, only to purchase loss and difgrace.—Fresh supplies, and large ones too, must be raised for the fervice of the next year : and can it be supposed that, in the present declining state of the public credit, people will be forward to contribute, unless pass are punished, and they perceive a disposition towards sure amendment.

"The fate of the nation will probably depend on the operations of the enfuing feffions. Let the dark fchemes, which have baffled the hopes

of

42 A. D.

1758.

of the public, and fruftrated the fpirited and welldirected efforts of a patriotic miniftry be dragged into light. The parliamentary enquiry will now be reverfed: inftead of defending the people against the abuses of the ministry, we hope that they will vindicate the ministry for the fake of the people."

Such was the language, fuch the wifhes and de- Concerning the fires of the nation. And the minister could not commanhelp, on a very folemn occafion, fome time after, and land. declaring, " That he believed there was a determined refolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the fervice of their country !" He affirmed, " That, though his Majefty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honour and interest of his British dominions; yet scarce a man could be found, with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the leaft appearance of any danger, could, with confidence, be trufted." He particularized the inactivity of one gentleman in North America, from whom the nation had conceived great expectations. He complained, " That this n- commander had expressed the moft contemptuous difregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a confiderable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings, but what appeared on a written scrap of paper." He obferved, " That with a force by fea and land, greater than ever the nation had hitherto maintained,

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

44

tained, with a King and ministry ardently defirous of redeeming her glory, fuccouring her allies and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to fervice every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal, than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest falaries."

In the heat of these complaints the parliament met, and his Majesty opened the session ^m with this most gracious speech :

His Majefty's fpeech.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I would have given me the greatest pleasure to have acquainted you, at the opening of this feffion, that our fuccess in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of our cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose.

I have the firmeft confidence, that the fpirit and bravery of this nation, fo renowned in all times, and which have formerly furmounted fo many difficulties, are not to be abated by fome difappointments. Thefe, I truft, by the bleffing of God, and your zeal and ardour for my honour, and the welfare of your country, may be retrieved. It is my fixt refolution to apply my utmost efforts for the fecurity of my kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the poffeffions and rights of my crown and fubjects in America, and elfewhere; as well by the ftrongeft exertion of our

m On the 1ft of December 1757.

naval

naval force, as by all other methods. Another great object, which I have at heart is the prefervation of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and in that view to adhere to, and encourage my allies.

For this caufe, I fhall decline no inconveniences; and, in this caufe, I earneftly defire your hearty concurrence, and vigorous affiftance. The late fignal fuccefs in Germany has given a happy turn to affairs, which it is incumbent upon us to improve; and, in this critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe are upon you. In particular, I must recommend it to you, that my good brother and ally the King of Prussia, may be supported in fuch a manner, as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause deferve.

Gentlemen of the Houfe of Commons,

It gives me the utmost concern, that the large fupplies, which you have already granted for carrying on the war, have not produced all the good effects we had reason to hope for. But I have so great a reliance on your wisdom, as not to doubt of your perfeverance. I only defire such supplies as shall be necessary for the public fervice; and, to that end, have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you. You may depend upon it, that the best and most faithful conomy shall be used.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have had fuch ample experience of the loyalty and good affections of my faithful fubjects towards

45 A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

46

wards me, my family, and government, in all circumftances, that I am confident they are not to be fhaken. But I cannot avoid taking notice of that fpirit of diforder, which has fhewn itfelf amongft the common people, in fome parts of the kingdom ⁿ. Let me recommend it to you, to do your part in difcouraging and fuppreffing fuch abufes, and for maintaining the laws, and lawful authority. If any thing fhall be found wanting, to explain or enforce what may have been mifunderftood or mifreprefented, I am perfuaded it will not efcape your attention.

Nothing can be fo conducive to the defence of all that is dear to us, as well as for reducing our enemies to reafon, as union and harmony amongst ourfelves.

Remarks.

It is very evident, in this fpeech, that there was no thoughts of a parliamentary enquiry into the conduct of the commanders, either in Europe or America, as the people expected, and ardently defired. That was removed, with a promife of more activity, both by fea and land, in future measures and operations. Here also we may discover a fettled resolution in the cabinet, to affist our German allies heartily and vigorous vigorous. Yet the voice of the Sovereign was never received with more unanimity by both houses of parlia-

ⁿ Occasioned by a fcarcity, and the engrossing of breadcorn.

ment; nor could any thing exceed the zeal with which they promifed ° to affift his Majefty in whatever

• The humble address of the Right Honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords fpiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The concern which you are pleafed to express for the difappointments that have unhappily attended some of the meafures formed by your Majesty this year, for carrying on the just war, in which we are engaged, is a fresh mark of your paternal regard for the welfare of your people, and for the glory of this kingdom.

The testimony which your Majesty has, at the fame time, given to the spirit and bravery of this nation, and the ardent zeal, of your parliament, to retrieve these misfortunes, is a proof of the justice done by your royal mind to our principles and sentiments, and the greatest encouragement to perfevere in them.

Affected therefore, as we are, with these events, we are not discouraged; but we fincerely promise your Majesty our hearty concurrence, and most vigorous affistance, in accomplishing, under the protection of divine providence, your wise and gracious intentions for our defence and fasty at home, and for recovering and fecuring the rights and possession of your crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere; particularly by the utmost exertion of that effential part of our strength, your naval force.

The prefervation of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe, are never to be forgotten by us. Of this pure religion, and these invaluable liberties, Great Britain has, in all times, been a principal bulwark; and cannot fail to continue fo, under your Majesty's aufpicious reign. A. D. 1758.

47

A. D. ever related to his British dominions and interest ^{1758.} by sea and land; and also to support the King of Prussia,

> As the late fignal fuccefs in Germany fills us with unfeigned Joy, fo it animates our hopes to fee this glorious caufe revive : and we do with equal thankfulnefs and fatisfaction, acknowledge your Majefty's generous declaration, that, for the fake of it, you will decline no inconveniencies.

> To defend your Majefty against all your enemies, to support your honour and real interests, and to strengthen your hands, are our indispensable duty. It shall also be our endeavour, to improve this success to the most useful purposes; and to exert ourselves in supporting your good ally the King of Prussia, whose magnanimity and unexampled firmness are so evident to all the world, and of such great utility to the common cause.

We have feen with the utmost abhorrence, that fpirit of diforder and riot which has shewn itself of late among the common people. We are fensible that it is inconfistent with all government, and necessary to be reformed and suppressed. Nothing shall be wanting on our part, for this falutary purpose; and to enforce and add strength to the laws and lawful authority, on which the liberty and property of the meaness, as well as of the chief of your subjects depend.

Your Majefty's kind admonition, of the neceffity of union and harmony among ourfelves, is highly worthy of the common father of your people: we will always have it before our eyes. And we give your Majefty the ftrongeft affurances, that our loyalty and good affections to your Majefty, and your royal family, of which we have, on all occafions, given real proofs, are never to be fhaken or diminifhed. The prefervation of your facred perfon, the flability of your government, and the continuance of the Protestant fucceffion in your illustrious houfe, will ever be most dear to us, and effential to the happines of all your people.

48

The

Pruffia, and to enable his Majefty vigoroufly and effectually to improve the advantages gained by

the

49

A.D.

1758.

The humble address of the House of Commons.

Moft Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majefty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament affembled, return your Majefty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave to affure your Majefty, that this house fees, with the deepeft concern, the fuccefs of your Majefty's arms fo unequal to the juffice of your caufe, and to the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose.

Your faithful commons firmly rely, that, as your Majefty, in your royal justice, has endeavoured to trace the causes of paft difappointments, your Majefty will alfo, in your high wildom, open better hopes of future prosperities, by invigorating our enterprizes, and animating the attempts of the Britifh arms : and in this confidence, they will chearfully support your Majefly in the utmost efforts for the fecurity of your kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the poffessions and rights of your crown and fubjects in America, and elfewhere ; as well by the flrongest exertion of your Majesty's naval force, as by all other adequate methods.

Permit us to affure your Majefty, that your faithful commons, excited by zeal for the Protestant cause, and the liberties of Europe, do, with most unfeigned joy, humbly offer their congratulations to your Majefty on the late fignal fuccefs in Germany; and that they will vigoroufly and effectually enable your Majesty to improve the happy turn of affairs there, and, in particular, to fupport your good ally the King of Pruffia, in fuch a manner, as the magnanimity and unexampled efforts of that great Prince, in defence of the religious and civil liberties of Europe deferve and require.

We should be wanting to ourselves and to those we reprefent, not to acknowledge, with all dutiful gratitude, your Majefty's paternal and feasonable care for the interior tranquillity and VOL. III.

22

A. D. 1758.

50

the army of observation, over the French under the Duke de Richelieu ².

The lenitives made use of in the front of his Majesty's speech, were not the only means used to ftop a parliamentary enquiry into the caufes of that mifcarriage on the coaft of France; but very extraordinary methods had been tried to ftop the spirit of addreffing, and instructing the members on that fingular occafion 9; till the national heat of refentment evaporated in a court-martial, that did honour to Sir John Mordaunt, and left the public as much in the dark, as they were in before, relative to their apprehenfions of the fecret cause, and with a bar to all future enquiries into that mifcarriage.-It is remarkable, however, that the very fame party, which had diffinguifhed themfelves by their acrimony, feverity and unrelenting juffice in the profecution of Ad-

and fafety of your fubjects, in having been gracioufly pleafed to recommend to us to do our part for maintaining the laws and lawful authority against that spirit of diforder, which has shewn itself amongst the lower people, in some parts of the kingdom; and we will not fail, in due time, to take into our most ferious confideration the properest methods for difcouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for preventing the causes of the like mischiefs hereafter.

P The French were fo diffreffed about this time for money, that they offered eleven and a half per cent. intereft for money, by way of loan in England. The Lords of the treafury offered two hundred pounds reward for the difcovery of any perfon concerned therein; it being high treafon to affift his Majefty's enemies with money, in time of declared war.

9 See page 357, 358, Vol. II.

miral

miral Byng, for not doing all in his power, on the 20th of May, in the opinion of his judges; were on this occasion, extremely careful how they infinuated any thing to the difadvantage of the commander in chief; were very tender in the profecution, and admitted his defence in the most favourable light.

What his Majefty promifed, in regard to the Aftivity of fecurity of his kingdoms, the recovery and pro-ter. tection of his American poffeffions and rights, and the exertion of his naval force; the execution of thefe promifes was not delayed a moment.—The minifter was no fooner in poffeffion of the fentiments and refolutions of both houfes of parliament; that approved and promifed to enable his Majefty to carry on the war, in the manner propofed in his fpeech, but he fet about the work with diligence and vigour; and with this moft neceffary precaution to attend to fuch meafures firft, whofe fuccefs would naturally facilitate the ulterior operations.

Domeftic fecurity was naturally the first care of For dothe ministry. For which, last year, the legislature $\frac{\text{meftic fe-}_{curity.}}{\text{had provided a regular and well-disciplined militia.}}$ An act carried under Mr. PITT's first administration with fome difficulty, and but badly relished by fome of the courtiers. It was therefore, no wonder that such a falutary and constitutional meafure to enforce this act, was not carried into execution, fo as to embody that militia, during the interim of the minister's difmission. However, Mr. PITT was far from placing the fecurity of D 2 these

51

A. D. 1758.

A. D 1758. thefe kingdoms in thofe means, which will ever difgrace his predeceffors for their inactivity and timidity. He was refolved that neither fleet nor army fhould eat the bread of the nation in idlenefs. And he had the wifdom to plan his operations against the enemy, fo as to make them fubfervient to the great end of felf-prefervation to his country. He confidered the ftrength and defence of thefe kingdoms, to confiss in, and to depend on, the naval power duly exerted: and he put the whole ' into employ.

He fixed his thoughts upon the conqueft of Louifbourg and Cape Breton, without which it would be impoffible to fecure the Britifh Empire in that quarter of the world. But he could not be unmindful of the difappointments, that expedition had met with laft year; whether by betraying the fecrets of the cabinet, or by the mifconduct of those employed in the execution of the plan, he had feasonably and judiciously formed for that purpose.

Expedition againft Louifbourg.

The early notice received by the enemy of the intention of the British arms against Louisbourg, had given the French an opportunity to fend a force superior to that intended by us against that fortrefs: the detention of the fleet under Admiral

r The lift of the English navy at this time stood as follows: 156 line of battle, 118 frigates, from 40 down to 12 guns: 46 bombs, yachts, hulks, &c. in all 320 ships of war. Bestides four ships of 74 guns, two of 70, four of 64, six of 56, and ten of 28 guns, upon the stocks, and in great forwardnoss. The last 16 built of fir, and to carry 12 pounders.

Holbourne,

Holbourne, which enabled the French squadrons to get to their station in that harbour, before his arrival in those feas; and the inactivity of the army ordered against it, as well as of the fleet, after its arrival at Hallifax, fuggefted the means to prevent a miscarriage, for the future, from the like caufes.

The plan against Louisbourg was revived and carried in council, and all the contingent operations were fettled for North America. The fleet Forces for and land forces against that important, and chief dition and fortress of the French in North America, were for North America. adequate to the fervice. 8000 men were deflined to drive the French from the Ohio: and 16,000 men were order'd to reduce Crown Point, and to open a way to the frontiers of Canada. The chief command on the continent of North America, was taken from Lord Loudon, who was fuperceded by Major General Abercrombie: and the forces both by fea and land, to be fent against Louifbourg, were placed under the fole command of Admiral Boscawen. But the greatest difficulty was to guard against the counter-armaments of the French; whofe powerful fleet, at the time they were obliged, laft winter, to leave Louifbourg by the inclemency of the climate, had arrived in the ports of Old France in a most fickly feeble condition.

Mr. PITT neither trufted to fidelity, nor fecre- How cy, nor yet to his own vigour and expedition : guarded againft though the whole month of December was em- treachery, ployed for this purpofe, in the greatest naval pre-

D 2

parations,

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

By block-

ing up the French

navy.

54

parations, that had ever been known at this feafon. of the year: fo that the expedition fleet against Louisbourg failed from England on the 19th day of February. For, though the French, at this juncture, had no naval strength nor land force in America, equal to that shipped with Admiral Bofcawen, nor any commander of equal capacity and reputation, he judged it necessary to provide ways and means to prevent their fending a fuperior ' force after him, to retard, obstruct, or perhaps, to defeat his inftructions and orders. Therefore, at the fame time as the grand expedition was fitting out for North America, Mr. PITT fixed his eye upon the fea ports of France, and stationed two fquadrons, in fuch a judicious manner, as not only to block up the ports of Toulon and Rochefort, where, he had certain intelligence, the French were equipping two fleets for the relief of Louifbourg; but to deter the Spaniards from fending any affiftance by their navy ' to the French. The ftation for interrupting or preventing the Toulon fleet proceeding to North America, was at the Streights mouth: and Admiral Ofborn had orders

* Their navy at this juncture confifted of,

77 line of battle ships,

39 frigates, from 36 to 12 guns each.

116

^t The Spanish navy confisted of, 52 line of battle spins, 26 frigates, from 30 to 16 guns; four packet boats of 16 guns, 13 xebeques of 24 guns, four bombs of 12 guns, and four fire spins. But these spins wanted 30,999 seamen to put them to spin feat which could not then be found in Spain.

to cruize for that purpofe, between Cape de Gatt 1758. and the Spanish port of Carthagena.

The French fquadron at Toulon was equipped Difapwith great expedition, and failed under the com- of the mand of M. de la Clue. But finding the Straits Toulon fquadron. fo well guarded with English men of war, and himfelf too weak to force the paffage, he put into Carthagena, with his fquadron, either to catch an opportunity to flip by the English fleet; or to be reinforced from Toulon. Accordingly a fecond fquadron, of five thips of the line " was equipped in that port, to ftrengthen de la Clue's, blocked up in the harbour of Carthagena. Two of them had flipt into Carthagena. La Clue only waited for the other three. Of which the French Admiral made himfelf fo fure, that he ventured into the offing and cruifed for a few days off the mouth of that harbour, that he might be ready to proceed without loss of time. Admiral Osborne kept his station, and placed a frigate, called the Gibraltar, to watch the enemy's motions. At laft the other three French men of war took their departure from Toulon, under the command of M. du Quesne, an able officer, and the same, that had done us fo much mischief in North America. His instructions were, to join la Clue, to escort him through the Gutt, then to proceed with thefe three fhips to Breft, while la Clue made the beft of his way to Louisbourg. Du Quesne was also appointed to fail with the Breft fleet to North

" The Foudroyant, 80 guns, the Orphée, 64 guns, the Oriflame of 50 guns, and the Pleiade of 24 guns.

D4

America,

A. D.

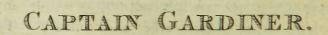
55

A. D. 1758.

• America, and to have the chief command both by fea and land.

The Gibraltar frigate obeyed her orders fo punctually, that she fell in with du Quesne's three fhips, and led them fuch a wildgoofe chace, that after forty hours pursuit the Frenchmen, at two o'clock on the 27th day of February, in the morning, found themfelves in the midft of the English fleet, without being able to come up with her. M. du Quesne, who commanded the Foudroyant, foon perceived his condition, but was afraid to make any fignal, left that should discover him : and at day break Mr. Ofborne perceived fome ftrangers, and made them the fignal, which as he found they did not answer, but edged off, he fired a few guns at the Foudroyant: but he was rather too far to do any great mischief. On this she made a fignal, and the other fhips made fail and ftood different ways. Mr. Ofborne then made the Monmouth's, Swiftfure's, and Hampton-Court's fignals to chafe the Foudroyant; the Revenge and Berwick to chafe L'Orpheus; and Monarque and Montague to chafe the other; thefe last drove her ashore, but somehow or other she got under a bit of a cafile. They quitted her on being fired at from thence. The Monmouth, being the beft going thip of the fleet, flood for the Foudroyant, and paffed clofe by L'Orpheus, which fhe did not fire at : but left her to the Revenge, whom fhe faw gaining on her. A little after five the Monmouth and her chace, having feen the fleet all out of fight, except the Swiftfure, who was fo very far aftern, that they





they could but just discern her, were so near together that the Monmouth began to fire : at feven they were close together, and then the fire grew terrible. Captain Gardiner faid to the officer of a detachment brought from Gibraltar, "Whatever becomes of you and I, this fhip will go into Gibraltar." He lay on her quarter within piftol fhot, and continued the engagement all the time, as close. A little after nine poor Captain Gardiner fell by a musket ball in the head, but lived infenfible till next day. A little after one the Foudroyant ftruck to the Monmouth; but perceiving another fhip coming up, fhe made a feint weak fire to fave her credit. Between nine and ten fhe fhot away the Monmouth's mizen maft, and then gave her three hearty cheers; in ten minutes after down came hers, and the Monmouth returned her cheers as hearty. Soon after down came the main-maft, and then the Monmouth kept fo hot a fire with fmall arms into her, and fo defperate a fire with great guns, that the Foudroyant fickened, and the fellows could hardly be kept on the deck.

At first the enemy's fire was much the quickest, but in an hour it flackened, and still got weaker and weaker for the whole action, without any abatement in ours, but rather the contrary. To fee them together, nobody could believe it were possible, that the small one could stand an hour against fo great and fine ship. Our weight of metal was 24 and 12 pounders, her's from 22 to 42; there was as much difference in the look and fize of the two, as between a frigate and a ship of the 57

A. D. 1758.

58 A. D. 1758.

the line. The one had 1000 men and 84 guns, the other 470 and 64 guns. The captain of a privateer taken by the Monmouth had boafted greatly of this fhip, and infifted fhe was not to be taken: fhe would fight, he faid to-day, and tomorrow, and next-day, but never could be taken. This is as gallant an action as ever was performed by a fingle fhip. It is greatly to be lamented, that poor Gardiner did not live to reap the glory of fo great an action. He told his people before the engagement, "This fhip, fays he, must be taken"; fhe looks to be above our match; but Englishmen

w Extract of a letter from an officer on board the Volunteer privateer, in Gibraltar bay, March 28.

We arrived here on Sunday. The morning we came in, we had the pleafure to fee two of our men of war of 60 guns each (the Monmouth and Revenge) bring in two French men of war, one of 80, the other of 64 guns, the Foudroyant and Orphée.

This, the Foudroyant, is the very fhip the French Admiral Galiffioniere was in when he met Byng off Minorca. Captain Gardiner, two days before he left this port (in company with Lord R-B-and the merchant our agent, with whom I dined yesterday) with great anguish of soul told them, that my Lord A ---- had reflected on him, and told him that he was one of the men who had brought difgrace upon the nation. that it touched him excessively, but that it ran strongly in his mind, that he should have an opportunity shortly to convince his lordship, how much he had the honour of the nation at heart, and that he was not culpable. Before he expired, he fent for his first lieutenant, and told him, the last favour he could afk of him was never to give up the fhip. The lieutenant told him he never would, and inftantly went and nailed the flag to the flaff, and flood at it with a brace of piftols, declaring

Englishmen are not to mind that, nor will I quit her while this ship can swim, or I have a soul left alive." The honest tars cheered him, and faid they depended on him for victory, and he might depend on them.

L'Orpheus ftood for Carthagena, and the Revenge to prevent her getting in, was obliged to engage her at a great difadvantage; fhe was fo nigh the harbour, that the French fhips were all manned on the yards and maft-heads, looking at the action, but dar'd not venture out to her affiftance; but let us block them up, and take a fhip in fight of their fleet, equal to the party that blocked them up.

In thirty-fix minutes after the first fire she struck; but had killed near 120 of our people; among which is the captain of marines, and master, and a lieutenant. Captain Storr was wounded in the leg with a musket ball. The Berwick, indeed, got up time enough to have fomething in the victory; but had she not done fo, the Orpheus acknowledged, it would have been the same thing. The Revenge and Orpheus were not much hurt, that is, the ships themselves; but the other two were greatly damaged, especially the Foudroyant, her fore-mast, though not car-

claring he would put any man to death who attempted to come near the colours to firike them, until he was dead: in fhort, it is the bravest action, by all accounts, that has been known in the memory of man. I was on board the Foudroyant the day she came in: all that I will fay of her is, That she will be the pride of England, and the shame of France.

ried,

3

59

A. D.

1758.

ried, was fhot almost to pieces, and her hull was A. D. 1758. like a fieve on the fide the Monmouth engaged

her.

Thus was this scheme of relieving Louisbourg frustrated. For M. de la Clue not being in a condition to force a paffage, nor to escape the vigilant commander of the English squadron, he took the refolution and the first opportunity, to fail back to Toulon. Where his fhips were laid up.

Rochefort fquadron.

60

And of the . It was then tried what could be done at Rochefort. Six ships of the line and two frigates, with 40 transports carrying 3000 troops, had orders to fail from thence with all expedition to North America. Befides 15 more transports which took in men, provisions and stores, &c. at Bourdeaux, and to be convoyed by certain men of war from the isle of Aix. Sir Edward Hawke, who was charged with this fervice, made Bafque road on the third day of April, with feven ships of the line and three frigates; and at day break difcovered a numerous convoy a few leagues to windward. He immediately threw out the fignal to chafe. Which was obeyed with great cheerfulnefs by the whole fleet. But the wind baffling, the convoy with three frigates that efcorted them got into St. Martins, on the Ifle of Rhee, except one brig, which was run ashore and burnt by the Huffar.

About four in the afternoon, the fame day, the enemy's grand convoy * from Rochefort, efcorted

* Of 40 transports, with 3000 men on board.

3

Intercepted by Sir Edward Hawke.

by the Floriffant of 74 guns, the Sphynx 64, the Hardi 64, the Dragon 64, the Warwick 60, and feven frigates, were plainly difcovered laying off the Isle of Aix; waiting for the other convoy, which had fled into St. Martin's, and had been ordered to join these off the Isle of Aix ^y. But when they found their mistake, and that it was an English fquadron running down upon them, then with all the fail they could make, the enemy began to cut and flip their cabels, and to run in great confusion. This was about five o'clock, and at fix their commodore made off: and many of those ships which fled, were by this time on the mud.

The darkness of the night put an end to the chafe: and next morning it was a droll fight to fee all the enemy's ships aground, and almost dry, about five miles distant from the English steet. Besides, many of them, both King's ships and transports were on their broad sides. Admiral Hawke selected the best pilots for that coast, and fent them on board the Intrepid and Medway, with orders to anchor as near as possible to the enemy's ships. When these two ships had got a gun-shot further in they anchored, and sounding a little

y The Effex of 64 guns, with the Pluto and Proferpine fire fhips, ordered to join Admiral Hawke in the Bay, fell in alfo with 12 fail of transports, efforted by the Galathee, a 22 gun frigate, from Bourdeaux for Quebec. They took the frigate, a letter of marque of 20 guns, and one transport. Two more of which were picked up by the Antelope and the Speedwell floop. Captain Hume of the Pluto loft his life, as he engaged the letter of marque.

A. D. 1758.

61

a-head

A. D.

1758.

a-head at high-water they found but five fathom, of which the tide rifes 18 feet : and every expedient that could be invented on fhore and on board of the enemy, to lighten and to drag the ships through the foft mud being tried, fome of the men of war, that day, by throwing out their ballaft, guns and flores, and with the help of boats and launches, that brought them warps from Rochefort, &c. got as far as the mouth of the Charante, and rendered all the endeavours of our Admiral to follow them ineffectual. But our frigates boats cut away about 80 buoys laid on their anchors, and on what they had thrown over-board : therefore, after deftroying the new works carrying on at the Ifle Madame, which was done next morning by 140 marines, landed under the command of Captain Ewer, the Admiral returned from Bafque road.

Difables

This disappointment of the enemy's defign gave the French the finishing ftroke, and totally defeated their equipments, for the relief of Louisbourg, and for the reinforcement of their army upon the continent of North America. The lofs of the guns, ftores, &c. and the damage done to their fhips, could not be repaired and recovered with any prospect of arriving at their defired ports, in the new world, before it would be too late to do any fervice .- Which is evident from their not venturing out to sea again.

On the other part, our vigilant and wife minifter, having prevented all opposition from Old France to the operations planned against her dominions

62

minions and proceedings in North America; and ftill poffeffed of the chief strength of the nation by sea and land; he turned our whole force to such objects as, at once, might secure the British Iss from invasion, and make a diversion in favour of our German allies.

There were, at this time, some persons of great Argu-ments for a weight in the administration, who were for making German a pufh in Europe against France, on the fide of war. Germany; and urged ftrenuoufly for a reinforcement of Prince Ferdinand's army, fufficient to enable him to purfue the French, and to take fome confiderable advantage of their diffreffed condition : becaufe, it was their argument, Prince Ferdinand would thereby be in a capacity to bring matters to a conclusion; as that would enable him to carry the war into France itfelf; especially, if the efforts by land were well feconded with a diversion on the coaft of France, by our navy. But Mr. PITT. was fo attached to British measures, that he could not be brought, as yet, to acquiesce in this duplicate plan of engaging the French ministry, and to distract their counfels. His plan was to keep our regular forces in a condition to fupply the demands of our colonies and fettlements in the profecution of the war, and to protect these kingdoms from all infults: and fo to employ our navy, as to protect our coafts, to ruin the navigation and commerce of the enemy, and to weaken the ftrength of France in Germany.

Another fquadron, confifting of the Naffau of 64 guns, the Harwich of 50 guns, and the Rye of

-63

A. D.

1758.

A D 1758.

64

of 24 guns, attended by the Swan floop and two buffes, were difpatched to the coaft of Africa, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board 200 marines, under Major Mason, and a detachment of matroffes, under Captain Walker. By this armament the minister had two things in view; to defend that lucrative trade from the encroachments and depredations of the enemy; who had, in the preceeding years, fhewn a very ftrong propenfity to wreft the African coaft out of our hands; and to try, if a scheme laid before Expedition him by certain merchants of London, to furprize and to drive the French from their fettlements on the river Senegal, and from the island of Goree, by which they monopolized z the gum trade, fo neceffary and advantageous in our manufactories, was practicable.

Sails.

againft

Senegal.

Arrives.

This little fquadron failed from Plymouth without noife, and without fuspicion, on the 9th of March; and arrived, without any accident or alteration in its ftrength or condition, off the mouth of the river of Senegal on the 24th of April: but it was the 29th before they could get over the bar; and then not without the lofs of the two fmall veffels, for want of water, which loss of the fmall craft obliged the commander to land fome of the men on the east fide of the river, in the Domel country. The enemy with feven veffels, three

z Before this time the French admitted no nation to trade on this river. They put what price they pleafed on gum; fold it all to the Dutch ; and the English were obliged to buy it of those brokers, at what price they were content to fell it.

of which were armed with 10 guns each, made a A. D. fhew of attacking our fmall craft, and kept a kind of running fire; but were foon repulfed and obliged to retire. Seven hundred marines and feamen being landed, and the artillery got a-fhore; the men laid on their arms all night, and were prepared to attack Fort Lewis, the ftrongeft poft on that river, fituate on an ifland about 12 miles within the bar; when a flag of truce was hung out, and deputies arrived in our camp from the fuperior council of Senegal, with articles upon which they offered to capitulate.

The capitulation was agreed to without much Fort capivariation. By which the Englifh were put in pof-^{tulates.} feffion of all the forts, ftorehoufes, veffels, arms, provifion, and every thing belonging to the company, upon the river Senegal. All the white people belonging to the Senegal company were allowed to carry away their private effects, and to be fent in fix weeks time to Old France. But the merchandize and uncoined treafure were excepted. And the free Mulattoes or Negroes were to enjoy their religion, liberty and effects, and to continue on the fpot or remove with their effects, according to their own good liking.

Agreeable to this capitulation, the French foldiers laid down their arms on the 1ft of May, and our men entered and took poffeffion of the fort, and of all the veffels in the river; got the keys of the flores, papers, &c. and proceeded to receive the fubmiffion of all the fettlements up the

E

VOL. III.

22

river,

A. D. river, which in general accepted the terms of ca-1758. pitulation.

Importance of this conquest.

The importance of this conqueft is collected from its produce; its benefit to England and its lofs to the enemy. At this time the Senegal factory, as called by the French, fupplied the company in Old France with about 500 flaves, 4000 hides, 1200 quintals of gum, and 20 quintals of Elephants teeth. To this factory were belonging five more: viz. Galem, which fupplied about 600 flaves, 20 quintals of teeth, and fifty marks of gold: Goree, 400 flaves and 2400 hides: Joal 100 flaves, 40 hides and 10 quintals of teeth: Gambia 400 flaves, 200 quintals of wax and 200 quintals of teeth: Biffeaux 250 flaves, 250 quintals of wax, and 250 quintals of teeth.

Peculiar advantages.

Lofs to France. The benefit arifing from this conqueft to England is manifold. It puts us in poffeffion of the gum trade, and makes us the merchants of that drug, at our own price, to all Europe; which we were obliged to purchafe with ready money, and a great balance againft us from France and Holland. It alfo opens new branches of commerce, and eftablifhes the intereft and reputation of this kingdom all along the African coaft, which was declining before, and muft, in a fhort time, have yielded to the intrigue and power of France.

The loss to France was very great. It deprived her of the means of supplying her colonies with flaves. It cut off a confiderable branch of those resources, she stood in need of, to support the war. It deprived her of a lucrative traffic in her own

own manufactures; and obliged her to feek with ready money the merchandize, that had been the produce of her own fettlements. Which muft both raife the price of French manufactures, and turn the balance of trade against them, in those goods which can't be made and finished without ivory and gum senega^a.

While

² The French African trade, under the title of the Senegal company, was incorporated with the East India company in 1718. The director general for this united company refided on the island Senegal about 12 miles up the river, which is little better than a bank of white fand, about three English miles long, and not more than 400 yards broad. The gums are gathered twice a year, in December and March. They begin to trade in February, before the first gathering, and continue till May; their fecond trade begins in April, and holds till June. The Moors that fell the gum, are called Auladeihagi, in the Arabick tongue, and Darmemos, in the negroes; their chiefs are called Chems, who lay a duty of an eighth, upon all the gums the French buy. They trade at these places, for 1200 quintals of gum, weighing 450 lb. each. The other goods fold at these two principal ports, are about 300 oxen, and 400 fheep, fome ambergreafe and offrich feathers; 50 packs of feathers are worth a quintal of gum. At the neighbouring places of Senegal, they purchase a quantity of millett. with which they feed the negroes, as well those in the company's fervice, as those they transport; and even fometimes the French were glad of it themfelves. When the waters are out, they trade to the adjacent lakes, at fome of which they get ebony, at others ivory, peas, hides, and fometimes ambergreafe. There are fixed times and feafons for buying falt, for fervice of the company of Senegal, as well as the curing the hides, and flated times for buying provisions. But the last obfervation, is the time and feafon for going over the bar of the river, which is between April and July; after which, the bad feafon begins, and the waters are out.

67

A. D. 1758.

The

While thefe expeditions against North America A.D. 1758. and the coaft of Africa were fitting out, and every circumfpection taken to fecure fuccefs, our allies Germany. had no room to complain of 'neglect of their interest and defence. As foon as the parliament met pursuant to their adjournment after Christmas, Mr PITT prefented the following meffage to the house of commons.

GEORGE R.

His Majefty's meffage.

" IIS Majefty having ordered the army, formed last year in his electoral dominions, to be put again into motion from the 28th of November last, and to act with the utmost

The old company of Senegal had a fort at Galam, built in 1700, but was carried away by the rapidity of the river. The new company afterwards built another, a league lower, where they now traded.

They traded chiefly at Galam, in negroes, gold and ivory.

The island of Goree is in the center of the company's fettlements, and it is there the flaves are kept, till they have a fufficient number, or till they have thips ready to transport them to their isles.

"The river Senegal empties itself into the Atlantic ocean in lat. 16 deg. north. The entrance of it is guarded by feveral forts, the principal of which is Fort Lewis, built on an island of the fame name. The English had formerly fettlements here, out of which they were driven by the French, who had engroffed the whole trade from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, which is near 500 miles. The Dutch were the first who fettled at Senegal, and built two forts. The French made themselves masters of them in 1678. In 1692 the English feized them ; but next year the French retook them, and had kept them ever fince.

Care of

vigour

vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the King of Pruffia; and the exhaufted and ruined ftate of that Electorate, and of its revenues, having rendered it impoffible for the fame to maintain and keep together that army, until the further neceffary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures now concerting for the effectual fupport of the King of Pruffia, can be laid before this houfe; his Majefty, relying on the conftant zeal of his faithful Commons, for the support of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, against the dangerous defigns of France and her confederates, finds himfelf, in the mean time. under the abfolute neceffity of recommending to this house the speedy confideration of such a prefent fupply, as may enable his Majefty, in this critical exigency, to fubfift and keep together the faid army."

In confequence of this meffage 100,000l. was How reunanimoufly granted, to be taken immediately the parliaout of the fupplies of laft year unapplied, and to ment. be remitted with all poffible difpatch.

However unanimous the fenate was in the refo- By the nalution for this grant; it was faid, and juftly faid, tion. without doors, that this was engaging the nation in a German war; yet there was not that univerfal diflike; nay there did rather a general inclination appear in all ranks of people to fupport a meafure, which at any other time, and under E 3 another

69

A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1758.

Reafons for Mr.

PITT's ac-

quiescence to German

measures.

another administration would have difgusted the
whole nation.

But at this time every one faw, that there was no jobb intended by a German connection. The caufe was real: the neceffity abfolute. The greateft powers in Europe were leagued with our natural enemy, to pull down and ruin our allies and our intereft on the continent. England must fupport Pruffia, and defend Hanover, or both must fall : and should they fall under the dominion or influence of France, her power would grow more terrible and dangerous to Great Britain. So that when Mr. PITT faw that thefe would certainly be the fatal effects, except England should interpofe on the behalf of Pruffia and Hanover, he was driven to this alternative, either to guit the helm of the administration, which would have been a defertion of his country, when she stood most in need of his wifdom, vigour and integrity, and muft have been ruined by falling back into the measures of former administrations ; or he must fo far acquiesce with such of his Majesty's fervants, as were attached to Germanic measures, as to make them subservient to the interest of Great Britain, in the course of her war with France in America.

Here was a ftrong conflict between the duty, which he owed to his Sovereign, enforced by the apparent ruin of his country's intereft on the continent of Europe, and the principles which he had plighted to the people. Mr. PITT had long oppofed German measures. He had oppofed till he faw faw opposition was vain; and that it was impoffible for him to ferve his country in other parts of the world, and to purfue the interest of England with advantage, unlefs he would facrifice fome points and fome opinions to Germany. He further faw, that unanimity could never be eftablished in the King's council, while he adhered to British meafures ONLY. He was convinced, that Britain must be inevitably connected with Germany, as long as the fame perfon is King of England and Elector of Hanover.

When we excluded the family of Stuarts from the throne, we caft our eyes round Europe for a Sovereign : but there was no Prince of the Protestant religion, who had no foreign dominions : What then must we have done ?- have fubmitted to abfolute government, been torn to pieces by a civil war, or chofe a King, who had political interefts ? It was thought beft to chufe the latter, however diftinct those interests might be from the good of this nation. If this misfortune was inevitable in its cause, it was impossible to prevent its being the fame in its effect. Therefore, the evil of keeping confiderable armies in Germany is (in fome measure) engrafted in the eftablishment. Without doubt, it is the wifh of all true Englishmen, that the crown had no territory out of this island, that our strength might be kept within it. But fecondary causes have disposed of things otherwife; and how shall we alter them ? Nothing but an alienation of Hanover. For fo long as the fame perfon is King of Great Britain and

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

and Elector of Hanover, the evil will not be removed.

His maxim. This channel being unavoidable, the only thing that a patriot minifter could do was, what he engaged, to make it ferviceable to Britain. A fhort confideration pointed out the method. It was not to be effected by the puny effort of a parliamentary grant of 100,0001. His maxim was, either do nothing, or to do it heartily and effectually.— The attention and troops of France was to be drawn as much as poffible that way, to make her employ more troops in Germany, than was confiftent with her intereft in America, and the fupport of her marine, in order to furnifh fairer opportunities for attacking her fettlements abroad, and thereby cut off the refources of her riches and power both by fea and land.

The difficulty laid in filling up this outline, many fteps were required before this great end could be accomplifhed. Since it was impoffible to feperate Britain from the continent; those engagements entered into ^b by the former adminiftration, were to be cemented in a ftronger manner. The confederacy against the King of Prussia being too powerful for him, he, in all probability, if not fupported by England, would be crussed, as understood in his Majesty's message to the house; and if he fell, Hanover would instantly fall likewise.—The latter was the tender point, and at a peace it must be regained, even at the expence of British conquests.

^b See page 255, 756. Vol. I.

Accord-

Reafons for aiding our allies.

According to this fyftem, which, every one knows, was the fyftem of this time, we are treating of, it was the intereft of Britain to fupport the exiftence of Pruffia, and to reinforce the allied army with British troops: therefore, in order to ruin the Gallic scheme, which was, to make a conquest of Hanover, and with that conquest to purchase whatever the fuperiority of the British navy might require, "the fupport of Pruffia, and the defence of Ha-"nover, became objects of the fecond importance."

The people of England were unanimous in their Unanidefires of supporting the King of Prussia: the mous in support of eclat of his victories had gained their efteem. Pruffia. They demonstrated their regard for him on his birth-day with a folemnity and rejoicings equal to those of the most beloved Sovereign. It was the time, when this vein of zeal was fwelled with the warmest blood, that Mr. PITT adopted German measures, conformable to the sense of the nation. He faw it was the prefent juncture, that would favour a treaty with Pruffia: and he was convinced that fuch a treaty was the only method to diffrefs the French in Germany. This is not alledged to vindicate that treaty, which afterwards we shall fee made with Pruffia; becaufe we have, just before, explained the political motives, which induced him to fign it, and the views, which he had of drawing an advantage from it; but to fhew what a happy concurrence of events there was to warp the people to German measures, and to continue the most favourable opinion of the minister.

73 A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

74

minister, in whose known honesty, vigilance and well-meaning they still reposed unlimitted confidence.

Countenanced by parliament.

Treaty

fia.

This grant and countenance of the Houfe of Commons, may therefore be faid to bring on those close connections with which Great Britain and Pruffia foon after were joined by treaty, and the measures taken by the British ministry, in confequence thereof .- This treaty; which was figned at London on the 11th of April 1758, fets forth in the preamble, the intention of that former treaty between their Majefties, figned on the 16th of January 1756, to preferve the general peace of Europe, and of Germany in particular, the hoftilities committed in the Empire and against their Majefties and their allies, by the French, and their incitement of other powers, to act in like manner : the burthenfome expence that war had brought upon his Pruffian Majefty, and the diminution of his revenues, in Iuch of his dominions as were become the feat of war : the mutual refolution of their Majefties, to continue their efforts for reciprocal defence and fecurity, for recovery of their poffeffions, for the protection of their allies, and the prefervation of the liberties. of the Germanic body, &c. And then flipulates with Pruf-(1.) That his Britannic Majefty shall pay the fum of 4,000,000 German crowns, which is 670,000 l. of English money to the King of Pruffia's agent in London, immediately after the ratifications shall be exchanged ; (2.) That his Pruffian Majefty shall employ this fum in augmenting and keeping up

his

his forces, which shall act as may be most for A.D. the interest of the common cause; and (3.) That neither of the contracting powers shall conclude any peace, make any truce, or enter into any treaty of neutrality, of what kind foever, without the participation of the other c.

By the parties that figned this treaty, it should appear to be carried in the privy council with unanimity. The house of parliament approved of this convention, when it was laid before them : on the 20th of the fame month, they granted the money thereby engaged for the fupport of the King of Pruffia; and the people, in general, were fatisfied with its contents; except a few, who branded this gratuity with the appellation of a tribute, " in the payment of which the honour " and the interest of the nation, faid they, were " fcandaloufly proftituted d."

Let

· The parties empowered to fign, and did actually fign this treaty on the part of Great Britain, were Sir Robert Henley. Knt. Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain ; John Earl Granville, Prefident of his Majefty's Council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury ; Robert, Earl of Holdernesse, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; Philip, Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Efq; another of his Majefty's Principal Secretaries of State.

d The fum stipulated, by this convention, to be paid by Great Britain, has been branded with the appellation of a tribute, in the payment of which the honour and interest of the nation were scandaloully profituted. " This is a licentiousness of " diction, which at once arraigns the King, Lords and Com-" mons, of profituting their power and authority, and of « com75

1758.

A. D. 1758. How fupported by Mr.PITT. Let us fee the firft ftep in confequence of this convention. A grand expedition, to be executed by

76

" combining in a measure to dishonour and ruin the nation. " Let us examine this allegation .- A tribute !- This is a " token of bondage. Did the British parliament, when they " granted an annual fupply of money to the King of Pruffia, " give any reason to suspect, that therewith they surrendered " to him their liberty, lives and fortunes ? or did they act, as " if they made that obligation through fear of what might be " dreaded from the progress of his arms; or through that " magnanimous principle of fuccouring the diffreffed ; of main-" taining a balance of power, for which England has always " been applauded; and of favouring our national intereft? " Did not the King of Pruffia, in confideration of that annual " payment, flipulate and agree to enter into no fecret or fepe-" rate treaty of peace detrimental to the interest, and without " the confent of Great Britain ? and to keep the fword drawn " against our enemies, till his Britannic Majesty should give " him leave to fheath it by an honourable peace;-in all " which there does not appear any thing like flavery or tri-" bute on the part of Britain .- How fuch a treaty with the " King of Pruffia can be branded with the fcandalous proffi-" tution of the honour and interest of the nation is as unjust, " as it is inconceivable. Was it beneath the dignity of the " King of Great Britain to enter into an alliance with a Pro-" teftant King, of the first rank, for his valour, and for his " ftrength and intereft in Europe ? Was it fcandalous to fecure " fuch an ally by a pecuniary fettlement, when the union of " the houses of Auftria and Bourbon, affisted by Ruffia, Swe-" den, and other powers, threatened immediate destruction to " our trade and interest on the continent of Europe: which " would naturally have followed the conquering fword of our " French rivals in every branch of manufacture and com-" merce; or was it fcandalous to facilitate our operations by " fea in America, and in other distant regions, by a well-timed " application of fuch a fubfidy ; which kept France in fuch a

" ftate

by two fquadrons and a respectable body of land forces, was immediately fet a foot, to try what might be done in this method; to divide and weaken the enemy's forces, and to make a diversion in favour of our German allies, by forcing the French to employ their troops in the defence of their own coafts; to deftroy their navigation and trade, and thereby to cut off the fource of their riches, and the finews of the war.

One squadron confisted of four ships of the line, Two squafeven frigates, fix floops, two fire-ships, two drons, with land forces, bombs, two cutters, twenty tenders, ten store- fent against ships and one hundred transports; and the com- coaft. mand thereof was given to Commodore Howe, who had fignalized himfelf for his bravery and conduct, in the late fruitless expedition. The other squadron of twenty great ships, was commanded by Lord Anfon and Sir Edward Hawke.

The land forces ° deftined for this expedition were 15 battalions, 400 of the artillery, 540 light horfe :

" ftate of uncertainty, dependance and expence, that difabled " her from a vigorous purfuit of her natural and national in-" tereft, and crowned our expeditions every where with fuc-" cefs ? This fubfidy has nothing new in its conftitution. It " was of no other kind, than what not only Britain, but " other nations, particularly France, has always made use of, " to fecure an interest to herfelf, and to deprive her adversa-" ries of further means of ftrength. Of this kind have been " feveral northern princes, who were always looked upon as " tributaries, or fubfervient, to the nation which paid them " for their friendship and aid, and not as holding their pay-" mafters in a flate of tributary fubjection."

e Guards, First, second and third regiments, Commanded by General Drury. Firft

the French

77

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

78

horfe: in all, about 13,000 fighting men, 60 pieces of cannon f and 50 pieces of the mortarkind, under the command of the Duke of Marl-

First brigade, Bentinck, Manners, Talbot and Home's regiment, by General Mostyn.

Third brigade, Welch fuzileers, Lambton's and Lord Charles Haye's regiments, by General Boscawen.

Fourth brigade. Effingham, Duke of Richmond and Cornwallis's regiments, by General Elliot,

The Artillery.

Second brigade. Loudon, Wolf, and Kingsley's regiments, by Waldgrave.

Staff Officers.

The Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, Earl of Ancram, lieutenant-generals.

Waldgrave, Mostyn, Drury, Boscawen and Elliot, majorgenerals.

Brigadier Elliot, commanding the light horfe.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hotham, adjutant-general.

Captain Watson, quarter-master general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Aids de Camp.

To the Duke of Marlborough. Captain Calcraft, of Hodgfon's; Captain Lloyd, of the Welch fuzileers; Captain Paterfon, of the artillery.

To Lord George Sackville. Captain Smith, of the third regiment of guards; Captain Boyer, of Jeffrey's; Captain Broom, of the artillery.

To Lord Ancram. Captain Blacquier, of Lambton's; Enfign Meadows, of the first regiment of guards.

To General Drury. Captain Howard, of the first regiment of guards.

To General Mostyn. Captain Veach, of Wolf's.

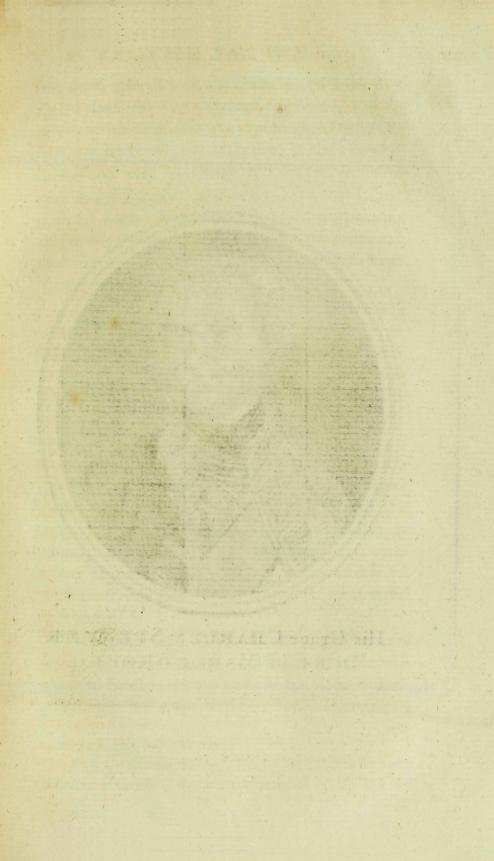
To General Waldgrave. Captain Wilfon, of the King's own.

To General Boscawen. Enfign Bishop, of the guards.

To General Elliot. Enfign Faucit, of the fecond regiment of guards.

f Fifteen of which were twenty-four pounders.

borough,





borough, grandfon to the Duke of that title, who, in his days was a real fcourge to France, and the glory of his own country; but though the grandfon was brave without exception, he can't be complimented with inheriting the martial genius of that English Cæfar, who never lost a battle, nor raifed a fiege. However, Lord George Sackville, fon to the Duke of Dorfet, the fecond in command, did not want either military knowledge or experience in the art of war.

The fhips rendezvoused at Spithead : the army encamped on the Isle of Wight. The troops began to embark on the 25th of May, and the whole embarkation was completed on the 27th. On the 28th Mr. Howe fent about failing orders and inftructions to every fhip. The wind would not permit them to fail till the 1st of June : but in the mean time the Duke of Marlborough distributed his orders concerning the manner, in which the troops were to land, and the measures that were to be taken by the troops as they came on shore. The destination of this prodigious armament was not yet published; and its fecrefy, as well as force, filled the enemy with great terror and alarm.

The mifcarriage of his former plans ^s having been attributed to the too early intelligence thereof, received by the enemy; and the detection and apprehending of a fpy ^h at this juncture, required him

h This fpy was one Florence Henfey, an Irishman by birth, educated at Leyden, where he commenced M. D. and had a compe79 A. D. 1758.

² See p. 320, &c. Vol. II.

A. D. him to proceed with the utmost precaution and 1758. fecrefy.

On

a competent knowledge of the French, Spanish, Portugueze and Italian tongues. He was a Roman Catholic, and his brother was a Jesuit, chaplain and under secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, and the author of those letters intitled, the VOICE OF PEACE, managed most artfully in favour of France, and published in the year 1761.

This Florence Henfey appeared in London under the character of a physician, and pretended that his correspondence with the enemies of his king and country, commenced through accidental acquaintance with one formerly his fellow student, who was at this time employed in the fecretary of state's office at Paris, for foreign affairs. To whom Doctor Henfey wrote, amongst other things, a tender of his fervice in any matters he might want at London. Which his Parifian correspondent, in his answer, interpreting to be a political ferwice, and affuring him, that his diligence therein might be advantageous to them both, the doctor, in his fecond letter, commended his friend's discernment, adding, " That if he could " obtain for him a fuitable recompence, he would endeavour " to make his intelligence of the utmost importance." This produced a falary of 150 livres, or 251. fterling per quarter for the doctor, with directions to procure and fend lifts of all his Majefty's fhips in and out of commission, number of guns and men, their time of failing, from what port, their deftination, the names of the commanders ; the flate of the land forces. where quartered and garrifoned ; plans of all fortifications in Great Britain and North America; and the earlieft account of enterprizes or expeditions against France.

The courfe of this correspondence was fettled by the way of Cologne, Hague and Bern, to be forwarded from those cities to Paris: It was a common letter wrote with ink, containing the fecret correspondence written between the lines with lemon-juice. This was inclosed under three different covers, directed to the feveral perfons entrusted with the fecret, who

On the first of June, about break of day, Lord Anfon made a fignal for the fleet to unmoor, and he

who conveyed them from one hand to another, till the first inclosed come to the principal, for whom it was defigned .-But fuch as he deemed of greatest importance, he directed to his brother at the Hague, for greater fafety. The doctor tried every means to gain intelligence, that might recommend him to a larger falary. His address and profession gained him admission into polite company, without giving any fuspicion; and introduced him into clubs or meetings where fome gentlemen, about court, were too liberal in retailing their knowledge, or their conjectures on the measures of their fuperiors.

This correspondence began soon after Mr. PITT was first called up to the administration, and continued, without any material interruption, till the oth of March 1758, and perhaps might have remained a fecret, had it not been for the deep penetration of the English refident at the Hague, who having frequent intelligence of affairs, transacting at the court of London, from the Spanish ambassador's under-fecretary, before he received any account thereof from his own court, was ftaggered, and put upon the enquiry, which way the Jefuit's knowledge could be communicated. He found that the Jefuit had this brother, and that difcovery naturally fuggefted a fuspicion fufficient to make him narrowly watched. Twentynine of his letters were stopped by proper authority ; and he at length was waylaid on a Sunday, as he came from the Spanish ambassador's chapel, by two messengers, feized by them in St. Martin's-Lane, and committed to Newgate.

His lodgings in Arundel-ffreet were fearched, where feveral copies of his letters were found, as well as the originals he had received from abroad. By those papers it appeared, That he gave the French the first account of Admiral Boscawen's departure for North America, and of the taking the Alcide and Lys, and of every minute circumftance relating to it; and from that time, of the failing of every fleet, and of its deftina-F VOL. III.

22

81

A. D. 1758.

A. D. he failed immediately with twenty-two fhips of the ^{1758.} line. About noon, the frigates under the command

> defination ; and was fo particular as to mention the launch of a man of war. He gave a particular account of the difficulties the ministry met with in raising money; and of his connection with a fociety in the Strand, who were reputed great men in the political world, and particularly in the financial branch. In one of these letters, dated the 29th of July 1757, the expedition against Rochefort was notified, though it is certain that refolution of the council had not then been made known either to Admiral Hawke or to Sir John Mordaunt, the commanders in chief; and in another letter, dated at Twickenham, the doctor, after giving an exact account of the flate of our affairs, the condition of our fleet and army, their difpofition, how many ships guarded and how many troops lined the coaft of England, concludes with afferting, " That the only means of preventing the fuccefs of the expedition against Rochefort, would be to make a powerful diversion upon the coaft of England; that by thus attacking us in our very vitals, we might be engaged at home, and fo prevented from fending any number of troops abroad fufficient to give them any real annoyance." Which advice he renewed in a fubfequent letter, alledging, " That it would be the most certain method to diftress the government, as it would affect public credit;" and then pointed out both the time and place, when and where it would be most proper to carry it into execution.

> By what channel this fpy procured this knowledge, has not yet perfpired; but the early intelligence, and the minute circumftances of Admiral Holbourne's defination for America, communicated to the court of France a few days after that admiral's infructions were figned, and in which he was fo exact as to give the number of fhips and troops on board, the day of their departure, &c. induced a fhrewd fufpicion of his connections with fome body, befides what he could gather in public converfation : and the favour he met with after condemnation, afforded much fpeculation concerning his private

> > con-

mand of Mr. Howe, together with all the tranfports, got under way. Lord Anfon, with his fquadron, flood away to the weft : but Mr. Howe's fteered quite athwart the channel, with the wind at fouth-east, and foon loft fight of Lord Anfon; whofe inftructions were to watch and intercept any fquadron from the west against Mr. Howe's. The weather changing to very tempeftuous, the commodore, a little before midnight, made a fignal for the fleet to lie too, leaft it should run too close in with the French shore before break of day. But no accident happened, except that one of the transports rolled away her foremast, and was obliged to be taken in tow by one of the frigates. They made fail at fix in the morning, and by eight they could fee cape La Hogue. The fleet flood in between the continent and the Isle of Alderney, and came to an anchor in the race, in the evening;

connections in England : where the time has been, when no matter how much, and by what inftrument, the nation fuffers, fo that fome men could maintain their own power by difgracing their rivals in the flate.

For this illicit correspondence with the enemy of our country, in time of open war, Doctor Hensey was tried, convicted and condemned to be hanged and quartered, as in cases of high treason; but after several reprieves he obtained his Majefty's pardon, not for any discovery, as the world were made to believe; but by an extraordinary foreign interposition, which would not have had the same weight at a court, that properly refented the disappointments the nation met with in the expeditions against Louisbourg and Rochefort. Enough to put the minister, who was to direct the affairs of the nation, upon the utmost caution to cover his intentions, till he could bring them into action.

F 2

where

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

where many of the ships were driven from their anchors by the rapidity of the current, and fome of them, that rode it out, left a fluke in the rocky ground, when they came to weigh. The fleet was stopped next day by a transport's running and bulging upon a hidden rock, with part of the guards on board, who notwithstanding the diligence and expedition, with which they were fupplied by boats, from the reft of the fhips, which on that occafion came to an anchor, had much to do to fave themfelves and baggage. It was eight at night before the fleet could proceed, and next day, about five in the afternoon, being be-calmed, it dropt anchor within three leagues from St. Maloes, on the 4th of June. Next morning they weighed before day, and proceeded to the Bay of Cancalle; where they were to land at a village of the fame name.

Three frigates were ordered to continue their courfe to a battery, that might impede the difembarkation. But the reft of the fleet brought up. Having given orders for the fhips carrying the grenadiers, to make fail with the frigates, Mr. Howe quitted the Effex, and went on board, with his pendant, one of the frigates, in which he was able to lie clofer in fhore than in a large fhip. The battery, perceiving the grenadiers in the flatbottomed boats prepared to land, fired upon them : but the frigates advanced, filenced the battery, and the grenadiers made good their landing, without much oppofition. For, though there were feven companies of foot, and three troops of dragoons

Arrives in Cancalle bay.

Forces land. goons posted at the landing-place, they fled with precipitation, as foon as our foldiers began to move towards the shore; and nothing then appeared to impede our progress, but a few peasants, that drew up behind a wind-mill at a great diftance, and diverted themselves with firing shot, that would not reach our men.

The grenadiers being drawn up upon the beach, Lord Down, with twenty of Kingfley's, marched through a very narrow pafs, up into the village of Cancalle; where they were met by the Marquis of Landal, intendant of the coaft and colonel of the militia, with his fervant. Lord Down called to him and told him, if he would furrender, he had nothing to fear: but he and his fervant foolifhly refufed quarter; fo that both they and their horfes were fhot dead upon the fpot. My Lord took poffeffion of the village, difarmed and fecured the moft active peafants, that fell in his way, and kept his men on their arms all night, waiting for the reft of the army ⁱ.

Three regiments difembarked that fame tide as Encamp. 1 the grenadiers, but they continued all night on the beach; and the whole army was landed the next day, the 6th, and encamped. The grenadiers and light horfe advanced about a mile in the front of the line; and Cancalle was made the head-quarters. Next morning, the 7th, by break

¹ The inhabitants of Cancalle fled, and left their village to the mercy of the invaders: and it was plundered by the foldiers and failors; for which one foldier was hanged, and feven feamen flogged, and fent on board their fhips. A. D. 1758.

of day, the whole army, except the third brigade, A. D. ftruck their tents, and began to march in two co-1758. March for lumns. The first column, confisting of the bri-St, Maloes. gade of guards, two battalions of grenadiers, and the first brigade, commanded by Lord George Sackville, marching from the left, fell into the great road to St. Maloes. The fecond column, under the command of Lieutenant-General Earl of Ancram, and confifting of the fecond and fourth brigade, marched alfo from the left, though a very inclosed country, and most narrow road : for, though 200 pioneers marched at the head of the column, and laboured hard to clear the way, the men were frequently obliged to pass by fingle files ; and the lands on each fide the road were fo covered with wood, that they could feldom fee above forty yards clear of their flanks. The villages, through which they paft, were totally deferted by man, woman and child : who had carried off every thing valuable.

The third brigade had orders to continue encamped at Cancalle, and to throw up entrenchments to fecure a retreat, in cafe of need, and to efcorte the heavy artillery, which was not yet landed. But the guards were ordered to file off about two miles to the left of the first encampment, and there to pitch their tents, and cover the army, on that quarter, from whence there was the greatest reason to expect an enemy ^k.

The

* The following is a translation of a manifesto, which his Grace the Duke of Marlborough published in Britanny, on the

14:24

The troops in motion, advanced towards St. Maloes without beat of drum, and in as good order

the 7th of June, the fecond day after the landing of the troops at Cancalle.

"We the high and mighty Prince, Charles, Duke of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Earl of Sunderland, Baron Churchill, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Privy-Counfellor to his Britannic Majesty, Grand Master of the Ordnance, and commander in chief of his forces, &c.

"Make known to all the inhabitants of Britanny, that the defcent on their coaft, with the powerful army under our command, and our formidable armament by fea, is not made with an intention to make war on the inhabitants of the country, excepting those, who shall be found in arms, or shall otherwise oppose the just war, which we wage against his Majesty the most Christian King.

"Be it known, therefore, to all who will remain in peaceable poffeffion of their habitations and effects, that they may ftay unmolefted in their refpective dwellings, and follow their ufual occupations; and that, excepting the cuftoms and taxes, which they pay to the King, nothing will be required of them, either in money or merchandizes, but what is abfolutely neceffary for the fubfiftence of the army; and that for all the provifions, they fhall bring in, they fhall be paid ready money.

"On the contrary, if, notwithflanding this declaration, which we have been pleafed to make, the inhabitants of the towns or villages carry away their furniture, effects, or provisions, and abandon their houses or dwellings, we shall treat fuch delinquents as enemies, and destroy by fire and sword, or fuch other methods, as shall be in our power, their towns, villages, dwellings, or houses. Given at the head quarters at Parame.

June 7, 1758.

By his Grace's command,

MARLBOROUGH." BRYANT.

His

A. D. 1758.

A.D. 1758.

fore St.

Maloes.

as the nature of the country would permit; but it was late in the evening before they had marched fix miles. The commanders in chief proceeded immediately to reconnoitre the fituation of St. Ma- " loes; ordered the ground for the camp to be marked out, at a little more than a mile from the town. This camp was formed with the village of Camp be-Parame, made the head-quarters, in front, and the village of Servant upon the right flank. The grenadiers advanced about 100 paces, the light horfe and artillery about as far in the rear, and the reft of the troops were extended in one direct line.

> While the main body was employed in pitching tents, the light horfe, fuftained by the piquets of the whole, advanced to the walls of St. Maloes 1: and

> His Grace fent at the fame time the following letter to the magistrates and echevins of St. Maloes.

GENTLEMEN,

" We being in poffession of all the country between Dinan, Rennes, and Doll, as far as St. Maloes, and finding that all the inhabitants of the towns and villages, in this extent of country, have abandoned their habitations; probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions : and as we are informed that the inhabitants have, by your orders, been compelled to go to St. Maloes; we give you notice, that if they do not return peaceably to their houfes, and fend their magistrates to our head-quarters to fettle the contributions, we shall think ourfelves obliged to fet fire to them without further delay.

MARLBOPOUGH."

1 St. Maloes is one of the chief town and ports of the Upper Bretagne, is feated on the northern coaft of St. Aaron, and joined

and were faluted by the enemy's cannon from the A. D. 1758. ramparts, which killed a horfe or two without any other loss or damage. But by favour of the night they got under the enemy's cannon, and flipt down to the harbour, where they found a confiderable fleet of privateers and merchantmen ", to which ships, &c. our troops fet fire, with combustibles provided and burnt. carried with them for that purpose; and also to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. which took effect. So that in the fpace of a few hours there was the most dreadful scene of conflagration, that imagination can paint, and all the fhips and ftores were deftroyed by the flames, which continued all night, without the leaft opposition Meet with from the garrison, though there was a confider- no opposiable body of troops in the town, that might enable them to make a fally with a view of fuccefs.

joined to the continent by means of a long caufeway, of not above thirty fathoms broad, the entrance whereof is defended by a firong caftle, flanked with large towers, and the town furrounded with walls, deep ditches, and a fufficient garrifon : befides which, towards the fea it is fecured by a fhoal of fand that encompafies it, and feveral rocks and fmall iflands, that make the haven of difficult accefs, infomuch that it is reputed one of the keys of France. It is confiderable for its traffick and ftrength, and the fkill of its inhabitants in maritime affairs, by which means great numbers of privateers are in time of war from hence fitted out, and much diffurb the trade of thefe feas. See p. 91.

^m One man of war of 50 guns on the flocks, two ditto 36 guns each, twenty-four privateers, from 30 to 40 guns each. Seventy merchantmen, and forty fmall craft. There was only one fhip, a privateer of 40 guns faved, fhe being a-float; the reft were haulled up imprudently to the walls, and were a-ground. Their

A. D. 1758. Forage.

90

Their next care was to fecure provisions. So that when this party was returned from the conflagration to the camp, other parties were next morning, on the 8th, fent to forage, and to bring in the neceffaries of life; the country people refufing to fupply our troops for ready money, and the provisions brought a-fhore being expended.

Retire.

One battalion of guards, and Lord Charles Hay's of the third brigade, marched the fame day into camp. One mortar and three royals, which had been ordered from the ships, were stopped on the road and remanded on board : and the advanced piquets and the fecond brigade, returned to camp about nine in the evening. The night proved a most terrible one with thunder, lightning, violent rain and wind, which beat down the tents and foufed the men, as if they had been dipt in water. But at feven next morning 200 pioneers, fustained by a party of 500 men, were ordered to march towards St. Maloes; and a captain and 80 men were employed to level the ground in the front of the encampment, in order to open a communication between each regiment. These were indications of vigorous refolutions. Yet, on the 10th, in the morning, His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, having advice of a great fuperiority of forces affembling to attack him, and to cut off his retreat, ordered the whole army back to Cancalle. Which was done; though it did not appear that there were at that prefent time above 500 regular forces in that province. They ftruck their tents about noon, immediately marched off, and en-3 camped

camped that night within the entrenchments at that village: giving over all thoughts of a fiege, which would take up a month, in a regular manner: and for which they were not fufficiently provided. For the walls of the town were not only of a vaft thicknefs, but of fo great an height, that none of the fcaling ladders fent from England could reach the top.

The fame night the artillery was put on board ; Re-imand the two following days were employed in the ^{bark.} re-imbarkation of the troops in the midst of a very heavy rain, which filled the trenches, of those that were left, half full of water.

Thus ended the attempt against St. Maloes, with the loss of 30 men missing. Whilst the army was employed before St. Maloes, a battalion of guards marched, under the command of Colonel Cefar, 12 miles up into the country, to a town called Dol, and were politely entertained by the magistrates; and their treatment was as politely repaid by this party, whose intention was only to reconnoitre the country, and returned after flaying in this town one night, without committing one act of hostility. A party of light horse advanced still farther, and fell in with the videts of a French camp, chaced them a long way, and brought two of them into our campⁿ.

Having

ⁿ We may guels at the confternation and confusion of the enemy from this abstract of a mandate issued by the Bishop of St. Maloes, for a folemn procession by way of thanksgiving, for the retreat of the English. ,91

Having muftered the men on board, orders A. D. 1758. were iffued on the 14th for the grenadiers and Weigh anguards to hold themfelves in readinefs to difembark, to complete their ammunition for that purpofe, and that the officers should for the future, take more effectual means to prevent morauding. It was intended to proceed against Granville, a petty town well fituated on the top of a high cliff, on the other fide of the bay, and about fix leagues diftant from St. Maloes; defended by a battery of

> Sing unto the Lord with timbrels, fing unto the Lord with cymbals, &c. For God breaketh the battles : for among ft the camps in the midst of the people he hath delivered me out of the hands of them that persecuted me.

-Bethulia, being reduced to the last extremity, without refource, without hopes of any affiftance, and when its frightned inhabitants defired nothing but a voluntary furrender, was faved by one of those extraordinary miracles, which manifest in the most obvious manner the operation of the almighty hand of the Most High. Your deliverance, on the contrary, has, at first fight, nothing in it but what is natural ; but whoever gives but a little attention to the whole feries of this event, must acknowledge the most evident marks of God's special protection of their city .- You took all the precaution, which courage and conduct could dictate, against the attacks, with which you were threatned, and which you looked upon, as inevitable. These precautions were superfluous. There was not fo much as one gun fired against your city. You hoped that the troops coming to your affittance would drive away the enemy : but the enemy did not wait for them. News was brought them, and they retired with precipitation. The winds oppofed their return: but it was decreed by Providence that they should return by the fame way that they came; and they have done it in fpite of contrary winds. What shall we then fay? If God be for us, who shall be against us?

chor.

18 pieces of cannon, upon a neck of land, which A. D. 1758. commands the town, and a great part of the bay. Pilots were taken on board from Guernfey and Jerfey; and 22 large lug-fail boats were alfo brought from thence, for greater expedition in the landing of the forces. But having weighed at Stopt with 6 in the morning, on the 16th, the fleet was ob- ther. liged by contrary and violent winds to come to an anchor that evening off St. Maloes; and next day to return to Cancalle bay. The winds continued contrary and the weather very bad till the 21ft, when it growing moderate, they put to fea, were joined by the Ifis, Captain Wheeler, and four transports with reinforcements: but were driven back again by contrary winds. However, on the 23d they failed to the eaftward, paffed Jerfey, Sail to the Guernfey, and faw the Isle of Wight, and on the eastward. 26th fleered with a northwind for the French coaft, and run in with the land near Havre de Grace. But, after laying in fight of that port all the 27th and 28th; ordering the flat-bottomed boats for landing the forces to be hoifted out ; reconnoitring the coast, which the Duke of Marlborough and Mr. How undertook perfonally in a cutter; and four days provisions got ready for the men to take with them on fhore, nothing was executed to annoy the enemy. On the 29th the whole fleet bore away before the wind for Cher-Towards bourg, and came to an anchor at about two miles Cherfrom the town; fix batteries fired on the transports to no purpose, and a confiderable number of people, fome of whom appeared to be regular forces, were

A. D. 1758.

94

were drawn up along the ftrand, neverthelefs it was refolved to attack the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet and Gallet, in the night; which was prevented by a violent wind, that hindered the troops from landing, and rendered it impoffible to fuftain them in cafe of a repulse, if the difembarkation could have been effected. Then it was refolved to ftand in with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. But that refolution was alfo abortive. The form increased: the transports ran foul of one another : and, as the gale blew directly upon the coaft, all the fhipping was exposed to the perils of a lee-fhore. Befides there began to be a fcarcity of provisions, and the hay for the horfes was almost eat up. So that this great and expensive expedition-fleet returned, next morning, for the coaft of England, and on the 1ft of July arrived at St. Helens °.

While

• Extract of a letter from an officer belonging to the light-borfe, on board a transport at St. Helens, July 3.

"We are arrived here after having made one of the grandeft bonfires, at and near St. Maloes, that ever was feen in France; all which was executed in nine hours, without the leaft moleftation from the enemy; as if they themfelves would receive fome pleafure from fo ftriking a flame being ftruck up among them; or rather, the water-pipes leading to St. Maloes being cut off, and a threaten of immediately fetting fire to the town, if they made any refiftance, rendered them thus inactive, being in the greateft panic and confusion. By fome officers belonging to the navy of France we are informed, that the damage done by our troops to the docks, King's ftores, and fhipping, exclusive of private property, would require much more than 12,000,000 of livres to reinftate, exclusive

of

While the British arms were carrying terror along the Gallic fhore, the fate of our enemies and the relief of our allies were determined by the British parliament. The Commons granted 60,000 Proceedmen for the fea fervice, including 14,845 marines : ings in parlia-53,777 effective men, including officers and 4008 ment. invalids for guards and garrifons in Great Britain, Guernfey, Jerfey, &c. and exclusive of the garrifons and forces in the plantations and Gibraltar : four regiments of foot on the Irish establishment, ferving in North America and the Eaft Indies : a fupply to fubfift and keep together the army form- Grants for ed last year in his Majesty's Electoral dominions : the Ger-man war. and for payment of 12,000 and upwards of Heffian troops: 670,000 l. for the fupport of the King Pruffia: 463,084l. 6s. 10d. for maintaining 38,000 hired troops in Germany; and 386,915l. 13s. 2d. for their forage, bread, artillery, &c. 100,0901. for paying and cloathing the militia: 800,000 l. for defraying the extra expences of the war: 20,000 l. for the payment of the troops in East India: 10,000 l. for the fupport of the British forts on the coaft of Africa. Which grants, with the other provisions made by parliament for the current year, amounted to 10,486,4571. P And in con-

of the expence of building, and the time they will take up in being brought to their former condition of ftrength, &c. The private property deftroyed is valued at much more than the public, which could not be avoided, the merchant fhips having thrown themfelves clofe in with the docks and men of war, and under the cannon of the forts."

P Of which the fum of 1,861,897 l. was granted for the aid of our friends on the continent.

A. D. 1758.

95

lequence

A. D.

1758.

fequence thereof we find that the state of our national strength or forces by fea and land in British pay, including artificers in the King's docks and yards, was as follows :

- Crimer	Establishment for Cross Dritain the	
Military and naval force of Great Bri- tain.	Establishment for Great Britain, the	
	train of artillery inclusive	55,000
	For Ireland —	12,000
3	For N. America, of Regulars 32,000?	F2 000
	of Provincials 30,000	52,000
	For the Weft Indies	2,000
Courte Co	For Gibraltar and the Eaft Indies	5,000
	Allied army in the pay of Great Britain	52,000
. 10 W DETE	Total of land free	
	Total of land forces	178,000
	Naval department, seamen 62,000]	
	Marines 14,000 }	96,000
	Artificers to the docks, about 20,000	for their
	or and closthing the militia : 800,000 l.	
	\mathbf{T} , 1	

Ships in commission 310, of which 110 were of the line.

Total 274,000

Every

They also endeavoured to remove the objections made by the public to the militia act, and to enforce that act for the prefent benefit of the nation. Militia act A bill was brought in, and paffed, to amend and explain the militia bill. By which every city or dered more town has the liberty to offer volunteers, if they chuse it, instead of standing the chance of the ballot : and it is further enacted, That

improved and reneffectual.

I af (t

Every fubstitute is, equally with the perfon ferving for himfelf, exempted from being preffed; and the substitute is also entitled (having been called out into actual fervice) to fet up any trade in any place whatever.

Every militia man is to have his cloaths at the end of three years.

Every militia man, when the militia of his county shall be ordered into actual fervice, shall receive one guinea.

The families of the militia men shall, in their absence, be provided for out of the county stock.

If a militia man shall fall fick on a day of march, he is to be provided for.

The militia can never be fent out of the kingdom upon any pretence whatever; nor can they, as appears by the oath they take, be employed, but only for the immediate defence of their country.

The captains have power of making corporals out of the private militia men, which is fixpence advance each day of exercise; and the further vacancies of ferjeants are to be filled up out of the militia men, which is one shilling a day the whole Militia men's fons may alfo be appointed year. drummers, which is fixpence a day the whole year.

Another act passed for the encouragement of Seamen's feamen employed in the royal navy: to establish act for beta regular method for the punctual, frequent and ment of certain payment of their wages; to enable them wages. more readily and eafily to remit the fame, for the fupport

G

VOL. III.

23

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

98

fupport of their wives and families, and to prevent frauds and abuses attending such payments. Of which you'll find an abstract in the margin ⁹.

The

9 1. Every volunteer, entering his name, fhall receive a certificate thereof gratis, and be intitled to wages, from the day of the date thereof, inclusive, upon his appearance on board within fourteen days, if the place where he enters is not above roo miles from the fhip; 20, if above 100 miles; or $3c_0$, if above 200 miles; and fhall have the usual conduct money, with two months wages advance, before the fhip proceeds to fea.

2. Every fupernumerary man, ferving ten days in a fhip, fhall be intitled to his wages and all other benefits, as if he was a part of the complement; but men, lent to other fhips, fhall remain intitled to their wages on the books of the fhip from which they were lent, until they be regularly difcharged, and in no other.

3. Every inferior officer or feaman, turned over to another fhip, that is then in, or fhall come into, a British port, where there is a commissioner of the navy, shall be paid all the wages due to him in the former ship, before the other proceeds to sea, unlefs the Admiralty order it otherwise, in cases of the greatest exigency only; and, in this case, he shall receive his wages, as shoon as the ship shall again come into a British port, where there is a commissioner of the navy.

4. No officer or feaman, turned over, fhall be rated in a lower degree than he was before; and he fhall have an advance of two months wages, before the prefent fhip fails, if not already received.

5. As foon as any fhip, which has been in fea pay twelve months or more, fhall arrive in any British port, all the wages due, except the last fix months, shall be immediately paid; and the whole shall be paid within two months, at farthest, after the arrival of such ship in port to be laid up.

6. The month shall confift of twenty-eight days.

7. The

The business of this session of parliament being complete, and the season for retiring into the country

7. The captain, or commander, fhall make out a ticket, upon the death of every inferior officer or feaman, and tranfmit it, by the first fafe opportunity, to the commissioners of the navy; and payment shall be made, within a month after the receipt thereof, without fee or reward, to the executors or administrators of such officers or feamen, or their attorney.

8. The captain, or commander, shall make out a ticket for every inferior officer or feaman discharged as unserviceable, and fend it in the manner mentioned in the preceding article; he shall also give such officer or seaman a certificate of his difcharge, containing an exact copy of his ticket, and a defcription of his perfon; and, upon the commissioners being fatisfied, that the ticket was made out for fuch perfon, they shall teffify the fame on fuch certificate, and immediately deliver him the ticket affigned for payment, which shall be made, at the navy office, without fee or reward, to him, and to no other person. If the ticket shall not have been fent to, or received by the commissioners of the navy, the copy of the ticket in the certificate shall intitle him to the money therein appearing to be due; and, if such officer or seaman produce his certi. ficate to a commiffioner of the navy refiding in any British port, he, being fatisfied about it, shall fign and transmit the fame to the commissioners of the navy ; who, within four days after the receipt thereof, are to fend a ticket, or, if fuch ticket had not been fent to or received by them, the faid certificate, to the commiffioner at fuch port, who shall, thereon, caufe immediate payment to be made, without fee or reward : he shall also fend fuch officer or feaman to the nearest hospital, to be received and victualled, from the time of his prefenting fuch certificate, until payment is made. If any fuch certificate be loft or destroyed, or not prefented by the person himself, or the money due on it shall not be paid before the general payment of the fhip's company, the ticket shall be cancelled, and the wages payable, as if no ticket or certificate had been made out,

G 2

9. When

99 A. D. 1758.

100

A. D. country far advanced, his Majesty, not being able ^{1758.} to go in perfon to the House, appointed Lords Commissioners

> 9. When a captain, or commander, fhall fend any inferior officer or feaman into any holpital or fick quarters, he fhall transmit with him a ticket for his wages then due; and, if he be regularly discharged from thence, as unferviceable, he shall have a certificate of his discharge, with the fick ticket annexed thereto; and, if he prefents the fame to a commissioner at any British port, such commissioner, after he has signed the certificate, shall forthwith fend it to the commissioners of the navy, who, without delay, shall transmit a proper ticket, or pay-list, to the faid commissioners, who shall cause immediate payment to be made to such officer or feaman, without fee or reward; who shall be maintained in such hospital, or fickquarters, from the time of his prefenting the certificate and fick ticket until he receive what is due to him.

> 10. The payment of tickets, &c. fhall not be delayed, though the mufter or pay books be not regularly fent to and received by the commiffioners of the navy; but, if any error be made in a ticket, &c. the lofs fhall be made good out of the wages of the captain or commiffioner, by whom they were made out.

> 11. As often as a fhip, which is not in a port of Great Britain, or on the coaft thereof, fhall have twelve months wages due, the captain, or commander, fhall caufe the names of all the inferior officers and feamen to be called over, and fhall do the fame at the end of every fix months; and, if any of them fhall then declare, or deliver in writing, the name and place of abode of his wife, father, or mother, and defire, that the whole or any part of his wages, then due, except for the laft fix months, fhould be paid to fuch wife, father, or mother, the captain, or commander, is firiftly required to caufe four lifts to be made out of the perfons defiring to make fuch remittances, which he fhall, without delay, tranfmit to the commiffioners of the navy; who, on the receipt thereof, fhall immediately make out two bills for the payment of the

wages

Commissioners to deliver his fense of their conduct in parliament, who on the 20th of June, in the King's name, made the following speech :

" My

wages fo allotted by each perfon, one of which shall be fent to the perfons specified in the lifts, and the other to the receiver, collector, or clerk of the Cheque; and if the perfon to whom any fuch bill is fent shall, within fix months from the date thereof, deliver the fame to fuch receiver, &c. with a certificate that the perfon is the wife, father, or mother, of fuch officer or feaman, figned by the minister and churchwardens. or, in Scotland, by the minister and two elders of the parish, where fuch perfon was married or refides; fuch receiver, &c. being fatisfied about the certificate, fhall, without fee or reward, immediately pay the fum mentioned in the bill; and fuch bill, with a duplicate thereof, being produced at the navy-office. fhall forthwith be affigned for payment by the commiffioners : but, if payment of the faid bill be not demanded, and a duplicate thereof, &c. be not delivered, within fix months from the date thereof, it is to be cancelled, and the fum contained therein becomes payable to fuch inferior officer or feaman, when the fhip fhall be paid.

12. The proceedings are the fame, if, when wages shall be paid at the pay-office, or any of the out-ports, any inferior officer or feaman defires to remit the whole, or part of his wages to his wife, children, parents, or any other perfon.

13. The wages, pay, and allowances earned by any indentured apprentice shall, as hath been usual, be paid to his mafter, unless he was above eighteen years of age when his indentures were executed, or shall be rated as a fervant to any officer, to whom such apprentices is unknown.

14. Captains, or commanders, shall fend, from time to time, to the commissioners of the navy, complete pay-books, lists, and tickets, and also, once in two months, complete muster-books, under the penalty of forfeiting all their wages to the cheft of Chatham, and of being liable to be farther

G 3

made

IOI

A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1785.

102

" My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Majefty's fpeech, by jefty has the deepeft fenfe of the loyalty and good affections

> punished by a court-martial, except in cases of necessity, to be made appear to the fatisfaction of the Lord High Admiral, or commissioners of the admiralty.

> 15. The tickets, &c. shall be sufficient vouchers for payment thereon.

16. Captains, or commanders, iffuing other tickets than the act directs, shall pay 501. for every ticket, and also forfeit all their wages to the cheft at Chatham.

17. No letters of attorney, for wages, or allowances of money, fhall be valid, unlefs therein declared to be revocable, and the fame, if made by an inferior officer or feaman then in the fervice, be figned before, and attefted by the commander, and one of the other figning officers, or by a clerk of the Cheque; and, if made by a perfon after his difcharge from the fervice, unlefs the fame be figned before, and attefted by the mayor or chief magiftrate of the place, where he then refides; or unlefs the letter, if made by an executor or adminiftrator, be figned before, and attefted by the minifter and churchwardens, or, in Scotland, by the minifter and two elders of the parifh where he refides.

18. No more than 1 s. fhall be taken for the probate of any will, or letters of administration, granted to the widows, children, &c. of inferior officers, feamen, or marines dying in the fervice, unlefs the goods and chattels are of the value of 201. nor more than 2 s. unlefs they are of the value of 401. nor more than 3 s. unlefs they are of the value of 601. under the penalty of 501. to be paid by the offender to the party aggrieved. The cafe is the fame, as to the iffuing out commiflions to fwear fuch widows, &c.

affections demonstrated by his parliament, through- A. D. out the whole course of this session. The zeal

19. Whoever, willingly and knowingly, fhall perfonate, or falfely affume the name or character of any perfon initiled to wages, &c. for fervice done in any fhip of the royal navy, or the executor, &c. of fuch perfon, or fhall procure any other fo to do; or fhall forge, of procure to be forged, any letter of attorney, or other power; or take a falfe oath, or procure it to be taken, to obtain the probate of a will, or letters of administration; in order to receive any wages, &c. fhall be guilty of felony, and fuffer death.

20. When the pay books are clofed, tickets shall be made out at the navy-office to such feamen, as have not received their wages, &c. which shall be paid, in course, once a month,

21. British governors, ministers, or confuls, refiding in foreign parts, or, where there are no fuch perfons, any two British merchants, are required to provide for feafaring men and boys, fubjects of Great Britain, who, by shipwreck, capture, or other unavoidable accident, shall be in those parts, or shall be discharged there as unferviceable, from the royal navy, at 6d. per diem each, and to fend them home with all convenient expedition.

22. Mafters of thips thall have 6d. per diem for each man and boy above their complement.

23. Seamen shall not be taken out of the service for any debt under 201.

24. But creditors may proceed to judgment and outlawry, and have an execution thereupon, except against their bodies.

25. Receivers of feamens wages, taking more than 6d. per pound, fhall for every offence forfeit 50l. and if the offender be a clerk, officer, or fervant, belonging to the navy, he fhall lofe his place, and be incapable of holding any one of profit in any fuch office.

26. Clerks, &c. in offices belonging to the navy, taking fees, not allowed by the act, for doing any thing thereby directed, fhall be liable to the fame forfeitures. 103

G 4

which

A. D. 1758.

104

which you have fhewn for his Majefty's honour and real intereft in all parts, your earneftnefs to furmound every difficulty, and your ardour to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, in order to a fafe and honourable peace, must convince all the world, that the ancient spirit of the British nation is still subsisting in its full force.

His Majefty has also commanded us to acquaint you, that he has taken all fuch measures, as have appeared to be most conducive to answer your public spirited views and wiss. Through your affistance, and by the bleffing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his Majesty has been enabled not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but to push our advantages on this fide of the Rhine.

His Majesty has cemented the union between him and his good brother the King of Prussia, by new engagements, with which you have been already fully acquainted.

Our fleets and armies are now actually employed in fuch expeditions, as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most fensible manner; to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; and particularly to preferve our rights and possififions in America; and to make France feel our just weight and real strength in those parts. His Majesty trusts in the Divine Providence, that they may be blessed with such success, as will most effectually tend to these great and desirable ends.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

We are particularly commanded by the King, to return you his thanks for thofe ample fupplies, which you have fo freely and unanimoufly given. His Majefty grieves for the burdens of his people; but your readinefs in fupporting the war is the most probable means the fooner to deliver you from it. You may be affured, that nothing will be wanting, on his Majefty's part, to fecure the most frugal management,

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Majefty has directed us to repeat his recommendation to you, to promote harmony and good agreement amongft his faithful fubjects; and to make the uprightness and purity of his intentions and measures rightly understood. Exert yourfelves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority: and by making the people fensible, how much they hurt their own true interest by the contrary practice.

For their fakes, the King has commanded us to prefs this upon you; for their true interest and happiness are his Majesty's great and constant object."

His Majesty in a more particular manner takes Remarks notice of the *ample fupplies*, which had been fo free-thereon. ly and unanimously given for the fupport of the war. On which it will be proper to remark, That though these fupplies were very extraordi-

nary 5

105 A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

.106

nary; and the war was carried on at an immenfe expence; they were neceffary. There was no other way to defeat the defigns of our enemies. France was engaged by her confederacy to pay extraordinary fublidies to Auftria, Ruffia, Sweden and other German allies, in order to carry her point Therefore the cafe was nothing more, than oppofing one great expence to another : whofe balance must always turn in favour of the nation, that shall be best able to raise money by trade, and ftop the refources from whence the enemy is used to draw his riches and treasure. This was the real cafe between France and England. France was loaded with a vaft expence in armies and fublidies, and deprived of her trade, from whence riches came into her treasury. England was daily improving, and acquiring more trade; by which her finances were enabled to carry on the war, at a greater expence than France, and till France should become a bankrupt. Which was the view of Mr. PITT, when he entered into the alliance above mentioned, with Pruffia : becaufe that was the only way to oblige France to exhauft her troops and treasures; while the British navy cut off all, or most of her refources from America, and entirely ruined her trade; and at the fame time, to increase the riches and revenues of his own country by new and valuable acquifitions, the better to enable her to fupport this additional expence.

DATY

Factions in The factions and diffractions, which at that the French juncture divided and weakened the French councils, under the influence of a female favourite,

were

were also improved by our vigilant, disembarrassed and able minister. He was convinced by the cabals at the French court, for the command of the armies in Germany, that their ministry were unable to beftow a proper attention to both elements : there was no strife about the commands at fea: therefore our minister aimed at confounding Reasons them more by reiterated blows on all fides : to for attackruin their navy, while he drew off their attention French from the ocean to the plains of Germany. With-ny. out which kind of diverson, France would foon have been in a condition to repair the damages of their marine; as in former times.

The people with pleafure acquiefced in thefe Approved fentiments and measures, because they were con- of by the English vinced of their falutary effects. They were alfo nation. fpirited up by the daily advices of the fuccefs of Prince Ferdinand, who by this time had driven the French over the Rhine: while, on the other part, the French ministry were trying to accomplish that by intrigue and misrepresentation, which they were not in a capacity to bring about merely by their own ftrength.

The provocation given by M. Richelieu's breach of the convention, for the Hanoverians refuming their arms, furnished the French court with a plaufible invective against his Britannic Majesty, Elector of Hanover. In which, under the name French of a manifesto", they pretend that their armies manifesto against the entered Germany to maintain the peace of the Hanove-

rians refuming

Empire,

r Published by authority at Paris, and dated at Versailles arms. on the 30th of December 1757,

in Germa-

107 A. D.

1758.

Empire, in quality of guarantees of the treaty of A. D. 1758. Westphalia; and that was fufficient to warrant their invation and feizure of Hanover and Heffe Caffel. Then they proceed, and infift, That the alliance between Austria and France was not unnatural and dangerous to the Germannic liberty; but, on the contrary, that it was quite natural, and neceffary to defend that liberty from the dangers arifing from the league between England and Pruffia. That their King had originally formed a defign to confine himfelf to his own defence against the English in North America, and thereby, if poffible, to preferve the advantages of peace to Europe in general, and to the Empire in particular: and that if it happened otherwife, it might be imputed to the ambition and injuffice of his enemies.

> They inveigh with great acrimony against the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia for prefuming to keep foreign troops out of Germany, when they themselves are bringing ruin upon the Germannic constitutions: and accuse them of stiring up and carrying on an unjust war, set on foot in contempt of the faith of treaties, and of the laws of the Empire; and make his Britannic Majesty the first promoter of it.

They further fet forth, That the ill fuccefs of the unjuft and violent enterprizes of the King of England against France, both in America and Europe, having changed the brilliant expectations, with which that Prince's ministers had flattered the British nation into real losses for the prefent, and

108

and apprehensions for the future, they have been forced to have recourse to fresh expedients for allaying the resentment of that nation, and especially for getting from it such an augmentation of subsidies, of which the Elector of Hanover should come in for a part; and that the way, which seemed to them the fittest for settling their affairs, has been to throw those of others into confusion, and at any rate to kindle a war in Germany.

The King of England and his minifters have done fo much juffice to the King, as to conclude, that in cafe of any attack made on the principal ftates of the Empire, to which he was united, or of any violation of the Germannic laws and conflitutions, his Majefty's fidelity towards his allies, his quality of guarantee of the treaty of Weftphalia, his conftant zeal for the quiet and fafety of Germany, would induce him to take part in this war, and that by this diversion they should weaken the efforts, which France was obliged to make by fea, for defending itself against the English.

The court of Hanover has not forgot its advantages in the plan, which it has formed for itfelf. As the interefts of the Britifh nation have for a long time been fubordinate to the Elector's conveniency, it had two views relative to the latter; the firft of procuring to his Electoral Highnefs large fubfidies, by arming the Hanoverians for fupporting the King of Pruffia's enterprizes, and thus weaken the King's operations for the defence of the liberty of the Empire, and that of the ftates of the allies.

A. D. 1758.

109

A. D. ^{1758.} of

The fecond view has been to convert the war of Germany into a religious war, in order to gain to themfelves the fupport of the proteftant Princes. Hence a double advantage was to refult : if thefe Princes by their fuccours facilitated the execution of the defigns of their Britannic and Pruffian Majefties, an increase of authority and power was thus procured to the Elector of Hanover, to the detriment of his neighbours, both catholic and proteftants; and this is known to have long been the favourite object of his ambition : if, on the other hand, the fucceffes fhould fail, a great part of the damages to be fuftained was to be thrown on the allied Princes.

When the war, which had been meditated by the King of England, Elector of Hanover, in concert with the King of Pruffia, had broke out in Germany; the ideas, which thefe two Princes had formed from the King's fidelity to his engagements, were not mistaken; the flates of the Empire attacked by the King of Pruffia, together with the Princes, who had most at heart the Germannic system, applied for affistance to his Majefty, both as an ally of the Empire and guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, as in virtue of his alliances merely defensive with feveral courts of Germany; and though the King was engaged in a perfonal and onerous war with England, he did not hefitate to form the generous refolution of employing the greatest part of his forces in the defence of his allies, and the maintenance of the laws of the Empire, and of the Germannic syftem, threatned

IIO

threatned with a total fubverfion from their Britannic and Pruffian Majefties, both as Kings and Electors.

The King of England was confcious, that every kind of reafon authorifed his Majefty not to make the chimerical diffinction, he was for eftablishing betwixt his quality of King and that of Elector; efpecially when one raites a war and pays the cofts, and the other takes upon him the execution of it.

At length the Hanoverians having provoked his Majefty's troops by hoftilities of every kind, the moment came for repelling force by force, and to make them and their allies repent of their outrages; and victory feconded the juffice of the King's arms, by the fucceffive advantages which the French troops obtained over them.

They then come to the convention of Clofter-Seven, as follows:

But the King's generous fentiments have never fhone with greater luftre than in the capitulation of Clofter-Seven. The Hanoverian army being forced to fly before that of the Marfhal de Richelieu, had been obliged, as its laft fhift, to betake itfelf to Stade. In a more dangerous condition it could not be. It was the concern of the Duke of Cumberland, General of the Hanoverians, befides fearing the juft difcontent of his allies, which was near breaking out, to fave his troops from the total deftruction, with which they were threatned, to fecure the treasure of the King his father, and to hinder the dutchies of Bremen and Verden from becoming the theatre of the war, and to exempt all

111 A. D. 1758.

all the King of England's dominions in Germany from the miferies confecutive to a general defeat, and which by a concurrence of circumftances would have been but too juftifiable.

It was no favourable conjuncture for foftening the victor. The King of England was fending away a very ftrong fquadron, with land forces, for a defcent, with a defign of making themfelves mafters of Rochefort, or at leaft burn the docks, the ftorehoufes; in a word, to commit all poffible hoftilities on the coaft of France.

Befides many fubjects of apprehenfions for the defeated party, there was one of greater weight than all the others; paft experience feemed to have infpired a grounded miftruft of any propofal from the King of England, Elector of Hanover; of this the Duke of Cumberland had recent proofs. After he had been obliged to retreat into the dutchy of Bremen, he had propofed a neutrality, and it was refufed him; he had acquainted the French miniftry, that he was authorifed by full powers from the King his father, to treat of a peace, of a neutrality, or of a preliminary accommodation; and the King, faithful to his allies, would hearken to no propofal but in concert with them.

From all thefe reafons, the Duke of Cumberland did not believe that he fhould be able, by himfelf, to obtain the capitulation, which alone could fecure him from all the feveral dangers he had to fear; but being informed of the King's great regard for the King of Denmark, his ally, he

112

A. D.

1758.

he implored the affiftance of that Prince, and got a ceffation of arms to be proposed to the Marshal de Richelieu by the negociation of the Count de Lynar, the King of Denmark's minister, and under his Danish Majesty's guarantee.

On this propofal the Marshal deliberated which was beft for the Empire, to grant or refuse the capitulation. By the latter he answered the King's just vengeance; in the former he confidered the advantages of keeping the Hanoverians and their allies inactive during the remainder of the war, and confequently of referving his troops for marching without delay to Halberstadt, and by the celerity of his operations to haften the evacuation of Saxony, and the reftoration of the peace in Germany. As the King's fentiments were perfectly known to him, he immediately preferred that measure, which he judged might be most beneficial to the Empire and the allies of France, and he granted the capitulation or military convention, which the Duke of Cumberland offered to him through the Count de Lynar.

The King, fuch was his zeal for his allies and for the Empire, approved of the Marshal de Richelieu's conduct, and to strengthen the capitulation proposed the adding of some explications, which should so clearly fix its meaning, as to obviate any missinterpretations. These explications were of the following tenor.

1. That the ceffation of hostilities should last during the whole time of the present war.

Vol. III.

22

2. That

A. D. 1758. 114

A. D. 1758.

2. That the Hanoverian troops, which were to go on the other fide of the Elbe into the dutchy of Lawenburg, fhould not come out of it, and, together with the troops remaining on this fide, fhould not commit any hoftility neither against the King, nor against his allies; and that the French troops likewife should not commit any hostilities against them.

3. That no English troops should be admitted into the dutchies of Bremen and Verden.

4. That the troops, both the Hanoverians and those of the auxiliaries, should not ferve during the present war, either against the King, or against his allies, nor join those of the King of England, nor those of his allies.

Had there on the fide of the court of Hanover been the fame good faith as on the King's fide, thefe explications would have met with no difficulty.

The fenfe they offer had been contained in the conventions of the 8th and 10th of September, either in equivalent terms, or by a natural inference; and fo just were they, that the Count de Lynar, to whom they were delivered, judged them to be the true meaning, in which the convention had been understood : and the court of Copenhagen was of the fame opinion.

They then endeavoured to fhew, that thefe explications were virtually contained in the convention, that though not agreed to, the convention remained in full force, and that the Danish minifler was of this opinion. After this they go into a long

a long and tedious account of the behaviour of the Hanoverians, Heffians, and Wolfenbuttlers, and the methods which the Hanoverian Generals took to deceive the French General, by making him believe, that they were refolved to obferve punctually the convention, while at the fame time they were concerting with the King of Pruffia, and preparing to recommence hoftilities, as foon as they fhould find a favourable opportunity, by the French army's being difperfed into winter quarters; and this fecond part they conclude as follows.

" One reflection shall put a period to this detail. If the Duke of Cumberland asked to capitulate, it was becaufe he found himfelf in a critical polition, and justly feared that, should the Marshal de Richelieu attack him, he would ruin the Hanoverian army irretrievably, and make himfelf master of the town of Stade, and of the depositum lodged there. Had not his situation been fo dangerous in every refpect, can it be fuppofed that a Prince, whofe courage all Europe has beheld, would have afked to capitulate at the head of an army of near 40,000 men, under the cannon of the town, and in a post of difficult access and well intrenched ? But this Prince, whose capacity gave him to perceive, that no retreat remained for him in cafe he should be beaten, preferred the glory of faving the King his father's troops, and those of his allies, to the vain honour of fighting the King's army, without any grounded hope of fuccess. The more of his felf-love he

H 2

had

TIS

A. D 1758.

A. D. 1758. had by this ftep facrificed to the good of mankind, and the intereft of the King his father, the more facred and inviolable did the capitulation, which he had afked and obtained, become to him. It is unqueftionable in the rules of honour and war, that a capitulation is never to be afked of an enemy till at an extremity; but when reduced to it, it is not lawful to employ those arms againft him, which by promise were to be laid down. Honour would look on fuch a procedure with indignation; and if private perfons deteft a treachery of this nature, is it not ftill more unworthy of fovereigns, who are the protectors of good faith, and who are more concerned than private perfons to preferve their glory and reputation ?

Accordingly the Duke of Cumberland, by laying down his military employments, was for faving himfelf the infamy of breaking fuch facred engagements; he has proved by that ftep, that he is incapable of being fo far wanting to himfelf; but in fheltering his own honour, why has he not been afraid of expofing that of the King his father?

If the King of England, Elector of Hanover, on his receiving advice of the capitulation had difowned the Duke of Cumberland his general and fon, ftill would the King have had caufe of complaint, military conventions not requiring a ratification; but, at leaft, there would have been in this proceeding an appearance of good faith. But to temporize during near three months, in feeking occafion for breaking the capitulation with impunity,

116

nity, let the French army march away for Halberftadt, wait till it was feparated in the bad feafon, lay hold of the circumstances of a check to come out of the prefcribed limits, under pretence of extending quarters, afterwards taking advantageous pofts, equally contrary to the convention; make every difpolition for the fiege of Harbourg, without any previous declaration of war; and when all these preparations are made, and the enemy is thought to be fufficiently weakened and deceived, to be fought with advantage, to declare to him, that hostilities are to be renewed, and that the capitulation is looked on as broken, at the very fame moment that the troops are marching to him, and his posts are attacked; to engage one Prince, by feducement, to violate this capitulation, and to hinder another by open force from executing it; to imprifon the general of the latter, and detain his troops, and take away his ' fon from him; to make him ferve as an inftrument to the treachery; this is trampling on the law of nations, on the laws of juffice, honour, and good faith; the rights of the fovereignty of the States of the Empire; the ties of nature and of blood; it is to fear neither the judgment of cotemporaries, or of posterity; it is wilfully branding one's life and memory with an indelible mark of infamy; in a word, it is daring to fet up and give a fanction to the pernicious maxim, " That every means is lawful to obtain one's end."

Principles and procedures fo heinous are to be attributed only to the artifices and evil councils of

" This alludes to the Duke of Brunswick. See p. 123. vol. iii.

II 3

corrupt

117

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

118

corrupt ministers. To suspect Princes themselves of such principles, would be wanting to the respect due to them.

After the preceding faithful reprefentation of the King's conduct, and that of the King of England, Elector of Hanover, all Europe, and effecially Germany, may eafily judge of the difference of the intentions of thefe two Princes, and it is hoped, that they will impute the blame of the confequences of this war to those only, who, in contempt of all laws and all rules, have again taken up arms to hinder the conclusion of it.

This is the caufe of all fovereigns, but efpecially that of the Empire; it being the bad faith of the Hanoverians, which has retarded the fuccefs of the King's operations for reftoring the peace of Germany; and their unjust and violent proceedings, both towards the King and the Duke of Brunswick, are a fresh breach of the public peace, and of the treaties of Westphalia.

The King will omit nothing to acquit himfelf of what he owes to his dignity, injured by the outrage done him by the court of Hanover. As to the Germannic body, his Majefty will redouble his efforts for preferving it from the new dangers with which it is threatened; and fulfil the engagements he has entered into both with his allies and the Empire. He is perfuaded that the Electors, Princes, and States, will do juffice to the uprightnefs and generofity of his fentiments; and he with the greater confidence hopes they will fecond his meafures and operations, as agreeably

to

to the wifh and refolution of the diet, they tend only to fuccour the allies of France, to maintain the Germannic fystem, and to reftore order and peace in Germany."

This manifesto, to blind the eyes of the Its motives. neutral potentates, and to put the best gloss upon their caule, by a new commifforial decree to the dyet of the Empire, for affiftance against the King of Pruffia', was foon followed by a refolution

s His Imperial Majesty, after having capitulated therein the efforts he has jointly made with France, to defend the liberty of the Empire, to deliver the Saxon territories from the yoke they groan under, and reftore tranquillity to Germany, takes notice of the conftant opposition his Pruffian Majefty has perfifted in, by paying as little refpect to the citation to ap, pear and answer to the ban of the Empire iffued against him, as Elector of Brandenburgh, as to the refolutions, which his Imperial Majefty and the Empire took, in confequence of the measures he pursued, till the battle of the 5th of November, near Rofbach : upon which the Emperor observes, that though the attempt made on that occasion did not answer the end, for which the army of the Empire, and that of France, marched towards Saxony; yet the loss they fustained did not hinder them from keeping at hand to protect the flates of the Empire, that might have been exposed to new vexations. The decree concludes with thefe terms :

"We perceive but too plainly the defign formed by the King of Pruffia, Elector of Brandenburg, to carry his rebellion to the highest pitch. Confequently, it is necessary to oppose him by all possible means, and for this purpose to make use of all the forces that can be employed therein. His Imperial Majefty, by his refeript of the 31ft of May laft, has already apprized the circles of the Upper Rhine and Swabia, of the project, which the King of Pruffia, Elector of Brandenburgh, feemed to have formed for making irruptions into all the 011

IIQ

H4

120

the M.

Duke de

Landgrave of Heffe

Caffel's

France.

A. D. 1758.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

tion in the French council to recal the Duke of Richelieu. He was superceded by the Count de Count de Clermont, occasioned by the difgust of the whole Clermont army in Lower Saxony, with their marshal and fupercedes commander in chief, for his misbehaviour towards Richelieu. his officers, and neglect of the foldiers; who were reduced to a most despicable condition, for want of neceffaries, by his rapacioufnefs.

During the winter ceffation of arms we met with a most forbidding instance of trust to the treaty with fidelity and firmness of a German ally, in the, Landgrave of Heffe Caffel. A fubfidiary ally, retained by a large penfion in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail; and whose enmity can never hurt Great Britain, but in fuch conjunctures, when foreign and domeftic quarrels or commotions shall require an auxiliary aid : But expecting, from appearances, that the caufe of Hanover was in a lofing condition, this mercenary ally, though a principal in the difpute, and connected with Great Britain by the ties of folemn

> the flates of the Empire, one after another, in order to draw from them, by opprefive methods, new fupplies; to conftrain the ruined subjects thereof to enlist in his troops, and by this means to effect the total destruction of the Empire. His Imperial Majefty therefore expects, that the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire in general, and every one of them in particular, will perfift in the zeal they have hitherto fhewn. and redouble their efforts to give the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghaufen the neceffary fupplies for maintaining the troops, and every thing requisite, in order to oppose in the most vigorous manner an Elector who menaces the whole Empire, and prevent his penetrating into the most distant circles, &c."

treaties, and of gratitude and honour, fued to be inlifted into the fervice of our common enemy. He commiffioned the minister of the Duke de Deuxponts, to prefent and negociate a plan at Verfailles in his name, by which the Landgrave of Heffe Caffel propofed to enter into no engagement against the King of France and his allies: to give no affiftance directly nor indirectly to the enemies of his Majefty and his allies : never to give his vote in the general or particular affemblies of the Empire, against his Majesty's interest; but to employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the Empire; and to engage his troops, then in the Hanoverian army, to ferve France: on condition that they fhould not act in the prefent war against his Britannic Majesty: that his dominions should be immediately reftored in the condition they were in, when fubdued by the French forces; exempt from all future contributions of all kinds; guaranteed, and effectually defended against any attack made upon them in refentment of this convention; and excufed from furnishing his contingent in the army of the Empire, and from paying the Roman months.

The fame ftate-trick was played by the Duke of Treaty of Brunfwick, whole confanguinity with his Britannic of Brunf-Majefty might have poffeffed him with better fentiwick with ments. The Duke fubmitted to the following terms of neutrality. That the cities of Brunfwick and Wolfenbuttle fhould receive a French garrifon, duing the war, which might use at their pleafure

121 A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1758.

122

fure the artillery, arms and military flores found in them: That the Duke's forces should be recalled from the Hanoverian army, difbanded, difarmed and fworn not to ferve against the King or his allies during the war. That he fhould be allowed a body-guard of one battalion of foot and two fquadrons of horfe, fubject to the regulations made by the M. Duke de Richelieu and the intendant of his army : That the Duke should pay the Roman months, and fupply his contingent to the Imperial army: and that he should vote in the dyet at Ratifbon, conformable to the refolutions approved and confirmed by the Emperor : On condition of his being reftored to the favour of the French King, that neither his revenues nor treafure should be touched, nor his administration of justice invaded, and that nothing further should be demanded of him, but winter-quarters for the corps deftined to pass the winter in the dukedom of Brunfwick.

This convention with France and Auftria was figned at Vienna, by his minifter, fo early as on the 20th day of September 1757, but neither the Landgrave, nor this Duke had it in their power to perform their parts of those covenants. The difpatch, with which the Brunswick treaty was negociated at Vienna, hurried its ratification. But the delay which the Hessian treaty met with, in the confused court of Versailles, protracted the signing thereof till a reverse of their fortune inspired the Landgrave with fentiments more to his ad-

advantage, which, at all times, feems to have A. D. been his ruling maxim. 1758.

As for the Duke of Brunswick, it appears, from His comhis expostulatory letter to Prince Ferdinand, his plaint brother, invested with the command of the Hano- PrinceFerdinand. verian army, and refuming the operations of war. after the convention of Clofter-Seven, against the French; that he was refolved to avail himfelf of a neutrality, on the conditions above-recited. In which the Duke complained that the Prince had feduced his troops, decoyed his fon and difgraced his family; threatening to use force for enforcing a compliance to his commands, if his fon did not, according to his command, quit the army and make the tour of Holland; and if his troops were not fent home to be difarmed and difbanded. However Prince Ferdinand remained firm in his refolution. He kept both the troops and the Duke's fon, with their own confent; and their bravery and fuccefs, in a little time, infpired the father with better fentiments, in regard to his connections with his new allies; reconciled him to his fon, and made him to approve of measures. quite contrary to the treaty he had made with the enemies of his Britannic Majefty, Elector of Hanover.

Neverthelefs, by this defection of the Heffians Remarks and Brunfwickers, the French gained fome con-thereon. fiderable advantages. It accounts for the civilities and progrefs their arms met with in the Landgravate of Heffe; which country, had it been under the dominion of a faft, uncorrupt, fleady friend.

123

A. D. 1758.

124

friend to England, might have given the French fuch a check, as to have prevented many difafters both to that Landgravate and to their neighbouring ftates. And it put the Duke de Richelieu in quiet poffeffion of Brunfwick without a ftroke, or lofs of time. Under all thefe difadvantages Prince Ferdinand,

of the Ha- by detached parties, kept the French army, even

to the gates of Brunswick, in continual alarm, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen. This progress of the Hanoverian army, threatning an entire repulse of the parties posted by the French in that part of the country, the Duke de Broglio . was detached with a confiderable body of troops, drawn out of Otterfbourg, Rothenburg, &c. and advanced toward Bremen. He threatned the inhabitants with the utmost rigour of military execution, in cafe they dared to make any opposition. The deputies fent by the magistrates to know his will, and defiring time to deliberate, could obtain no other answer, than " not a moment can " be allowed,-the Duke de Richelieu's orders " are peremptory, and admit of no delay." However the magistrates were not intimidated. But when the inhabitants faw the heavy cannon brought up within musket-shot of their city, scaling ladders fixed to their walls, and the gates ready to be forced open, they, by earnest importunity, prevailed with them to comply with the demand of the French general. But not till he had promifed, upon his honour, that no violence should be offered, nor alteration should be made to the prejudice friend

Bremen forced to furrender to the French. dice of their rights, privileges and government, nor to the liberty, religion and commerce of the inhabitants. How honourably Broglio would have kept his word is uncertain. For, on the 21ft of The February, Prince Ferdinand being joined by a before body of Pruffian horfe, under the command of PrinceFer-dinand's Prince George of Holftein Gottorp, marched with army. the main body of his army, to drive the French from thence. In his way he diflodged them from Rattenburg, garrifoned by 150 men, who were made prisoners of war, after fix hours refistance : and from Otterfberg, which the Prince found deferted; but they had left all their artillery and ammunition. Verden was also evacuated on advice of his approach. His Highness then directed his march to Bremen, of which he took quiet poffession, the French having quitted that city on the 24th of February.

Here Prince Ferdinand received advice that the Their mi-Marshal Duke de Richelieu was superceded in his ferable condition. command by the Count de Clermont, and that the new commander only waited the return of a courier to determine the ulterior operations of the French army in Lower Saxony, which was reduced to fuch a weak flate by the accidents of war, the want of neceffaries, the feverity of the feafon, and by fickness, that it was not in a condition either to take the field, or to maintain their conquests. Count de Clermont found his countrymen in fuch a deplorable condition, that he wrote to his fovereign, "He found his Majefty's " army divided into three bodies, one above " ground,

A. D. 1758.

125

" ground, who were become a parcel of thieves and vagabonds, and all in rags; another under ground; and the third in the hofpitals." Therefore he defired his Majefty's inftructions, whether he fhould endeavour to bring the firft away, or whether he fhould ftay till it had joined the other two.

Difficulties to be furmounted by Count de Clermont.

Be that as it will, it is apparent that Clermont had been hurried away to the army with fuch hafte, for fear of a general mutiny, that he neither carried difcretionary orders along with him, nor proper inftructions for withdrawing his army from that country. And his bad circumftances were fo perfectly known to Prince Ferdinand, that this vigilant and wife general refolved to give him no time to mend his condition, or to recruit his deplorable remnant.

Refolves to retire.

Evacuates Hanoyer. From Bremen his Serene Highnefs refolved to direct his rout by Hoya, to Hanover and Brunfwick; and to drive the enemy before him out of his Majefty's Electoral dominions. And whereever his advanced parties appeared the enemy retired with fuch precipitation, that they left all their fick, great part of their artillery, ammunition and baggage: and many of those, that fled, were either killed or taken prisoners.

Hoya furrenders. The only fland, this once formidable army feemed to make against the Hanoverians was at Hoya, a firong fort upon the Wefer. Here the Count de Chabot was posted with a confiderable detachment to dispute the passage of that river. Prince Ferdinand being informed of this resolution,

126

A. D. 1758.

rench fir

tion, in his way to Bremen, gave orders, on the 23d of February, to the hereditary Prince of Brunfwick, to repair thither with two battalions of Hanoverians, two of the Brunswick troops, and a confiderable number of light troops, chaffeurs and huffars, and diflodge the enemy from that poft .- The hereditary Prince marched accordingly, and after a vigorous defence, and the loss of many men on the part of the enemy, he forced them, with bayonets fixed, to furrender : and made between 14 and 1500 men prifoners of war. But Count de Chabot threw himfelf, with two battalions, into the caftle; by which means he obtained an honourable capitulation, on the 23d in the evening, to retire with his two battalions, leaving behind them their baggage and magazines. The whole lofs in killed and wounded did not amount to 100 on the part of the hereditary Prince^t.

The

* Extract of a report from a Hanoverian officer to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

Hoya, Feb. 24.

In purfuance of your orders, the Prince hereditary of Brunfwick began to march to Doevern, yefterday the 23d, at feven o'clock in the morning: It was eleven when we arrived there, being obliged to wait for the huffars and dragoons. From thence we marched towards Bremen, where, as we were informed, there were fome floats of timber: We found but one, and two or three fmall boats, which might ferve to carry about eight men each. We were too far advanced to think of retiring; and befides, the intelligence we had endeavoured to procure about the place, and the difpofitions made by the enemy for its fecurity, gave us fome profpect of fuccefs. We then 127

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

128

The reduction of Hoya cleared the way to Zell. Hanover and Brunfwick, on the north fide of the

then detached 30 huffars upon our left to Haffel, and Lieutenant Engel, with ten men for the van. Lieutenant Luckner paffed the Wefer with 30 more, in order to cover our right. The battalion of Oberg, and the fquadron of dragoons, were deftined to make a feint attack on the left fide of the Wefer. The three other battalions were to pass the river, and enter the back part of the town. As we had but one float, the paffage of the troops over the river took up much time; and the wind role fo high, that after one half of the first battalion of Brunfwick guards had paffed, the other half was feparated by it. Upon this, it was refolved to leave the reft on the other fide, viz. one battalion of Oberg's, the fecond battalion of the Brunfwick guards, the remainder of the first battalion of that regiment, and the Heffian fquadron. Between four and five o'clock we marched with the regiment of Haufs, a part of the first battalion, and a haubitzer. When we were got upon the caufeway, about a mile and a half from the town, through fome miftake, which might have coft us very dear, our detachment fired upon four of the enemy's dragoons that were patrolling. This firing was caught from one to another, and at last became general. This unlucky accident was more than fufficient to discover us, and bring us into the greatest distrefs. However, a bold countenance upon the occasion became necessary; and we marched on, with the utmost diligence, to the town. We met, at first, with no opposition, and advanced as far as the bridge: There the fire grew exceeding fmart, yet we never gave ground, though we were fo hard pushed. But, as the whole detachment could not equally be brought up, the Prince hereditary formed the defign of turning the enemy, and accordingly marched with that part of his first battalion that croffed the river with him. It was neceffary, for that purpole, to go round the town, and to pass through a garden and a house, and fo attack the enemy in the rear. This fucceeded ; and the bayonet fixed was chiefly used on this occasion; fo that it may be faid, huma-

nity

the Wefer, and commanded the country, as far as Minden on the fouth fide of that river. A great number

nity fuffered for the flaughter that then happened. The enemy abandoned the bridge, and the Prince joined the Hanoverians again. The regiment of Britanny, and fome parties of dragoons, were upon their march ; and as we did not find ourfelves abfolutely fure of keeping this poft, the capitulation hereafter-mentioned was granted. The Lorraine guards are demolished. I cannot yet exactly tell their loss, but it is very great. On our fide Major Kropf is mortally wounded. Captain Koppelow has a flight wound in his thigh. There are two men killed, and ten wounded, among the fubalterns and private men. The regiment of Haufs had twelve men killed. and fixty wounded. The officers, who particularly diffinguished themselves, were M. de la Motte, who has acted with great prudence and courage. Lieutenant Engel commanded the attack on the left fide of the river, and did alone, by his well-judged conduct, fix the enemy's whole attention, which cannot be fufficiently commended. Captain Bourbon, of Haufs's, behaved extremely well. Meff. Richler, Koppelow the captain, and his brother the lieutenant, as well as enfign Vitzhum, have all behaved as men of courage and honour ought to do.

By the capitulation of Hoya, the garrifon went out with all the honours of war, and the officers with their baggage. The Count de Chabot gave his parole of honour, to deliver up all the cannon, ammunition, and provisions, belonging to the French King. All the prifoners taken during the action, as well officers as private men, to be treated as fuch; but the chaplains, furgeons, and officers fervants, to be releafed.

Lift of the French prisoners of war, taken at the attack of Hoya, Feb. 23.

Of the regiment of Britanny, two captains, three lieutenants, three of them wounded ; 56 private, 15 of whom wounded .- Of Gardes Lorraines, five captains, fix lieutenants, four T

VOL. III.

of

129

A. D. 1758. A. D. 1758.

D. number of French huffars of Poleretsky's regiment ⁸. had taken post at Nord Drebber. Against whom the

of them wounded; 305 private, 27 of whom wounded.—Of the royal voluntiers, one lieutenant, one private.—Of gens d'armes, one captain.—Of the meftre de camp general, one aid major, and 28 private.—Harcourt's dragoons, two private.—Dampier's horfe, one ditto, 19 officers, and eight commiffaries.—Sick made prifoners in the hofpital at Memfen 250.—In all 670.

An abstract of a letter from a French officer at Bremen.

" I was going to write to you from Bremen, when, on the 24th paft in the morning, we were informed that the hereditary Prince of Brunswick had stormed and taken Hoya, which was bravely defended by M. de Chabot, with the regiment of Gardes Lorraines, two companies of grenadiers, fome piquets of the regiment of Bretagne, and a detachment of Meffre de Camp dragoons. Finding himfelf furrounded on all fides, and upon the point of being forced, after a confiderable lofs of men, he retired into the Old Caftle, where he capitulated, and obtained the liberty to withdraw to the next French poft, with all the troops he had with him, except fuch as were intercepted, and which have been made prifoners of war. This happened on the 23d in the evening, and foilowed the taking of Verden, which M. de St. Chamans found himfelf obliged to abandon on the 20th, and to retire towards Bremen, on account of the great floods. It was then, on the 24th in the morning, that we heard at Bremen of the fate of Hoya; and M. de St. Germain, judging that he could not be of any use in this post to Count Clermont, immediately refolved to abandon it, after he had fent orders to all the regiments, as well foot as horfe and dragoons, to repair, that fame evening, to Baffum. He left Bromen, and charged me with the care of evacuating it, as foon as the artillery and the baggage of the garrifon fhould have been fent away ; which I executed about two o'clock in the afternoon. The hofpital and magazines were

130

the Pruffian huffars of the advanced guard were detached; and they executed their inftructions fo effectu-

were left at Bremen for want of carriages and time, having no particular charge of them. I happily rejoined M. de St. Germain in the night at Baffum. We paffed the night under arms, becaufe we were not far from Hoya, and uninformed of the defigns of the enemy. On the 25th we paffed the Hunte, and quartered at Wildhusen, which place we quitted on the 26th at ten in the morning, in order to proceed to Vecht, and, upon intelligence that a colonel of foot, whofe force we were ignorant of, had croffed the Hunte, we came and paffed the night of the 28th at Forde, and arrived the day before yefterday at this place, where we found the regiment of Champagne, the regiment of colonel general dragoons, and two regiments of horfe. The remains of the Gardes Lorraines, who are about 200 men (for the broken companies, which capitulated with M. de Chabot at Hoya, were gone with a like number at Nienburg) joined us two days ago by the route by Quakenbrugge, and were fent yefterday to efcorte our heavy baggage to Munfter, becaufe there was not fufficient forage here for their fubfiltence.

As there is a great want of discipline, and the spirit of marauding is not eafily rooted out, we have many ftragglers in our march, that either are already, or will be, made prifoners. At Hoya were taken the baggage of the Prince de Beauveau. Comte de Laval, and Duc de Coigny, and likewife those of M. de Lille-Boune, and of the regiment of Harcourt. M. de Lavalette has also lost fome things; and fome peafant-waggons, laden with the effects of M. de St. Germain, fell into the hands of the Hanoverians at Wildhufen. We have no direct news of the Comte de Clermont ; we have only just learnt, by an officer, who quitted Hanover on the 26th, that the general was acquainted with the abandoning of Bremen, which he had much approved of. Our corps here [at Ofnaburg] actually confifts of 19 battalions, 12 fquadrons of dragoons, and as many horfe, without including the corps under M. de

I 2

A. D. 1758.

IGI

A. D. 1758.

132

effectually, that after a great flaughter, they brought off 300 horfes, a pair of kettle-drums, ten ftandards, 130 huffars, two lieutenants, two captains, and their Colonel Poleretsfky dangerously wounded.

French evacuate Hanover.

While thefe detachments carried all before them, the terror and panic of the enemy increafed at the motion of the main army, which Prince Ferdinand marched in two divisions, one on the right and the other on the left of the Wefer. So that nothing was thought of at Zell, Hanover and Brunswick, but how to retreat with the greatest fafety, not only from the victorious troops advancing apace to drive them out, but from the enraged peafants and inhabitants, whom they had robbed and ruined, with the most inhuman acts of rapine and opprefiion. Indeed, there was no alternative. They could not truft to their own ftrength for defence. They must retire in the beft manner they could and quickly. The ftrength of the Electorate was at their gates. Accordingly Zell was evacuated, on the 26th of February, by the two generals the Marquis Armentieres and the Marquis de Rochepine, and the garrifon under their command. Hanover city, on the 28th of the fame month, by the Prince de Clermont and the Duke de Randan; in whofe commendation for the fingle and only act of humanity done by his countrymen in the progress of their arms

M. de Chabot. Yesterday we fixed upon a position here, to wait for and fight the enemy, if they arrive, unless we receive orders to the contrary."

hitherto,

hitherto, we read a most fevere reflexion upon the conduct of the French nation, That they are, by far, the most unpolite and cruel of all christian nations. This governor of Hanover city did no more " than prevent the foldiers plundering the poor 133 A. D.

1758.

^u They referved the payment of the arrears of the heavy contributions, and carried off Baron Munchausen, counfellor of the regency, and Monf. d'Hardenburg, a privy-counfellor, as hostages for the fame.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Zell to his friend at London, dated March 9.

Since the 14th of August we have been plagued with the French ; from that time we have had forty troopers quartered in our house, whom we have been obliged to furnish with beds, fire, candles and greens. They have ruined our houfe. furniture, gardens, pales, &c. They have taken by force our hay, corn, &c. and left us nothing, fo that we were obliged to fell and kill our cows, and fometimes we have been three days together without bread. This misfortune has happened to every body. We have been robbed befides of our pewter, copper, and many other things of value. We are a ruined people in this country, and God knows how we shall or can maintain ourfelves and get bread for our families. What we have loft amounts to many thousand crowns; nay, we cannot yet juftly tell what our loffes are. The hospital of St. Ann's, the orphan house, with the children in it, and the whole Friken Wiefe is burnt by the French.

On the 14th of December the French burnt, just behind our house, fourteen vessels from Bremen, laden with victuals; so that we expected every moment to see our houses on fire. The loss of those vessels amounted to more than 550,000 crowns, and nothing was faved out of them; so that the merchants at Bremen have been great fufferers thereby. I am not able to give you a true description of our circumstances: it would melt the heart of a barbarian to behold our condition;

for

134

at Zell,

Hanover

wick.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1758.

poor citizens, before they themfelves ran away; and ordered the magazines of provisions, which they could not remove, nor fell at a low price, to be distributed to the necessitous poor inhabitants; on whom they had lived feveral months, at free Behaviour quarters. Which implies, That the French fhewed no bowels of compaffion towards the inand Brunfhabitants of other places in their power; but plundered, burnt and diftressed them to the last extremity. Of which the neighbouring cities of Zell and Bremen furnish rigid examples.

Retire to Hamelen.

Throw a garrifon into Minden.

The forces, which evacuated those cities in Hanover paffed the Wefer, and retired in pretty good order to Hamelen, where the Prince of Clermont affembled all the troops he could poffibly collect, having thrown between 3 and 4000 men into Minden, not with any hopes of preferving that fortrefs; but only by way of expedient, to

for nothing is left us but life, and what is life without fubfistance ? though I hope God will be our best help; he knows how to find ways and means to support us.

I have been this week in the country, and have found moft people there, as I may fay, naked : they creep together like sheep, to keep one another warm, and they have nothing left to live upon. Most of them have lost their cattle, horfes, waggons, &c. Cocks and hens are a great rarity.

To dwell a little longer on our prefent fituation; I must add, that the French have left here about 380 fick. To their forrow they fent, last year, 119,000 men from France, and now they have not 46,000 left; the reft died in the hospitals, or fell in battles and skirmishes.

Our ramparts and fortifications here are ruined, and our woods and gardens look fo much like wilderneffes, that few know their own property.

A. D. gain time by retarding the rapidity of Prince Fer-1758. dinand's progrefs, who was marching, in perfon, to attack that city. Such was the wretched ftate of the French at this time; as to expole themfelves to the lofs of fuch a number of men, merely for the fake of retarding the march of the enemy at their heels, for a few days only. For, on the 5th of March the hereditary Prince invefted the place, and fummoned the town to furrender, without effect. Then General Oberg, who com-Minden manded a confiderable corps on the north fide of belieged. the Wefer, of which the hereditary Prince commanded the van, approached the town in order to form the fiege, while General Sporken advanced with another body towards the town on the fouth fide of the river. But the heavy roads and badnefs of the weather, by retarding the carriage of the heavy cannon, prevented the opening of the trenches till the 9th of March. From which day Capituthe attack was carried on fo brifkly, that the gar-lates. rifon was forced to capitulate, and to furrender themselves prifoners of war on the 14th of the fame month.

Prince Ferdinand having thus fecured his rear, Hame'en pufhed forward with his whole army to Hamelen, evacuated. where the French had their head-quarters. But, on his arrival at that ftation, nothing was to be found but a great number of fick and wounded, and fuch part of their magazines as the French had not time to deftroy. From hence he purfued French rethem to Paderborn, where he was informed, the tire to Paderborn. Prince de Clermont had fixed his head-quarters on

14

the

I35

A. D. 1758. To the Rhine.

the 18th. But the Hanoverian army having next day penetrated as far as Melle, the French haftened their retreat, and fled as fast as they could to the Rhine, and were joined in their march by the troops, that had been diffributed in Embden, Caffel, and the Landgravate of Heffe, which the French evacuated on the 21ft of March, making no ftop till they arrived at Wefel, where the Prince of Clermont established his head-quarters, and fortified it with all the diligence and ftrength in his power "; having fent the remains of his army over the Rhine.

Prince Fer dinand's requifition of English troops.

Reafons

out of Embden.

Prince Ferdinand, at his first entrance upon the command of the Hanoverian army, had ftrongly urged the neceffity of a fupply of British cavalry, to facilitate his operations. How well inclined the British councils were to grant his request, may be eafily collected from the proceedings of the parliament then fitting; as well as from the difpofition of the cabinet. But there was no way to fend those troops with fafety. Holland was tied up by a neutrality, from granting a paffage, and the French army was in poffeffion of all the countries along the Elbe and Wefer. Embden was looked for driving upon as the best landing-place. But Embden was then in the hands of the French. Yet a small fquadron of English ships of war might furprize it, and wreft it out of their poffeffion, and protect that place from future infult : and open a

> w The garrifon confifted of fix fquadrons and twelve battalions.

> > free

free port for British troops transported to Ger- A. D. many.

With this intention Commodore Holmes was Commodifpatched with the Seahorfe and Strombulo. With Holmes thefe he came to an anchor between Delfziel and with two Knock, on the 17th of March, notwithftanding men of war. the precaution taken by the enemy to render the navigation of the river hazardous, by not fuffering the buoys to be laid this year, for the direction of its navigation : without which affiftance it was impoffible, as they thought, for that port to be recovered. But the enemy's furprife and Arrivesbeconfusion greatly increased on the 18th, when the fore Embden. Commodore, with his little fquadron cut off all their communication down the river, by flationing his fhips between Knock and Embden.

The enemy doubled the number of workmen A hew of upon the batteries they had begun, and fet about erecting three more towards the fea with the utmoft expedition, as the only quarter from whence they now had reafon to expect an attack. But the intelligence from the country, and the inftructions, which they daily received from the Prince of Clermont, put them * upon preparations, at the fame time, to evacuate the place upon the first command for them to join the main body of their army, then flying before Prince Ferdinand ^y. Accordingly, at

* The garrifon confifted of 1300 French foot, 1200 horfe, 1100 Auftrian foot, and two companies of artillery, of 60 each, in all 3720.

y It was first intended by the French to keep Embden at all events. To make it a place of arms; and to convey all their

A. D. 1758.

138

Retire.

at fix in the morning of the 19th, the French troops were under arms, and marched out of the town before night; and the Auftrians followed on the 20th, at nine in the morning.

The diligence with which the works of the batteries towards the fea were continued, prevented all fuspicion of this kind, and favoured the tranfportation of their baggage and cannon up the river in fmall veffels by night: which otherwife might have been obstructed by the English from their fhips, who got no fcent of their real motions till about noon on the 20th. The commodore, informed of the enemy's flight, and that one of their veffels, with baggage and artillery, was waiting behind a point of land, at fome distance from his ships, to run up the river by the next tide; he, as foon as he could ftem the tide, dispatched an armed cutter, and two boats well armed, which came up with her and took her : and they, reinforced with another boat, continued the chafe up the river, under the command of Captain Taylor. In this purfuit our men acted with the greatest bravery and diligence. They proceeded amidft the enemy's fire, who lined both fides of the river; which was brickly returned from our boats. They faw three of the enemy's veffels, but could come up with only one

their magazines to that fea-port, till this critical moment, that they faw it blocked up, unexpectedly, by an English fquadron, which feemed, in all probability, to be only the van of a more powerful fquadron. A convincing proof of the importance of this fervice.

Lofe two baggage veffels. of them, which Captain Taylor attacked, run her a-ground, and carried her in fight of their army, and under their fire, befides what he received from the veffel itfelf. But the officers and men on board the ftore-veffel left it, to recover the fhore: in which attempt fome of them were dropt by the fire from our boats. Night coming on too quick, Captain Taylor was obliged to lie off for awhile, and the other two veffels, with cannon, got under the cover of their army, before day-light, and escaped.

Thus the port of Embden was recovered by Embden two fhips only, and they of fmall force, without the lofs of a man on our fide; on board the first Lofs of the veffel that was taken, was found the fon of Lieutenant-Colonel Scholleens z, of Prince Charles of Lorrain's regiment, one corporal, one pioneer, fome baggage, and little implements of war, and fome money, for the payment of the troops .--On board the fecond veffel they took a major, the commiffary of war, an adjutant, a guard of private men, and three hoftages, whom the enemy had carried off from Embden, for fecurity of certain contributions they had imposed upon that city, and left unpaid.

During this whole retreat the French were clofely attended by the Pruffian huffars and Hanoverian hunters, who killed and made prifoners a confiderable number of their men, and feized many of their baggage-waggons, and fome of

² He, being but a boy, was fent a-fhore, with his baggage, and returned to his father.

I

A. D. 1758.

their

140

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1758.

Vechte taken.

French

fued.

their artillery. They not only deferted and left great numbers of fick and wounded to the mercy of a provoked enemy; but they left behind them provisions and forage, of which they flood in great want. They forgot, or neglected, till it was too late, to call in the garrifon a flationed in the fmall fortrefs of Vechte, on the north-weft of Diepholt, who were obliged to furrender prifoners of war, and to deliver up a compleat train of 100 pieces of French cannon and mortars, to a party of 150 men fent from Bremen.

As foon as Prince Ferdinand was rightly informed of the rout and disposition of the enemy, who retreated in three columns, one column confifting of the troops which had occupied Heffe, on the left; another, of the troops that marched from Paderborn, under the immediate command of the Prince of Clermont, which marched in the middle; and the third, of the troops which came from Munster, under the command of M. de Villemurs, on the right; and that the Duke de Broglio was the leaft advanced of the whole; his ferene Highnels detached the Prince of Holftein, with a large body of horfe and foot, to purfue the closely purenemy, and to use the best of his endeavouts to break in upon them. These orders were vigoroufly executed. The rear-guard of the French was attacked in the neighbourhood of Saeft, in the county of Mark : a confiderable number were taken prifoners, with ten pieces of cannon 24.

a Confifting of feven companies.

pounders,

pounders, five 6 pounders, and a confiderable magazine. The fmall party, which the French left in the county of Benthiem, fell a prey alfo to a party of Hanoverian hunters and huffars, who attacked two Austrian regiments near Gelhausen, cut twenty of them to pieces, made many prifoners, and brought off twelve baggage-waggons.

After this long march, and fatiguing fervice, Prince Fer-Prince Ferdinand, duly informed that the French dinand goes into army was not to be purfued at prefent any fur-quarters ther with advantage; having also delivered the ment. Landgravate of Heffe and his Britannic Majefty's German dominions from the French invaders, he thought it the most proper time to halt, and for his army to go into winter-quarters of refreshment in the bishopric of Munster; ready to snatch the first opportunity to drive the Prince de Clermont from Wefel, and to carry his victorious arms beyond the Rhine, as foon as he could obtain his requifition of a body of English cavalry to support the attack. And even in this state of inactivity, if it can be fo called, the Hanoverian huffars, posted at Dorstein, made frequent incursions as far as Wefel b.

The French ministry could not look upon this Conduct destruction of their main army, and the difgrace and conof the Gallic arms, fleeing before a handful of the French ministry.

^b Stragglers were extremely ill treated by the peafants. But the huffars only difarmed and plundered them, defiring them to tell their officers, " That fuch foldiers, as they, did " not deferve to be made prisoners."

A. D. 1758.

141

Ger-

142 A. D. 1758.

Germans; and before those very men, whom they had a few months before treated with contempt and derifion, penned up in a corner and obliged to difarm themfelves, or to feek their own fecurity in an eventual ceffation of arms; without great confusion and ferious reflexion for the glory of their nation and the confequences of a retreat, which might encourage their enemy to crofs the Rhine. The people were fadly convinced of the fatal effects of cabals and favoritism in the cabinet of their Sovereign, and it is faid that the old Marshal Duke de Bellisse took upon him, on this emergency, to deliver the fentiments of the nation in the prefence of his King in council, with a fpirit of patriotifm that does honour to his name.

council.

" I know, faid he, the flate of our armies. The speech of M.Bell- It gives me great grief, and no less indignation; for belides the real evil of the diforder in itfelf, the difgrace and infamy, which it reflects on our government, and on the whole nation, are ftill more to be apprehended. The choice of officers ought to be made with great deliberation. I know but too well to what length the want of discipline, pillaging and robbing have been carried on by the officers and common men, after the example fet them by their generals. It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman; my principles are known to be very different from those, which are now followed. I had the fatisfaction to retain the efteem, the friendship, and the confideration of all the princes, noblemen, and even of 211 all the common people in all parts of Germany, where I commanded the King's forces. They lived there in the midft of abundance; every one was pleafed; it fills my foul with anguish to find that, at prefent, the French are held in execration; that every body is dispirited, and that many officers publickly fay things that are criminal and highly punishable. The evil is fo great that it demands immediate redrefs. I can eafily judge, by what paffes in my own breaft, of what our generals feel from the speeches they must daily hear in Germany, concerning our conduct; which indeed would lofe much, to be compared with that of our allies. I must particularly complain of the delays and irregularity of the pofts; a fervice which is very ill provided for. I am likewife displeased with the negligence of our generals. in returning answers; which is a manifest breach of their duty. Had I commanded the army, a thousand things, which are done, would not have been done; and others, which are neglected, would have been executed. I would have multiplied my communication; I would have had ftrong posts on the right, on the left, in the center, lined with troops. I would have had magazines in every place. The quiet and fatisfaction of the country should have been equal to their present difaffection, at being harraffed and plundered; and we should have been as much beloved, as we are at prefent abhorred. The confequences are too apparent to need being mentioned. I must infist on these things, because late

143 A. D.

1758-

144

A. D. 1758,

Vigorous refolutions. late redrefs is better than the continuation of the evil."

This plain narrative of facts produced vigorous refolutions. The army on the Rhine was augmented with all imaginable diligence; troops were put in motion every where, from the interior parts of the kingdom, towards the feat of action, and the fortifications, on the frontiers, were put into the beft pofture of defence, that time and the ftate of the nation would allow. And to keep up the fpirits of the people, who were more inclined to peace than war, a report was induftrioufly fpread, that a reconciliation would be foon effected by the mediation of Spain.

M. Bellifle's letter to the colonels.

The M. Duke de Bellifle, who at this juncture acted as fecretary of ftate, did not confine his endeavours to reform the army, by his firmnefs in the cabinet : he wrote a letter to all the colonels of the infantry in the King's name, threatning them with difinifion from, and lofs of their regiments, in cafe they continued any longer to connive at the fcandalous practice, which had been introduced amongft them, of the fale of commiffions, to the great difcouragement of merit, the extinction of that neceffary emulation, which animates an officer in time of battle, and to the relaxation of difcipline throughout the whole army.

Swedes refume the war unwillingly.

The Swedes were prevailed with, to quit the island of Rugen, in which they had been blocked up by 15,000 Prussians, now called upon a distant fervice, to observe the motions of the Russians in Pomerania. They refumed their operations about the the end of April: but with fuch a general averfion, both at court and in the field itfelf, that they gave the King of Pruffia very little concern for the effects of their arms at prefent; their activity not depending upon a national quarrel, or the inclination of their King, but only upon the factious councils of a corrupt fenate, penfioners to France.

The Ruffians, who had retreated with fo much Ruffians return into precipitation back towards their own country, Prufia. after the action ', which they had with M. Lehwald, were put under the command of General Fermer; M. Apraxin being difgraced and difmiffed from the command in chief, on account of that retreat, for which he had no orders from his court, as pretended : for fince that time the Czarina had been worked upon by various practices of profit, interest and intrigue, to fign her acceffion to the quadruple-alliance with Auftria, France and Sweden, and to augment the number of her troops to act against Prussia; which she now divided into two seperate bodies under Generals Fermer and Brown, with express command to return into Pruffia, notwithstanding the rigorous seafon. Ge- Seized Koneral Fermer executed his orders with fuch acti-nigfberg. vity, that he marched back, and got poffeffion of Konigfberg, the capital of Ducal Pruffia, on the 22d of January, without opposition. Fermer, having ravaged the country, retired again, and joined the main body of his army, which had en-

^c See page 409, &c. Vol. II. Vol. III. K Ci

24

A. D. 1758.

camped

A. D. 1758.

camped on the Vistula, not far from Dantzick, with a defign to feize upon that free city : as appeared from the demand of the Ruffian agent there, that the magistrates should admit a Ruffian garrifon. But they peremptorily refufed, and ftood in their own defence fo refolutely, that General Fermer did not think proper to carry matters to extremity : fo that he paffed the Viftula, and directed his march towards Pomerania; where Count Dohna had affembled an army to oppose him, which occafioned this general once more to retire; and, after plundering all before him, he rejoined his main body, to wait, as it was thought, the final orders of his court.

Army of

The army of the Empire began to re-affemble the Empire in March, near Bamberg in Franconia, under the Prince of Deux Ponts. Whole proximity attracted the Pruffian hero's immediate attention; who detached 30,000 men, under the command of Prince Henry of Pruffia, to watch their motions, and to prevent their junction with the French; who were forming a new army for that purpose; and might have completed the ruin of his Prussian Majesty, by that means; had not Prince Ferdinand defeated their intentions, by cutting them out sufficient work to guard their own frontiers on the Rhine, and our naval armaments found employ for their troops in the defence of their own coafts. For, it is evident from every ftep that had been taken between France and her allies, during the winter, that they had combined to act in concert, with one fatal blow

to

The intention of France and her allies.

to crush the King of Prussia, and then to make an eafy prey of the British allies, and to force all the states and potentates on the continent to unite with them in one common league to diffrefs and ruin the British trade and interest, and thereby to deftroy her ftrength and naval power; which can't exift without commerce, and commerce can't be carried on with advantage, without an interest to circulate its produce amongst foreign nations. It could avail us nothing had we the manufacturing Our inteof all the fleeces in the world, the fale of all the reft on the produce of the Indies; the monopoly of the continent. American fisheries; and the exclusive trade with North America and the coaft of Africa, had we no vent, no market to put off, and to difpofe of our produce, manufacture and imports for money and the comforts and necessaries of life. Foreign trade is the fupport of our riches and ftrength : therefore every obstruction in that channel must be watched, prevented, or cleared away in due time, with the utmost diligence and vigour.

The Auftrians had affembled a grand army near Auftrians Konigfgratz in Bohemia, under M. Count Daun, in motion. ready to feize the first opportunity to enter Silefia and Saxony; the center, to which all the armies in motion against his Prussian Majesty seemed to tend.

His Pruffian Majesty, thus furrounded and King of threatened with fo many powerful armies, was ob- Pruffia's operations. liged to have recourfe to ftratagem, as well as to arms. But first he turned the blockade of Schwiednitz into a fiege. He opened the trenches on the third

1758.

K 2

A.D. 1758.

148

Recovers Schweidnitz.

ty of Glatz.

third of April, and in defiance of the grand Auftrian army, reduced the garrifon to furrender prisoners of war in thirteen days. By these first fruits of this year's campaign, the Auftrians loft 7000 men, of which number the garrifon originally confifted; but 4000 had been cut off during the blockade by fickness, &c. and the The coun- Auftrians were totally driven out of Silefia. In the mean time General Fouquet marched with a confiderable detachment into the county of Glatz, and obliged the Auftrians under General Jahnus to abandon their pofts in that country : and his Majefty in perfon marched, with a part of his army, towards Graffan and Friedland, and detached a part of it to Fronteneau in Bohemia; which diflodged an Auftrian garrifon, and opened a way into Bohemia, for the Pruffian light horfe, Detaches a who raifed contributions, and harraffed the out posts of the enemy, even as far as the main guard of Count Daun's army.

Provides for the fecurity of

Saxony.

party into Bohemia.

Saxony was put into a posture of defence with 30,000 men under Prince Henry of Pruffia. And Silefia was covered from any furprize and incurfions of the Ruffians, by a confiderable body posted between Wolau and Glogau; befides the army under Count Dohna, in the eaftern parts of Pomerania.

His great abilities.

But what shewed the generalship of his Pruffian Majefty; he not only provided thefe forces for those particular fervices; but he posted them in fuch a manner as to preferve a communication with each other; fo as to enable them to act

for

A. D. for mutual fupport: and at the fame time covered 1758. his real defign or plan of operations.

By this polition of the Pruffian army, Count Deceives Daun was induced to believe, that it was the King's Daun. intention to open the campaign by marching into Bohemia: fo that all their attention was taken up to oppose an attempt of that kind. But, all on a fudden, his Pruffian Majesty gave the Austrians Slips past the flip. For with 50,000 men, he had collected the Austri-an army. near Neifs in Silefia, he penetrated into Moravia. by a rapid march, and at Troppau, which he reached in three days from Neifs, he divided this army into two columns, the first under M. Keith, to take the rout of Jagerndorf, who fet out on the 25th of April : the other under the King in Joins his perfon on the 27th, both directing their march to parties and directs his the plain of Olmutz, which they entered by march to Olmutz. Sternberg and Gibau on the 3d of May.

General Fouquet had orders to remain in the General county of Glatz, and watch the motions of Count Fouquet's march. Daun. But, as foon as he perceived by the enemy's motions, that they also were preparing to march into Moravia, this general went to Neifs, and took under his convoy the artillery and warlike ftores that were requifite for befieging Olmutz. On the 12th he arrived at Gibau without any molestation from the enemy, and immediately passed the Moraw at Littau, where fome Auftrians were made prifoners. On the 12th the King advanced towards Olitschau, and drove away a body of the enemy's cavalry posted there, who retired beyond Profinitz. Near that town the Prince of Wurtemberg

A. D. 1758.

Siege of Olmutz,

temberg fixed his camp, confifting of four regiments of dragoons, one of huffars, and fome battalions of fuzileers. On the 27th of May the trenches were opened before Olmutz, on the fide of Tobitschau; and the other fide of the river, towards Dolein, was invefted by a regiment of dragoons, two battalions, and 500 huffars. The King drove the Auftrian and Saxon cavalry, under General Ville, beyond Wifchaw, and his army took poffeffion of all the pofts proper for covering the body of troops, that were to be employed in the fiege. The Margrave Charles occupied the poft of Neuftadt, the Prince of Anhalt-Deffau that of Littau, and the King took post on the eminences between Profinitz and Olitichau.

On the 10th of June, General Putkammer, arrived with a convoy from Silefia, without meeting any moleftation : but, as this convoy was not fufficient to finish the siege, measures were taken to bring up another. Mean while the vanguard of the enemy arrived in Moravia; General Harfch, who commanded it, pitched his camp on the rifing grounds of Aller-Heiligen, oppofite to Littau. Marshal Daun arrived with his army at Gewicz, marches to and almost at the fame time a body of five or 6,000 of the enemy advanced to Profnitz; which obliged M. Keith to place Bareuth's dragoons near Wifternitz, and the independant companies at Biftrovan and Holian. The enemy's defign was to throw fuccours into the town : and in the night of the 8th of June, they attacked a battalion of volunteers, whom they forced to retire. Bareuth's T

M. Daun its relief.

reuth's regiment, who had been on horfeback the A. D. 1758. whole night, thought that they might return into the camp without waiting for the coming back of their patroles; but fcarce had the dragoons entered their tents, when the enemy forced their main guard, penetrated into the camp, and fent the re- Olmutz reinforcement into Olmutz; even Bareuth's regiment inforced. would have been ruined had not the battalion of Nimchewsky seafonably come to their affistance. This fuccels of the Austrians made them fond of nocturnal expeditions: thrice they attacked the regiment of Zeithen at Kofteletz, who always repulfed them with lofs. The independant battalions of le Noble and Rapin were not fo fuccefsful. They belonged to the corps under the Margrave Charles, and were posted at Sternberg. They were to march to Bahrn, to cover the convoy which arrived on the 10th, and were fo very roughly handled by the Pandours, that they loft three fmall pieces of cannon, and near 400 men. Mean while confidering the fuccours that had been thrown into the town, and the enemy's polition at Prerau, it was abfolutely neceffary to ftraiten Ol- Olmutz mutz still more, on the other fide of the Morave. straitened. The corps under the Margrave Charles marched thither, and took post in fuch manner that its right kept poffeffion of Commotau and the bridge there on the Morave, and the left reached to the bridge of Hollitz.

On the 20th Marshal Daun with his army came down from the hills, and encamped at Predlitz, between Wischaw and Profinitz. A few days

K 4

after.

152 A. D.

1758.

after, this general received advice, that the Pruffians were bringing a large convoy from Silefia. The body of forces which efcorted this convoy confifted of eight battalions, and near 4000 recovered fick, who were regimented for the fake of order in the march. The whole fet out from Troppau on the 25th. Marshal Daun thought it his duty to avail himfelf of this opportunity to compel the Pruffians, without the hazard of a battle, to raife the fiege of Olmutz. For this end, he detached General Jahnus, who was at Muglitz, towards Bahrn, and ordered a detachment to march from Prerau to Stadt-Liebe, that the convoy might be attacked on two fides; and in order to deceive, he drew near to the Pruffian army, placing his right towards Kojetein, and his left at a little hill very near to Predlitz. However, this motion deceived nobody; and the fafety of the convoy being the principal object, the King fent out General Ziethen, with three battalions, two regiments of horfe, and 900 huffars, to meet it. The convoy was attacked on the 28th, before General Ziethen came up; but the enemy were repulfed and routed, and loft three pieces of cannon and fome hundred men. Marshal Daun having fent a confiderable reinforcement to the troops he had before detached, the convoy was again attacked on the 29th, between Bautsch and Dom-Four hundred waggons, four battalions, stadt. and about 1000 troopers, had fcarce opened the march, and paffed the defiles of Domftadt, when the enemy fell upon the convoy with their whole force,

Pruffian convoy taken,

force, both on the fide of Bahrn, and on that of A. D. 1758. Domftadt. The head of the convoy was cut off from the reft, and, though General Zeithen did, on this occafion, all that could be expected from a good officer, he was obliged to abandon his waggons, and retire to Troppau. The head of the convoy arrived at the army on the 29th in the evening. The enemy took near 600 prifoners, The loss. among whom was General Putkammer. This unhappy event obliged the King to raife the fiege siege raifof Olmutz : whereas had the whole convoy arriv-ed. ed fafe, the place could not have held out above a fortnight, notwithstanding the gallant defence of General Marshal, the governor.

On the 1ft of July the King, with his whole Pruffians army, took the road to Bohemia. Marshal Keith retire. brought away all his artillery, excepting four mortars, and one 24 pounder, the carriage of which was broke ^d. This general marched by Leutomiffel taken. Littau to Muglitz and Tribau; the King marched by Konitz. The vanguard, under the command of the Prince of Anhalt Deffau, feized, at Leutomiffel, an Austrian magazine of meal and forage. The Generals Buccow and Laudon followed the army in its march, but without approaching too near it.

In this transaction there appears to have been Remarks great generalship exerted on both fides; by Count fiege, &c. Daun to defeat the besiegers, and by the King of Prussia in raising the fiege and in his retreat. Count

^d The lofs of men were between feven and 800 Pruffians killed, wounded, and prifoners.

Daun

A. D. 1758.

154

In regard to Count Daun. Daun being too weak to force the Pruffians to battle, and to relieve Olmutz by a pitched battle, encamped his army in the mountains, between Gewitz and Littau, whofe natural ftrength fecured him from a furprize, and whofe fituation enabled him, in like manner as the fituation of his camp at Kolin had done before, to receive daily reinforcements; to draw fupplies of all neceffaries from Bohemia; to intercept the convoys neceffary for the effectual fuccefs of the befiegers; to relieve the befieged occafionally, and to keep up their fpirits for defence, till opportunity fhould ferve to raife the fiege.

To the King of Pruffia.

The extensive works of Olmutz, which the Pruffians were obliged to inveft, required a greater number of forces than were employed, to do it completely. This was the reafon of fo much fuccefs in the nocturnal fkirmifhes, by which the Auftrians feldom failed to introduce provisions, ammunition and men into the town. The forage about the city had been previoufly deftroyed. This obliged the Pruffian cavalry to feek for it, at a great diftance; which not only fatigued, but exposed them to furprize from detachments out of the mountains. From whence also parties were continually alarming the camp of the beliegers, by night; and fell upon different quarters, while the garrifon fallied with fuccefs to retard the operations of their enemy. However this did not discourage his Prussian Majesty. Under all these difficulties, he finished the first parallel; and proceeded with fuch vigour, that the place feemed inevitably

evitably loft; when all his hopes evaporated in that one accident, the intercepting of the grand convoy near the defiles of Domftadt. A lofs that was not to be retrieved by the Pruffians in their fituation, and without which it was both dangerous and in vain for them to perfift in the fiege.

His Pruffian Majefty deprived of the means to continue the fiege, was now to retreat with fuch precaution, as might preferve his army from the accidents, which commonly befall an enemy retiring with a powerful enemy at his back. Daun was prepared to feize every opportunity of advantage. But that general's vigilance and penetration were frustrated: the King maintained the fiege with more vigour than before the lofs of the convoy till the 1ft day of July: when he fuddenly decamped in the night; and inftead of marching into Silefia, to protect that country from the infult of the triumphant enemy, ready to follow him with advantage, he took the rout of Bohemia. whole frontiers had been left unguarded by his adverfary: and by this invafion he transferred the feat of war from his own into his enemy's dominions.

How this answered the end appears by the ad-Favourvantages his Pruffian Majesty's arms gained in the able skirexecution of this plan. A large body of Au- his retreat. ftrians, under General Laci, which were posted at Gibau, attacked a party of grenadiers, who occupied the village of Krenau, and made an appearance of their intention to difpute the pafs: but they were foon diflodged : and there was an attempt

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

attempt to feize the provisions and artillery in their paffage over the hills of Hollitz. The enemy cannonaded General Rutzow and his party, that conducted them. But M. Keith coming up in due time, attacked the Auftrians in the rear, obliged them to fly with precipitation, and took fix officers and 200 men prisoners.

The King proceeded through Leutomyffel to Koningf- The King proceeded through Leutomyffel to gratz, &c. the important post of Koningsgratz. General Buccow had got there before him, with 7000 men well entrenched behind the Elbe all round the city; and had broken down the bridges over that river. His Majesty determined to attack the Auftrian trenches, ordered the bridges to be repaired with all expedition : which ftruck fuch a panic into the enemy that Buccow retired, and left the King to take poffeffion of Koningfgratz without oppofition. After which he had no more to do for his fafety in this fituation, than to difperfe a body of Auftrians, which had taken poft between Koningfgratz and Hollitz to intercept his artillery, &c. and that being effected, his whole army encamped near Koningsgratz. So that notwithstanding the miscarriage before Olmutz, his Pruffian Majefty found himfelf in a condition to ftem the force of the Auftrian army, and to lay Bohemia under heavy contributions, while his brother, Prince Henry, kept the army of the Empire in play, and from executing their defign upon Drefden.

> But if we change the prospect and look towards the Rhine, we shall see greater advantages : Prince ·Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, having refreshed his victorious troops, fpent no time in fruitles exercife. He only waited till all his troops from diftant quarters could be Ferdinand affembled : their rendezvous was at Notteln. triumphs They marched from thence to Dulmen, where the French. head quarters were fixed, on the 27th in the morning. While a detachment, confifting of feveral battalions and fquadrons, together with Scheiter's light troops, and Lukner's huffars, affembled on the 26th at Dorften and in its neighbourhood, under the command of Major General Wagenheim, who was charged with the difpolitions to be made for the paffage of the river, and with orders to advance himfelf to the gates of Duffeldorp, and to caufe the corps under the command of Colonel Scheiter to pass the Rhine at Duysburg. Which paffage was executed in the night between the 29th and 30th, with fuch fuccefs, that Scheiter having attacked, with bayonets fixed, the three battalions of French that opposed him, defeated them; and took five pieces of cannon, out of eight which they had. He had but two men wounded in the paffage, and not one either killed or wounded during the action.

The army marched before fun-rife on the 20th from Dulmen towards Dorften, and encamped at Limbeke; from whence, the next day, Lieutenant General Wutgenau was detached towards Wefel, with a body of infantry and cavalry. The 30th he encamped at Raesveld, and the 31ft at Ringenbourg. The Prince left the army during its march from Dulmen to Limbeke, and went to Boecktholt, 157

over the

Boecktholt, where he found the advance guards A. D. of the body affembled at Coefveld. That advanced guard marched on the 30th to Emmerick; and was followed by the reft of the corps, which

Rhine.

Croffes the was employed at Vraffelt. About five o'clock in the afternoon of the 31ft, the whole was in motion to crofs the Rhine; the advanced guard went on as far as Lobit. The Prince's defign was to pass the river in the night; but an unforeseen accident broke all the meafures, which had been taken for that purpofe; and His Serene Highnels was obliged to march the troops back again in the night to Neddlerelte. The 1ft of June was employed in removing the obstacles that had occurred; and, in the following night, the paffage was again attempted, and executed with all poffible fuccefs, near Herven.

> The huffars, with a detachment of grenadiers, paffed, on the 2d of June, at two o'clock in the morning, in flat bottomed boats, which went and returned with fo much diligence, that, befides the huffars, a regiment of dragoons, and ten or twelve battalions, were, before noon, on the other fide of the river. During all this time, workmen were employed about the bridge, which however was not completed till four next morning. The remainder of the cavalry and infantry paffed immediately, and marched towards Cleves.

Marches towards Cleves.

The huffars, fupported by the volunteers, furprized at first fome patroles, which were made prifoners of war, and ftill continuing to advance, defeated the cavalry that flewed themfelves, and took Socilinoit.

150

1758.

took a pair of kettle drums and a standard from the regiment of Bellefond. This country is entirely divided by dykes, fo that it is as eafy to difpute the ground, as it is difficult to advance. The enemy, fenfible of this advantage, advanced with feven or 800 foot to ftop the head of our vanguard, and fired fome pieces of cannon upon them, which however hurt nobody. But a detachment of 20 men, having found means to flip along a dyke, and get poffeffion of a houfe, which the French had, in part, paffed, fired upon them; which had fuch an effect, that they retired immediately. The huffars with the like fuccefs penetrated and cleared the road quite up to Cleves; with no other damage, than five rank and file and two officers wounded. What confounded the enemy most was the loss of Keiferworth, (with the greateft part of the garrifon killed or taken) which they had engaged with the Elector of Cologn, to defend against any force.

The retreat of the French, on this occasion, Pursues the was again to precipitate, that in order to efcape French. the huffars, they skulked for many miles in the inclofed grounds, and made a way over hedges and ditches to escape their pursuers. But Prince George of Holftein Gottorp, with a large body of cavalry and dragoons, came up with them near the caftle of Muyland, and made a confiderable booty and a good number of prifoners; and at Goch he feized a magazine, and 100 prifoners more.

Yet there was no probability of forcing the ftrong Endeacamp and entrenchments of the Prince of Cler- vours to bring on a

mont general engagement.

A.D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

160

mont at Rhinefeldt, with an army fo inferior in numbers. But what could not be done by ftrength was to be supplied by the generalship of His Serene Highnefs; who, by his well-judged motions, which he ordered his army to make on the 12th of June, turned the left wing of the French army towards the convent of Campe, and obliged their commander to quit his boafted camp of Rhinefeldt, or Rhineberg, and to retire towards Meurs, in the night between the 12th and 13th. This point gained by Prince Ferdinand, his Highness gave a new position to his own army, and occupied the heights of St. Anthony's mountains on the 14th. On the 15th, about five o'clock in the morning, His Serene Highnefs was informed, that the enemy was advancing in four columns upon his right. His Highnefs immediately ordered three guns to be fired as a fignal, and the whole army was under arms, in order of battle, a quarter of an hour after. He went afterwards himfelf to reconnoitre, and faw diftinctly, that, at about two leagues diftance from his right flank, a confiderable body was coming over the plain of Hulfte, and marching towards Crevelt. Not knowing whether this body was followed by the whole army, or whether it was only a detachment of it that was marching that way, His Serene Highness halted till towards the evening, when he received certain information, that the French army had marched towards Nuys, and that the Prince de Clermont had only detached this corps, under the command of Lieutenant General

How effected. neral Count de St. Germain, in order to take post at Crevelt.

Upon this information his Highness fent his light troops and huffars to Kempen and Wachtendonck, and ordered the army into their camp again.

On the 16th he changed the polition of the armv.

On the 17th his Highness went himself to reconnoitre, towards Kempen, the polition of the enemy's detachment at Crevelt, but could not guess at their reason for fixing this detachment at fuch a diftance from their army. In order, therefore, to be better informed of it, and to fee the countenance this corps could hold, he ordered the Prince of Holftein, with ten Pruffian fquadrons, the five fquadrons of huffars, and the three battalions of Sporcken guards, and Prince Charles, to march early in the morning of the 18th towards Kempen, whilft the Prince of Holftein fhould advance with his corps towards Hulfte: whereby it would clearly appear, whether M. de St. Germain would retreat towards the army, or whether the army of Prince de Clermont would advance towards Crevelt, in order to encamp there. Agreeable to this plan, his Highness the hereditary Prince of Brunfwick fet forward on the 19th from the camp, with 12 battalions. He marched directly towards Kempen, from whence he could perceive no alteration in the polition of Count de St. Germain.

At fix o'clock in the morning, his Serene Highnels Prince Ferdinand in perfon followed the he-VOL. III. reditary

24

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

162

reditary Prince to Kempen. He perceived fome movements in the flying camp, which were of a nature to induce him to believe, that M. de St. Germain defigned to march against the Prince of Holftein, who was encamped near Hulfte. Soon after he was politively informed, that the whole of the French army had quitted Nuys, and were advanced on this fide Crevelt; on which, having taken his measures, and formed a plan, as the cafe required, Major General Wangenheim was ordered to advance early the next day, with his corps towards Hulfte, and Lieutenant General Sporcken was directed to march after midnight, with the army, and to advance likewife to the plain between Hulfte and Kempen. On the 20th of June all the troops his Serene Highness could dispose of, were, by this means, reunited in this camp, the right of which extended towards Kempen, and the left towards Hulfte. The head quarters were fixed at Kempen, and, in order to prevent any useless movements, his Highness ordered the quarter master general not to regard the rank of the different corps, nor the order of battle, but to place the regiments, as a great part of them were actually posted.

On the 21ft was observed a great movement in the advanced corps of Count St. Germain, and about ten in the morning, after decamping, they filed off to their left, and marched towards Anrath, where they joined their grand army.

In making this motion they abandoned the town of Crevelt, which was on the front of their right wing;

wing; the Hanoverian chaffeurs poffeffed themfelves of it directly, and his Highnefs alfo went himfelf there to reconnoitre the pofition of their camp, which was clearly difcovered from the fteeple at Crevelt. He did not think fit either to keep the faid poft, or to make any change in the pofition of his army; in confequence of which, he ordered the chaffeurs and huffars away from that place, and the enemy repoffeffed themfelves of it an hour afterwards.

On the 22d his Highnefs went again to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy, particularly on the fide of St. Anthony, on the heath, which led towards their left. And although he found many difficulties, principally on account of the country's being very woody, and having inclofures furrounded with large and deep ditches, he refolved to march the next day to the enemy, and attack them in their camp.

In confequence of this refolution, the army was ordered to be under arms on June 23, at one in the morning, and not to change any thing in the camp, but to leave all their baggage in it, and wait there for further orders.

He affigned the command of the whole left order of wing, confifting of 18 battalions and 28 fquabattle. drons, to Lieutenant General Sporcken, and gave the command of the right wing, composed of 16 battalions and 14 fquadrons, to the hereditary Prince and Major General Wangenheim; which, by the addition of the two regiments of Prussian dragoons, Holstein and Finckenstein, of five L 2 fquadrons

163

A. D. 1757.

A. D. 1758.

164

111

fquadrons each, made a corps of 24 fquadrons, to be commanded by the Prince of Holftein, as the infantry was by the hereditary Prince.

At four in the morning, the army began to move, the right advanced in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left the fame diftance, on the plain leading to Crevelt, half a league short of it, where they halted to receive fresh orders. His Highness Prince Ferdinand went up the steeple of St. Anthony, and fent for the two Princes of Holftein and Brunswick. There they observed at leifure the polition of the enemy's camp, where all was very quiet. He also fent for feveral perfons thither, who were acquainted with the country, to learn from them by what routs we could advance by, towards the enemy; and being informed of many other points, abfolutely neceffary to be known, his Highness resolved to march to the right, and endeavour to come up with the enemy by the villages of Vorft and Anrath, on the flank of their left wing. But, in order to raife doubts in the enemy, as to the fide, on which the real and principal attack would be made, he gave orders for Lieutenant General Sporcken to fend Lieutenant General Oberg, with fix battalions of the fecond line, Hodenberg's and Bremer's regiments of horfe, and that of the body guards, towards St. Anthony, and to give them fix 12 pounders. Befides this, his Highnefs gave orders, that when the action should begin on the enemy's left, M. de Sporcken, by way of Crevelt, and M. d'Oberg, by way of St. Anthony, should do their utmost

to

to advance and penetrate into the enemy's army; A. D. 1758. but however not to venture too far, unless they fhould be affured that his attack fucceeded to his wifh. His Highness chiefly recommended it to His Highthem, to make good use of their heavy artillery, nefs's parin order to oblige the enemy to employ their at- rections about the tention as much upon their right wing and center, artillery, as on their left, and to engage and divide their attention equally in three different places, which would prevent them from fending any reinforcement to the real attack, for fear of weakening themfelves in fome part or other, where an impreffion might be made.

The difpolitions being made, his Highnels put himfelf at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, at eight in the morning, and taking the road that leads to the village of Vorft, which heleft on his right, the army advanced in two co- Advanceth lumns towards Anrath, where there was a detach- in two coment of 400 of the enemy, half horse and half foot, who, after fome difcharges of mufketry on Attacks a each fide, fell back towards their camp, which he enemy. was not above half a mile diftant from them, and there gave the alarm. His Highness then caused the troops to advance, and double their fpeed to get out of the defiles; he ranged them in order Forms the of battle in the plain, between the villages of the Anrath and Willich, and marched directly towards the wood, which covered their left. Before Prince Ferdinand gave the order for attacking, he lifted up his eyes to heaven for near a minute, and then drawing his fword, faid, " Brethren, we 66 have L 3

165 D

A. D. "have a good caufe, put your truft in Providence, 1758. "you fee God is with us, the wind is changed, His fpeech "and it is now on our fide,"

At one o'clock at noon, the enemy began to

Engages the enemy, act. The Duke caufed his artillery forthwith to advance, which, being greatly fuperior to that of the enemy, facilitated the means of his infantry's forming themfelves over against the wood, and of his cavalry's extending upon his right towards the village of Willich, making a shew as if they defigned to turn the enemy's left flank, to take them in the rear. After a cannonade as violent as it was well supported, his Highness faw plainly, that he muss come to the point of endeavouring In a wood, to force the enemy out of the wood by small arms; wherefore the hereditary Prince put himself at the head of the first line, that is to fay, of two battalions of the grenadiers of Schulenbourg and

diers.

at the head of the first line, that is to fay, of two battalions of the grenadiers of Schulenbourg and Schack, of the regiments of Block, Sporcken, Hardenberg, Wangenheim, Post and Dreves; and advanced, with the whole front, directly towards the wood. The fire then became there extremely hot on each fide, and neither difcontinued, nor, in any degree diminiscue of two hours and an half. In the mean while all the other battalions entered, likewife, the wood; fo that there remained but eight squadrons, which formed a corps of referve, upon the plain, ready to be employed where circumstances should require.

The other 16 fquadrons, which were upon our right, never could penetrate on the other fide of the wood, on account of two batteries, which

the

the enemy had placed there, and which were fuftained by above 40 fquadrons. In fhort, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the hereditary Prince, affifted by the Major Generals Kilmanfegge and Wangenheim, gave orders for an attack to be made, by the grenadiers, upon the two ditches that were in the wood, and that were lined with the enemy's infantry : and they were forced one after the other. The other regiments of in- Enemy fantry did the fame all along their front. which means part of the enemy's infantry was wood. entirely thrown into confusion, and retired out of the wood in the utmost diforder, without ever being able to rally. The Hanoverian foot followed them, but without venturing to purfue them, on account of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithflanding the terrible fire of our artillery, not only kept the beft countenance poffible, but even covered their infantry that was flying, in fuch a manner as to protect them from our cavalry, that, between five and fix in the evening, had found means to gain the plain. The Heffian dragoons, and the regiment of cavalry of the fame nation, had two shocks with the royal carabineers of Provence, and the regiment of Rouffillon, and broke them. This was all that the cavalry had to do in this day. A fquadron of the carabineers attempted to penetrate through our infantry, and attacked the battalions of Poft and Dreves, but with a confiderable lofs; and though about 40 of them did indeed force their way, they were never able to LA rejoin

A. D. 1758.

167

driven out By of the

rejoin their corps, and were all killed either by A.D. 1758. fhot or bayonet. Another plan stock and benilling

my,

168

The flight The enemy then did not think proper, or find of the ene- themfelves in a condition, to difpute the ground any longer; but retired towards Vifchell, and from thence took the road, that leads towards Nuys. In the flight they loft a great number of men and horfes, were the antantry : and they were selved

During this whole affair, the fire of the artillery of the Generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution; but as the diftance, they were at, made them uncertain, as to the turn affairs had taken on the Prince's fide, they never ventured to attack the enemy's front, opposite to them, fo that the enemy's right wing and center retired, in the greateft order, towards Nuys, leaving the allies masters of the field of battle, after a loss on their fide, of between feven and 8,000 men killed, wounded, and taken prifoners.

Lofs.

Such was the end of this action, which coft our army 10 officers, 17 subalterns, 269 common men, and 997 horfes killed : 15 officers, 38 fubalterns, 701 common men, and 55 horfes dangeroufly wounded: 19 officers, 38 fubalterns, 372 common men, and five horfes flightly wounded : 33 foldiers and 27 horfes miffing. So that the whole killed, wounded and miffing, amounts to 44 officers, 92 fubalterns, 1375 common men, and 184 horfes. On the fide of the French, the chevalier de Muy, Lieutenant General, received three wounds, one on the head and two in the aim; the Count de Gifors was mortally wounded;

as

as was also the Count de Maille, colonel of the regiment of Conde. The Duke de Montmorenci, colonel of the regiment of Touraine, was alfo dangeroufly wounded, as was likewife the Count de Lauraguais, colonel of that of Roufillon. Colonel Lochman had his arm broke. Lieutenant-colonel Escher, with four captains and seventeen other officers of the fame regiment were likewife wounded. Six or eight regiments were entirely ruined.

There were found on the field of battle two uniforms with the enfigns of the order of the Holy Ghoft, nine pieces of cannon, eight four pounders, feven standards, two pair of kettledrums, and twenty-two officers of diffinction were taken in the purfuit. When Prince Ferdinand went the next day to view the field of battle, and the principal officers made him their compliments PrinceFerupon the victory, he faid, with tears in his eyes, dinand's humility. "Gentlemen, I befeech you fay nothing more of " that kind; look upon those bloody carcafes, that " deform the field: this is the tenth that in the " course of my life I have seen, and I fincerely " pray God it may be the laft."

The light troops were fent to harrafs the enemy's retreat; and at nine in the evening all our three different corps joined each other in the field, from whence the enemy had been driven, and remained there all night under arms.

It was faid that the French were 65,000 ftrong, Strength of and the British army not more than 30,000; that mies. the French were forced against their will to fight;

169

A.D. 1758.

A. D. and that they ran away, loft their tents, baggage, 1758. and cannon °.

170

Prince

e The following is Count de Clermont's relation of the battle on the 23d of June at Crevelt.

" On the 22d his Serene Highness the Count de Clermont having received advice that the enemy, who were encamped from Kempen to Hulft, were preparing to come and attack him, he made the proper dispositions for their reception. On the 23d, at ten in the morning, his Serene Highness was informed that feveral columns of the enemy were in fight, marching up to his camp. He immediately put his whole army under arms. The right extended to the wood at Vifchelon, from whence it lined the Landverth as far as the farm of Hokelxmey. A little further, in the fame line, towards Anrath (in which was the royal legion) he posted four battalions. He also placed opposite to the farm of Hermesdeck, a referve confifting of carabineers and dragoons. On the right was another fervice, composed of the grenadiers of France, and the royal grenadiers, and the brigade of Navarre. Behind the foot, in the center, were two lines of horfe. Crevelt was occupied by a detachment of 800 foot, horfe, and huffars.

"Such were our difpositions, when the enemy prefented themfelves, approaching infensibly to Crevelt on the right, to Anrath on the left, and to the farm of Hokelxmey in the center. His Serene Highness, after some skirmishing, made the detachment at Crevelt, which was possed there only to watch the motions of the enemy, fall back upon the line. He also made the royal legion join the left wing.

" About noon the enemy made their difpositions for attacking us in three different parts. They fell on Anrath first, which could not be defended, because it was too far distant from the left of our line. From thence the enemy advanced to the plain between the Niers and a small wood that runs parallel to that river. His Serene Highness had lined this wood with 15 battalions, composed of the brigades de la Marine, de Touraine, and the detached regiments of Brancas and Lochman.

Prince Ferdinand refolved now to lay fiege to A. D. Duffeldorp, a city that belonged to the Prince Palatine; of Duffeldorp.

Lochman, and 30 fquadrons, in order to oppose the enemy, if they should attempt to advance that way.

" The enemy began their three attacks at one time. His Serene Highnefs foon perceived that their real attack was that in the wood on the left. He fent for the referve, which confifted of the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, and the brigade of Navarre. But by an inconceivable fatality, the officers, whom his Serene Highness ordered to bring up thefe brigades, milled them, and this referve did not come up foon enough. The 15 battalions, after fuftaining a fire of three hours, and repulfing the enemy three times, were at laft obliged to fall back, after fuffering great lofs, and caufing the enemy to fuffer a greater, who finding the fire of our infantry flacken, drew up in the plain. His Serene Highness ordered the carabineers and the two battalions of horfe of Royal Rouffillon and Aquitaine to charge them. The enemy were driven back to the wood. But as they had their principal force in that part, and could bring up fresh troops every minute, they again poured into the plain in greater numbers; and it was no longer poffible for the cavalry to attack them with advantage.

" As the referve which his Serene Highnefs fent for, did not come up, he gave orders for a retreat, which was made in the greateft order, the enemy not daring to follow us, and our army arrived at Neufs without being annoyed in the leaft on its march. We brought off our wounded. His Serene Highnefs judging his polition at Neufs to be improper, either for waiting for the enemy, or for marching to them, is come, after halting there one day, to encamp at Woringhen."

The people at Paris received the news of this defeat with the utmost concern: a letter written on that occasion will ferve, in fome measure, to shew their despondency. "We know not, fays the writer, precifely the amount of our loss; but it is certain the enemy gained the field of battle.—Mean while, till we are informed of the particulars of this fatal day, and of

A. D. 1758.

172

Bombard-

Palatine; but lent to the French for a place of arms and magazines; garrifoned with 2,000 men. In this measure his Serene Highness had two views; grob either to deftroy their magazines in this town and make the garrifon prifoners; or to force the army to refcue its complete ruin, in their relief. Accordingly on the 28th he appeared before Duffeldorp, and fummoned it to furrender : four batteries were erected, and plyed the town very brifkly with bombs and bullets; fo that in the fpace of five days they beat down and reduced 80 houfes to afhes, and damaged many more, amongst which were the Elector's palace, feveral churches and other public and stately buildings : under whole heaps of rubbish many perfons perished. On the 3d of flacken, drew up in the plain.

of the true caufes of this new difgrace to our arms, whilft we deplore the loss of fo many gallant men, we cannot help attributing it to the levity and paffion for pleafure that prevails at present; and which are attended with diffipation, incapacity, and continual craving. Inftead of fludying their duty, and qualifying themfelves to discharge it; instead of attending the welfare and interest of their country, and strictly following the King's intentions and commands, we fee, to the difgrace of the nation, that most of the leading men in our army have minded only the enriching themfelves by the defolation and ruin of the enemy's country ; and whilft they authorize by their example, and for their own private gain, corruption and frauds in the commiffaries, they have deftroyed an army, which, under a' Marshal Saxe, would have given law to all Germany. Hence we fee the Baffile fill : three officers of high rank are just now fent thither, and no lefs than twelve were lodged in it before. Thefe acts of just feverity will, we hope, bring back the ancient fpirit of honour, discipline, and œconomy, by which our generals and officers were diftinguished in former times." and to enalge

July

July Prince Ferdinand being applied to by the principal burgers, for leave for the towns people to withdraw with their effects, a suspension of arms was granted for a certain time : during which, the governor, having no expectations of relief, capitulated for the garrifon to march out with the Capituhonours of war: but an immense quantity of ftores, ammunition, provision, and a numerous and fine train of French artillery, were delivered up with the city.

The battle of Crevelt and the loss of Duffel- Prince of dorp, finished the command of the Prince of gives up Clermont, for he was fuperfeded by M. de Con-the com-mand to tades, who was charged with the command of the M. Con-French forces on the Rhine, till the arrival of M. tades. de Eftrees, reftored. But all this adverse fortune did not divert the attention of the French ministry from their original plan of operations against those countries, from which their grand army had been fo lately driven, with fuch difgrace. Prince Sou- Prince bize was ordered to march with the army under Soubize his command, and to penetrate into the Land- for Heffe, gravate of Heffe. But he was not able to execute these orders with the fuccess his court expected. For, as his vanguard attempted to take His van post at Otterheim, between Jiessen and Marpurg, defeated by the Heffian militia came fuddenly upon them, and killed or took them prifoners, though they were a felect corps drawn out of two regiments and Fifcher's troops. Had this defeat been properly improved by the regular troops then affembling under

173 A. D. 1758.

lates.

174

A. D. 1758.

Motives for Soubize's march.

Motives for Prince Ferdinand's conduct on this occafion.

under Prince Yfenberg, Heffe would have had nothing more to fear from a French invalion.

This march of the Prince of Soubize was intended to drive Prince Ferdinand back from the Rhine, or at leaft to divide his forces for the defence of the countries of the British allies. But his Serene Highness had formed a counter plan, either to cut off Soubize's army in Heffe, or to oblige him to come to the affiftance of M, de Contades. For this purpose Prince Yfenberg had orders to oppose the progress of the French on that fide, with every art, without rifking a battle, till the last push, and in the most advantageous fituation. By this means his Serene Highness hoped to gain time, till he fhould be ftrengthened with the British troops, confifting of 2068 men, and 3000 horfes, which had embarked, and were daily expected in his army, by the way of Embden. In the mean time his Serene Highnefs marched to Ruremond on the Maefe, with a defign to transfer the feat of war into the enemy's country; which, feconded by the naval operations on feveral parts of the coast of France, was expected to oblige Soubize's army and all their forces to haften back from Germany, to defend their own country^f. How this excellent plan failed will be feen in the course of this hiftory.

^f A plan that feems to have been concerted with the British ministry, and by them formed upon the most obvious and most apparent circumstances to promise fucces, when our army was flushed with victory, and had passed the Rhine, and the French in no condition to stop their progress, without manifestly weakening every part of their German plan of operations.

As

As foon as our ministry received advice of the victory gained by Prince Ferdinand at Crevelt, and of the furrender of Duffeldorp to his arms, British troops orhe was ordered to maintain his station, with promife of an immediate reinforcement of British troops, which he had long folicited; and with them to penetrate into the enemy's country, as foon as he should have notice of the execution of a fecret expedition, then under confideration to favour his operations.

The troops, in number 2068 men and 3000 Embarked. horfes, were fhipped off for Germany, and arrived at Embden on the 20th day of July^g, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, who preferred this fervice on the continent, (as more agreeable to their own fentiments in favour of a continental war) to any connections with naval operations on the coaft of France: And this diflike to expeditions againft the coaft of France diffufed itfelf fo fashionably amongst the friends of continental measures and the military officers, that the government was at last driven to fuch an alternative, that they must

The Generals and regiments of horse and foot, sent to Germany, to join the army on the Rhine, under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

Generals. Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, Marquis of Granby, General Waldegrave, General Sir John Whiteford, Major General Kingfley.

Horfe. Blue's, Bland's, Howar's, Scots Grays, General Cholmondeley's, Sir John Mordaunt's.

Foot. Napier's, Kinfley's, Hufke's, Hume's, Stuart's, Brudenell's, from Embden, replaced by 400 invalids.

either

A. D. 1758.

176

General Bligh, why appointed to the command againft Cherbourg.

A defcent refolved on by the minister.

Why?

The commanders by fea and land.

either accept of a general, that had fcarce ever been remembered amongst the rewards of merit, who was now fent for from Ireland, upon a quite different command and fervice, and almost worn out in the fervice of his country, and with age; or give up the thoughts of a littoral war upon France.

The minister, reduced to this dilemma, was too well convinced of the expediency and neceffity of this kind of attack upon our enemy, either to be difcouraged by the bad countenance, with which the last expedition had been conducted in the enemy's country; or to be compelled, by the refolution of the military gentlemen, not to refume the plan of another defcent upon the fame coaft. A miscarriage under the present circumstances would be more advantageous to the national intereft, than no attempt. A defcent must be made to caufe a diversion in favour of our allies; to engage the enemy to employ in their own defence, a confiderable part of their forces; and to difturb and fhake the credit of their public loans : a Bligh, or a _____, with the character of an honeft and brave foldier, trained up in the art of war, and in the fervice of his country, was as capable of this command, as any of those great names, that had rejected the offer. Time was precious: the fervice was neceffary: the minister did not hefitate a moment. Lieutenant General Bligh, who had been fent for from Ireland to command the troops going to Germany, was greatly furprized on his arrival at London, that his deftination was changed for the command of this expedition,

tion, which had been refused by those concerned in the former: however he was appointed to the command by land. Who thought it his duty to accept thereof; and got ready, in three days after, to carry his inftructions h into execution. though

Secret Infructions for our trufty and well belowed Thomas Bligh, Ela: Lieutenant General of our forces, whom we have appointed General and Commander in Chief of all and fingular our troops and land forces, appointed or to be appointed, for a secret expedition for our fervice; or for fuch other officer, on whom the command in chief of our faid troops and land forces may devolve. Given at our court at Kensington the 18th day of July, 1758, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

Having by our commission, bearing date the 13th day of this inftant, appointed you to be General and Commander in Chief of all and fingular our forces appointed, or to be appointed for a fecret expedition; for your better difcharge of the great and important truft thereby reposed in you, we have judged it proper to give you the following inftructions.

I. You shall, immediately upon the receipt of these our inftructions, repair to the Isle of Wight, where we have appointed fhips to convey you, and the forces under your command. to the coaft of France ; and fo foon as the faid forces shall be embarked, you shall accordingly proceed without loss of time, under convoy of fuch of our fhips of war as shall be judged proper for that purpofe. And our trufty and well-beloved. Richard Howe, Efq; whom we have appointed Commander in Chief of our faid ships, is instructed to co-operate with you, and to be aiding and affifting in all fuch enterprizes, as, by these our instructions, you shall be directed to undertake, for out fervice.

II. Whereas we have determined, with the bleffing of God, to profecute the just war, in which we are engaged against the French King, with the utmost vigour ; and it being highly expedient, and of the greatest utility, to continue fome expedi-Vol. III. tion,

24

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

though he forefaw the uncertainty of the event; for the people at Cherburg, the only place fixed upon in

tion, that may caufe a diversion, and engage the enemy to employ, in their own defence, a confiderable part of their forces, deflined to invade and oppress the liberties of the Empire, and to fubvert the independency of Europe; and, if poffible, to make fome effectual impreffion on the enemy, which, by diffurbing and fhaking the credit of their public loans, and at the fame time fecuring and protecting the commerce of our own fubjects, by ftriking at the principal feats of their privateers, as well as by difconcerting, and in part fruftrating, their dangerous and extensive operations of war, may reflect luftre on our arms, and add life and ftrength to the common cause : our will and pleasure is, that you do exert your utmost endeavours to land, if it shall be found practicable, with the troops under your command, at or near Cherburg, on the coaft of Normandy, and to attack the batteries, forts and town of Cherburg; and in cafe, by the bleffing of God upon our arms, the faid place shall be carried, and that our troops shall be able to maintain themselves there, a competent time, for demolishing and deflroying the port and bason, together with all the fhips, naval flores and works, batteries, fortifications, arfenals, and magazines, thereunto belonging, you are to use all possible means, effectually to demolish and deftroy the fame; and you are also to exert such other efforts, as you shall judge most proper, to annoy and distress the enemy .--When this fervice shall be completed, or in cafe the attack abovementioned on Cherburg shall not fucceed, our will and pleafure is, that you do proceed to carry a warm alarm along the coaft of France, and to make descents upon any part, or parts thereof; and attack any place, that may be found practicable, from the eastermost point of Normandy, as far westward as Morlaix, inclusive; and you are to carry into execution all, or any of the above operations, in fuch order of time, as from the circumftances of the wind and weather, shall be most adviscable, and most conducive to our fervice; and

in his inftructions, having been already alarmed, were prepared to receive him : befides the number of

and whereas the diversion hereby proposed to be made, is of the higheft importance to the good of the common caufe, our will and pleafure is, that you do continue with as much vigour. and give as much duration to the various operations of the prefent expedition, as shall be found practicable, and confistent with the good of our fervice, as well from the ftrength and tenable nature of any place or polt, whereof you may become mafter, as from the force, which the enemy shall collect in those parts, to oppose you, and from the circumflances and fituation of our troops and fhips ; during which time, you are to exert all fuch efforts for annoying the enemy, as you shall judge proper; and you are in all cafes, to preferve, with the utmost attention and circumspection, the communication with our fhips.

III. Whereas the fuccefs of this expedition will very much depend upon an intire good understanding between our land and fea officers; we do hereby ftrictly enjoin and require you, on your part, to maintain and cultivate fuch a good underflanding and agreement ; and to order, that the foldiers under your command, fhould man the fhips, when there shall be occafion for them, and when they can be spared from the land fervice ; as the Commander in Chief of our fquadron is infructed on his part, to entertain and cultivate the fame good underflanding and agreement, and to order the failors and marines, under his command, to affift our land forces, and to man the batteries, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be fpared from the fea fervice; and in order to eftablish the strictest union that may be, between you, and the Commander in Chief of our ships, you are hereby required to communicate these instructions to him, and he will be directed to communicate those, he shall receive, to you.

IV. You shall, from time to time, and as you shall have opportunity, fend constant accounts of your proceedings, in the execution of these our instructions, to one of our principal fecretaries 179

A. D. 1758. 180

A. D. 1758. of troops had been diminished about one third part by ficknefs; and three of the beft battalions were fent to Germany, from the forces employed at St. Maloes. The command by fea was given to Richard Howe, Efq; now Lord Howe; whofe behaviour on former expeditions, and alacrity in this fervice, had in a particular manner recommended him to the favour of his fovereign : and in order to wipe off fome of that difguft, which might have diffused itself, from the aversion propagated by the late commanders, amongft the army, his Royal Highness Prince Edward, now Duke of York, attended with many volunteers of noble extraction, and gentlemen of merit and fortune, was pleafed to countenance this expedition with his prefence.

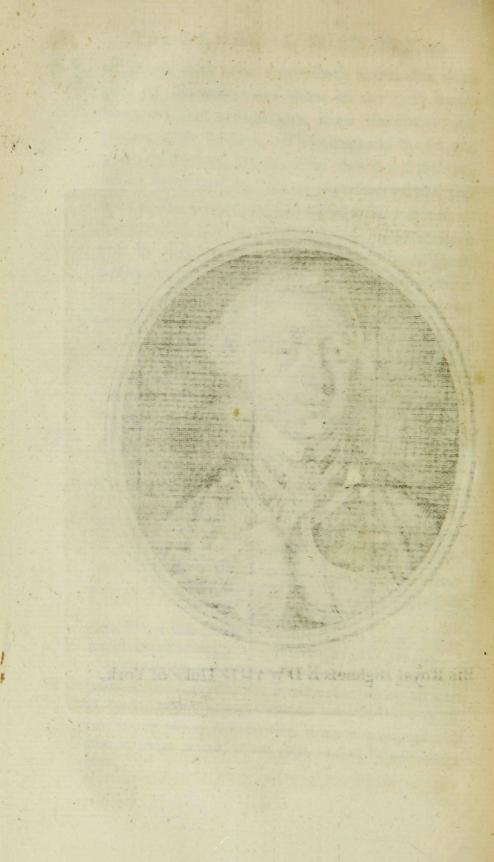
Cherburg defcribed. Cherburg, the first and chief object destined for destruction by this armament, is a city and sea port, which, both by its situation and improvement in strength and commodious for great ships, promised in time to become the greatest scourge of the British coast, and the terror of our navigation in the channel. The town is situated in a plain, within the district of La Hogue,

fecretaries of flate; from whom you will receive fuch further orders and inflructions as we may think proper to give you,

V. In cafe the circumstances of our troops under your command, or any urgent necessity, should require leaving the coasts of France, before you can receive our orders for that purpole; you are, in case of such necessity, to return to England, and land the troops at such of our ports, as shall be most convenient.

on





on the north fide of Lower Normandy, and in that part of the province known by the name of the Peninfula Cotentin, at the bottom of a large bay, formed like a crefcent, by the Capes Barfleur and La Hogue. On the north it is bounded by the fea: on the eaft by a large plain, about three miles long: On the weft by another plain, about a mile and half in length; and on the fouth by an agreeable profpect of fruitful ground, and the hill of Roule, on whofe fummit is the great foreft of Brix and Turlaville; about 70 miles from Portfmouth.

It was always looked upon as a place of fome A place confequence, both for defence, and for annoying quence. the Britifh coaft : for which purpofe it had been well fortified. But in 1687, Lewis XIV. with the advice of Marshal Vauban, gave orders to have it fortified in the modern way, and to add a capacious bason to the harbour, for the reception of a large fleet of men of war. In confequence of this refolution the new works were immediately begun, and the wall was carried a great height in the year 1688. But in the following year both the old and new fortifications were demolished; nothing remaining but two towers, part of the old fortifications; one of which was converted into a magazine of gunpowder.

The town contains about 6000 inhabitants. Inhabitants, &c. Out of which is formed a militia, confifting of four companies, commanded by a major, an aid-Strength. major, four captains, four lieutenants, and four enfigns or fecond lieutenants : and a party of this M 3 militia,

A. D. 1758.

A D. militia, draughted out of each company, mounts 1758. guard daily.

Here are five forts upon the bay; the Turlaville redoubt, the Longlet, the Galette, the Equerdreville and the Cherfeville. In time of war a fourth part, and fome times one half, or more, of the citizens are obliged to keep conftant guard in the Galette, the most confiderable fort; becaufe the fhips fhelter themfelves under this fort, till they get water enough to carry them into the harbour. The Turlaville is fituated S. E. of the town, the other forts towards the W. and N. W.

Harbour.

The harbour lies on the E. and S. fides of the town, and the entrance to it is S. and N. The tide here is 13 or 14 feet, at high water : at low water there remains no more than the water of the river : and it is fecured from the violence of the N. E. winds by the ifland of Pelee, which lies at the mouth of the harbour to the N. E. in extent 400 fathoms from N. W. to S. E. and 300 from E. N. E. to W. S. W. Within was the bafon, which with the piers, had coft the crown of France upwards of one million fterling.

Expedition fleet fails.

Against this place Commodore Howe, with his fleet and transports, Lieutenant-General Bligh, and his troops on board, fet fail from St. Helen's on the first day of August. They arrived in Cherburg road at feven in the evening, on the fixth of the fame month : and in an hour's time the bombs began to play upon the town. At feven next morning the fleet got under way, and at nine came

came to an anchor in the bay of Marais, two A. D. 1758. leagues weft of Cherburg, where about 3000 of the enemy, horfe and foot, appeared behind the fand-banks, as if they intended to difpute the landing of our troops. But the dispositions being made for a descent, the grenadiers and guards landed in flat-bottomed boats, about two in the afternoon, under the covert of a fmart fire from the frigates, bombs i, floops and armed cutters. His Majefty's troops, having made the fhore, Land. formed a stand with all the chearfulness imaginable, under the command of General Drury, who marched them up to the post of the enemy, and received three fires before he began the attack; which was executed with fuch fpirit and vigour, that the French quitted their poft, and were purfued with great flaughter, especially amongst the horfe, skulking in hedges and ditches; with the lofs of only twenty men killed and wounded on our fide. Here also were taken two pieces of Brafs cannon, drawn down to this beach to oppofe our troops in their landing. It was not till next morning that the horse and artillery landed: which was effected without molestation. The army immediately formed, and at noon marched forward in two columns to Cherburg; and as they ap- surrenders. proached the garrifon abandoned the place: fo that our army entered and took poffession thereof without opposition, there being no fortifications to defend it, next the country.

i Which were charged with a great quantity of balls, and did great execution amongst the French cavalry.

A ma-

184

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D 1758. A promife of good difcipline. A manifefto was published, which contained promifes of good discipline and protection to those, who made no resistance. This quieted the apprehensions of the inhabitants, and kept them from deferting their habitations; and contributed much to that civility, with which they received their English guests; and almost exceeded the caress of the best friends.

Remarks on the conduct of the commander.

But neither the march from the landing-place, nor the behaviour of our army under those fair promises, have escaped cenfure. As the enemy hovered about, and their numbers were not fufficiently known, it was thought a little inconfiftent with that maxim in war, never to occupy any ground, but where you can exert your whole force to the best advantage, for the commander in chief to encamp and hamper his troops in fuch a confined fituation, that the ground on which they laid all night did not exceed 400 paces: So that had the enemy attacked them in the front, or on the left, they would have been obliged to fight with infinite difadvantage; the tents being pitched in a crouded and irregular manner. It was owing to the fame inattention that the inhabitants had cause to complain of the outrages committed by our foldiers. It was not fufficient to prevent diforders by a mere prohibition or command. It was neceffary also to encamp regularly with the bulk of the army, in order to have the foldiers superintended. For the want of this precaution, discipline grew relax, the foldiers lived at large, and indulged themfelves like brutes

in

in riot, licentioufnefs and plunder. A breach of faith very unbecoming the Englifh^k; and which had well nigh proved very fatal to themfelves; for had it not been through the ftrict difcipline with which the foot-guards fet a laudable example of fobriety, the whole army were in danger of being cut off, in that diffolute fcene of drunkennefs, that enfued a difcovery of the wine magazines: though there was a body of the enemy's troops, fuperior to them, under a marfhal of France, and within a few hours march.

General Bligh being now in poffeffion both of the city of Cherburg, and of the forts of Querqueville, Homet and Galet, proceeded, according to his inftructions, to deftroy the bafon ' and Bafon, &c. deftroyed,

deftroyed, the and artillery, &c. taken.

k See the note on p. 85. Vol. III.

¹ The malonry of the balon and jettys was fo ftrong, that the miners found it extremely difficult to enter it with their tools. But what was the most curious of all, was the fluice. It was constructed by the famous M. de Caux, chief engineer to the prefent French King, and was about forty French feet broad, and 162 long, erected upon a bottom of hard fand, two or three feet deep, under which was a bed of marle, and, feven or eight feet deeper, a bank of folid rock, of unknown thicknefs. To lay the foundation, fo as not to be incommoded by the fea, the whole space was first of all encompaffed by a dam, five feet thick, coated with free-ftone. and lined with clay, the whole laid upon a bed of heathbroom, especially towards the sea, to prevent the fand from washing away. On the fide of the port, there was a small fluice, made by way of precaution, to let out the water, to be raifed by machines, when the tide was out ; laftly, to the depth of fixteen feet, was made an excavation, fufficiently wide for the workmen to turn with eafe every way about the 185

A. D. 1758.

the two piers at the entrance of the harbour; A. D. 1758. alfo to ruin the harbour itfelf, that it might be rendered

> the foundation. It was not without many obstructions that the depth was gained, for innumerable fprings broke in upon the works, fo that twelve chain-pumps were conftantly employed, and those fcarce fufficient to clear away the water. though they delivered at least 180 cubic toiles per hour. When the dam was furrounded by the full tide, they were forced to have recourse to five other pumps, or mills, with vertical chaplets fixteen feet high, and fix or feven feet diameter.

> The excavation was begun by portions of about three fathom wide, and, when they came to a fufficient depth, piles were driven down, on which to fix the vertical mills. As the column of water to be raifed was fourteen or fifteen feet high, winches were applied of a proportionable ftrength. Thus the whole extent of the fluice was drained and hollowed out in about fix months, but the erecting the masonry, &c. took up fome years.

> The maffy parts of the masonry, of about four feet square each, were strengthened and more firmly connected by iron cramps, fixed in with melted lead. Particular care was taken to chuse the hardest of free stone, scarce any less than three feet, or three feet and a half cube, and the ordinary cement was made in the following manner :

> Equal parts of the hardeft tile shards, fragments of freeftone, and fcoriæ from iron founderies, were powdered and fifted, and, when cleared and dried, were mixed together, and a kind of bason formed, in which they flacked about half the quantity of quick lime, and let it lie fome hours; after which they mixed all well together, and placed it on a ftone or wooden platform, to be beaten once a day with batts edged with iron, till the cement was reduced to a foft pafte.

> For filling up the joints of the free-ftone-facings of the fluice, they used a cement made of equal parts of test-powder or pieces of crucibles, fandever, and fmith's forge fcales, all reduced to powder, to which about half the quantity of flaked lime

rendered incapable of receiving and covering any of the King's fhips of war; and to demolifh all the batteries, forts, magazines and ftores at that place and along the coaft. There were feven and twenty

lime was added. This composition was mixed with the fame precautions as the former, and a quantity of the large red fnails without shells were beat up into a passe with the powder.

On one of the fluices were found the following infcriptions:

On the east fide.

Hanc juffit Lodovix, fuafit Floræus, et undis Curavit mediis Asfeldus furgere molem : Non aliis votis almæ præfentior urbis. Ars frænavit aquas, fluctus domuitque minaces. Hinc tutela viget, flat copia, gloria crefcit, Hinc rex, hinc fapiens, herofque manebit in ævum.

> On the weft fide. LUDOVICI XV. Juffu, FLORIÆ Confilio, ASFELDI Ductu, In Ævum ftat hæc Moles.

Ars, naturæ victrix, aquarum impetum refrænat, facilem navibus tempestate actis aditum dat, tutelam asserit, copiam invehit, gloriam perpetuat, simulque principem, sapientem, heroa, posteritati commendat.

In English, thus;

Louis and Fleury truft to Asfeld's care Amidft the waves to raife this mighty pier. Propitious to our pray'rs the fabric flood, Curb'd the fierce tide, and tam'd the threatning flood : Hence wealth and fafety flow, hence just renown, The king, the flatefman, and the hero crown. 187 A. D.

1758.

This

A. D. 1758.

188

twenty fhips in the harbour, which were burnt. One hundred and feventy-three pieces of iron cannon and three iron mortars were deftroyed, and twenty two fine brafs cannon and two brafs mortars ^m were fent to England, with the colours taken

This work,

By the command of Louis XV, The advice of Cardinal Fleury, And the direction of Count Asfeld, Shall endure for ages.

Here art has fubdued nature, fet bounds to the raging waves, opened an eafy paffage to fhips in diffrefs, enfured fafety, invited wealth, and perpetuated the glory of the monarch, the minifter, and general.

PARODY. By an officer in the expedition. Louis and Fleury muft, with Asfeld now, Refign to George, to Pitt, to Bligh, and Howe. One blaft deftroy'd the labour of an age, Let loofe the tides, and bid the billows rage: Their wealth and fafety gone, their glory loft, The king's, the flatefman's, and the hero's boaft.

^m A return of the brafs and iron ordnance, &c. At the batteries beyond Querqueville, great and fmall, 5 iron ordnance; at three batteries on this fide ditto, 8 twelve and fix pounders, iron; at Querqueville, 3 twelve pounders ditto; at Homet, 5 fix pounders ditto; at Querqueville, 6 twelve and fourteen inch iron mortars, 1 brafs ditto; at Fort Galette, twenty-four pounders, 4 of brafs; at ditto, fixteen ditto, 4 of ditto; at ditto, twelve ditto; 2 of ditto; at ditto, fourteen inch mortars, 2 of ditto; on the road to Cherburg, twelve pounders, 2 of ditto; at Longlette, 3 twelve pounders, iron, and 1 iron fourteen inch mortar; in the town of Cherburg, of different fizes, 10 brafs, and 52 iron ordnance; at the Sandhill intrenchment, 15 fix pounders, iron; at Fort Tournaville, 2 forty-two pounders, iron, and 1 brafs fourteen inch mortar. —Total taken in this expedition. In the mean time, that the engineers, affifted by the officers of the fleet and artillery, were employed in the demolition of this harbour, &c. the light horfe were detached to fcour the country, and to lay it under contribution ". But by venturing too near the camp, Several which the enemy was forming, and every hour reinforced, at Walloign, about four leagues diftant from Cherburg, there happened feveral skirmishes between the out-parties of each army, in one of which the brave Captain Lindfey, one of the moft intelligent, active and industrious officers in the fervice of the light horfe, was wounded by a musket-shot; of which he died universally regretted °.

A. D. 1758.

skirmishes.

This

-Total 22 brass ordnance, 99 iron ditto, 3 brass mortars, 2 iron ditto. Deftroyed at Fort Galette, thirteen 3 inch fhells 400; at ditto, shot of different kinds 6000; at ditto, flint, cafks I ; at ditto, lead fhot, cafks 2 ; powder left for the ufe of the engineers destroying the forts, barrels 17; ditto destroyed, with a great quantity of flores and fhot thrown into the fea, at the redoubt at Tournaville, barrels 13; filled cartridges for forty-two pounders 40; one large gun; fhells of fourteen inches 211; destroyed at Fort Galette, small arms 113; at Cherburg, ditto and musketoons 300; at Homet, pounds powder 21,000; at Cherburg magazine, ditto 27,000; match, tons 4.

" They brought hoftages for the payment of 18,0001.

• The general, attended by fome of the commanding officers, going out to reconnoitre, with a detachment of grenadiers and a party of light horfe, fome of the French cavalry appeared at a distance. Captain Lindsey, of the light horse, was immediately ordered to attack them, at the request, as it is

A. D. 1758.

Troops reimbark.

Importance of this blow.

This first object of General Bligh's instructions being performed, the troops re-embarked on the 16th, and continued two days in the harbour without feeing an enemy to moleft or harrafs them in their retreat. And notwithstanding any cavils about the conduct, and delays, for which fome blamed the commander in chief; it must be allowed. That the importance of this blow was not only confiderable by the damage done the enemy; but it gave life and fpirit to our people : it made them feel their own legs again, and to look a Frenchman in the face, without any of those apprehenfions, that had grown out of past miscarriages. It was now we faw cannon and colours, trophies taken off the walls of our enemies, carried in triumph p through the metropolis of the Britifh

is faid, of fome young gentlemen, who were defirous to fee the horfe engage, he advanced with a brifk pace, without detaching from his front and flanks; and, falling in with a body of infantry posted behind a hedge, received a fevere fire, which obliged the light horfe to wheel about and retire.

P On Saturday, the 16th of September, the cannon and mortars brought from Cherburg, having been exposed for fometime in Hyde-Park, passed by his Majesty, and fet out from Hyde-Park, and came through the city in grand proceffion, guarded by a company of matross, with drums beating and fifes playing all the way to the Tower, where they arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. There were twenty-three carriages, drawn by two hundred and twentynine horses, with a possible and driver to each carriage, in the following manner; the first, drawn by fifteen grey horses, with the English colours and the French underneath; seven ditto, drawn by thirteen horses each; nine ditto, by nine horses

British empire : a spectacle, to which this generation had been a ftranger; and the first enterprize upon the coaft of France, for feveral ages paft, which had done honour to our country, and brought difgrace upon the French.

After confidering his instructions, the com- Reasons mander in chief found that one principal view, in ulterior fending out this armament, was to make a di- operations. verfion of the enemy's forces; to continue a warm alarm along the coaft of France, and to make descents on any part from the eastermost point of Normandy, as far westward as Morlaix, inclufive; Grenville most naturally offered to be the next object of his operations. But when he confidered that the enemy had no longer occafion

horfes each ; three ditto, by feven horfes each ; one ditto, by five horfes ; then the two mortars, by nine horfes each. These pieces were finely ornamented with the arms of France, and other hieroglyphics, fuch as trophies, &c. finished in a mafterly manner, their names, exact weight, and nearly their bore, are as under, except the mortars :

				N		
	Inches in]			Inches in		
Cannon	wt.	bore	Cannon	wt.	bore	
Hecube	4090	6	Antonin	5740	6	
Nitocris	4080	ditto	Infenfible	5660	ditto	
Emerillon	5320	ditto	Mailfaifant	5500	ditto	
Temeraire	5680	ditto	Vanquer	5670	ditto	
Augusta	5770	ditto	Juste	5490	ditto	
In the fecond line.						
Ulyste	2353	4 ¹ / ₂	Sage	4346	5	
Foudroyant	3311	50.14	Violente	4150	ditto	
Renomyne	3357	ditto	Furieuse	4160	ditto	
Laborieux	3302	ditto	Imperiuse	4130	ditto	
Diligence	3960	ditto	Devineresse	4000	ditto	
Moresque	3980	ditto	a out him and			
	And the second se					

A. D. 1758.

191

for

192

A. D. 1758.

for a garrifon or troops, to guard the town and country about Cherburg, and that there were ten thousand forces already affembled for the protection of Normandy, and that they could eafily fall down towards Grenville, and move over to Caen, and to the other parts of that coaft, fo as to render an attempt almost impracticable : and being further informed, by advices fent from our ministry, that an attempt upon Morlaix would be attended with great difadvantages, there being a great number of forces stationed at Breft and in that neighbourhood, ready to oppose a descent upon that coaft; General Bligh's future operations were prudently confined within a very narrow compafs, which, upon the beft intelligence, were refolved to be attempted againft St. Maloes by landing at St. Lunaire, about two leagues weft of St. Maloes.

Refolved against St. Maloe's.

Driven on England.

Lunaire,

of France.

They put to fea on the 18th with this intenthe coaft of tion : but were driven by contrary winds upon the coaft of England, and on the 23d came to an anchor in Weymouth road. Next day they weighed, and after fome contention with the winds, they proceeded and made the French fhore, on the 25th of August : But could not reach the place of their deftination till the 3d of September in the evening, when the fleet came to an anchor in Arrive and St. Lunaire bay. On the 4th the troops were land at St. landed without any opposition, but with the loss on the coaft of eight men ' drowned, who were overfet. They

9 Some accouts fay, five men and forty five firelocks. The weather was very doubtful. So that on the first day there only fixty light horfe and two field pieces landed : nor could they bring any more for the fucceeding days.

marched

193

A.D. marched immediately to an eminence, and en-1758. camped there, about half a mile from the wateredge. A piquet guard of fifty men, with officers, was posted about half a mile above the camp, and kept under arms all night, to prevent a furprize. Which fhot feveral of the enemy, and took others prisoners, who were fent to reconnoitre the fituation and numbers of our army. Next day the commodore came on fhore, with Prince Edward : and they accompanied the general to a village, about three miles from St. Maloes, to reconnoitre the feat of his intended action. But this act of The dancuriofity had like to have proved fatal to his Prince Ed-Royal Highnefs. The enemy, being apprized of ward. their vifit, ply'd them well with cannon balls, one of which dropt not a yard and half fhort of the Prince. However, Sir William Boothby returned Thirteen fhipsburnt, this evening to camp, with his detachment of 300 grenadiers, who, with great bravery, marched within a mile of the outfide of St. Maloe's harbour, and burnt thirteen fhips : which were all that he found there.

The reason that induced the commander in chief Reasons to make this attempt upon St. Maloes, exclusive ing St. of what is faid before, was a supposition that, as Maloes. the town was fituated on a rock, almost furrounded by the fea, not above 600 yards long and 400 broad, exceffive populous, and fupplied with water by an aqueduct of pipes only; fuch a place, when once invefted, would be foon obliged to furrender, by cutting the pipes and bombarding the town : and moreover he was induced, by VOL. III. N fome

A. D. 1758.

Several methods propofed. fome intelligence, to believe, that in cafe of neceffity, his troops might be able to open the wall, and to take the place by florm at low water.

The ships at St. Brifac being burnt, and the point of St. Dinar, and the whole western coaft of the Rance, oppofite St. Maloes, being reconnoitred, and found without any cannon for its defence, a council of war was affembled to confider of the practicability of the attack. In which it was obferved, that as the body of troops now landed was greatly diminished, from what they were in the late expedition, it was impossible to invest the town on both fides of the Rance ': they could only inveft it now on the weft fide, by placing fhips at St. Dinar, which the pilots, who were acquainted with the coaft, thought very practicable. Three methods were then proposed of moving from thence to the opposite fide to Parame and St. Servant. The first, which the pilots imagined would be practicable alfo, was moving the flatbottomed boats in the night (a caution requifite on the coaft of a fortified island) along the shore of St. Dinar, up the river, opposite to Tour a Chaus, a little above St. Servant, and there to carry the troops over. But there was a French

^r The mouth of the river, which forms the bafon, is two miles over in its narroweft part, fo as to be out of the reach of land batteries. The bafon was alfo ftrengthened with feven frigates, or armed veffels, whofe guns could be brought to bear either against fhips entering the channel, or batteries to be erected on the fhore : and fifty large cannon or batteries defended the entrance.

man

A. D. man of war, with fome other veffels, near Dinar-1.758. point, which would employ one night to deftroy them, before this method could be put in execution. This circumftance would occasion delays; and other great difficulties being ftarted, independent of this, the first method was rejected. The other two methods were, either going round by Dinant, about eighteen miles from the fhore, and landing the artillery, &c. near Paramé; on embarking all the troops at St. Lunaire, and landing them again near Paramé, together with the artillery. But neither of these methods could be effected without the immediate aid of the men of war, anchored in fuch a flation as to cut off the communication with Dinar and the western coast. The weather made this measure also impracticable. The commodore not only affured the general that it was impossible for him to give him affistance to Dangerous bombard the town, without hazarding the loss of anchorage of the fleet. all the men of war, amongst the chain of rocks, that lie in that harbour: but that the weather would not permit him to lie any longer at the place where the troops difembarked; and that he Proceeds to must fail for the bay of St. Cas before he could bay. take up the troops, if he intended to reimbark; it being with the utmost difficulty that he had landed the provisions, or fent a boat off with a meffage to the fleet.

In confequence of these remonstrances, it was Attack of unanimously resolved not to attack St. Maloe^s. St. Maloes dropt.

f See the note on p. 88. Vol. III. See also p. 91. ib.

N 2

The

196

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1758. Army retreats.

The general therefore ordered the army to decamp early next morning, and they began to march towards the bay of St. Cas. The enemy now appeared in small parties, and harraffed our men by firing out of the woods; by which we loft ten men, and had two officers wounded. Our army encamped on the 7th in the evening, about half a mile from the village of St. Brifac, intending to ford the river Equernon ', near that Skirmishes, place, in the morning. The enemy's small parties kept our camp under arms all night, by their frequent alarms; but did them no damage. The peafants and fome regulars took poft at St. Guildo. on the other fide of the river, as if they had refolved to difpute the paffage with our army. However, on the 8th the whole army forded the river, each perfon, without diffinction, wading up to his middle, and got over, in the midft of a brifk fire, with the lofs of ten men and one officer killed, and two officers wounded : fome of the foldiers loft their firelocks in the water, and were almost drowned, being hauled out with tent poles. The general fent a Friar to acquaint the commanding officer, that if they did not defift he would reduce all the villages he paffed into afhes. The Orders to Friar did not return with an answer; and the general gave orders accordingly to burn and deftroy every place in his march.

> t This river is paffable only for about two hours at low water, and the ford is dangerous on account of quickfands. When

burn and deftroy.

When the army had paffed the river, the fun A. D. 1758. was almost fet, by waiting for low water, the only March to time for them to pass over. Therefore, it not Matigbeing advisable to advance by night, in a coun-non. try that had not been reconnoitred, especially as he could get no certain information of the ftrength or fituation of the enemy's troops, the general encamped that night a little way weftward from the river in his rear; and without any moleftation from the enemy. But next day the advanced guards, of three hundred grenadiers, under Co-Skirmifies, lonel Clarke, on their march, were met about eleven o'clock, by five companies of French regulars, dragoons and infantry, who kept at the diftance of about 150 yards, moving off gradually, as our men advanced, without any firing on either fide ". They drew up in the inclosures round the town of Matignon : but upon Colonel Clarke's forming his grenadiers, and detaching fome parties to flank them, they immediately retired.

The army came up to Matignon about one Arrives at o'clock, without feeing any thing, but fmall par-^{Matig-}non. ties, that endeavoured to harrafs our flanks : one of which advancing too far, made fignal to furrender; but that not being readily perceived, one of our flanking parties fired, and killed the officer and fome of the men.

"Another account fays, that they engaged, and that the Frenchmen, after the first fire, lost 200 men killed and wounded; and the rest fled.

Here

A.D. 1758. Why encamps there.

1981

Here was the poft, which the general had defigned to maintain, as long as he was able, in order to alarm the country, and contribute, as much as poffible, by this means, to there calling of troops from Germany; his inftructions directing him to continue with as much vigour, and to give as much duration to the various operations of the prefent expedition, as should be found practicable. For this purpose he ordered a camp to be marked out for his army, about half a mile on the left of the town. Upon the muster it was found that there had been loft, this day, about thirty men, of whom eleven were made prisoners. One escaped back again, and reported that his Cruelty of comrades had been put to death in a most barthe French barous manner.

Matignon was about a league from St. Cas. All the army encamped on this fpot, except the grenadier companies, which covered the town on the other fide; and the fecond regiment of guards, which the general fent to St. Cas for provisions. particularly for bread; and together with this detachment he ordered Colonel Cunningham, chief engineer, to reconnoitre the beach, and fee what would be proper to be done, in case he could not maintain his ground.

Intelligence of the enemy's ftrength and defigns.

to their prifoners.

> Several diferters came to our camp in the evening; and by them, and fome prifoners, particularly a French dragoon, taken by the piquet guard, the general was very well informed. That the enemy was encamped about two leagues off: that their army confifted of feveral regiments, collected

lected from different parts of the province, even from Breft, and that neighbourhood: and that they were to be joined by the garrifons of other towns, efpecially that of St. Maloes, which were hourly expected in their camp, and that they were determined to give the English battle next morning. Thus the French army was reprefented vaftly superior to ours: and it was further remarked, that it was in their power, either to give battle, or to retire, till such time as they could be fure of over-powering us by numbers "; or of making

w The French forces were very numerous. The following is an authentick lift of them.

French Generals.

Le Duc d'Aguillon, commander in chief. Marquis d'Aubigné, lieutenant-general. Marquis de la Brock, Monf. de la Tour Auvergne, 3 maj. gen.

guadage.

Regiments of infantry from Breft.

in ustring as a	Battalions.	Men.
Bourbon	2	1400
Royal Vaisseau	2	1400
Royal Etrangers	stud 2 g of	1400
Briffau	7110. 1000010	700
Brie	or I officia	700
Penthievre	ma Lu dans	700
automp inst	9	6300

Dragoons.

Mahvert		2
Militia, guar		-, } 500
and arme	d peafants	in campetitic
Cannon	8	atholike) which
Mortars	8	, and the second s

Sanad

The

anna the mante

199

A. D.

1758.

200 A. D.

A. D. making our retreat extremely difficult and ha-1758. zardous.

Retreat refolved upon. The general officers, for thefe reafons, were of opinion that it was proper to march next day, and to embark the troops without lofs of time: except Lieutenant-Colonel Clerke, the quartermafter-general, who advifed the difembarkation of the reft of the light horfe and field pieces, and advancing to attack the enemy without delay: however the majority prevailed. Orders were accordingly iffued for the whole army to continue all night under arms: and the general fent his aid de camp immediately away to Lord Howe, to inform him of his intention to march the next morning, and to embark the troops, as foon as the naval preparations could be made for that purpofe.

This night a party of the enemy alarmed the piquets: but after receiving the fire of one of the advanced pofts, they fired a few fhot and retired. It was refolved to march by break of day. But at one o'clock the enemy beat to arms, and fome deferters came over, who informed us that the French were contriving to get between our army and the fhips, and fo to cut off our retreat. An information greatly fufpected, to be contrived by the enemy, to frighten us away, rather than with a view to fave us from being cut off. Be that as it will; this haftened our retreat, which, with an

The regiments that joined these troops from St. Maloes, the evening before the attack, were upwards of 3000 regulars, foot and dragoons, befides militia,

enemy at our heels, ought to have been conducted without noife, in the most fecret and filent manner poffible. But a little before day the generale The army was ordered to be beat; and the army, confifting at marches to this time of 6,500 men, marched off the ground fide. at break of day in one column only; and faw no appearance of an enemy attempting to break in between them and the water fide; except that the grenadiers, which formed the rear-guard, were obliged to exchange fome fhot with the advanced parties of the enemy.

It was nine o'clock before the troops began to An acembark on the beach of St. Cas: when about four the re-imbattalions were got on board, the advanced par-barkation of the ties of the French appeared on the high grounds. troops. The embarkation continued very quiet, till the French had formed themfelves out, by degrees, thro' the inclosures : and when they faw themfelves. both as to fituation and numbers, capable of attacking our remains on the fhore, with fuccefs, they brought their field pieces to bear, and a fhocking carnage enfued of our men; not only on the fhore, but in the boats, tho' Lord Howe did all in his power to cover them by a sharp fire from his frigates and bombs; there being none of our artillery on fhore.

The account of this affair is a very tender point: and as it has been related with feveral marks of prejudice, we will collect the facts from all the narratives of this expedition, and lay them impartially before the reader. First let us hear what

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758. By the general.

202

what has been published under the name * of the commanding officer, who fays, "After the Ge-"nerals Moyfon, Bofcawen and Elliot were on "board the ships, with their feveral brigades; "and after the greatest part of General Drury's "brigade, which was the last brigade, had been "embarked, I went on board with those whose "duty it was to attend me, there being no other "troops, then on shore, but the rear guard, com-"posed of the grenadiers commanded by Colonel "Griffin. My anxiety for the troops made me "ftay perhaps longer than I ought", and contrary "to my duty.

"Some parties of the enemy moved down from the high grounds on the right, and General Drury went with three companies of the first regiment, which was all of his brigade, that was at that time a-shore, to the assistance of the trear-guard.

"The beach was about three quarters of a mile long, with a fand bank in front, almost as advantageous for us, in many places, as for the

* This letter was published on the 4th of November, and gave great offence at court, on account of the postfcript, &c. where L-d L----r is mentioned. Wherefore, on the 8th an advertisement figned Thomas Bligh appeared, declaring in general, that he difavowed feveral particulars in this letter. However, it was ftill reputed a genuine apology for his conduct by himfelf or order.

y Prince Edward also continued on shore till Lord Howe commanded him to return to his ship, in which his Royal Highness acted only as a midshipman.

leagt ss'

" enemy ;

" enemy; though they had formerly a bad kind A. D. " of a parapet made to prevent our landing in " that bay, which was but imperfectly deftroyed.

"Whilft our troops were covered by this fand " bank, the frigates fired with great facility, over " them, upon the enemy. So that had the artil-" lery been brought ashore, in all probability it " would have been loft, and could have been of " no fervice, but by obstructing a much greater « fire.

" Some of our companies of grenadiers moved " up to the top of this bank, and fired upon fome " of the enemy, who were coming down and " forming from the heights, which killed a great " many of them, and threw them into confusion : " but fresh troops of the enemy advancing, they " retired to the fhore.

" The rear-guard, the three companies of the " first regiment included, confisted of about " 1400 men, of whom were milling about 700, " and of those between four and 500 were prison-"ers. The number of killed and wounded " amongst the enemy, according to their own " most moderate accounts, was more than double " that number."

Such is the relation of this transaction, under the fuppofed direction of the General in chief, Let us now collect what was published under his By others. name and Commodore Howe's, and by other parties concerned in this enterprize. An officer of the marines informs the public, That his ship joined Lord Howe on the 3d of September, four leagues

203 1758.

204 A. D. 1758.

leagues W. of St. Maloes; and that next morning the troops being embarked in the flat bottomed boats, ftood in for Alborough bay, about two leagues to the W. of St. Maloes, where they landed without opposition, under the cover of the Rofe frigate and the Swallow floop; except a few guns, which were fired from a battery on an island, on one fide of the bay, whole fhot dropt without doing any damage. There were orders given next morning for two frigates and a bomb to attack a battery on a peninfula, which fome of our troops endeavoured to force by land; but that fervice was countermanded, becaufe the Commodore thought it impracticable without hazarding the lofs of the fhips: yet this very battery was taken by a party of marines on the 9th, without any loss.

General Bligh, in his letter of the 13th to the fecretary of state, refers to a former wherein he had mentioned the necessity of the fleet's quitting the bay of St. Lunaire, and its proceeding to St. Cas; for fear, he fays, of being drove on shore against the rocks, the wind blowing hard upon the fhore: that his army marched on the 9th to St. Guildo, on the 10th to Matignon, to meet the fleet, which lay out beyond St. Cas Bay, to get provisions: that in the evening he did receive intelligence, that there were twelve battalions of foot and two fquadrons of horfe at Lambale, on march to attack him, which came from Breft: that with the unanimous advice of the general officers he decamped, having fent to the Commodore

dore to be prepared to receive his troops, marched on the 11th at 4 o'clock in the morning; and that the troops marched into the boats as fast as they arrived 2; the flat bottomed boats being ready to receive them. He adds, that the enemy did not appear on the heights above, till about an hour after his troops began to embark : that they foon after began to fire with their cannon, but did not attempt marching down, till almost all the troops were embarked, except the grenadiers, which made the rear-guard of the whole, who marched up to oppose their advancing, and behaved with great bravery and refolution; till, overpowered by numbers, they were, at laft, obliged to give way, and retired to the water fide : till the boats could come in to take them, where they fuffered much by the enemy's fire.

Lord Howe's relation of this critical time of embarkation, fent to the Right Honourable WIL-LIAM PITT, fays, That the former corps were taken off without any *confiderable* interruption from the enemy: but in their attack upon the rearguard feveral of his officers and men were made prifoners, and fome were wounded and killed ^a. Other

Which was not till nine in the morning.

Lift of the sea officers and men, killed, wounded, &c. at the re-embarkation of the troops, from the Bay of St. Cas, on the 11th day of September, 1758.

Belonging to the Effex, one feaman killed, one wounded.— To the Rochefter, Mr. Somerville, fecond lieutenant, killed; , midfhipman, wounded; feven feamen killed, eleven wounded. A. D. 1758.

206

A. D. 1758.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

Attacked by the enemy.

Fire from the fhipping.

Other accounts are more particular: fix frigates four bombs, and two floops flood into St. Cas Bay, to cover the re-imbarkation of the troops, who were formed near a windmill, on a hill about three quarters of a mile from the beach. At nine in the morning the army began to march down to the boats, which lay ready to embark them. By eleven, two thirds of the army, the wounded men, the light horfe, a great many more, and the artillery were on board, when a body of the enemy's horfe first appeared on the top of the hill, and a little afterwards, a much larger number of infantry occupied the ground round the windmill. When the enemy moved to defcend, the bomb ketches played upon them with great fuccess; particularly the Granada threw a thirteen inch shell fo right as to oblige the horfemen to difmount, their horfes becoming ungovernable; and the mortars being charged with pound fhots, did great execution amongst the infantry alfo, and wherever they fell. But at half paft eleven they opened a battery of fix pieces of cannon, near the windmill, from which they kept a close fire on our troops while embarking, till they were obliged, by the number of fhells thrown from the

wounded. — To the Portland, Captain Maplesden, taken; Mr. Lindsey, midshipman, wounded.—To the Montague, Captain Rowley, slightly wounded and taken; two seamen wounded.—To the Jason, Captain Paston, taken; one seaman wounded.—To the Salamander, Captain Elphinstone, taken. —To the Speedwell, two seamen wounded.—Total of seamen killed, eight; wounded seventeen.

ketches,

ketches, to file off for a while towards St. Cas, and to defcend the hill under the cover of a wood, in which the Irifh brigade took poft. But the continual shower of balls from our ships and ketches, foon found them out, diflodged them, and forced them back to their first post: where at twelve o'clock they opened a battery of cohorns behind a hedge, on the right of the mill; which was but of a small duration : for it was fo feverely handled by a continual fire from the fhips, that it was filenced, after they had thrown no more than two fhells, which did fome damage among our troops. They again filed off to the left, and got poffeffion of the village of St. Cas, half way down the hill. This obliged General Drury, who had with him the grenadiers of the whole army, to the amount of 1100, and four companies of guards, to draw them up on the beach to cover the battalions while embarking: and the enemy, to be lefs expoled to the fire from the fhips, left the village, which was fet on fire by a carcafs, and got possession of a hollow way, which entirely covered them. They went down on both fides and in front; but were peppered fo clofely not only with fhells, but with fmall shot, of one pound weight, (of which the Granada only expended about 3000, fired at the rate of two or 300 at a time, out of large mortars. that they made a great flaughter, and intimidated the French foldiers fo, that their officers were obliged to drive them down before them, like fheep to flaughter. For fome hundreds of them were killed in their defcent to this hollow way, by the shipping,

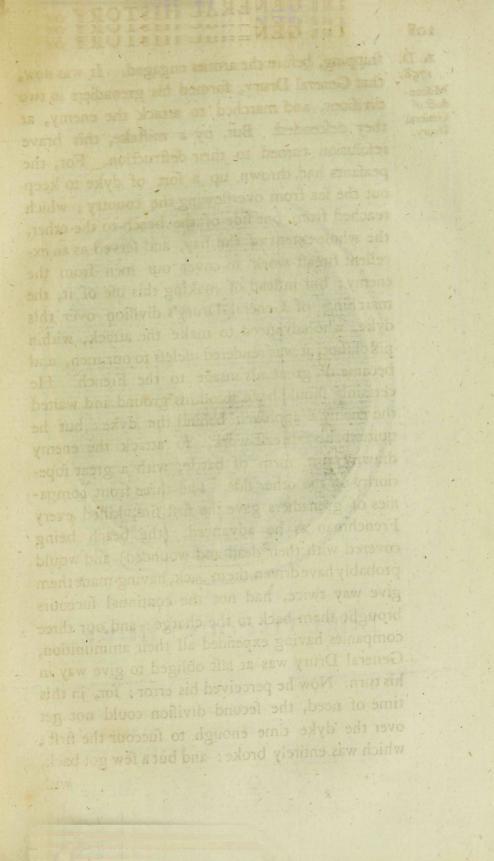
207

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758. Mifconduct of General Drury.

208

fhipping, before the armies engaged. It was now, that General Drury, formed his grenadiers in two divisions, and marched to attack the enemy, as they descended. But, by a mistake, this brave resolution turned to their destruction. For, the peafants had thrown up a fort of dyke to keep out the fea from overflowing the country; which reached from one fide of the beach to the other, the whole extent of the bay, and ferved as an excellent breaft-work to cover our men from the enemy: but inftead of making this use of it, the marching of General Drury's division over this dyke, who advanced to make the attack, within piftol fhot, it was rendered useless to our men, and became of great advantage to the French. He certainly should have stood his ground and waited the enemy's approach behind the dyke: but he quitted his breaft-work, to attack the enemy drawn up in form of battle, with a great fuperiority on the other fide. The three front companies of grenadiers gave the first fire, killed every Frenchman as he advanced, (the beach being covered with their dead and wounded) and would probably havedriven them back, having made them give way twice, had not the continual fuccours brought them back to the charge : and our three companies having expended all their ammunition, General Drury was at last obliged to give way in his turn. Now he perceived his error : for, in this time of need, the fecond division could not get over the dyke time enough to fuccour the first; which was entirely broke : and but a few got back, with





LORD VISCOUNT HOWE.

200

with great difficulty. This put the enemy in pof-A. D. 1758. feffion of the dyke, from whence they fired with a continuance upon our grenadiers. There was now no alternative. They could not form again, for want of room; being close to the water. They must escape by the boats or be killed. The general in this dilemma ordered the whole to Run to wheel immediately to the right, and to make to their boats. the boats as fast as possible; fome got on board: but a battery, which the French had erected on the middle of the hill, played fo furioufly, that numbers of the boats were beat to pieces. In fome of the flat-bottomed boats, ten, twelve, and in one fixteen feamen and a lieutenant, out of twenty, employed to row them, were killed: which fo intimidated the boatmen, that they were afraid to go to the shore; till the Commodore, Gallant fuspecting the cause of their backwardness, went behaviour himfelf^b, and ftood upright in his boat, amidft all Howe. the fire of the enemy. Such an example animated the whole fleet : from that time no one fkulked. and many lives were faved, that must otherwife have been loft. No men in the world could be-

Don Lord Howe's going into his boat, and showing himself to the Sailors, in order to encourage them to advance to take in the troops at St. Cas.

So when the Grecians to their navy fled, High o'er the trench, Achilles rear'd his head. Greece, for one glance of that tremendous eye, Strait took new courage, and difdain'd to fly. Troy faw aghaft the living lightnings play, And turn'd their eye-balls from the flafhing ray.

Pope's Homer, Book 18. O have

VOL. III. 25

A. D. have with more bravery than ours did on this de-1758. fperate occasion. Some of them turned about and discharged their pieces, while they flood almost to their chin in water, and then threw off their acoutrements and cloaths, and chofe rather to fwim for their lives, than be taken prifoners.

, 32% od 1

Great lofs. When they faw no retreat left for our men on fhore, they mounted the dyke, and by a vaft fuperiority of numbers, drove those that remained into the fea; most of whom were either drowned or killed; the fire from the fhips not being able to cover them : becaufe had it continued, our men must have fuffered as much, or more thereby than the enemy. A few found shelter under a rock, and were taken up by our boats : and as foon as the fire ceafed from the fhips, the French gave quarter to those, who threw down their arms °. However

> c General Drury is reported to be fhot in the breast, and being helped by a grenadier, pulled off his cloaths and taking to the water, was drowned. Sir William Boothby, who was fecond in command over the grenadiers, faved himfelf by fwimming two miles, in his cloaths, to the fhips. Sir John Armitage, a volunteer, was fhot upon a rock, to which he fwam for fhelter.

List of officers taken prisoners.

Guards. Lord Frederick Cavendish, Lieutenant Colonel Pierson, Captain Dickens, Captain Hyde, W. Lieutenant-Colonel Lambert, Enfign Sir Alexander Gilmour, Captain Pownall .---- Lord George Bentinck's. Captain Heathcote, Lieutenant Shearing .-- Cornwallis's. Lieutenant Thompson. -Loudoun's. Lieutenant Price .- Effingham's. Captain Bromhead, Lientenant Whyly, Lieutenant Denshire,-Manners's. Captain

However it must be recorded to their eternal infamy, that whatever mercy the French pretended to fhew to thefe, and compaffion to the wounded, they were guilty of a most inhuman action, that must never be forgot .--- When our boats were French all out of their reach, the cowardly villains, fays inhumanian eye witnefs, kept firing whole platoons on fome of our naked men, that could not fwim. and flood with their heads just above water, to be accidentally taken up by the boats of fuch veffels, as laid nearest the shore; which the seamen attempted with the rifk of their own lives.

The conduct of those concerned in this expedi- Remarks tion, was arraigned before the bar of the public pedition. with great freedom. The impropriety of landing the troops at a place, in unfettled weather, on a beach, from whence, except the wind blew directly from shore, and that but slightly, it was impossible to reimbark them in time of neceffity; and where they could not even effect the landing of the artillery, nor communicate with the fleet,

Captain Napier .- Wolfe's. Lieutenant Rofe .- Lambton's. Captain Revel, Lieutenant Grant .-- Richmond's. Lieutenant Price, Lieutenant Lambourn, doubtful .- Crenadier Guards. Captain Bridgman, Captain Matthews, Captain Cafwell, wounded.

Lift of officers killed.

Major-General Drury .- Guards. Captain Walker, Enfign Cooks .- Loudoun's. Lieutenant Williamson .- Hay's. Captain Edmondstone .- Effingham's. Lieutenant Sandys.----Manners's, Lieutenant Moore, Lieutenant Wells,-Richmond's. Lieutenant Drummond.-Grenadier Guards. Captain Rolt .- Manners's. Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinfon.

A. D. 1758.

211

0 2

but

A. D. 1758.

but under the most hazardous circumstances; was faid to be departing from that wildom and ability, which had, on all former occafions, recommended the commander at fea to the favour of his King and country. The commander by land was also impeached for exposing his army to the manifest hazard of being diffreffed for provisions, and of having his retreat cut off by the enemy; and for want of more caution in his retreat, before an army, of whole great fuperiority he had certain intelligence. Matignon was a full march out of his way from St. Lunaire to the bay of St. Cas : and the beating of the generale in the morning of his retreat, was publishing his intentions to the enemy, who, he was informed, was providing to give him battle that very morning. And if it be true that a propofal was made to the general to embark the force from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Guildo and St. Cas; his rejecting that advice and adhering to those rash measures, that followed, will do no honour to his memory. The marching with drums beating, and in one column, which exposed our army to a variety of accidents, that fhould have been particularly guarded against in their circumstances; and especially that delay, with which their march, of three miles from the town of Matignon, was protracted from three in the morning till nine, before they arrived on the beach of St. Cas, are most unaccountable facts. The dispositions for their embarkation has not escaped public censure. It is allowed, by way of alleviation in fayour of the noble commander, that 1213 he

212

he had received no proper notice for the re-imbarkation : but it was certainly a great overfight in fuch an urgent cafe, where expedition was the greatelt means of fafety for the army, that the boats did not push the men, they took up, on board the fhips nearest in shore; but on the contrary, they through a punctilio of difpolition, confumed much time in carrying the men to their respective transports, riding at the greatest distance; and fome boats were most idly employed in carrying off horfes and cows inftead of men, in defiance of the fea officers. Befides, much blood had been faved, if the cutters and finall craft, which laid idle, had been ordered in shore to the affistance of the troops. It is a pity that General Drury's memory should fuffer for the intrepidity and bravery, by which he ventured and loft his life in the caufe of his country. But he is blamed for fuffering the French to difengage themfelves from the hollowway, without difputing the paffage with them, with bayonets fixt, which was advifed. Then, for quitting the dyke or breaft-work with a handful of men to attack them, drawn up in a formidable front, without hopes of his being able to ftand against superior numbers; instead of retreating, as he was advifed alfo, along the beach to a rock on the left : in which retreat the right flank would have been covered by the entrenchment; and the fire from the fhipping might eafily have prevented the enemy's purfuit along fhore.

In reply to thefe imputations there appeared an apologetical letter, wherein the commander in chief

213 A. D.

1758.

^{0 3}

214

A. D. 1758.

chief is made to fay, " Every operation in war " must appear to different men in very different " views, even to men of capacity, abilities and " experience. The greatest part of mankind, " the military not excepted, judge without re-" flection, and from trifling little views and cir-" cumftances, which either are of no confequence, " or which must often happen, in every operation, " by the very nature of war .- However, I am " convinced in the prefent cafe, that the real caufe, " and first fpring of many peoples reflections on " my conduct, is my fuccefs at Cherbourg : fucb " is the prefent melancholy fituation of our country. " If I had acted the part of an ignorant coward, " and difhoneft man, I fhould have found friends " and protection, where I found none .- I am very " far from imagining, that I have not committed " faults and errors. The greatest general in all " ages, to whom I have not the fmalleft preten-" fions to be compared, have confeffed that they " have committed the greatest mistakes every " campaign .- For my part, when I confidered " the difficulties of acting with vigour upon the " coaft of France, with the number of troops " under my command, greatly diminished from " what they were upon the late expedition; I was " very forry that his Majefty was obliged to have " recourse to me, and to defire me to accept of a " command, which had been refused by fo many " general officers d."

^d See the letter from the Honourable L _____t G ____l B-gh, to the Right Honourable W _____ P-t, Efq;

The fevere treatment of our forces, on this re-A. D. 1758. treat, had fo greatly weakened them, and the ha-Return to zard foreseen by Lord Howe for the anchorage of England. the fleet on that part of the French coaft, at this feafon of the year, till the further supplies provided, could be taken on board, if fent for, and the troops put again into a proper flate of fervice, determined him, with the General's confent, to return for that purpofe to any port he should be most able conveniently to gain in England °. Therefore, having by a meffage, obtained leave of the Duke d'Aguillon f, who commanded the French, to bury our dead. Which was done the next day : they failed the day after for England, and arrived at Portfmouth on the 18th.

The French account of this affair gasconades French pretty much, in regard to their own bravery and account of this affair. conduct, and to the loss on both fides : but they that read it will find enough in the enemy's own relation to confirm the good opinion of the bravery of our men, who, though but an handful, maintained an engagement an hour and a half with the whole force of the enemy g.

Various

3d,

e See Lord Howe's letter, dated the 12th of September, to Mr. PITT.

f He alfo fent a lift of his prisoners, which is given on p. 210.

8 The following relation of the affair at St. Cas, was published at Paris, September 22, by authority.

The Duke d'Aguillon having received information, the eth instant in the evening, at St. Matthew, near Breft, that the English fleet, after having shewn itself the 3d, about a league to the north of St. Malo, where it caft anchor on the

04

A. D. Various were the effects of this mifcarriage. ^{1758.} The reception this news met with at home, will Effects of this mifcarriage.

> 3d, had, on the 4th, landed at St. Briac a body of 12 or 13,000 men, he difpatched couriers to the feveral commanders in that province, to march towards St. Briac with the troops under their feveral commands, except the garrifons of Belle Ifle, L'Orient, Port Louis, and the Garda Coftas of Nantz.

> Those troops, which were cantoned near Breft, began to move the fame evening, and proceeded directly to Lamballe: where, on the Duke's arrival on the 6th, he learnt, that the enemy had pitched their camp between St. Briac and Dinant, and had posted detachments at Ploubaly and Pleurtin, two leagues from Dinant. On this intelligence, he ordered the troops, which M, d'Aubigny had brought from Treguier, and which had reached Lamballe by two forced marches, to proceed the fame evening to Dinant. On the 7th it was occupied before noon.

The 8th, in the evening, the Duke learnt that the enemy, who had left their camp at Briac that morning, were marching to the right in order to reach the Guildo, and pafs it next day at a ford about a league from Plancouet. Upon this he determined to harrafs them upon their march.

The 9th, the enemy paffed the Guildo, and encamped between St. Jeguhel and the wood of Val.

The 10th, at break of day, the enemy arrived at Matignon, and encamped. The regiments of Bourbon, Briffac, Breffe, and Quercy, who arrived the night before at Lamballe, advanced from thence to Henan, a league from Matignon. The Count de Balleroy joined them there with two fquadrons of dragoons, and took the command of this column. The fecond battalion of the regiment of Penthievre advanced from Jugen to Plancouet, and Mefficurs d'Aubigny and de la Chaftre had orders to join them and pafs the Guildo. About noon the Duke de Aguillon came from Henan, with a large detachment, to Matignon, to reconnoitre the pofition of the enemy, whom he found very advantageoufly fituated, and inexpugnable on that fide.

remain a lafting monument, and a most admirable picture of the times. Almost every man of confideration

On the 11th, the enemy, who during the night had made their dispositions for a retreat, began at day break to fall back to St. Cas. M. de Broc followed close at their heels, and fent advice of it to M. de Balleroy, who marched directly to fupport him. The Duke d'Aguillon rode up at full gallop with Marheuff's dragoons, and joined M. de Broc's detachment, the van of which had got the eminences of St. Cas. He immediately ordered the dragoons to difmount, the ground being unfit for their fervice on horseback. It was now about nine in the morning. The enemy's fleet was drawn up in a line, and the boats had begun to embark the troops, which were drawn up in a line of battle upon the fhore, in the bottom of the Bay of St. Cas, behind the Downs, and trenches which they had made to cover their embarkation. Our troops arrived with incredible fpeed, and placed themfelves upon the eminences of St. Cas. As foon as the enemy perceived them, they began to fire upon them with cannon and bombs from four or five frigates and as many bomb-ketches that were very near the fhore. Our cannon came up, and began to fire about ten. The Duke d'Aguillon fettled the plan of his attack in an inftant. He posted upon the right of the shore the Count de Belleroy, with the regiments des Vaisseux, Bourbon, Briffac, and Quercy, to go along the fide of the hedges and a bank of fand, which led to the left of the enemy's entrenchments. M. d'Aubigny, with the regiments of Boulonnois and Brie, the battalions of Fontenay le Comte and Marmande, and the first battalion of Voluntaires Etrangers, was posted on the left, to come down upon the right below the hamlet of Ifle; and M. de Broc had orders to march with his detachment straight up to the enemy's center. The fecond battalion of Penthievre, with the third battalion of Voluntaires Etrangers, under the command of the Chevalier de St. Pern, were posted in referve. The Chevalier de Remond, quarter-mafter-general, led the column of the left. The Chevalier de Fontette.

217 A. D. 1758.

not to the meane

noi prefented to his March

A. D. fideration thought it his own private interest, from ^{1758.} various views and motives, to co-operate more

> Fontette, affistant quarter-master-general, was placed in the center, and M. de Bouquet, major of the regiment of Royal de Vaisseaux, acting as major-general, commanded the right.

During these dispositions, which were executed with un. common ardour and diligence by the troops, the fire of the enemy's frigates and ketches continued with great vivacity The column of the left fell down upon them first, about half paft 11 o'clock, with great speed, and was soon followed by those of the centre and right. The troops marched up to the enemy's trenches with uncommon fpirit, notwithftanding the prodigious fire from the fleet, both of cannon and bombs; and also of small arms from the rigging, and of several armed boats which covered their flanks. The enemy at first advanced, to form a column from their center : but the fire of fome pieces of cannon, which M. de Villepatour, who commanded our artillery, carried to the right, foon put them in confusion, and made them retire. The engagement then became general, and lasted an hour and a half. The enemy were forced to give way, and our artillery killed a great number of their men, as they were endeavouring to re-imbark. Three of their boats full of foldiers were funk, many more were killed in boats that reached the fleet. The firing ceafed about two in the afternoon, when the enemy's frigates and ketches began to stand off from the land. About 1900 of them were left on the thore, among whom were feveral officers of diffinction, and, in particular, a colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the English guards, befides those that were killed in the boats or drowned, General Drury is among the number of the latter. We have taken upwards of 600 men, and 39 officers, some of whom are of the first families in England, three or four colonels, as many lieutenant-colonels, and four captains of ships, that remained on fhore to direct the embarkation. This body of troops is totally destroyed. We are informed by the enemy themselves, that of 12 companies of grenadiers, some confisting

218

or less with our enemies, in finking and depreffing the fpirit of the ftate : as might be eafily explained to the meanest capacity. General Bligh was not prefented to his Majefty for fome time. The advocates for a continental war made their use of it: and the opposition to the patriot minister raifed the most invidious arguments against a littoral war with our natural enemy. In a word, it gave pleafure to many bafe, envious, jealous, little minds. But no argument can weigh fo much in the balance of reason, as that which we are to draw from the behaviour of the French after their deliverance from those brave invaders of their coaft. The more expressive their joy on fuch an occasion, the greater must be their sense of the importance of their deliverance. Their churches refounded with Te Deums, and their priests became the trumpeters of the court to encourage and prevail with them

ing of 100 men, others of 70, befides volunteers by fea, not one got back to their fhips. Their whole lofs may amount to about 4000 men. Ours amounts to about 400 killed or wounded; but that of the officers is much greater in proportion than of the foldiers. The regiment of Brie and Boulonnois have fuffered greatly, having been obliged to crofs over very difficult ground, under the fire of the enemy's frigates, to get to their trenches. Notwithftanding this obftacle, thefe regiments marched with the most undaunted intrepidity, as did also all the companies of grenadiers and pickets, which have also lost a great many men. Never did troops difcover more valour and alacrity; they advanced with incredible diligence, notwithstanding the fatigue of double marches which they had made to get up, the greatest part having marched near fifty leagues in four days.

3

to

219 A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1758.

220

to be always ready to defend their coast against the like attempt, by explaining to them the certain ruin of their trade, their navigation, their religion, and the difgrace of their King and country, should the English ever be able to carry the plan of these operations against their coasts into execution with fuccefs. For the beft judgment of the importance of a measure is not to be formed upon its success in the execution; but upon the annoyance, and degree of danger, it is capable of bringing upon an enemy in their own opinion. And whatever might be the errors of conduct in the commanders of this expedition, the propriety of the meafure is confirmed by the attention it drew from the French ministry : nor can the defeat be exaggerated beyond a skirmish with a rear guard: in which Colonel (Griffin) deferves much greater praise than the Duke d'Aguillon.

Spirits of the Englifh kept up.

Devonthic

How ftrong foever the attempt of fome was, to put the people out of humour with the minifter, that had advifed this expedition; their fpirits were kept up, and they were fo elated by the fuccefs of that glorious national plan, for ruining the French power and intereft in North America, which began to operate powerfully in the advices received from thence, during thefe littoral operations; that, in general, this check, at St. Cas, was looked upon no more, than an accidental rub in the way of arms; to which the beft concerted meafures, and the moft able and brave, are liable in the courfe of a war.

be page 52, 53. Vol II

You have read that North America was the principal object of the minister's care, after pro-The expeviding for domeftic fecurity; and that he not only dition meditated the conquest of Cape Breton and its against dependencies, and formed a plan to drive the bourg. French out of North America, but had taken fuch precaution, as to infure fuccefs to the naval and military forces appointed for thefe fervices b.

The Honourable Edward Bofcawen, Admiral The fleet of his Majesty's blue squadron, sailed the 19th employed. of February, from England, as commander in chief of all his Majefty's fhips and veffels employed, and to be employed, in North America, and had under him Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, Rear Admiral of the white; and Philip Durell, Efg; commodore: and the fleet confifted of,

Ships.	uns.	Commanders.
The Namure 1 Date	90	Hon. Edw. Boscawen Captain Buckle
Royal William	80	Sir Charles Hardy, Kt. Captain Evans
Princefs Amelia	80	Philip Durell, Efq; Captain Bray
Dublin	74	Capt. Rodney
Terrible	74	Collins
Northumberland	70	Rt. Hon. Lord Colvil
Vanguard	70	Capt. Swanton
Oxford	70	Spry
Burford	70	Gambier
Somerfet	70	Hughes
Lancaster	70	Hon. G. Edgecumbe

See page 52, 53. Vol. III.

Devonshire

A. D. 1758.

222 A. D. 1758.

	Ships.	Guns,	Commandere,
2	Devonshire	66	Capt. Gordon
	Bedford	64	Fowke
	Captain	64	Amherft
	Prince Frederic	64	Man
	Pembroke	60	Simcoe
	Kingfton	60	Parry
	York	60	- Pigot
	Prince of Orange		Fergussonne
2.5	Defiance	60	Baird
2	Nottingham	60	Marfhall
	Centurion	54	Mantell
0	Sutherland	50	Rous,
	Contraction of the second	20	acouv.

FRIGATES, &c.

Juno, Diana, Boreas, Trent, Gramont, Shannon, Hind, Portmohon, Nightingale, Kennington, Squirrel, Beaver, Hunter, Scarborough, Hawke, Ætna, Lightning, and Tyloe armed ship.

The army. And the army confifted of 11,936 men, officers included, together with 324 men of the train; under the command of Major-General Jeffery Amherst, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces to be employed in the island of Cape Breton, &c. -Brigadier-General Edward Whitmore -Brigadier-General Charles Laurence-Brigadier-General James Wolfe -- Colonel Baftide, chief engineer-Colonel George Williamson, commander of the train of artillery.

Arrive at Hallifax.

This armament arrived fafe, without any material accident, in the harbour of Hallifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, on the 9th day of May. The Devobilire

The Admiral immediately prepared for action : and being joined by all his forces and fhips; and they well provided with water and ftores of all forts, and the fick men recovered fit for fervice, he proceeded with 157 fail, transports included, from Hallifax i, and fleered to the feat of action.

Gabarus Bay, about seven miles W. of Louis- At Gabarus Bay. bourg, was the place defigned for the landing of the army : where the fleet, with about a third of the troops, came to anchor about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d of June; and at fix the admiral made a fignal for all barges and pinnaces manned and armed, to attend the General and the Brigadier-Generals Laurence and Wolfe, who went that fame evening to reconnoitre the fhore as near as possible, and made a disposition for landing in three places, next morning, in cafe the troops arrived ; who made this observation, that every place, where it was probable, or practicable, for our troops to land, was defended by works or batteries, and that the enemy had a chain of pofts along fhore from Cape Noir to Flat Point, and irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay. But the troops did not come in till next day.

Several hints were thrown out to the admiral Prudent about the impracticability of landing on a shore so the Admiftrongly fortified and guarded, and concerning ral. the danger of his Majefty's fhips riding in a bay, where the pilots had no knowledge of the anchorage. These speeches alarmed the admiral, and put him upon the prudential method of coming at

i On the 28th of May, and was joined by General Amherst and Bragg's regiment from the Bay of Fundy, the fame day.

the

A. D. 1758.

224

of war.

A.D. 1758.

the real fentiments of his officers, by inviting them on board, one after another, and difcourfing with them, feparately, upon the fubject of their immediate fervice. The general opinion leaned towards the impracticability, in fo rough a fea, and fo well fortified a fhore; and for a council of war of both fea and land officers, to come to a final refolution : when it coming to the turn of Captain Ferguffonne, an old, brave, and experienced officer, whom Mr. Boscawen had requested from the Lords of the Admiralty, to attend him in this fervice, and in whofe opinion and conduct, on the most trying occasions, he could place great Advised not to call confidence; this captain, having delivered himself a council in the most respectful terms, in regard to the opinions of his brethren, whole reasons the admiral ingenuoufly related to him, and defpifing the arguments, drawn from the danger of the fervice, for proving an impracticability, without an actual attempt to land, and to force the enemy's pofts with all the art and ftrength in their power, he advifed the admiral, for his own honour, and the glory of his country, to exert that power, with which he was invefted; and not to leave it to the uncertain refolutions of a council of war, which had been fo fatal at Minorca, at Rochefort, and even at Hallifax, to the difgrace of all concerned, and to the extreme loss of the nation. Upon this remonftrance of one brave officer in private conversation, we shall fee the turn this grand expedition took, for the interest of Great Britain. The admiral acquiefced in the justness of the captain's observation on councils of war: thanked him for his 512

open

open and honeft advice : refolved to call no coun-A. D. cil of war, but strictly to adhere to his instructions, which was to land the troops on the island of Cape Breton. Here, faid he, I will abide, and put them all ashore, and cover their retreat, if they think proper to reimbark.

This refolution difperfed the cloud of difficul- Preparaties, that feemed to be gathering from every quar- landing. ter. The admiral notified his determination not to depart out of that bay, till every way was tried to carry his inftructions into execution. A fignal was made for all lieutenants : to whom he gave ftrict charges to be diligent in the execution of those orders, they then received, for landing of the troops, and for affifting the military in every thing in their power, towards completing the fervice, in which they were jointly engaged : and about eleven that fame (3d) day at noon, the Kennington was brought to an anchor close in shore of a cove at the North East end of Gabarus bay, which feemed to promife a convenient coaft, for the intended defcent; but was well guarded by feveral encampments, and a battery. The Kennington had orders to filence this battery, and to clear the coaft of the enemy.

It was intended to attempt a landing that even- Prevented ing: but the weather growing hazy, and fresh by the weagales, blowing into fhore, creating a great furf every day, there could be nothing done effectually till the 8th; though the Hallifax fnow was likewife ordered in fhore against another battery on the 4th; and both fhe and the Kennington performed VOL. III. P effectual

25

1758.

effectual fervice. Thefe two were flationed on the left at the little bay in the N. E. to which was given the name of Kennington cove : the Sutherland and Squirrel on the right, near White Point, and the Gramont, Diana and Shannon frigates in the center. A difposition made by the admiral's direction to terrify and annoy the enemy's fortified camps, and to cover the boats employed to land the foldiers.

On the 6th, the wind down and a thick fogg the admiral made the fignal for landing : but, before the boats were manned, the wind rifing and a great fea tumbling, the defcent was put off till the 8th, when the wind being favourable and the weather clear, (and Commodore Durell having reported, that it was his opinion, the troops might land on the left, without any great interruption from that morning's furff) the troops were debarked in the boats belonging to the men of war, and transports : the former under the direction of a lieutenant, mate or midshipman; and the latter under the direction of the officers of the troops in each boat; the general having given proper orders to each for landing them in three divisions. The fignal for this debarkation was made about two o'clock : and as foon as the boats were prepared to fet off from the ships, a most furious cannonading was continued, from about fun rife, from the Kennington and Hallifax and all the other fhips, in their respective flations, along the fhore, until about eight o'clock, with only

How effected.

226

A. D. 1758. only fome neceffary intermistions in favour of the A.D. attempt.

The difpolition for landing was made in three divisions in order to divide the forces, and to diftract the enemy's attention. One division, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, which was intended to attempt a landing on the left of Kennington cove, confifted of 550 light infantry k, commanded by Major Scott, and four of the oldeft companies of grenadiers, the companies of Rangers k, fupported by the Highland regiment, and those by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers. The boats with these foldiers on board rendezvoused near White Point, under cover of the ship guns, about four o'clock. A feint was made by the fecond division, confifting of the Royal, Lascelles, Monckton, Forbes, Anstruther and Webb, at the fame time, to the right, to-

k Our light infantry, Highlanders, and Rangers, the French termed the English Jawages, perhaps in contradifinction to their own native Indians, Canadians, &c. the true French favages. These light infantry were a corps of 550 volunteers chofen as markimen out of the most active resolute men from all the battalions of regulars, dreffed fome in blue, fome in green jackets, and drawers, for the eafier brufhing through the woods, with ruffs of black bear's fkin round their necks. the beard of their upper lips, fome grown into whifkers, others not fo, but all well fmutted on that part, with little round hats like feveral of our feamen .- Their arms were a fufil, cartouchbox of balls and flints, and a powder horn flung over their shoulders. The Rangers are a body of irregulars, who have a more cut-throat, favage appearance; which carries in it fomething of natural favages : the appearance of the light infantry has in it more of artificial favages.

P 2

wards

228

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1758. wards White Point, under the conduct of Brigadier-General Whitmore: and the third division commanded by Brigadier-General Laurence, in the center, was formed of Amherst's, Hopfon's, Otway's, Whitmore's, Laurence's, and Warburton's, and at the fame time, made a shew of landing at the fresh water cove.

The ftrength of the enemy, and their fortified coaft.

The enemy had expected this vifit, for fome years. Which put them upon many devices to prevent, or to make a defcent upon the coaft of this ifland very difficult and hazardous to them, that would attempt an invafion. For this purpofe they had finifhed a very ftrong breaft-work, which was defended by 3000 regulars, irregulars and native Indians, posted along the fhore, in all the probable places of landing, fortified at proper diftances with heavy cannon and fwivels of an extraordinary calibre, mounted on very ftrong perpendicular wooden flocks, driven deep into the ground; befides other cannon mounted on redans erected in the most advantageous fituations for flanking an invading army.

Of an extraordinary nature. These fortifications were the most complete of their kind. Yet they had an extraordinary addition by an artful disposal of trees; which, being laid very thick together at the distance of 20 yards in some places, and of 30 in other places, between the lines and the waters edge, with their branches towards the sea quite round the cove, rendered the approaches to the front lines extremely difficult, even if there had been no fire to defend them. For the bare attempt of posses these these lines, fays one that was prefent, would have been like penetrating, with incredible fatigue and endlefs labour, through a wild foreft, where the branches of one tree are interwoven with those of another. What still contributed to the strength of this kind of fortification, was the manner of difposing the foreft work in front; fo that it only appeared at a diftance one continued green of little fcattered branches of fir. Very few guns on their lines were diftinguishable out of the reach of their metal: and the reft were concealed with fpruce branches, until the boats advanced towards the fhore, with a refolution of forcing the works.

Our boats rowed up to those places of deftruc- Resolution tion with the most undaunted courage. But, as men. they approached, in line of battle, the brave adventurers were prefently convinced of their miftake, in regard to the appearance of the enemy's ftrength : and the enemy, too prefuming of their own ftrong entrenchments and fortifications, unmarked the latent destruction fomewhat before the proper time for its due exertion. Before our boats came near the water's edge, the batteries began to play, and to fire red hot balls, grape and round fhot, with great activity; and a continual difcharge of small arms showered upon them from the lines, which were about 15 feet above the level of the boats.

This obliged the left wing to defift, and to Left wing withdraw from the impregnable fhore of Kennington cove: and the confequence had been much more fatal to our people, few or any of whom could

229

A. D. 1758.

P 3

230

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

could have escaped, had the enemy fuffered our

men to land quietly upon that narrow fhoal beach; for, then they must all have laid down their arms.

A. D. 1758.

Exasperated. or have been flaughtered upon the fhore. But our troops were rather exafperated, than difcouraged, by this unforefeen and mafked way of fireing, and making all the expedition they were able towards their center, it was determined with united force to defy all oppofition and ftratagem, and to land wherever there appeared a probability of any degree of fuccefs. Fortune favoured the attempt of the brave. Lieutenants Hopkins and Browne, with Enfign Grant and about 100 light infantry, opened an entrance to the fhore on the right of the cove, over rocks and fteeps, which had been deemed inacceffible and impracticable.

Brigadier Wolf feized the advantage; gave orders for the remainder to improve the prefent opportunity and to fupport their comrades on fhore. Their impatience was fuch, that they caft off all reftraint, and with impetuous emulation, the grenadiers, light infantry, Rangers, and Highlanders, ftrove who should get first on shore, though exposed, the whole time, to the furious fire of a battery of three guns, which fometimes raked, and fometimes flanked them; and to the continual difcharge of finall arms within 20 yards of them. But what was able to ftop their fury? One boat was flove in the hurry, and fome grenadiers were thereby drowned; and feveral overfet and broke to pieces. The lofs by the fire was fo trifing as not to be mentioned; and chiefly

Land,

amongst the feamen, that had the care of the boats. The landing was effected at this place.

Amongst the foremost in this hot fervice we General Wolfe find Brigadier Wolfe himself, who jumped out of leaps into his boat into the furff, which kept them dancing is followed on the water, and exposed to the enemy's fire. by the His example was followed by all the troops. Brigadier Laurence with the reft of the brigades, did the fame, a little to the left, foon after : and they were fupported with all convenient expedition by the remainder of the center from the ships, and by the division of the right wing, which alfo gained the fhore amidft a continual discharge of fhot and shells from the enemy's lines. The rear was brought up by Major-General Amherst, bearing testimony to the refolution and bravery, with which those troops, he had to depend upon in his future arduous undertakings, had furmounted difficulties and defpifed dangers.

It was not the ftrength and ftratagem of the Boats enemy they had folely to combate : the boifterous flove. furff, which drove on most parts of the shore at that time, flove a great number of the boats; by which feveral of the men were fo much hurt and bruifed, as to be very incapable of helping and taking care of themfelves, and fome were crushed to pieces between the boats and the rocks. Moft. that did land, were obliged to do it without order and in much confusion, wading through the great fwell, and their arms much wetted : then to fcramble up fuch rugged rocks, and almost upright precipices, as had been deemed inacceffible and P 4

231

in

A. D. 1758.

Dangers furmounted.

in no need of fortifications for their defence, by the enemy's skilful and wary engineers; their own fteep, rough affent having been judged beyond the attempt of men under arms, before this glorious day. These were not the only discouragements. They were in a fituation that would not allow them to make a proper use of their arms, and were themfelves, the whole time, exposed to the utmost fury of the enemy's fire, in landing and climbing the rocks .- A fpirit, that will always exert itself, where Englishmen are allowed to act against an enemy .- A danger, which a council of war would never encounter. Which makes good the observation, That national virtue is to be fought for in the fpirit of the foldiery, and not folely in the councils of their officers, where a majority has frequently deprived the nation of the advantages, that might have fucceeded by the vigorous and brave minority. For, this national spirit of our foldiery was never known to flag, under the conduct of fuch commanders, as fignalized themfelves on this occasion.

Draw up the batteries.

Such an unexpected gaining what had, till now, and attack been thought an inacceffible fhore, and landing in the most incredible places, terrified the astonished foe: and our men acquired fuch an increase of fpirit and fortitude, by every difficulty they furmounted, that being arrived at a convenient place to unite, they inftantly attacked the next battery to them, in flank, with fo much vigour, as drove the enemy from that ftrong poft, with great precipitation : and with one continued exertion of the

the greatest bravery, in furrounding and attacking the enemy's extensive lines, they faw themfelves masters of the whole shore and all its works, before they had hardly time to give one regular stroke of true English bravery.

The flackening of their fire, when the enemy The enefaw our men land pretty near them; and the my flies. faint refiftance they made, when our troops attacked their lines and batteries, fhew that the French placed their whole confidence in the ftrength of their coaft: that they never had dreamt of being driven to the necessity of defending their pofts fword in hand : that they had formed no plan of retreat, nor a place of rendezvous, for them to rally and give us battle, before our troops could be fuccoured and fupplied with artillery from the fhips : in a word, they were difciplined to fight under cover, and where the mafk was pulled off by force and dint of courage, their cowardice appeared, and they ran away, with the utmost consternation and confusion, into the woods; leaving fome of them killed 1 in the flight, and about 70 prifoners : amongft whom were two captains and two lieutenants of grenadiers ".

The

¹ Amongst the flain was one officer and a native Indian chief, a very flout, well made and a very active intrepid man. He had a medal of distinction about his neck, which was taken and prefented to Admiral Boscawen.

^m The lofs of his Majefty's troops in landing was Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, of the Highland regiment, Lieutenant Nicholfon, of Amherft's, four ferjeants, one corporal and thirty-eight men killed; twenty-one of whom were grenadiers. 233

The next and immediate care of the com-A. D. 1758. mander on shore, was fo to dispose of his troops, Conduct of as at once to poffefs the fhore, to purfue the the Engenemy, and to prevent a furprize. Which was lifh on thore. done by detached parties : one of which fecured the poffeffion of the fhore for feveral miles, as far as Louifbourg; and found, in different places, abandoned by the enemy, feventeen pieces of cannon ", fourteen large fwivels, two mortars, one of brass eight inches, and another of iron ten inches diameter, with a shell in it ready to be fired; a furnace for red-hot balls, feveral fmall arms, and a good quantity of provisions and ammunition, tools and ftores. The other party employed in the purfuit of the difperfed enemy was commanded by Wolfe and Laurence, who drove them over rocky hills and boggy moraffes, till they got under the protection of the guns of Louisbourg; from whose ramparts, about ten in the morning, our purfuing party was faluted with a discharge of several pieces of cannon. By which we gained an exact diftance, for encamping with fecurity from the town, to inveft it; and it did not damage our troops : and the general of-

> nadiers, and of these eight were shot, the rest drowned in trying to get ashore: five lieutenants, two serjeants, one corporal, and fifty-one men were wounded. And of the five companies of rangers one ensign and three private men killed, one missing and one wounded; and above 100 boats were lost.

> ⁿ Viz. 3 twenty-four pounders, 7 nine pounders, and 7 fix pounders.

ficers

ficers did, that very afternoon, mark out a camp A. D. on the very fpot, which they afterwards occupied ^{1758.} during the whole fiege. The enemy no fooner Encamp. faw the preparations for a camp fo near them, than the governor of Louifbourg ordered the barrack at the grand battery, already difmantled and ruined, to be burnt. He gave the like orders relative to all the out-buildings; and left nothing ftanding within two miles of the town walls, but the tower at the grand battery, and fome chimneys and gable-ends of wretched hovels.

Such was the incredible fervice and extraordi- Remarks. nary atchievements of a day; that must be ever glorious in the annals of this nation; and convince posterity, that no difficulties nor dangers are fufficient to withstand the impetuolity of an English army; and that every thing ought to be tried, before a council of war shall venture to pronounce an attempt impracticable. How that might have been, had Admiral Bofcawen left the practicability of this fervice to the refolutions of a council of war, from which he was diffuaded by the advice above-related, is uncertain : but, if we may be allowed to judge from events, there would be very little hopes in trying fo defperate an ex_ periment in tactics, had these hazards been forefeen, and cooly weighed with the balance of perfonal fafety.

Being in possession of the shore, the next atsiege of tention devolved upon the measures to be purfued against the famous fortification, that terror of North America, Louisbourg, the principal object

236 A. D.

ject of this expedition, whole garrifon confifted of 1758. 2500 regular troops, 300 militia, formed out of the burghers, and 350 Canadians, who during the fiege found an opportunity to get into the town : and in the harbour there lay fix ships of the line and five frigates. Which, with the difficulties, they forefaw in the communication with the fleet. through the badness of the weather, and the continual furf on the coaft, that greatly endangered the navigation of the small craft, and in the length of their approaches over very bad marfhy ground, prognosticated a long, tedious and hazardous fiege. However, the commander in chief took every precaution, by fecuring his camp with redoubts and epaulements, from any attempt by the Canadians, who might be expected to make a powerful effort to relieve the town, and from the fire of the French ships in the harbour, to fecure his communication with the fleet: and with a refolution and conduct, becoming one in his circumftances, he was determined and prepared to meet the greatest dangers.

The furf continued fo extremely bad, that he could get only fome tents afhore. Nor could any thing more be landed for the army, till the 11th, when the remainder of the troops, the light fix pounders, and fome artillery flores were carried afhore. Had the enemy, with their fuperiority of numbers, and other confiderable advantages, attacked our little army, in want almost of every thing, and their communication with the fleet precarious, during this interval, they might have

greatly perplexed our fituation. But a fatal timidity confined their attention to their town's defence; till it was too late to think of attacking our trenches. On the contrary, General Amherst, on the 12th, detached Brigadier Wolfe, with 1200 men, four companies of grenadiers, three companies of rangers, and fome light infantry, round the north-east harbour, with orders to proceed to the light-houfe point, with an intention to filence the Island battery, and to attempt the deftruction of the fhips in the harbour; and, at the fame time, fent by fea the artillery, tools, &c. which had been ordered for that fervice. As Brigadier Wolfe approached, the enemy abandoned every post in his rout, leaving their artillery, &c. and a great quantity of fish, at a place called Lorembec; all which were deftroyed or rendered useles: and our troops took poffeffion of Light-house point, and all the posts on that fide the harbour.

At laft, on the 13th, the French thought of fallying out of their ftrong fortifications. Our men were employed in making a communication from the right to the left in the front of the camp, and in erecting three redoubts on the moft advantageous ground in the front alfo. A French party put on a vigorous countenance, and marched towards our works: but they were foon driven back, with the lofs of five killed and forty wounded, by the light infantry. On the 14th the cannonade from the town continued almost all day : and their Ifland battery and fhips gave our men fome

A. D.

1758.

A. D. fome trouble till the 25th, when the Island bat-175⁸. tery was filenced by the batteries we had made at the light-house.

> The perpetual duty either in working on the roads, in draining of bogs, in erecting of redoubts, batteries, block-house, &c. and in watching the motions, and resisting the efforts of the enemy, fell very heavy upon so small an army, that was obliged to have several parties out : Besides, Colonel Messervey, and most of his carpenters were taken ill of the small-pox; of which the colonel, his fon and 96 of his carpenters died before the 27th of this month : therefore Admiral Boscawen ordered 200 marines to guard the coast at Kennington Cove, which proved a great ease to the army.

> On the other fide, the befieged endeavoured to throw further obffacles in the way to retard our operations °; not doubting, if they could prevent an attack by fea, that they would be able to hold out against the land forces, till the feason would fo far advance, as to oblige the English to re-imbark. With this view the governor of Louisbourg, on the 29th, at night, ordered the Apollo, a twodecked ship; la Fidelle, a 36 gun frigate; la Chevre, and la Biche, of 16 guns each, to be

> • On the 19th the Echo, a French frigate of 32 guns, was brought into Gabareuse bay. She had got out of the harbour on the 13th, and was bound for Quebec. By which prize it was known that the Bizarre had got out on the day our troops landed, and that the Commette had failed from thence fome days after.

238

funk,

funk, in the harbour's mouth, with most of their masts cut off; to obstruct the passage for our great ships. And as our works advanced, the cannonading from the town and the fhipping P increafed alfo: and feveral fkirmifhes happened daily between parties from the town and our light infantry; but with no fuccefs, nor with much advantage on our fide. But on the 9th of July the enemy made a fortie 9, where Brigadier Laurence commanded. They came from Cape Noir. and furprifed a company of Forbes's grenadiers, commanded by Lord Dundonald, posted in a flecke on the right. Major Murray, who commanded three companies of grenadiers, immediately detached one, and drove the enemy back, with the affiftance of Whitmore's and Brag's, who behaved very well .- In this skirmish Lord Dundonald was killed, Lieutenant Tew was wounded and made prisoner: Captain Bontein of the engineers was taken prifoner; one corporal and three men killed; feventeen men wounded, and one ferjeant and eleven men were missing. On the part of the fortie Chevalier de Chauvelin, a captain, was killed : one lieutenant was wounded and taken prifoner : feventeen men were killed, four wounded and made prifoners, befides others wounded and carried into the town, amongft whom was a captain that died immediately.

P Five line of battle and a frigate of 36 guns, in the harbour.

9 Of five piquets, supported by 600 men.

A. D. 1758.

239

The

2

A. D. 1758.

240

The works being advanced within 650 yards from the covered way, under the direction of Brigadier Wolfe, on the 13th four batteries were traced out, with an intention to place twenty-four pounders, to deftroy the defences, and a battery of feven mortars, with fome twelve pounders, to ricochet the works and the town. And on the 16th, towards night, the fame brigadier pushed on a corps, and took poffeffion of the hills in the front of the Barafoy, where a lodgment was made in the midft of a very brifk fire from the town and the fhipping; yet there appeared no great hopes of fpeedy fuccefs against the town; till on the 21ft, when it was greatly alarmed with an explosion of gun-powder on board a ship in the harbour, that blew up, and fet fire to the fails of two more. They burnt very furioufly; being deprived of all affiftance from the town, by the continual fire from our batteries, to prevent boats going on board. By which accident the enemy loft the Entrepenant, the Capricieux and Superl men of war; fo that there remained no more than the Prudent and Bienfaisant in the harbour, the guard against any furprife or affault by fea.

Two of the batteries, with 13 twenty-fou pounders, and that of feven mortars on the right were opened on the 22d, and played with grea fuccefs; and at laft our fhells put the citadel in flames; though the enemy fired well from the town, threw their fhells into our works, and fired all forts of old iron, and any ftuff they could pick up. For which reafon the French mortars we had taken, were fent to throw ftones into the A. D. 1758. town from the trenches.

On the 23d the cohorns were used at night; and the batteries fucceeded fo well that they fet fire to the enemy's barracks, which burnt with great violence. But the Admiral, dubious of the time the fiege might take, with the prefent ftrength on shore, on the 24th, ordered four hundred feamen to affift in working the batteries, &c. and 200 miners were added to a corps of 100 already eftablished : which had the defired effect. From this time the fate of the belieged feemed to be determined. For, on the 25th they had brought all their batteries to bear : and the admiral concerted measures with the general to deftroy the Prudent and Bienfaisant in the harbour. Six hundred failors were detached from the fleet, in boats, to perform this fervice, to take or to deftroy those two men of war; whose intention and proceedings were covered by an extraordinary cannonading from our batteries, to keep the enemy's attention fixed altogether to the landfervice. The fire never ceafed : and the failors boarded the two fhips; burnt the Prudent, which was a-ground; and towed off the Bienfaifant to the north-east harbour 9. In the mean time, the miners of war that tode at arehor at ao is no great probably billing

" Of which gallant action Admiral Boscawen fent the following account to Mr. PITT, dated 28th of July 1758.

" I cannot help mentioning a particular gallant action in the night between the 25th and 26th inft. the boats of the squadron were, in two divisions, detached under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour, to endeavour either to take Q

OF

VOL. III. 26

²⁴I

A. D. miners and workmen went on very well with ¹⁷⁵⁸ their approaches to the covered way, under a continued

> or burn the Prudent of 74 guns, and Bienfaifant of 64, the only remaining French fhips in the harbour; in which they fucceeded fo well, as to burn the former, fhe being a-ground, and take the latter, and tow her into the north-east harbour, notwithstanding they were exposed to the fire of the cannon, and mufquetry of the island battery, Point Rochford, and the town, being favoured with a dark night. Our loss was inconfiderable, feven men killed, and nine wounded. I have given the command of the Bienfaifant to Captain Balfour, and the Echo, a frigate, to Captain Laforey."

> About noon, by the admiral's order, two boats, a barge and pinnace or cutter from every fhip of the fleet, except the Northumberland, an invalid, manned only with their proper crews, and armed with mufquets and bayonets, cutlaffes, piftols and pole-axes, each boat under the direction of a lieutenant and mate or midfhipman, rendezvoufed at the admiral's fhip: From thence they were detached, by two's and three's at a time, to join those of Sir Charles Hardy's fquadron off the mouth of the harbour. There they were, in the evening, ranged in two divisions, under the command of the two fenior masters and commanders in the fleet, the Captains Laforey and Balfour.

> In this order they put off from Sir Charles's fquadron about twelve o'clock, and by the advantage of the foggy darknefs of the night, and the inviolable filence of their people, paddled into the harbour of Louifbourg, unperceived either by the ifland battery, they were obliged to come very near to, or by the two men of war that rode at anchor at no great diffance from them. There was no great probability of their being perceived from any part of the garrifon, not only on account of their greater diffance, but alfo of the preconcerted brifk diverfion made upon them, from all our batteries, about that time. Befides, the befieged themfelves left nobody an opportunity to hear any noife: For, from having in the daytime obferved the numerous fcaling ladders that were brought into

242

tinued and very fmart fire from it, with grape-A. D. fhot, and all forts of old iron from the guns of the ramparts.

Every

into our trenches, they were under fome apprehenfions of an escalade, intended as this night, and kept a constant fire with their mulquetry from the ramparts, during the whole time. with the defign, if possible, to deter the befiegers from that attempt, by fhewing them how well they were upon their guard in all the places it could probably be made.

During this feeming fecurity and prudent precaution on both fides, the bold ftratagem of the boats, for furprifing the two remaining thips in the enemy's harbour, every moment ripened for the execution. After pushing in as far almost as the grand battery, left the fhips fhould be too foon alarmed by their oars, they took a fweep from thence towards the part of the harbour, where the gentlemen knew the fhips were, who had before very well reconnoitred it-and prefently discovered them. Each division of the boats was no fooner within fight and hail of the noble object of their attempt, Captain Laforey's of Le Prudent, and Captain Balfour's of Le Bienfaifant, than while the centinels on board having hailed them in vain, began to fire on them, each of the commanders ordered his boats to give way along fide their respective ships, and to board them immediately, with all the expedition and good order they could obferve.

The boats crews, no longer able to contain themfelves in filence, after their manner, gave loud cheers as they were pulling up along fide, and with the most intrepid activity. armed fome with mufkets, bayonets and cutlaffes, others with piftols, cutlaffes and pole-axes, followed their brave leaders, and boarded the fhips in an inftant, with great fpirit, on each bow, quarter and gang-way-and after very little refistance from the terrified crews, foon found themfelves in possession of two fine ships of the enemy, one of 74, and one of 64 guns, with the lofs of very few of the feamen, and but one mate.

The

1243

1758.

A. D. Every thing concurring to difcourage any longer 1758. refiftance or defence; there being no hopes of relief

> The befieged were now fufficiently alarmed on all fides, by the noife of the feamen at boarding, the cheers leaving them no room to doubt that it was from English feamen, and the direction of the confused found of voices, and firing afterwards, foon leading them to sufpect the real fact, an attempt upon their ships. The heroic, fuccessful adventurers were employed in fecuring their prisoners in the ships holds, and concerting the most effectual methods for fecuring their prizes out of the reach of the enraged enemy; when both the ships and boats received a most furious fire of cannon, mortars and muskets, from all parts that it could be directed to them, from the island battery at no great distance, from the battery on Point Maurepas a little farther off, and from all the guns of the garrison that could be brought to bear on that part of the harbour.

> After endeavouring in vain to tow off Le Prudent, they found fhe was on ground, with feveral feet water in her hold. There now remained nothing in their power to do, to prevent her being recovered by the enemy, but to fet her on fire which they did with all possible expedition; leaving along fide her a large fchooner, and her own boats, for her people to escape in to the fhore, which was at no great diffance from her. On board of this fhip they found a deferter from our camp, who was killed in the little buffle at our people's taking possible of her, and by that means rescued from the ignominious execution of military juffice.

> The boats from Le Prudent now joined the others about Le Bienfaisant, and helped to tow her off triumphantly in the midft of a formidable fire from the mortified enemy; which they did with great speed, by the affistance of a little breeze, and what ragged fails, yards and rigging she had left of any fervice after the constant fire she had so long received from our batteries. When they had thus got her out of the distance and direction of the enemy's guns, they fecured her till the next

244

lief from Europe, nor any further aid from Canada; their ships entirely destroyed; their harbour untenable; their fortifications ruined in many places; divers practicable breaches made; the garrifon in no condition to repulfe an affault in breach, nor even an escalade; and sensible that every advantage gained by the befiegers was a nearer approach to their ruin, disposed the governor to the humane confideration of putting a ftop to the further effusion of christian blood. For which purpose he wrote to General Amherst, requesting a capitulation upon the fame conditions as had been granted to the English at Port Mahon. But the general having been previoully informed by Admiral Boscawen, of his intention to fend fix ships into the harbour next day, to accelerate the operations by land, as the most effectual way to

next day, by an hawfer, in the north-east harbour, and enjoyed on board her the first joyful moment's leasure of fecurely congratulating each other on their fuccess and fastety in this hazardous enterprize.

The taking of thefe two fhips by our fleet's boats, on this memorable occafion, as it muft be a lafting, indelible honour to the vigilance and activity of thofe who projected, and to the bravery and conduct of thofe who executed, the bold defign; will alfo be a new, and perhaps a feafonable conviction to the whole world, that, however arduous, however apparently impracticable any purpofed naval attempt may be, the Englifh feamen are not to be deterred from it by any profpect of difficulty or danger, but will exert themfelves as far as men can do, and at leaft deferve fuccefs, when led on to it by fuch as are worthy to command them.

And the bold and fuccessful execution of this enterprize, with the preparations made for a general affault, fo terrified the garrifon, that next day they furrendered.

245

A D: 1758.

Q3

oblige

A. D. 1758.

246

oblige the garrifon to furrender prifoners of war, he rejected the French governor's propofal; infifted upon his furrender at diferention, and threatened him with a general affault by Admiral Boscawen, next morning, in case he did not chuse to fubmit on those terms. M. Drucour could not relish the thoughts of yielding to those arbitrary impofitions : and as an officer that had behaved well in his prefent capacity, thought himfelf and the brave fellows under his command, intitled to fome fort of diffinction and favour, and to the honours of war : fo that he feemed refolved, and did declare, that he would rifk a general affault, before he would comply with fuch fevere terms. However, his flomach was brought down by the petitions and representations of the traders and inhabitants of the place, and of the commiffary and intendant of the colony; who forefaw immediate and univerfal ruin, fhould the enemy be provoked to make a general affault by fea and land. Accordingly the French governor accepted and figned the following capitulation :

Capitulation. Articles of capitulation between their Excellencies Admiral Boscawen, and Major-General Amberst, and his Excellency the Chevalier Drucour, Governor of the Island of Cape-Breton, of Louisbourg, the Island of St. John, and their appurtenances.

I. THE garrison of Louisbourg shall be prifoners of war, and shall be carried to England in the ships of his Britannic Majesty.

II. All

II. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, as well as the arms of any kind whatfoever, which are at prefent in the town of Louifbourg, the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John, and their appurtenances, shall be delivered, without the least damage, to such commissions as shall be appointed to receive them, for the use of his Britannic Majesty.

III. The governor shall give his orders that the troops, which are in the Island of St. John, and its appurtenances, shall go on board such ship of war, as the admiral shall fend to receive them.

IV. The gate, called Porte Dauphine, fhall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majefty, to-morrow, at eight o'clock in the morning; and the garrifon, including all those that carried atms, drawn up at noon, on the esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war. And the garrifon shall go on board, in order to be carried to England in a convenient time.

V. The fame care shall be taken of the fick and wounded that are in the hospitals, as of those belonging to his Britannic Majesty.

VI. The merchants and their clerks that have not carried arms, shall be fent to France, in such manner as the admiral shall think proper.

Louisbourg, 26 July, 1758.

(Signed) Le Chevalier de DRUCOUR.

Q 4

A. D 1758.

247

In

In confequence of this capitulation, Major Farquhar, with three companies of grenadiers, took poffestion of the west gate, on the 27th in the morning, and Brigadier General Whitmore was charged with the difarming of the garrifon upon the esplanade. He also received the furrender of their colours; and placed proper guards in the feveral pofts, and over the ftores, magazines, &c. The conquerors behaved with great humanity towards the prifoners: but to remove from them all temptation of breaking their capitulation, the general ordered all their arms to be carried out of the town.

Thus we may obferve with furprize, that Louifbourgh, and therewith the whole island of Cape Breton, which had been reprefented fo formidable and almost impregnable and impracticable, on former occafions, fell to the arms of a much lefs force than had been shipped in the foregoing year Loss of the for the fame fervice, with the infignificant loss of 21 commissioned and non-commissioned officers, 146 private men, one gunner, and three matroffes killed; and 30 commiffioned and non-commiffioned officers, two drummers, 315 private men, one corporal, one gunner, and three matroffes wounded.

Of the ene. my.

English.

The lofs of the enemy in killed and wounded was much more confiderable; and befides 5637 men, which the garrifon confifted of at the furrender, there was a great quantity of artillery,

248

A. D.

1758.

English

take pof. feffion.

249 D.

llery, store	e &rc s	Nor	was	this	their	whole	A. D.
for: for the		C C+	Tohn	in	the G	loh of	1750.
is: for the	filand o	I SL.	John	,		1	

An account of the guns, mortars, shot, shells, &c. found in the town of Louisbourg.

100011 09		- 17	
Pounders.	1/2 1018 1	1316.139	
(36 38	Grape shot	24 134	
124 07	Grape mot	12 336	
Iron ordnance, j 18 22	110 7110 7	6 130	
nounted on stand- 12 16	Cafe shot -	24 53	
ng carriages with 8 10		5 24 245	
beds and coins. 6 28	Double headed	12 153	
	and the second sec	[13Inc.850	
4 O	and the state of t	10 38	
Mortars, brafs $12\frac{1}{2}$ Inch 3	Shells	8 138	
with beds.	and there a her after	6 27	
	Lead, pig	2	
	1 - 1	Tons 12	
• • • • •	Do. fheet Iron of forts	Tons 6	
with beds. $29\frac{r}{2}$			
Mufquets with	Wheel-barrows		
accoutrements 750	o Shovels, wood		
Powder, whole	Ditto, iron	900	
barrels — 60	o Pick axes	822	
Mulquet cart-	Iron crows, la		
ridges 80,00	o Ditto, small	12	
Ditto halle Tons I	2 Iron wedges	4.2	
Ditto Dalls 536 Pdrs 160	7 Hand mauls	18	
21 105	8 Pin mauls	12 Is 36	
Round thot 5 12 400	2 4000 Masons trowe		
6 233		36	
0 23:	Axes	18	

State of the garrison of Louisbourg, July 16, 1758, when it capitulated.

Names of regiments, Twenty-four companies of the usual garrison, and two of the artil-	Officers.	Soldiers fit for duty.	Sick and wounded.	Total.
lerv	76	746	195	1017
Second battalion of Volantaires Etrangers Second battalion of Cambife Second battalion of Artois Second battalion of Bourgogne	38 38 31 30	402 466 407 353	86 104 27 31	526 608 466 414
Total of the garrifon	214	2374	443	3031
Sea officers, private men and marines fit for duty, with the fick and		cilli no		had
wounded, belonging to the fhips	135	1124		2606
	Т	otal pri	foners	5637 St.

A. D. 1758.

250

St. Laurence, and which in fome meafure fupplied Ouebec with corn and black cattle t, with which produce, this island abounded, followed the fate of Cape Breton. Lord Rollo was immediately detached to take poffeffion of it : and the inhabitants, amounting to 4100, fubmitted to his fum-St. John's furrenders. mons, and brought in their arms. This had been a place of great annoyance to our fettlement in Nova Scotia. For, the French neutrals, when driven to diffrefs by the English, found shelter upon this ifland: and from hence the Indians were encouraged to make fudden irruptions into that colony, and to perpetrate the most inhuman barbarities upon the English subjects : of which Lord Rollo found a most execrable proof in the very palace, or governor's feat, decorated with the fcalps of English men, murdered by the favages, hired for that purpose by the French, their patrons and allies.

Expedition under GeneralAbercrombie, againft Crown Point.

This important conquest was made, and the ftrength of the continent of North America was not weakened, nor the provinces exposed to the furprize and ravagements of the French and their favage allies; as we have feen the cafe in the reduction of the land army and the transportation thereof to Hallifax, last year; when an attempt upon Louisbourg was refolved by a council of war to be impracticable, without fo much as making

* Some farms raifed 1200 bushels of corn annually for Quebec market: and Lord Rollo found above 10,000 head of black cattle on this island.

one trial to land upon the coast of Cape Breton. While this expedition was ordered to proceed upon its own bottom, the forces on the continent were commanded to perform their diffinct operations against the enemy by land, to drive them from their encroachments at Crown Point, to open a way for an invalion of Canada, in cafe they could not be brought to equitable terms of peace, and to recover our loss on the Ohio.

For these purposes we find that Major-General Abercrombie was charged with the chief command and direction of the feveral operations, and that he himfelf undertook the expedition against Crown Point " with the main body of the army, confifting of 7,000 regulars, and 10,000 provin- His forces. cials; with which he embarked on Lake George, in order to reduce the French forts on that lake and on Lake Champlain, which he expected would fecure the frontier of the British colonies on that fide, and open a passage for any future attempts upon the French fettlements.

Thus intentioned and enabled to face any army, Marches that could be affembled by the French and their against Tiallies, Major-General Abercrombie embarked with his whole force on board 900 batteaus, and 125 whale boats, with provision, ammunition, and artillery; besides several pieces of cannon mounted on rafts to cover their landing, in cafe of oppolition.

They failed on the 5th of July in the morning; in the evening they halted at Sabbath Day Point,

* See page 53, Vol. III.

A. D. 1758.

about

A. D. 1758.

252

about 12 miles from the enemy's advanced guard: landed, and made a great number of fires on the fhore, to divide the enemy's attention and forces ; and early next morning they arrived at the place. where it was propofed to land; and from whence there was a good way leading to, and about one mile off, the French advanced guard. Colonel Bradstreet, with 1500 batteau-men, Major Rogers, with 800 rangers, and Colonel Gage's light infantry, all in whale boats, formed our advanced guard; which was immediately ordered ashore, to reconnoitre the country; which returning with a report, that there was no appearance of an enemy to oppose them, the troops landed with great eafe, leisure and fafety. The general formed them in four columns, regulars in the centre, and provincials on the flanks: in which order they marched towards the enemy's advanced guard; Askirmish. composed of three battalions of the regiment of Guienne, posted in a logged camp ; who fled with fuch precipitation on the approach of our army, that they had time only to fet fire to their tents, and to their baggage, ammunition and provisions:

part of which was faved by the quick advance of the English. The army, in the foregoing order, continued their march through the wood on the west fide,

with a defign to invest Ticonderoga; a fort built, about two years before, on the narrow paffage or communication between Lake George and Champlain. It had all the advantages that nature and art could give it, being defended on three fides by

water,

ater, which is furrounded by rocks, and on the A. D. 1758. alf of the fourth fide by a fwamp, and where at fails, there the French had erected an enenchment and breaft-work about nine feet high. was in the way to Crown Point, and must be ken by our forces before they could march thiher. It was in this march, that we had the mif-Lord Howe rtune to lose Lord Howe, of whom General killed. bercrombie writes to the fecretary of ftate, That he was defervedly univerfally beloved and respected throughout the whole army : that his untimely fall occafioned much grief and confternation; and, That he himfelf felt it moft heavily, and lamented him moft fincerely." lis lordship, at the head of the right center coimn, fupported by the light infantry, being adanced about two miles, fell in with a French arty, fupposed to confist of about 500 regulars nd Indians, who laid in ambush, or rather thought hide themfelves in that thick and almost imaffable wood, and had loft themfelves in their treat from the advanced guard. The fkirmish Loss of the as maintained with great refolution, and the enemy. nemy did not give way till our flankers had killed oo, and taken 148 prifoners, amongst whom ere five officers and three cadets. But, though e loft only two officers, and not above 18 men illed and wounded, our fuccefs coft us very dear, the death of Lord Howe, who fell the first nan in this skirmish, by a musket ball through is breaft : of which he died inftantly. Had our my been fufficiently provided with guides, this action

253

A. D. 1758.

254

action might have become fatal to the enemy, by cutting off their retreat: but they being entirely without guides, our forces were deprived of the advantage of taking poft on fuch grounds, as required for that purpofe. The ignorance of the ground was alfo a great misfortune in the time of action: for, it threw all into confusion: wherever any firing was heard, thither all those, not engaged, immediately hurried, and thereby brought the whole into diforder. So that they could do no more, than keep possefition of the ground all that night.

Our army retires.

A detach ment to fe-

cure the faw-mills.

The imprefion received throughout the army at the loss of Lord Howe; the great fatigue the foldiers had undergone from the time of their embarkation; the want of provisions, which had been dropt in order to lighten themfelves in their march ; and the want of guides to conduct them through the labyrinth of that wildernefs; determined the General to return, on the 7th, to the Landing Place; and they accordingly got thither by eight o'clock in the morning. But at eleven the fame day, at noon, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradftreet was detached with the 44th regiment, fix companies of the first battalion of Royal Americans, the batteau-men, and a body of Rangers and Provincials, to the amount of about 7000 in all, to take poffession of the faw-mills, a post occupied by the enemy, within two miles of Ticonderoga. Bradstreet found that post deferted by the enemy, who had retired, and destroyed the mill and broke down the bridge: but

255

but he laid a bridge over the river, and was joined A. D. hat night by the main body of the army, under The army General Abercrombie, who took up his quarters advanceth. here that night.

Several prifoners were brought into the camp; The fituwho agreed in their accounts, that the enemy had ftrength of eight battalions, fome Canadians and colony troops, the enemy. to the amount of 6000 in all, encamped before their fort : that they were fortifying their camp with ftrong entrenchments and breaft-works; and that they expected hourly to be reinforced by 3000 Canadians, under M. de Levy, recalled from an expedition, he had the command of, to make a diversion on the fide of the Mohawk river. This intelligence ferved to accelerate the motions of our army; and the report of M. Clerk the engineer, who was fent to reconnoitre the ftrength and fituation of the enemy, being in favour of an immediate attack, before the enemy's works could be finished, it was agreed to ftorm them, that very day.

The Rangers, light infantry and Provincials, Refolution were ordered to march without delay, and to take them. poft in a line, out of cannon fhot of the French entrenchments, fo as to extend their right to Lake George, and their left to Lake Champlain, that the regular troops, deftined to ftorm the entrenchments, might form on their rear. The piquets were appointed to begin the attack : they to be fuftained by the grenadiers ; and thefe by the battalions. The whole were inftructed not to throw away their fire, but to march up brifkly, rufh

.A. D. rush upon the enemy's fire, and not to give theirs, 1758. till they were within the enemy's breaft-work. A brave and well defigned difpolition. All the March up to the ene- forces, except a guard left at the Landing Place to cover and guard the batteaus and whale boats, -1116, 31 and a provincial regiment left at the faw-mill. was put in motion, and advanced to Ticonderoga. But, inftead of imperfect works, they found the entrenchments much ftronger than reprefented; a breast-work fix feet thick and between eight and nine feet high, and the ground before it covered with felled trees, with-their branches pointed outwards : and the ground was filled, for upwards of 100 yards beyond the breaft-work, with large logs, ftumps, brushwood, &c. over which it was impoffible to advance without great deliberation and difficulty. And the enemy, who were entirely under cover of the breast-work, kept an inceffant fire from their fwivels and fmall arms, mowing down our officers and brave men by hundreds. Our men, regardless of every difadvantage and danger, like those, that would conquer or die, were not infenfible of the embarrassiment of the trees, that retarded their advancing with intrepidity and bravery; but the General, convinced by the lofs fuftained, and the impracticability of forcing the entrenchments, that it was no longer prudent to remain before it, judged it neceffary, for the prefervation of fo many brave men, and to prevent a total defeat, to make the best retreat possible. Thus after feveral repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most difadvan-

256

my.

English defeated, and retreat.

tageous

tageous circumstances, and with the loss of 461 regulars killed, 29 miffing and 1117 wounded; 87 Provincials killed, eight miffing, and 239 wounded, including the officers of both corps; he drew his men off", and retired to the camp he had occupied the night before, with those that were capable of duty: fending off the wounded to the batteaus, which laid about three miles farther; and next morning followed with the whole army to the fame place, and embarked for the camp at Lake George.

This defeat and retreat fet the bufy and obfer- Remarks vant world to work; who, according to their con- on the renections and apprehenfions, were very liberal in their cenfures and apologies. He certainly is to be commended for drawing off his men from an attack, in which they were exposed entirely to the fire of a covered enemy : and he might be deceived, and yet not culpable, in regard to the report of the enemy's ftrength, and fituation of their camp; which certainly was the cafe : both in regard to the ftrength of the works, and to their extent. But who can exculpate a general for

w About three o'clock, as the regulars were retreating, one regiment in the center and the troops on the left threw in a very heavy fire, intending to retreat likewife: but the enemy hoifted English colours, and clubbed their arms, shewing themfelves on their breaft-work, and beckoning to our men; on which the whole advanced brifkly : but when they were come within 15 or 20 yards of the enemy, they ftruck the English colours, and threw in upon them a most terrible fire, fuch as they had not yet experienced, which killed multitudes, and obliged them to retire.

VOL. III. 26

R

commanding

257

A.D. 1758. 258

A.D.

1758.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

commanding his men to attack fuch a fortified camp without cannon, when he had a fufficient train with him for the fervice ? Who can commend his care of himfelf on fuch a defperate fervice; not advancing the whole time farther than the mills, two miles from the feat of action ; when his prefence was neceffary with his army? Who can give a folid reafon for his flying, when there was no enemy in a condition to purfue: and reembarking an army of 14,000 effective men. well provided with all neceffaries for fupport, defence, and to return to the attack of Ticonderoga, with a view of fucces, by a proper use of the force under his command, against an enemy, that was not above 2000 ftrong, and from whom both a retreat and fuccours might have been eafily cut off? An officer employed in this expedition writes, " Having fecured the advanced pofts, after the retreat, the remainder of the army might have kept poffeffion of the mills; a poft which is, perhaps, as advantageoufly fituated, and as ftrongly fortified by nature, as any in the universe. But what was most furprizing, the whole army was ordered to embark, 30 men in each batteau, and to retire to Fort William Henry, after having gained and given up as many advantages in four days, as, perhaps, ever happened, fince war has been known. The retreat was fo precipitate, that great quantities of intrenching tools, feveral batteau loads of provisions and other things were left behind. All ftrong indications of an unaccountable panic. Yet the Provincial troops were still

in

in good spirits, and the enemy not a match for us in a regular fiege." The regulars had fuftained a confiderable lofs: but that lofs was not equal to what had been expected on landing, if the enemy had opposed them there. But continues that officer, " The whole conduct, after Lord Howe's death, was equally madmen like : we were ignorant of the enemy having any breaft-works, but that of logs and ftumps : we were ordered to ftorm the trenches, when our field was covered with cannon and ftores; and we left the most advantageous ground without being purfued, or having any reason to expect it; and after all, retreated with an army of near 14,000 men from an enemy not above 3000 ftrong." The fright at the head quarters appears fully from the general's order to the commanding officer at this place, to fend to New York, all the cannon, wounded men, &c. What our enemies thought of this affair, may be collected from their account in the Paris gazette *. Colonel

* Paris, Sept. 23, Published by authority.

The Marquis of Montcalm being informed that the English had affembled, at the bottom of Lake Sacrament, an army of 20,000 militia, and 6000 regular forces, under the command of General Abercrombie, with a defign to make themfelves masters of Fort Carillon, [Ticonderoga] and to invade Canada, his first step was to take possession of the falls, on the fide of that lake, in order to baffle the efforts of the enemy. He remained in this position till the 6th of July, when a body of the English appeared upon the lake. He then croffed over the river from the falls, with all his troops, and came to encamp under Fort Carillon, where he had already marked out his entrench-

R 2

A. D. 1758.

1758. Colonel Bradftreet's expedition agamft Frontenac.

260

A. D.

Colonel Bradstreet, by a happy turn of thought, proposed a plan to his commander in chief, after this

entrenchments, and fent out different detachments to harrafs the enemy in their landing.

The Marquis, when he arrived at his camp before Carillon, had only 2,800 French, with 450 of the colony troops,

On the 7th, in the morning, the whole army was employed in throwing up entrenchments, and making barricades of flumps of trees before them. The fame day, in the evening, to our great joy, there arrived 400 chofen men, under the command of the chevalier de Levi. The Marquis committed the defence of the right wing to the Chevalier, that of the left to M. de Bourlamaque, and referved to himfelf the command of the center, that he might be the better able to give his orders. The army lay all night upon their arms.

On the 8th, at break of day, the generale was beat, that the troops might know their posts. After this motion, the army returned to work upon the entrenchments. About ten in the morning the enemy's light troops appeared on the other fide of the river, and made a great fire, but at fuch a diffance that we continued our work without returning it. About half an hour after twelve their army came down upon us, and all our troops were inftantly at their pofts with their arms. Our left was first attacked by two columns; the center was at the fame time attacked by a third column, and a fourth attacked our right. As the colony troops and the Canadians were not attacked, they came out of their trenches, and took the column in flank that attacked our right, falling upon them with great courage and fury. About five o'clock the column which attacked the center, and that which attacked the right, fell upon the faliant angle of the trenches, where our danger became very great; but it was timely affifted, and the enemy met with a refistance that damped their ardour.

About fix o'clock, the two columns of the right abandoned their attack, and came to make another attempt towards the faliant angle and the center, and afterwards on the left, but

58 -

they

this retreat, to employ part of the troops immediately against Cadaraque or Fort Frontenac; and was allowed to carry that expedition into execution with a detachment of 3103 men, confifting of 154 regulars, 2491 provincials, 27 of the royal regiment of artillery, 61 rangers, 300 batteaumen, and 70 Indians. The fituation of this fort on the north of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from Lake Ontario, was very advantageous and of great importance to our enemies. It commanded the mouth of the river of St. Laurence, in a great measure, and it was employed as a magazine to supply the forts to the fouthward. For this reafon the government in Old France had flocked this fort with 60 pieces of cannon, and fixteen fmall mortars: but the

they were every where repulfed. Between fix and feven their army made their retreat, favoured by the fire of their light troops, which lasted till night. The darkness of the night, the fatigue of our troops, and the smallness of our number, the farength of the enemy, who were still greatly superior to us, and the nature of the ground, would not permit us to purfue them. We expected them to return to the attack next day, but they had abandoned the Falls and the Carrying Place; and the Chevalier de Levi, who was fent out to reconnoitre, faw no body.

We reckon the loss of the enemy, according to the report of the prifoners, to be about 4000 killed and wounded, among whom are feveral officers of diffinction. Lord Howe and Major General Spittall, are among the flain. Five hundred Indians, who were in the English army, remained behind the whole time, and would not engage in the action. On our fide there were 12 officers, and 92 foldiers, killed in the field of battle; and 25 officers, with 248 foldiers, wounded.

R 3

fortifi-

261

A. D. 1758.

fortifications were both inconfiderable and badly contrived. At this juncture it was flored with an immenfe quantity of provisions and ammunition^y for the use of the French forces detached against Brigadier Forbes; for their western garrisons, and the army fent under M. de Levi to the Mohawk river, and with merchandize for their Indian allies.

Colonel Bradftreet having penetrated to the fide of Lake Onterio, he embarked his men in floops and batteaus provided for that purpole, and landed without opposition within a mile of Fort Fron-Hisfuccefs. tenac, on the 25th of August. This visit was fo little expected, that the garrifon, confifting of 110 men, befides a few women, children and Indians, between feven and eight in the morning, of the 27th, furrendered prifoners of war. By which we became mafters of all the contents above-mentioned, and of nine fhips, from eight to 18 guns, which were all the French had upon the lake. Colonel Bradftreet brought two of the fhips to Ofwego, one richly laden : but he burnt and deftroyed the others, together with all the fort; artillery, ftores, &c. agreeable to his inftructions. Upon which the prifoners did not fcruple to fay, That their troops to the fouthward, and their weftward garrifons would fuffer greatly, if not be entirely starved, for want of the provisions, and veffels, to bring them home from Niagara. The expedition against Fort du Quesne, and

Brigadier The expedition against Fort du Quesne, and Forbes's expedition the reduction of the Ohio was committed to Briagainst du Quesne.

262

A. D. 1758.

y Valued at 800,000 livres.

gadier

gadier Forbes. His rendezvous was at Philadel-A. D. 1758. phia², from whence he marched with the last division of his forces on the 30th day of June, for the river Ohio. A march pregnant with the His diffigreatest difficulties and discouragements; if we cult march. confider the length of the way only; but if we take the want of military roads, the howling wilderneffes, that were almost impenetrable, the dangerous moraffes and the rugged mountains, into the account, nothing but love, a love for our country, which furmounts and defpifes all obstacles and opposition, could have animated this army to proceed with an alacrity and courage, that was not to be fatisfied with any thing lefs than victory and conquest.

2 By a letter from New York, dated July 20, it appears, that when Brigadier-General Forbes came to Philadelphia; about the middle of April last, he found himfelf a general without forces, for a confiderable time. The greatest part of the provincials, that were to compose his army, were not raifed. The Highlanders from South-Carolina, did not arrive till about the 7th of June, nor his ftores and artillery from England till the 14th of the fame month. Befides this, the procuring the large number of waggons necessary for this expedition, where there is no water carriage, occafioned great delays. Yet all these difficulties are at last surmounted, and the general now finds himfelf at the head of a fine army, in high spirits, the rear of which is by this time advanced upwards of 100 miles on their march. He has likewife a very confiderable body of Indians with him, and we have reason to expect all poffible fuccels from his known valour, vigilance, and experience. No general was ever more beloved by the men under his command.

The

A. D. 1758. His prudent conduct.

264

The brigadier had a fpacious field to difplay his military talents. In which there had been fo many miscariages: and where the enemy had fastened themfelves by every means to improve the natural ftrength of the country. But the failings of others made him more cautious, more circumspect. He left nothing, or as little as poffible, to chance. He, with amazing diligence, fecured provisions and carriages; in whofe deficience had been laid the root of Braddock's unfortunate march. He, with a becoming jealoufy of his own ftrength, fhould he expose it to the lurking invisible enemy, fecreted in thick woods, or posted at narrow defiles, extended his fcouting parties, who beat the bushes and ferreted the favage enemy; and he formed new roads, and fortified his camps: without which precautions he must have fuffered greatly or rather have been forced to return with difgrace, by the frequent skirmishes and ambuscades of the enemy's Indian allies, who attempted to cut them off, and did harrafs them under this most judicious difpofition and cautious march of our army, thro' a prodigious tract of an unknown defert.

In this manner Brigadier Forbes arrived at Ray's town, 90 miles eaft of Fort du Quefne; where he halted with the main body of the army, and detached 2000 men, under Colonel Fouquet, to Lyal-Henning, with orders to fecure that poft, and to reconnoitre the fort and outworks of Fort du Quefne. Fouquet obeyed his orders: fecured the poft, and detached Major Grant, with 800 men only, to reconnoitre the object of their operations. rations, which was at the diftance of 40 miles A. D. 1758. farther.

As foon as the enemy faw this party within their Reconnoipower, being informed by their fcouts, that it tring party advanced without any fupport, and that their nearest retreat was to Lyal-Henning, a tract of 40 miles back; a body of troops fufficient to furround them marched out to give them battle, or to cut off their retreat. The English stood their ground with a firmness and bravery worthy of their country. They received the fire of the enemy, and with bayonets fixed, closed and did great execution. But after three hours fevere action against great odds, and the number of the enemy encreasing, by reinforcements from the garrifon, having loft their commander, Major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and about 300 men, including nineteen officers, killed or taken, these brave fellows were thrown into diforder, and obliged to fly back to Lyal-Henning.

Thus one indifcreet motion had well nigh dif-Remarks. concerted all the prudential fteps, by which Brigadier Forbes had furmounted the hazards and dangers of a long and almost impracticable march. If Fort du Quesne, and the territory under its dependance, was judged to require the whole force under Brigadier Forbes to reduce it; what could induce Fouquet to detach only 800 men to the distance of forty miles, without any provifion to fustain them in case of an attack; in a country, of which they were entirely ignorant, and in poffession of, and garrifoned by, the enemy?

A. D. 1758.

266

my ? In which circumftances it was morally impoffible for that detachment ever to return with any report, should they advance within the power of the enemy; and without a close infpection, their orders could not be executed. But, when the brigadier was informed of this lofs, it ferved rather to fharpen his refentment and vigour. He fuffered no more detachments to be cut off. He marched with his whole army with fuch expedition, that his fudden and powerful appearance ftruck the French garrifon of Fort du Quefne with a panic: fo that they never trufted their fafety to the event of a fiege, but difmantled the fort, and withdrew, fome by boats, others by land, to their forts and fettlements on the Miffiffippi, on the 24th day of November : and, next day, Brigadier Forbes entered and took poffeffion; and having repaired the fort, the contention for which, and the circumjacent lands, had kindled up the prefent war, and placed in it a garrifon of provincials; the troops and officers, emulated by their fuccefs, and glorying in the minister, who planned their operations in fo wife and effectual a manner, unanimoufly changed the name of the fort, and with a propriety and compliment, which may eafily occur to the reader, gave it the name of PITT'S-BURG. And Brigadier-General Forbes having, by his advantages in feveral skirmishes, convinced the native Indians, that all their attempts upon his advanced pofts, in order to cut off his communication, were vain, and to no purpose, and that it was their interest to accept of a neutra-

Fort Du Quesne deferted.

Changed to PITTS-BURG.

a neutrality; he found it no very difficult matter to draw them from the French, and even to reconcile them, in a manner, to his Majefty's government. Which was the beft fecurity of that fine, rich country, against any future attempts to be made by France for its recovery.

Having fettled every thing to his defire, and, Brigadier' for the interest of his country, he left a garrison turns. in PITT'S-BURG, well appointed and provided against any force of the enemy in those quarters: and, for their better content, and for the defence of Penfilvania, he erected a block-houfe at Lyal-Henning. His intention was to add fome other works to Pittfburg; but his health was fo much impaired, by the fatigues of this campaign, that he was obliged to haften back to Philadelphia, where he died foon after in the 49th year of his age, greatly lamented by all ranks of men, and may justly be acknowledged a public loss to his country.

Thus ended the first campaign in North Ame- Remarks. rica, under the direction of Mr. PITT; which ftruck to effectually at the root of the French power and interest in the new world, that they never after were able to make any confiderable effort to maintain their encroachments, and must have been entirely driven to feek for fafety within their provinces of Canada and Louisiana, had General Abercrombie executed his part of the grand operations agreeable to his inftructions, and to the strength of the army under his immediate command. How the nation received the news

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

268

news of these advantages, gained by the vigorous measures under the new minister, will be best deferibed by that universal rejoycing throughout this kingdom, and by those voluntary and unanimous address to his Majesty on the joyful occasion, from every incorporate and respectable body, led up to the throne by the most dutiful address of the city of London, whose fentiments of the importance of their acquisitions, the wisdom of the ministry and bravery of the fleets and armies, as they were adopted and confirmed by the rest of their fellow-subjects, will be best conveyed to posterity in their own words, which were thus expressed upon the taking of Louisbourg, &cc.

Moft Gracious Sovereign,

A MIDST the joyful acclamations of your faithful people, permit us, your Majefty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, humbly to congratulate your Majesty on the success of your arms, in the conquest of the important fortress of Louisbourg, the reduction of the island of Cape Breton and St. John, and the blow there given to a confiderable part of the French navy.

An event fo truly glorious to your Majefty, fo important to the colonies, trade and navigation of Great Britain, and fo fatal to the commercial views and naval power of France, affords a reafonable profpect of the recovery of all our rights and poffeffions in America, fo unjuftly invaded, and and in a great measure answers the hopes we formed, when we beheld the French power weakened on the coast of Africa, their ships destroyed in their ports at home, and the terror thereby spread over all their coasts.

May thefe valuable acquifitions, fo glorioufly obtained, ever continue a part of the British Empire, as an effectual check to the perfidy and ambition of a nation, whose repeated infults and usurpations obliged your Majesty to enter into this just and necessary war: and may these instances of the wisdom of your Majesty's councils, of the conduct and resolution of your commanders, and of the intrepidity of your fleets and armies, convince the world of the innate strength and resources of your kingdoms, and dispose your Majesty's enemies to yield to a safe and honourable peace.

In all events, we shall most chearfully contribute, to the utmost of our power, towards supporting your Majesty, in the vigorous prosecution of measures fo nobly designed, and fo wisely directed.

The attempt upon Goree, on the coaft of Af- Expedition rica, had mifcarried, as it was apprehended, for againft Goree. want of fufficient ftrength, after the taking of Senegal. But the neceffity there was to reduce that fortrefs, in order to complete the ruin of the French trade on the coaft of Africa, and therewith to put the laft and finishing hand to the deftruction of those colonies, which our enemies could not cultivate without black flaves; to deprive them of every poft,

269 A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1758.

270

post, from whence they might either carry on a clandestine commerce with the Africans, or iffue out to disturb our navigation on that coast in general, or to Senegal in particular; which could never be faste and undisturbed, while Goree continued in the hands of the French; suggested an immediate effort, this same summer, to drive the enemy from that strong-hold.

Goree ifland defcribed.

Goree^a is a fmall narrow island^b near Cape Verd in Africa, W. long. 17. 40. lat. 15. furrounded by rocks, and inacceffible, except at a little creek, a natural and most fafe harbour, about 20 fathoms broad and 60 long, fituate E. N. E. and inclosed with two points of fand, one pretty high, called the Burial-ground-point; the other much lower, with a fand-bank in front, over which the fea beats with fuch violence, as to be feen at a great diftance. Here is good anchorage for fhips; as also round the whole island: and between it and the main land fhips may ride fafe from the greateft furges .- This island has changed masters feveral times. The first account of it was in the poffession of the Dutch, who, in the year 1617, obtained a grant of it from Biram, King of Cape Verd, and fortified it with a caftle on a high land, very fleep on all fides, which they named Naffau-hill, on the north fide; and with another fort, called Fort Orange, built in the creek above-mentioned, to protect their warehouses. In 1663 it was conquered by the Eng-

² Or Goereé Dutch, a good road for fhipping.

^b The fixth part of a league in length.

lifh,

lifh, under the command of Commodore Holmes : but was foon after retaken by De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral. In 1677 it fell into the hands of the French, under the command of Count d'Etrees, who demolifhed the forts. But the French Faft India company, being made fenfible of its advantageous fituation for the purpofes of their trade. obtained a grant thereof from the French King, rebuilt the forts and continued in poffeffion till this year. It is but fmall, and till very lately, that M. de St. Jean, director of the ifland, difcovered fresh springs, it was without either wood or water, but what was preferved in cifterns. However, its fituation, harbour and good anchoring, like that of St. Helena, render it very confiderable for those nations, who have fettlements on the coaft of Africa, or any navigation and trade in those feas. Though it is in the torrid zone the air is cool and temperate, almost the whole year; owing to the equality of days and nights, and alternate breezes from the fea and land. And it is fo near the continent, that Cape Verd, and the neighbouring promontaries, may be feen from the north fide.

The fquadron ordered for this fervice confifted of the Prince Edward, the Naffau, the Dunkirk, the Torbay, the Fougueux, and the Firedrake and Furnace bombs.—There were alfo 600 foldiers. Commodore Keppel had the command in chief.

It was the 24th of December before this armament reached the place of their defination. The commodore came to an anchor, with all his fhips, in

A. D. 1758.

271

A. D. in the road of Goree, about three o'clock, the ¹⁷⁵⁸. ifland bearing S. W. by S. about four miles, and in eighteen fathom water. The Saltafh was ordered to bear down to a bay between point Goree and point Barnabas, in order to the more fpeedy and convenient landing of the troops, fhould there be any occafion for them. But it was the 28th before it was thought convenient to attack the ifland. When, at four in the morning, all the flat-bottomed boats were fent on board the transports, for difembarking the troops, and all of them were in those boats by nine o'clock.

During which time the fhips of war also finished their preparations; the fignal for weighing anchor having been given at eight o'clock.

The weft fide was the ftrongeft; but that being the lee-fide, it was refolved to form the attack on this fide, left the fhips cables, being cut by a chain-fhot, or any other accident, the ship or fhips might put out to fea without any danger, and beating to windward renew the action; for fuch an accident on the east fide might have brought a fhip immediately ashore. Another refolution fettled the manner of their going down to the affault. A bomb was ordered to precede, covered by the Prince Edward from the fire of the enemy, and to anchor abreaft of a fmall Lunettebattery en barbet, a little below the citadel on the north. The eldeft captain, Mr. Sayer, in the Naffau, was ordered to lead the line of battle on the right, anchoring abreaft of St. Peter's battery of five guns: the Dunkirk followed, in order to bring 2

272

bring up a-breaft of a battery to the northward of the former; which battery was not finished, and not an embrasure at that time opened. The commodore, in the Torbay, followed him, taking for his part the west point battery of five guns, and the west corner of St. Francis's Fort, of four smaller guns. Captain Knight, in the Fougueux, stationed fecond on the left, bringing up the rear (having directions, at the same time, to cover the other bomb on his starboard quarter) had alloted to his share the mortar-battery; so called from two large mortars, covered by that battery.

The moment the first ship had dropt her anchor from her stern, she was ordered to hoist a pendant at her mizen peek, to acquaint the next ship that she had brought up. Which signal was to be repeated by each ship, as she should take her station; and not a gun to be fired till each captain had his ship a-breast of his station, and moored both a-head and stern. Mr. Keppel concluded these instructions with his good wishes for their success, and desired they would get on board their respective states as fast as possible, and lead on.

The Prince Edward and Firedrake bomb bore down about nine towards the ifland; and in ten minutes time the Firedrake began the action, by throwing a fhell. Which was returned in a moment by the enemy, from both their forts and batteries. Their fecond fhot carried away the Prince Edward's flag-ftaff, and fet fire to an arms-cheft, Vol. III. S which

-6

A. D. 1758.

A. D.

274

1758.

which blowing up killed a marine. This threw the Prince Edward into a little stagnation ; which encouraged the French, who finding the ship did not return their fire, levelled fome of their pieces fo well, that feveral were wounded, and other confiderable damage was done, before matters were got to rights. Lieutenant Weft had one of his hips torn away and bruifed in a fhocking manner, by an iron bolt driven out of the timber by a ball: and a private failor, stationed in the fore-top, had a leg fhot off. But with a heart, like a lion, he let himfelf down, hand under hand, by a rope, faying, as he descended, - That he should not have been forry at the accident, had he but done bis duty: but that it gave him pain to think, that be should die without having killed an enemy.

The commodore, who diligently attended to every incident, observing that the Firedrake overcharged her mortars (all her fhells falling vaftly beyond the ifland to the fouth) and which they on board, in the midft of fo much fmoke, could not difcern, he fent his boat on board the Furnace, with orders, " That as they faw the error of the other, in over-charging the mortars, they would avoid that extreme; and that, as the enemy feemed bent upon finking the Prince Edward and Firedrake, he defired they would, at the diftance they then were, begin their fire; and endeavour, as much as poffible, to draw part of the enemy's attention from their fuffering friends." The Furnace, purfuant to that order, bore immediately clofe under the Fougueux's ftern, and getting under

THE LATE WAR.

under her larboard-quarter, began to fire with good fuccefs. The commodore then ordered the Naffau to bear away to the relief of the Prince Edward: which Captain Sayer endeavoured to do, but he was fo unfortunate, that from the enemy's first fire, to the Naffau's taking their attention from the Prince Edward, his ship was wearing almost thirty minutes.

Another advantage to the enemy was the lulling of the wind, which dropt, as the heat of the day came on; fo that the commodore's fhip the Torbay, and the Fougueux, which were both wearing down to the feat of action, were retarded a good deal; efpecially the Fougueux, which was ftopt by the Furnace running athwart his lee-bow, in his courfe to the Torbay; the commodore having made a fignal for his coming on board.

The commodore brought up a-breaft the angles of both the weft point battery and St. Francis's fort, with fo much judgment, that when he was moored, the enemy could not bring a gun from thence to bear upon him. There could nothing reach him with advantage, but two guns from St. Peter's, and three from a fmall lunette on the hill, in the way to St. Michael's; and their firing was almost filenced by the other ships. So that the Torbay had a battery to attack almost deferted, and without fcarce any opposition .- Though indeed, had the enemy been capable to hold an argument with the commodore's fhip, the fire from the Torbay was fo terrible, fo near, and fo well aimed, that none but desperadoes or mad-men would S 2

A. D. 1758.

276

would have ftood it .- The fhip was in one con-A. D. 1758. tinued blaze of fire, and that part of the island itself, upon which she lay, was darkened by a cloud of imoak and earth, to a wonderful degree; that the very foundations of the island itfelf feemed to be razed.

diersdriven from their quarters.

The flag Aruck.

A parley.

French fol- It was impossible for the French foldiers to stand at their quarters. They could not be kept longer against a fire, that was not to be withftood. But when the director was informed thereof, his command was, Every man to kis quarters upon pain of death. However, the governor was prevailed upon to ftrike his flag. The commodore ordered a lieutenant, attended by his fecretary, to wait upon the governor on the island; who coming to the beach afked them, before they quitted their boat, On what terms the bonourable Mr. Keppel proposed he should surrender ?- This way of proceeding, after the flag was ftruck, furprized them : and they asked him then, Have not you struck your flag? He answered, No: for be had intended thereby no more than a signal for a parley: and being told, That the commodore in. fifted on his furrendering at difcretion; he replied, I am sufficiently prepared, and know bow to defend myfelf; if the French troops shall not be allowed to march out with the honours of war. The lieutenant having remonstrated the impossibility of a defence against the ships, as already moored, and given him the fignal of one gun to be fired over the ifland, by the commodore, for the renewing of hoftilihoftilities, he and the fecretary returned on board A. D. 1758. the Torbay.

The commodore, informed of the Frenchman's Hoftilities renewed. behaviour and propofal, ordered a fignal gun, as promifed by the lieutenant, to be fired over the ifland; which was followed with his whole broadfide, and fome guns from the other ships, that were ready : but before the fire could be renewed The goin its full vigour, the governor not being able to renders at maintain his authority over the foldiers, who fled diferetion. from their quarters, dropt the regimental colours over the walls, as a fignal of furrendering at difcretion; and the commodore fent a party of marines afhore, who took poffession of the island; hoifted British colours on Fort St. Michael's, and finished the ceremony of this conquest, at the foot of the flag-ftaff, with three huzzas, from the battlements of the citadel.

During the whole time of this attack Lieutenant Colonel Worge, who had the command of the foldiery, had his troops embarked in flatbottomed boats, as mentioned above, difposed, and ready, at a proper diftance, with the tranfports, to attempt a descent, when it should have been found requifite and practicable.

The ftate of the island of Goree, at this time, State of the island as transmitted by Commodore Keppel to the Right when ta-Honourable WILLIAM PITT, makes the number ken. of prifoners of war 300; befides the blacks, who were very numerous. Their ordnance confifted of 38 twenty-four pounders, and one broke; 43 eighteen pounders, and one broke; 4 twelve pounders;

S 3

A. D. 1758.

278

pounders; 5 fix pounders; 1 four pounder; 2 three pounders; 11 fwivels; 1 ten inch mortar; all iron : I twelve pounder ; 2 mortars, mounted on beds, thirteen inches; I ten inches, all brafs: 100 barrels of powder: a great number of shells, filled and empty; a great quantity of fhot of different fizes : a great quantity of cannon cartridges filled, and provisions of all species for 400 men for four months.

Affairs of the Eaft Indies.

inforceder M. Lally.

Fort St. David.

Our arms on the coaft of Coromandel were not altogether fo profperous. The French continued in a state of inactivity, after the taking of Chettoput °. This appeared formewhat mysterious to French re- our fettlements in those parts. But they were diment from rected, from their fuperiors, to wait and prepare Europeun- for the arrival of General Lally and a ftrong fquadron, with supplies of men, &c. fent from Old France; without which it would have been impoffible for them to act with any view of fuccefs against the English, supported by a fleet, in those feas. This fquadron confifted of eleven fail, commanded by M. D'Aché, and appeared off Fort St. David, on the 28th of April, 1758. Two of them proceeded with Mr. Lally to Pondicherry; feven anchored in the road of Fort St. David; Block up and two kept to the eastward. By which dispo-Two Eng- fition the French admiral blocked up the Bridgelish men of water and Triton, his Majesty's ships, then lying in the road; which were obliged to run afhore,

to fave the crews and stores d. These French

· See page 367. Vol. II.

d They burnt their ships, and the men retired to the fort.

fhips



S^RGEORGE POCOCK, Kn^t. Admiral of the Blue Squadron. ships had a confiderable body of troops on board, ready to land and join a large detachment from Pondicherry, which appeared next morning, within the diffrict of Fort St. David; but their junction, and the debarkation of the troops, was prevented by the fudden and unexpected appearance of the English fleet to the fouthward, as the French were preparing to debark.

The English admiral had advice of the French Admiral Pocock fquadron's arrival in those feas; and being re-fails in inforced in Madrafs road on the 24th of March, queft of the with the Newcastle, Weymouth, Yarmouth and fleetat Fort St. Da-Elizabeth, he hoifted his flag on board the Yar-vid's. mouth, and failed, on the 17th of April, in queft of the enemy. His intention was to get to windward of Fort St. David with

	有异志 代码的	Guns.	Men.	Officers.	
The Y	armouth	64	540	Admiral Pocock Capt. Harrifon	His strength.
E	lizabeth	64 -	495	{Commodore Stevens Capt. Kemperfelt	
C	umberland	66	520	Brereton	
V	Veymouth	60	420	Nich. Vincent	
T	yger	60	400	Tho. Latham	
N	lewcaftle	50	350	George Legge	
Sa	alifbury	50	300	Jn. Somerfet	
N	lewcaftle	50	350	George Legge	

With the Queenborough and Protector ftore-fhips.

This fquadron made the height of Negapatam on the 28th at noon, and running down, next morning, to Fort St. David, the admiral, at half Comes in an hour past nine, descried seven ships in that fight. road, getting under fail, and two cruifing in the offing.

S 4

A. D. 1758.

A, D. 1758.

The French fly.

offing. Admiral Pocock threw out his fignals; which not being anfwered, and the feven fhips ftanding off fhore to the eaft, he judged them to be enemies, and accordingly, at half paft ten, made the fignal for a general chafe; but before noon they were obliged to fhorten fail.

The feven French fhips being come up with the two in the offing, about noon, formed the line of battle a-head, with the ftarboard-tacks on board, and ftood off fhore to the eaftward, with the wind about fouth. This obliged Admiral Pocock to make the fignal for his fhips to form the line a-head, which was repeated by the Queenborough, and every fhip got into its ftation, as faft as poffible, within random fhot of the enemy, a little before three o'clock; though fome of them were, at that time, four or five miles a-ftern °.

Lie too.

The enemy's fquadron, confifting of eight twodeck fhips and a frigate, laid too under their topfails, about two miles to leeward: and their admiral's fhip the Zodiaque was particularly diftinguifhed by a cornette at the mizentop-maft head. Admiral Pocock bore down upon M. D'Aché, keeping a little a-head of him: and though obliged to receive the fire of feveral fhips, by the way, he did not throw out the fignal for engageing, till he came within half mufket fhot of the

• The admiral, by fignal, called the Queenborough within hail to him, and ordered, that all her marines fhould be fent on board the Cumberland, and twenty feamen on board the Tyger.

Zodia-

Zodiaque: foon after he made a fignal for a closer A. D. engagement. The ships in the van obeyed f. English And at half an hour past four he made particular fignal to fignals to the Cumberland, Newcaftle and Wey- engage. mouth to fail up and engage clofe; becaufe the French rear had drawn up pretty close to their admiral. But M. D'Aché would not give them time to try their courage, he broke the line and bore away under the lee of the ships a-head of him : the frigate at the fame time fired a broadfide at the Yarmouth, and made fail after him. The other French ships made fail up along fide of the Yarmouth, in fucceffion to the rear of their line. Our admiral, at twelve minutes paft four, made fignals for the Cumberland, Newcaftle and Weymouth to come up; and at four minutes after, (all the French ships having shot a-head of French fly him, after their admiral, and the Yarmouth's again, masts, fails and rigging, being fo much difabled. that fhe could not keep up with them, after making all the fail poffible, the fternmost ships of the enemy then on her bow) he fent Mr. Fenshaw, midshipman, to fignify the admiral's orders for the fhips a-ftern to make all the fail they

f The admiral's journal specifies, That at seven minutes paft three, observing fome ships too wide of the enemy, the fignal was made for a clofe engagement, which was complied with by the ships a-head of the Cumberland .- We could notobserve that the Newcastle or Weymouth came properly into action with the fhips opposite to them the whole time, which gave the French ships, a-stern of their admiral, an opportunity of lying on the admiral's quarter, who fometimes had three thips on his at once, and never lefs than two.

could,

1758.

A. D. 1758. could, and go a-head, and engage the first ships they could come up with. At thirty-three minutes pass four all the French squadron bore away; and at twelve minutes before five our ships a stern being almost up with the Yarmouth, the admiral hauled down the signal for the line; and made the signal, for all the squadron to chase the enemy.

Reinforced.

About half past five the enemy were joined by two ships about four miles to leeward, hauled their wind and flood to the westward, with their larboard tacks on board ^g. Our fleet was greatly delayed in their chase by the damage of the Yarmouth, Elizabeth, Tyger and Salifbury, in their masts, yards, fails and rigging, which prevented their keeping up with the reft, that had not fuffered in the rear. This inability and the approach of the night, made it adviseable for the Admiral to haul close upon a-wind, and to make a fignal to leave off chafe: and he flood to the fouth-weft, to keep to windward of the enemy, that, if poffible, he might prevent them weathering him in the night, and renew the engagement in the morning. For this purpofe the Queenborough was ordered a-head to watch their motions; and fhe

⁸ Here you have the firength of the French fleet: viz. The Zodiaque and Bien-Aime of 74 guns; the Vengeance and St. Louis of 64 guns; the Duc d'Orleans and the Duc de Bourgogne of 60 guns; the Conde and the Moras of 50 guns; and the Sylphide frigate of 36 guns, all engaged. The two that joined them, after their flight, were the Compte de Provence of 74 guns, and the Diligent of 24 guns; which had landed M. Lally at Pondicherry.

work'd

work'd up after them till fix in the morning, on the first day of May; but with so little effect or hopes to come up with them, who had received little or no damage in their rigging, that the left off the chafe, and came to anchor about three leagues to the fouthward of Sadrafs, where he received information from the governor, that the Bien-Aime, of 74 guns, had been fo damaged in the late action, that fhe was run ashore, and that the reft of the French squadron was at anchor a little fouth of Alamparvey, feven leagues weft by north from Sadrafs.

In this action the French loft 600 men killed, Their lofs. and had many wounded. Whereas our lofs amounted only to 29 killed and 30 wounded. Becaufe our fire was aimed at the hull; by which the fhip and men fuffer most. The French fire chiefly at the rigging, by which the men and hull escape destruction.

The French fquadron retreated to Pondicherry : Retreat to but Admiral Pocock, as foon as he had finished Pondicherhis masts, repaired his most material damages, Admiral Pocock reand taken on board a hundred and twenty reco-fits and vered men from the hospital, and about 80 Laf- fails again. cars from the governor of Madrafs, put to fea, and endeavoured all in his power to get up to Fort St. David's, which was then befieged by the French. But that laudable and neceffary fervice was prevented by various accidents, ftrong wefterly winds, and particularly by the current running ftrong to the northward. So that he was obliged to come to an anchor at Alamparvey on the 26th of

A. D. 1758.

A. D. of May. He weighed again, and on the 30th of ^{1758.} June appeared off Pondicherry.

Gets fight of the French fleet.

284

On the ift of June, in the morning, the French fquadron, confifting of ten fail, weighed and flood out of the road: which carrying the countenance of a refolution to engage him, Admiral Pocock, who laid confiderably to leeward, prepared to receive them. But they kept close to the wind and plyed away from him with fo much diligence, that it was not possible to come up with them; but on on the contrary, the English loss way by flrong currents, want of wind, and the bad failing of the Cumberland.

On the 6th of the fame month, the Admiral received advice from Fort St. George, that Fort St. David had furrendered to the French. For, tho' M. d'Aché was obliged to retreat out of the road on the very day refolved upon to land his troops, to be employed in the attack of Fort St. David by fea and land, the armament from Pondicherry did not retreat. It confifted of 3,500 Europeans: their vanguard composed of the French horfe, 500 of the regiment of Lorrain, and about 200 of the company's troops, a number of Sepoys and artillery men, with eight pieces of cannon, entered the diffrict of Fort St. David, on the 29th of April: they plundered and deftroyed all that oppofed them; obliged Cuddalore to furrender on the 3d of May, with permission for the garrison to retreat with their arms to Fort St. David. Then they undertook the fiege of Fort St. David. They affembled all their force and began to fire upon it from

The French march againft Fort St. David.

The enemy's ftrength.

from Cuddalore on the 16th, and with five mortars from the New Town on the 17th; on the 26th a battery of feven guns and five mortars Fort St. was opened at the diftance of between eight and David. 900 yards weft, another of nine guns and three mortars between feven and 800 yards north, and another of four guns to the north eaft, at about the fame diffance.

The place was very badly fortified, and much The weakworse defended: no part was bomb proof, so that place. the shells did great damage and made great slaughter. The Lascars, Sepoys, and most of the artificers, were fo difpirited by the fuddenness of the French motions, that they left the town before the furrender of Cuddalore. The garrifon was fo much weakened by the defertion of the black forces, that it divided their forces too much to defend the out-posts, which was imprudently at-Misbehatempted : and the European foldiers, having got the garriaccels to the magazines of arrack and other ftrong fon. liquors, they were feldom in a condition to do their duty.

As to the fortifications; though there was no breach made, there were 30 guns and carriages difmounted and difabled, and many of the parapets, platforms, and other works, were deftroyed by the fhot and fhells. The tanks or refervoirs of water, except those in the covered way, were rendered unfit for use by the bombardment: and what completed their misfortune, their ammuni- Ammunition, which had been fired away inconfiderately, tion waft-

before

A. D. 1758.

285

Attack

A. D. 1758.

before the enemy began to make their approaches, was grown fhort. belog not state

Capitulates.

Major Polier, having been truly informed of the untenable flate of the place, and loft all hopes of relief from the fleet, requefted a council of war: in which it was unanimoufly agreed, to furrender by capitulation; whofe principal articles granted the honours of war to the garrifon; that they fhould be exchanged; that they fhould have leave to carry with them their baggage and other moveable effects belonging to their houfes; that care fhould be taken of the fick and wounded; that commiffaries should be appointed and remain to deliver up the magazines, &c. and that deferters should be pardoned, upon condition of returning to their colours.

Enquiry the commander in chief.

His defence.

The government of Madras was juftly alarmed at this lofs: and as a much more refolute and obftinate defence had been expected, an enquiry was conduct of ordered at Madras to examine into the conduct of the officers, and the caufes of the furrender of Fort St. David. This court of enquiry was composed of Lieutenant Colonel Draper, and the Majors Brereton and Caillaud.

Major Polier was much efteemed by the company, and had ferved them on feveral occasions with reputation and conduct : but he was too opiniated, fuspicious, very hafty and passionate; which often injured the fervice. He was fummoned before this court, and, in his defence, urged the weaknefs of the garrifon, the want of ammunition and fcarcity of water; the ruinous flate of the upper

THE LATE WAR.

upper works and the difmounting of the guns. But the officers, who composed this court of enquiry, though they commended the perfonal behaviour of Major Polier, they impeached his Opinion of judgment for defending the out-pofts, and thereby weakening his garrifon, which confifted of no more than 200 Europeans, 80 invalids and about 20 of the artillery : they were of opinion that the town might have held out much longer; and that the articles of capitulation were shameful, because the enemy were not masters of the outward covered way; had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pafs, before the town could be affaulted.

M. Lally, who was fent from Europe, to com- Works mand in chief for the King of France and the blown up. French East India company, ordered the works to be blown up, and reduced the fortifications to a heap of ruins. He extended his power to the French wanton destruction of villas, and the fine buildings barbarity. in the adjacent country. But the French afterwards paid dear for this barbarity. The country people, by cutting off fupplies for the army, had it in their power to take revenge: and they carried their refentment into fuch force, that the French were almost exhausted by famine at the fiege of Tanjore.

Admiral Pocock, informed of this lofs, made Admira. the beft of his way to Madras : and having there Pocock fails again fupplied his fquadron with water and other necef- in quest faries, he failed again on the 25th of July in queft French. of the French squadron. On the 26th, coming to

A. D. 1758.

the court.

A. D. 1758.

to an anchor off Alamparvey, fent his boats armed to take, fink, or burn, a fnow and feven chalingas. clofe under the fort. The fnow was loaded with fire wood for Pondicherry; the chelingas had been fent from Pondicherry with ordnance, ftores, and cannon; but were unloaded. They burnt the chelingas, and brought off the fnow.

the Englifh.

the Eng-

1.

lifh.

Strength of The English fleet consisted of no more than feven ships, the fame, as were engaged in the last action ; but fome of them under new commanders^g, With these the admiral got up, on the 27th in the evening, within three leagues of Pondicherry Strength of road, where the French fleet, that confifted of the French eight ships of the line and a frigate, was at anchor. But M. d'Aché did not feem yet in a temper to fight. He, by 10 o'clock the next morning, got under fail, and taking the advantage of the landbreeze, he wronged the English fleet, that waited Chafed by for him. Admiral Pocock made the fignal to chafe: but his fhips could not get to windward: and, without that, there was no bringing on an engagement. However, having chafed them almost to Porto Novo, where he lost fight of them, he, on the 30th, discovered and ran ashore, about two leagues to the north of that port, a ship laden

> 5 The admiral, displeased at the behaviour of some of his captains in the engagement, related on page 279 to 283, ordered a court-martial, on his return to Madras, to enquire into their conduct. By which court, Captain Nicholas Vincent was difinified from the command of the Weymouth; Captain George Legge, of the Newcastle, was cashiered from his Majefty's fervice; and Captain William Brereton was fentenced to loofe one year's rank as a post captain.

ith ordnance and stores for Pondicherry, and set A.D. 1758. er on fire: keeping the coaft to Tranquebar, dmiral Pocock regained fight of the French Gets fight uadron, on the ift of August : and next day at French. ne o'clock it appeared full in fight : but their dmiral, by affuming the appearance of courage, nd trifling away time, by forming the line of bate, at a confiderable diftance; now edging down; en hauling upon a wind, and practifing every ethod to establish an opinion of an intention to ngage, till half an hour paft fix, (when they hoifttheir topfails, set their courses, hauled close pon a wind, flood to the fouth eaft,) baffled Il the diligence, with which the English had eneavoured to draw on an engagement; for next norning, none of them were to be feen h. However

^b It may be a matter of curiofity to read the journal of this y's work ; wherein the admiral's judgment, and the enemy's aft will be much better feen.

August the 2d 1758. Moderate breezes and fair weather, e wind from S. to S. W. At one the enemy was edging down oon us in a line of battle a-breaft : the commanding fhip, der our three topfails on the cap, appeared to be close reefed, d fteered for our center. At half past one the Cumberland ing pretty well up, we made the fignal for the line of battle head. At two it fell little wind, and came to the fouthward. bout three our line was well formed, and we flood to the ftward under our topfails; the fore-topfail full; the mainpfail fquare; the mizen-topfail fometimes full, and fomemes aback, as the ships stations in the line required. At ree made the fignal to fpeak with the fire-fhip, and foon after r the Queenborough. All this time the enemy continued earing down on us with the fame fail, and our squadron con-Voi. III. T tinued

290 A. D.

1758.

ever our fleet continued the chace, and on the 3d of August gained its point. At five in the morning the enemy was discovered about a league to the windward of Negapatam, formed, as usual, in the line of battle a head, with their starboard tacks on board. Our fleet also formed in the fame manner, and stood to the fouth with an easy fail. It was prefently seen, that the enemy had recourse to their former delusions, and were seeking to get off¹: but, the wind being in his favour, Admiral Pocock

tinued in a very regular clofe line. At five the enemy's van was on our beam, at about two miles diftance; and at an hour after, they made fome fignals; and foon after hauled their wind. The van fhip hoifted her topfails, and fet her courfes. The commanding fhip hoifted her topfails, hauled her foretack on board, and flood clofe upon a wind to the S. E. At ten minutes after, when he had got before our beam, we made the fignal for our van to fill, and ftand on; which we did with the whole fquadron under topfails and forefail, making the proper fignals for keeping the line in the night. The enemy from dark to eleven o'clock made feveral fignals by guns, and judging by the found, they were fired on our quarter, concluded they had tacked. Upon which, a little before twelve, made the fignal to ware; and wore with all the fquadron, and made fail to the weftward.

¹ August the 3d 1758. Moderate and fair weather; at 6 P. M. the Salisbury made the fignal for feeing four fail to the north west. At five A. M. faw the French squadron, about three miles to the westward of us, in a line of battle ahead, standing to the southward. D^o. we made the fignal for the line of battle ahead, which was very soon formed. At fix Nagapatam bore W. S. W. half W. distance about three leagues. At eight minutes past feven made the fignal for the Tyger and Cumberland to make more fail. At 20 minutes

paft

Pocock got the weather gage; and forced them A. D. to an engagement about one o'clock next day; Forces their line being then in the form of a half moon, them to an the van and rear being to windward of their engagement. centre.

There being no poffibility of getting off without a brufh, the enemy's fhip in the van fired on the Elizabeth, who was got within mufket fhot of her. Upon which the admiral threw out the fignal of battle, and began the engagement with the whole fquadron. D'Ache was now obliged to pull off Run away, the mafk of bravery, and to run like a coward. In ten minutes he fet his forefail, as did the reft

past feven we stood to the S. E. in a well formed line, the enemy's van at the fame time bearing W. half N. diftant about four miles. At half past eight, the enemy's van began to edge down upon us. At forty minutes past eight made the Tyger and Elizabeth fignal to change places in the line; and at 45 minutes paft nine the Tyger made the Salifbury fignal to close the line : and at ten the enemy bore away, as if they intended to run under the stern of the rear of our line. At ten minutes after made the fignal for the leading fhips to fleer to points away from the former course. Do. we edged away, and steered fouth. At 25 minutes past ten made the Weymouth and the Weymouth made the Newcaftle fignal to clofe the line. From this time till 20 minutes past 11, employed in towing our particular ships into their stations; for there was little or no wind, and the ships in some disorder. At 20 minutes paft 11 the fea breeze fet in from the S. E. which brought the enemy on our larboard and lee quarter. At half paft II the enemy's van was on our lee beam, distance about one mile and a half. At noon our squadron was in a very good line, and preparing to bear down on the enemy. The Elizabeth and Queenborough repeated all the fignals we made during the action.

T 2

under

under his command, and kept a running fight, in a very irregular line, till two o'clock, when they put before the wind; nor could all that Admiral Pocock was able to do by fignals for a clofer engagement, prevent their getting away. He then gave the fignal to chace: the enemy cut away their boats, and made all the fail they could about N. N. E. and got quite off into Pondicherry road; our fleet being obliged by the night to come to an anchor off Carical, about eight o'clock ^k.

The

k August the 4th 1758. Moderate and fair weather, at 20 minutes paft 12 P. M. made the leading fhips fignals to fleer fix points from the former courfe; our fhips then in a wellformed close line. At 55 minutes paft 12 made the rear ships fignal to close the line. At one took in top-gallant fails. At this time the enemy feemed to be drawn up in a half moon line, their van and rear being to windward of their center, At 20 minutes after one, observing the French admiral made the fignal to engage, and their van fhips to fire upon the Elizabeth, we immediately made the fignal for engaging, which was immediately repeated by the Elizabeth and Queenborough, and obeyed by the whole fquadron. Ten minutes after, the French admiral fet his forefail, and kept more away. The rest of their squadron did the fame, and their line was soon broke. The remainder of the action was a running fight. At 35 minutes paft 1, the fignal for the line was fhot away, and another inftantly hoifted. Two minutes after that, our maintopfail yard was fhot down on the cap, and the main-topmast much damaged at the fame time. Forty minutes paft one, the fignal for battle was fhot away again, and another hoifted directly. At two the enemy's leading thip in the van put before the wind, having cut away her mizen-mail, on account of its being on fire. The French admiral put before the wind eight minutes after, and was followed by all the fhips of the enemy, 10000 from

292

A. D. 1758.

THE LATE WAR.

The lofs of the French is faid to have been A. D. very great¹, and their running away feems to confirm that report. As for our lofs, it confifted chiefly in our mafts and rigging: we had only 30 Lofs of the chiefly in our mafts and rigging: we had only 30 Lofs of the English. killed, and 60 wounded, amongft whom was Commodore Stevens, by a musclet ball in his shoulder; and Captain Martin, by a splinter in his leg.

Two days after this action, the Ruby, a French fnow, of 120 tons, laden with fhot and medicines, from the iflands to Pondicherry, was taken by the Queenborough.

from the van to the center. At 25 minutes past two the enemy's rear put before the wind. At the fame time we made the fignal for a closer engagement, in order for our ships to bear down, as fast as possible, after them. At 55 minutes past two, the enemy wore, and hauled up a little on the fouthward tack, as we did at the fame time. At three made the general fignal to chace. At the fame time hauld down the fignal for the line of battle and close engagement; when we made all the fail we could after them, the enemy being at two great a diftance to fire at them, and crouding with fluddingfails, and every thing elfe, from us, their boats all cut adrift, and they flanding about N. N. W. We were employed in knotting and fplicing the old, and reeving new rigging, to enable us to make more fail : the lefs difabled fhips about three miles a-head, and the enemy's rear about five ditto. At fix, obferving the enemy increased their distances, we made the fignal to leave off chace, hauling down the fignal for battle at the fame time, and, after joining our ships to leeward, hauled close to the wind with the larboard tacks on board; and at eight made the fignal, and anchored in nine fathom water, Carical W. half N. diftant about three or four miles.

¹ They had above 550 men killed and wounded. Amongft the latter were M. d'Ache and his captain.

T a

However

However the French army acted with vigour. A. D. and threatned our fettlements and our allies on Meafures that coaft with destruction. The government of taken for the fecurity Madras, after the loss of Fort St. David, took of Madevery measure for defence, as their circumstances ras, &c. would allow. They withdrew the garrifons of Arcot, Chengalaput, and Carangoly, and ordered them into Madras : and fent the like instructions to Davecotah to evacuate the town and retreat. fhould the enemy march against that place.

Davecotah.

arms into the Tanjore country.

His demands on the Raja.

Lally takes Davecotah was the next object of M. Lally's operations, and found it evacuted according to order; the Chief having retired, with the garrifon, to Trichinopoly, through the Tanjore country. Carries his Lally having placed a garrifon of 700 men in this acquifition, took the rout to Trichinopoly, but paffed by Tanquebar, where he got a fupply of ammunition and field pieces from the Danes : then he proceeded to Negapatam, and fettled with the Dutch a contract for a continual fupply of provifions, during his intended campaign in the Tanjore country, in cafe of need ". With this affiftance the French general marched to Trivalour, a pagado, 15 miles from Tanjore; established a magazine, and fent deputies to the King of Tanjore, with a demand of 75 lack of rupees, by virtue of a note extorted from him by the French army and the rebel Chunda Saib, in the year 1749; and of a paffage through his country, for his army to

> m It is faid, that the Dutch did alfo fupply him with money, cannon and ammunition.

294

1758.

march against Trichinopoly. But the French having commenced hoftilities against the Tanjoreans, Rejected. by feizing upon their port of Nagore, in their rout from Negapatam, and felling all the effects belonging to the country merchants from all parts of India, found at that port, to the value of five lack of roupees, to one Mr. Fisher, colonel of huffars in their own fervice, for half value; this proceeding, fo contrary to common right, and the laws of arms and nations, provoked the Tanjoreans to take up arms in their own defence : and their King had already ordered Monagre, his general, to take the field and oppofe their march; and Captain Caillaud, by his inftructions from The Raja Madras, detached 1000 Sepoys and 500 Collories, the Engto his affiftance. But the Tanjorean army could lifh. not stand before fo powerful a body of European regulars, and retreated with a refolution to maintain a fiege in their capital.

Though the King was fenfible of his own weaknefs, and of the ftrength of the French, the averfion, conceived against fuch a perfidious friend, made him reject all propofals of a treaty. However, M. Lally dropt fome of his haughtinefs, and, before he would rifque every thing to the event of arms, he endeavoured, by an embaffy of two officers and a prieft, to work upon the King's fears. In this embaffy he dropt the demand of Another the money: he only requested a free passage for demand of theFrench. his troops; and made a formal demand of the aid of his troops, by virtue of former treaties of alliance between them. The King abfolutely re-T 4 fuled

A. D.

fufed to join his troops for their affiftance. He confented to a paffage for their troops; but not by the road they afked: and he voluntarily agreed to make them a prefent of two lack and a half of rupees.

The officers returned with this anfwer: but the prieft remained in Tanjore, under the pretence of continuing the treaty: who, encouraged by the conceffion made by the King, demanded another audience, and then peremptorily demanded a paffage and his troops, and five lack of rupees. The King greatly furprized at the prieft's prefumption; and being informed that the French army kept advancing contrary to the tenor of all rules, when a treaty is on foot, he ordered the prieft to be difmiffed: and the French advanced guard firing upon the town from two pieces of cannon, that fame night, there was a final ftop to all negociation.

besieged.

Tanjore

French force. What could not be accomplifhed by art, was now attempted by force. A train of 14 field pieces, and three of heavy cannon, befides 14 more ready at Trivalour, were placed in a battery before Tanjore; with an army of 2370 regulars, and a great number of difciplined Sepoys, to form the fiege. But the Tanjoreans were fpirited up by refentment. They were not difcouraged. Frequent fallies cut off fome Europeans and did the French confiderable damage; deftroyed fome convoys of provifions, and greatly interrupted their communication with Carical. On our part, Captain Caillaud had the good conduct and fuccefs to prevail

296

A. D. 1758. revail with Tondeman to affift, with all his force, gainft the French : part of which reinforced the arrison of Trichinopoly; and another part of his eons were employed in harraffing the enemy, nd intercepting their fupplies.

M. Lally's fituation was become desperate. It Desperate as equally as hazardous to retreat, as to remain of M. efore Tanjore : the country being covered with Lally. prces, to cut off his retreat, and the want of rovisions and other necessaries daily increasing in is camp. In this critical juncture we shall fee ne Frenchman unmasked. What they can't bring Refumes a bout by intrigue and ftratagem, nor effect by main negociaorce; the French fcruple not to attempt by breach f faith, and an open violation of treaty. An fficer of fome rank and quality, and a prieft, was ent to the King, with full powers to accommoate matters, and to remain hoftages for the perormance of what fhould be agreed by themfelves : nd they fo far managed for the French intereft. hat the King was prevailed upon to pay 50,000 upees in hand, and to promife four lack more. nd a fupply of 300 horfe and 1000 Colleries: on ondition that the French army fhould break up. nd remove from before the town. But M. Laly, shewing no dispositions for the performance of is part of the treaty, the King of Tanjore deained the hoftages. M. Lally then promifed to aife the fiege, provided the King would immeliately fend the reinforcement he had promifed ; nd that he should detain the hostages, till the French army was removed three days march from the

A. D. 1758.

A. D. the place. But it is certain that M. Lally had no 1758. thoughts of leaving Tanjore, and that he was Breaks his fully bent upon gaining that city, either by force agreement.

or by any other means. For, he was thus proffituting the facred faith of treaties, to impofe his illegitimate policy upon the Indian. While the hoftages were proclaiming nothing but peace and friendship within the walls, Lally was bringing up his heavy cannon, and erecting batteries. So that when the King had ordered 50, of the 200 horfemen intended by agreement, to march into the French camp, M. Lally, being prepared to batter in breach, pretended that this was a breach of the treaty, and put an end to all negociation, by ordering those 50 horsemen under confinement. and firing fo furioufly on the town, that a confiderable breach was foon made.

Isattacked. Such perfidy could not escape its due reward. The Tanjoreans determined to try the fate of a general fally on the 9th of August. They at once attacked the French camp and batteries, killed about one hundred Europeans, took one gun, one tumbril of ammunition, two elephants and fome horfe, and blew up four tumbrils of am-Forced to munition. The French general dreading the confequences of fuch another fally, and having loft most of his ammunition, spiked up his guns upon the batteries, and retreated with all his forces, in the night, to Carical, with fuch caution, that their flight was not known in the city, till discovered by the returning light of the morning. The Tanjoreans, flushed with fuccess, and fpurred

fly.

THE LATE WAR.

fpurred with refentment, purfued and took fifty A. D. men, two pieces of cannon and two mortars. The reft got into Trivalour; thence to Carical, and, as foon as opportunity ferved, M. Lally To Pondicherry. fneaked away with his fhattered remains to Pondicherry; where he met M. Soupire, whom he had detached with the troops left at Davecotah.

The Tanjore country being thus delivered from the French, and Captain (now Major) Caillaud at liberty to repair to his order at Madras ", marched from Trichinopoly with two hundred and fifty men, and embarked on board the squadron at Negapatam. They landed at Madras on the 25th of September, and the admiral being obliged, by the approach of the feafon, to repair to Bombay, he left a captain and lieutenant, with 103 marines, to reinforce the garrifon. Many other measures were taken for the security of Madras. Several bodies of auxiliaries were follicited from Isouf Cawn, Morarow, the King of Tanjore, Tondeman and the other Polygars in that part of the country. But the French did not make any visible dispositions for the attack of this fettlement, till very late in the year; employing their arms in the reduction of Arcot, Tripasfore, Conjeveram, and in preparations against the important post . of Chengalaput; but their designs

* The French having abandoned Seringham, Captain Caillaud took poffession of that place before he left Trichinopoly.

• It covers all the countries on this fide the Pollar: and when in the pofferfion of an enemy, would open a way into our limits, encourage deferters from our garrifon, and prevent fupplies of fire wood, grain and other provisions for the town.

againft

A. D. 1758.

300

against this place, though they advanced with an army of about 400 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and five pieces of cannon, were fruftrated by placing a garrifon of nine companies of Sepoys, twelve gunners, and feventy Europeans; ftrength fufficient to refift a fudden affault, or a coup de main : and it was not confiftent with the French intereft to bring up their whole army and heavy artillery before fuch a place, which might be attended with an expence and lofs of time deftructive of their grand object. Thus ftood affairs between the English and the French in the East Indies, in the beginning of December, when M. Lally marched against Madras, where we shall leave the belligerants, dealing in the flaughterhouse of destruction till the 17th of Feb. 1759.

But we must not yet repais the line. There ftill remains a scene of blood, and a favourable expedition in Golconda. As M. Lally was invested with a supreme power over his countrymen in these climates, he ordered M. de Buffy and Expedition M. Moracin, who were tyrannizing in the country against the of Golconda, to join him, with part of their Golconda. forces, in the expedition against Fort St. George; and to leave the command of the other part of the army with the Marquis de Conflans, at Maffulipatam. M. Buffy being withdrawn, and the country heartily vexed with the French yoke, the Raja of Visanapore marched with 3000 men to Vizagapatam, imprisoned the French chief, plucked down the French colours, hoisted English colours, and plundered the factory.

M. de Conflans refolved to punifh this infult, by reducing the Raja, and taking Vifanapore, his capital. For which purpole he marched with his army from Maffulipatam. The Raja, diffident of his own ftrength, follicited aid from Calcutta. He informed Colonel Clive of the ftate of the French forces; of what he had already done; of the univerfal hatred of the country towards the French; of their defire to come under the protection of the Englifh; and affured him, that a fmall aid of Europeans would enable him to drive the French quite out of those parts.

The application of the Indian prince was laid before the council by the colonel, after he had weighed every part of the plan with coolnefs and found judgment. The council did not receive it The diffiwith any countenance. They looked upon it to culties it met with in be a hazardous enterprize, and fubject to fatal council. confequences, in cafe of a mifcarriage. But the colonel confidered this plan in a more general view. He had often feen an army of French flying before a handful of English, on the coast of Coromandel, and he judged rightly, that fuch an event, which was more than probable, would greatly contribute to the prefervation of Madras. Poffeffed with these hopes, and animated by ex-Advised perience, the brave colonel, preferring the public by Colonel good to any private views of advantage, which Clive. would arife to himfelf by a large command, never defifted till he brought the council into his measures, to rifque something for the security of Madras; and proposed to detach two thirds of his force

A. D. 1758.

force to prevent M. Conflans marching to rein-A. D. 1758. force M. Lally; who, after the reduction of Madras, would have had it greatly in his power alfo, to ruin our interest and fettlements in Bengal P.

Forces employed.

302

Under Colonel Forde.

torce

The fuccours being agreed upon : five hundred Europeans, including a company of artillery, fix hundred Sepoys, fix flout fix pounders and a howitzer, for the field artillery; four twenty-four pounders, four eighteen pounders; one eight inch mortar and two royal mortars, for a battering train, were detached under the command of Colonel Forde, with the greatest expedition; embarked on the 12th of October, and on the 20th they arrived at Vizagapatam; where the colonel met with Mr. Johnstone, who had been fent to the Raja, with advice of the refolutions taken by the council, and of the failing of the forces to his Strength of affistance. Mr. Johnstone brought him the difthe French. agreeable news, That the French were much ftronger than had been reprefented, confifting of

about 600 Europeans, between 5 and 6000 Sepoys, and many country forces, encamped on

P At this very time the Shaw Zadah was preparing to march against the Soubach, our ally in Bengal, and it was necessary for all our fettlements in those parts, to lead an European force to repulse him. Therefore it should be noted, That had M. Lally fucceeded at Madrafs, the fuperiority of our fleet would have been no fecurity to Bengal; and our victorious troops at Patna might have experienced a fatal reverse of fortune, by finding themfelves cut off from all poffibility of a return, it being nearer by land to Calcutta, from those parts of Golconda, which were possefield by the French, than it is from Patna to that fettlement.

this fide Raja-mundry river, at the diftance of A. D. 120 miles from Vizagapatam; and that the Raja's army did not exceed 4000 men, encamped about thirty miles from the fame port. However, English and In-Colonel Forde landed his troops, and made the dians unitbest provision he could, in fuch a country, for ^{ed.} their march, and joined the Raja's army on the 3d of the next month.

The united armies marched in queft of the March in French for fome days, when Mr. Andrews, the queft of the enemy. company's agent and chief at Vizagapatam,' together with Captain Callinder, and fome other fervants of the company, joined the army 9. They were introduced to the Raja by Colonel Forde, and after paying their address in form, Mr. Andrews remained to fee the agreement between the company and the Raja executed. By which the Raja's a-Raja confented to pay the extra-expence of our with the army during the time they should act together, English. allowing the officers double batty, which was to be paid, when he should be put in possession of Raja-mundry, a large town and fort, then in poffeffion of the French. And in regard to the conquests that might be made, it was stipulated, That all the inland country, taken from the allies of France, and at prefent in arms, should be given to the Raja : but that all the conquered feacoaft, from Vizagapatam to Maffulipatam, &c. fhould remain in the poffeffion of the company.

The enemy was encamped very ftrongly, with Enemy's 500 Europeans, 8000 Sepoys, a great number of frength.

9 On the 15th.

country

A. D. 1758.

304

Attempts to draw them out of their entrenchments.

The Engto get round the enemy.

M. Conflans's at-English camp.

11400

country forces, 36 pieces of cannon, and fome mortars, near the village of Tallapool, about 40 miles from Raja-mundry. The allied army got fight of them on the 3d of December, and on the 6th Colonel Forde marched nearer to the enemy's camp, and gained an eminence at about three miles from it. But the French shewed no inclination to rifk a battle: and it was not prudent to attack them in their prefent fituation. Therefore Colonel Forde proposed a motion of his troops, which would either draw them out of their camp, or get between them and Raja-mundry. Accordingly, it was agreed with the Raja. and orders were iffued, late at night, for the army to march at half paft four in the morning, without beat of drum, or any other noife whatever. Our army struck their tents, and marched at the lish march hour, and in the manner appointed; but the Raja's forces loitered, and were left on the ground, and disconcerted the whole plan. For, M. de Conflans being informed, the night before, by a detack of the ferter, that our troops were raw and undifciplined, and that he could guide the enemy to the most convenient place to annoy us, got all his troops under arms at one o'clock in the morning, and detached a large party, under the conduct of the deferter, with fix pieces of cannon, to cannonade our camp; which the French, not informed of our march, began a little before day.

The Raja's forces, by this incident, were greatly exposed : and our men were obliged to return to al grings their affiftance, and to bring them off. Which

being

THE LATE WAR.

being done, they marched together to Golapool, and halted on a fmall plain about three miles from their encampment. But when Conflans found that our army was marched off, and had got a true account of our motions, he foon penetrated into the colonel's intention to fteal a march round him : which he must prevent at all events. There- His order fore Conflans immediately ordered his troops in a of battle. line of march towards us, and kept between our army and his own camp. Which orders were fo well effected, that in about half an hour after halting, as above, our men difcovered the enemy's Sepoys, then the whole line, about three quarters of a mile off on our left flank : and, in a few minutes, all their force closed and moved down towards us, in good order.

The Indians had not yet recovered their fright; Colonel Forde's orand were in fome confusion, at the fight of the der of batadvancing enemy. However, Colonel Forde, to tle. make the best of a bad market, prevailed with the Raja to give up the whole command of his troops to him. And about nine he formed the line, with the Indians, armed with fire-locks, on the right and left of the Sepoys in each wing; because the enemy's line extended much further than ours; and with a fmall body of European deferters, and four pieces of cannon, under Captain Briftol, an European in the Raja's fervice, together with our artillery, on the left of the battalion.

About ten o'clock, the enemy began a can-French benonade, which was returned, and continued very gin to can-VOL. III. brifkly U

0 -

A. D. 1758.

A. D 1758. brifkly for forty minutes, on both fides; when the French, miftaking our battalion of Sepoys, dreffed in red cloth jackets, for Europeans, their battalion and right wing of Sepoys, with a body of horfe, endeavoured to fall upon our left flank. The Sepoys returned their fire pretty fmartly, but fell into fome confusion, and gave way, as the enemy advanced.

Colonel Forde attacks.

> Gains the victory.

Colonel Forde, taking the advantage of the enemy's miftake, ordered the European battalion to make a quarter-wheel, as quick as poffible. Which was done with that expedition, that they made their proper front, were ready to give them their whole fire, as they advanced clofe, and, after a very great flaughter, advanced with three huzzas, and pushed them with bayonets fixed, feconded with a fmart fire of grape-fhot from the cannon; before the enemy had time to recover themfelves: which threw them into confusion, and fo animated our Sepoys, in the left wing, who had before given way, that they returned to the charge : and they in the right wing behaved with uncommon refolution, and foon made the enemy's black forces, on the left, give ground. So that about eleven o'clock the retreat of the enemy became general. Had the Raja's horfe, about 500 in all, taken the purfuit, scarce a Frenchman would have escaped. But the Raja's troops in general, except the deferters, commanded by Captain Briftol, could not be prevailed upon to advance a foot beyond our European battalion, and had diverted themselves, during

THE LATE WAR.

during the whole action, with looking on, and A.D. firing a few rockets, and in plundering.

We had forty-four Europeans killed and wound-Loss of ed, including two captains and two lieutenants: both fides. the French had 156 killed and wounded, including officers. But great numbers of the black forces fell on both fides.

There was a faint appearance of a refolution to Purfue the rally at their camp: but our troops purfued them fo clofely, that they difperfed in fmall bodies; made the beft of their way to Raja-mundry, and Their lofs of bagabandoned their camp, baggage, ammunition, ord-gage, &c, nance, tents and equipage; all which fell into our poffeffion; the enemy having faved nothing, but four fmall field-pieces and two camels loaded with money and papers, which their general had fent off to Raja-mundry, as foon as he firft perceived the diforder of his army.

Our army halted in the French camp, to refresh themselves, and to bring the wounded in the best carriages they could procure from the sield of battle. The French officers made prisoners were permitted to go on their paroles, with our sick and wounded, to Cockanara, a Dutch settlement, about twenty miles from the sield of battle.

A detachment of the first battalion of Sepoys was ordered, under Captain Knox, to pursue the enemy that evening, as far as Raja-mundry: and he was, next day, reinforced with two battalions of Sepoys, under Captain Maclean. They being j oined, came upon the enemy in the dusk of the evening. The Sepoys threw down their

U 2

arms

arms and dispersed: the Europeans took to their A. D. 1758. boats; of whom fifteen were made prifoners, and

Raja-mun- fome were killed. Captain Knox got possession of dry fur-renders. the Fort of Raja-mundry, and from thence fo effectually cannonaded the enemy a crofs the river, that they left the four field-pieces in the boats, on the opposite fide.

Its confequence.

Plunder

the fol-

diers.

308

Raja-mundry is a barrier and key to the Vizagapatam country: The French held it as their own property, in which they kept a flender garrifon and a governor. Our people found here more artillery, ammunition and ftores; about 500 bullocks, fome horfes and camels, and a good deal of rich furniture. The military flores were -kept for the company. But Colonel Forde fold fold by auction for every thing elfe by auction, and divided the produce amongst the foldiers, for their good behaviour. Thus ended the expedition to Golconda, as advifed by Colonel Clive, to the great advantage of our affairs in the East Indies, contrary to the opinion of the council at Calcutta.

> While our fleets and armies glorioufly triumphed over the enemy in Afia, Africa and America, except the lofs of Fort St. David, which was more owing to the ruinous condition of its fortifications, neglected by the company, than to any mifconduct of our officers, or want of courage in our men; the war in Europe was carried on with extreme vigour, both by fea and land.

The war in Germany.

200 The

It had been concerted to favour the operations in Germany, by a powerful diversion with our naval power, alarming, and, if poffible, making descents,

descents, and lodgments of a military force upon A. D. 1758. the coaft of France 9. Prince Ferdinand had Under made the best dispositions after the victory at Cre- Prince velt, and the reduction of Duffeldorp, to transfer Ferdinand. the feat of war into the enemy's country. But this could not be effected without fome means could be found to draw Prince de Soubize's army out of Germany, or to leave a sufficient strength to cover Heffe and Hanover from his enterprizes ; who had already wheeled off towards the Landgravate. However we shall fee prefently, that Soubize was too powerful for the Heffian forces, and that the French, though greatly embarraffed by our littoral war, which obliged them to act with more caution and lefs expedition in Germany, were not driven to the neceffity actually to recall their troops from thence; for it is certain, It's ufes. that both Soubize and Contades had provisional orders, to hold themfelves in readinefs to return into France upon the first notice. So far the allies were affifted, and our common interest with Germany was promoted by the expeditions against Cherbourg and St. Maloes.

This delign could not escape the French : and Measures taken by they could not push their arms, or, at least, make the French. a powerful ftand and effort towards Heffe and Hanover; they must have felt severely the fatal confequences of Prince Ferdinand's paffing the Rhine, and co-operating with our arms on the coaft of France. Therefore, their principal effort was to

statt and s See page 157, Vol. III. U 3

ALL AND

A. D. 1758.

310

be made on our weakest part. Instead of enabling M. Contades, with the addition of Prince de Soubize's army, to force the army of the allies, and to drive them back beyond the Rhine, and thereby risking the uncertain chance of a battle, that might expose their own country to certain ruin ; the French ministry, whose affairs were now guided by the experienced M. Duke de Bellisle, reinforced the army of M. Contades with draughts from the militia, fo as to maintain his ground, but not to come to an engagement; and directed the Prince de Soubize to open a way, at all adventures, into Heffe and Hanover; where the chance of fuccels was greatly in their favour; and where any fuccefs must certainly oblige Prince Ferdinand to give up his fcheme, of transferring the feat of war into France, and to employ his forces to cover the countries of the British allies,

In Heffe.

Prince Soubize executed his orders with the utmoft expedition : and though his vanguard happened to be repulfed by the Heffian militia ', he accomplifhed his purpofe by a detachment of 12,000 regulars, under the command of the Duke de Broglio, he himfelf bringing up the van with 18,000 more, to attack the Heffians, who every where fled before him, and were encamped in an advantageous fituation, between Caffel and Minden, near the village Sangerhaufen, to the number of 7000 regulars and irregulars, under the command of Prince de Yfemburg : which was the whole

* See p. 173. Vol. III.

ftrength

thrength, at that time, in the Landgravate of Heffe, capable of making any reliftance against an invader. Prince Yfemburg, confcious of his infufficient strength, and willing to gain as much time as poffible, in favour of the operations by Prince Ferdinand on the Rhine, would not have waited the arrival of the French army; neither was he inclined to rifk a battle, but was refolved to march off. But his troops, efpecially the militia, flushed with their late fuccefs, prefumed too much upon their own courage, held the enemy in too great contempt, and refused to ftir, without a further trial of their ftrength and courage.

Under these circumitances Prince Yfemburg made the best disposition he could, in such a situation. He drew up in order of battle, with his Advantright at a steep declivity or rock, towards the the Hefriver Fulda; his left reaching to, and covered by, fians under a wood, and occupying the fummit of the decli- Yfemvity. The advantage of the fituation of this little army, on whole fate io much depended, obliged Broglio to take his measures with the greatest precaution. He first secured the defiles at Cassel The battle and Sanderhaufen with a guard of 2500 men : and haufen. then drew up his army in this form; his infantry in the first line; his horse and dragoons in the second; and ten pieces of cannon, of the brigade of artillery, before his right, to annoy the Heffian troops, next the wood. Upon the approach of the French, the Heffian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's foot. The Duke de Broglio immediately lined a post of his foot, and through

burg: "

the

U4

A D. 1758.

A. D. the intervals made by this movement, a part of 1758. his horfe advanced, and charged the Heffian horfe; but they met with fo refolute a reception, that they were repulfed, and the infantry were in great dan-oni ger of being broke, had not the royal Bavier regiment faluted them with a volley, that brought most of them to the ground, and fo difabled the reft, that they never after appeared in this action. In the mean time M. de Walderen, Major-General, and M. Diesbach made a vigorous attack on the wood, with a brigade of Swifs and three com- I panies of grenadiers; but were feverely treated and obliged to fall back. The infantry of the Heffian right marched brifkly up to the French left; the fire was extreme hot on both fides. The Heffians were obliged to retreat about 100101 paces; they rallied under a declivity, and returning under its favour, which partly covered them; and they in their turn forced the enemy's left to give way; turned them, and endeavoured to get behind them. When the Duke de Broglio, con-nos vinced of his own danger, and of the neceffity of asder vigorous effort to inatch victory out of the hands of the Heffians, he first brought up the Apchon and dragoons, and the cavalry behind them, through a very brifk fire; and then he ordered three regiments of grenadiers to march up to the declivity, and to charge the enemy with their bayonets add fixed. So that numbers prevailed, and the brave defenders of their country were forced to give way and fly, after an action, that lasted full five hours.

Heffians defeated.

heavy

312 12

The

The Heffians took to the woods on the banks A. D. of the Fulda; and dispersed, as well as they could. 4758. The lofs They loft in the engagement 300 men prifoners, on both including 50 officers, amongst whom was the fides. Count de Caunitz, the second in command; an aid de camp to Prince Ysemburg, and several lieutenant-colonels and majors. The number flain and wounded were about 1500, including 300 that perished in the Fulda, endeavouring to fwim that river, which they entered from the declivity. They loft feven pieces of cannon on the field of battle; and eight at Munden, which they abandoned. On the part of the French, they had 1785 * men killed, and 1392 wounded. The Duke de Broglio, his aid de camp, and mafter of horfe, had each a horfe killed under him. This is faid to have been the most bloody action with the French during the war.

By this victory the French affumed to themfelves the poffeffion of the Wefer, and were in a condition to act, not only in Heffe, but in Weftphalia and Hanover, as they pleafed. Which entirely difconcerted Prince Ferdinand's plan of operations; who now had no refource, but either to bring the French to a battle, in hopes of victory, or to repafs the Rhine. But he had two great obftacles yet to overcome. He was retarded in the execution of neceffary measures by long and

• The French account fays only 785, but the Heffian account makes the lofs of the French in this action above 3000 killed and wounded.

heavy

A. D. 1758.

314

Prince Ferdi-Rhine.

heavy rains, that broke up the roads, over-flowed the banks of the rivers, and hindered his march. ing. And again, the French could not be brought to an engagement. So that when he received the nand's rea- news of Prince Yfemburg's defeat, and was infons for re- formed that the enemy was reinforcing the fortrefs of Gueldre, and feveral other pofts, capable of obstructing his convoys, and cutting off the fubfiftence of his army; and further, that unneceffary delays might furnish Prince de Soubize with an opportunity to intercept the troops, he expected at that juncture from England, his Highnefs refolved to march back over the Rhine.

Executed with fafety.

This refolution was carried into execution on the 8th of July, when the whole army moved nearer the Maefe, and encamped between Ruremond and Schwalm, with the head-quarters at Hellenrad. In this march the enemy shewed themfelves on our left, and took poffeffion of Bruggen. But Prince Ferdinand detached a party, that diflodged them, and made themfelves mafters of the town. There was no doubt of the enemy's moving towards us; but they fo covered their motions by the detachments of light troops, that very imperfect notions only could be formed of their real intention. The Prince supplied the want of intelligence by his own fagacity and penetration, and conducted his army fo dextroully that he fell in with the enemy, in his march to Dulcken, in the night between the 1ft and 2d of August.

M. Con-

M. Contades, who hitherto had carefully avoided A. D. an engagement, and little expecting to meet Prince M. Con-Ferdinand in his rout, retreated to his old camp tades'smoat Dalem, from whence he had marched, rather tions. than give battle: However, his Highness, not certain of the enemy's refolution, got his army under arms, early on the 3d in the morning, and made a motion for advancing towards the enemy. But they, by their motions, foon convinced him of their diflike to fight. They marched off with fpeed; and it being inconfistent with the present situation of the allies, to waste time in the pursuit of an enemy, that was determined not to fight, he marched forward to Watchtendonck, A skirmin an island furrounded by the Niers, not fortified, but at Watchof very difficult approach. The hereditary Prince of Brunfwick was ordered to force this post with the vanguard : and the rear was composed of Pruffians, under the Prince of Holftein. The Hereditary Prince found the bridge drawn up, at his approach, and to fave time in the purfuit of the guard, which drew it up, he entered the river. Some companies of grenadiers followed his example; and with bayonets fixed, they drove the enemy away, and fecured the bridges: over which the army paffed that evening. After this the army marched on the 4th to Rhineberg, without feeing a fingle troop of the enemy. But in the evening news M. deChewas brought that M. de Chevert had paffed the vert paffes Lippe, with twelve or fourteen battalions, and feveral squadrons, in all 12,000 men, in order to join the garrison of Wesel, and then to fall upon a corps 2

A. D. a corps of about 3000 men, encamped at Meer, ^{1758.} under Lieutenant-General Imhoff; who was ordered to guard a bridge Prince Ferdinand had thrown over at Rees.

To attack General Imhoff.

His Highnefs was convinced of the truth of this intelligence, and expected that Imhoff would be attacked next day: but it was not in his power to reinforce or to fupport him. His men were too much fatigued to begin another march, that fame evening; and the over-flowing of the Rhine had rendered the bridge at Rees impaffable. Therefore M. Imhoff had nothing to truft unto, but his own good conduct and the bravery of his troops, which had been fix battalions and four fquadrons; but were greatly reduced by feveral detachments made from them.

Agreeable to the intelligence received, (General Imhoff being returned to his advantageous poft at Meer, upon a report of the enemy's preparations to attack him) the advanced guards were no fooner pofted, but they found themfelves engaged with the enemy, who advanced from Wefel, under the command of Lieutenant General de Chevert, &c. with the whole corps of troops defigned to make the fiege of Duffeldorp.

His ftrong camp. General Imhoff's camp was covered in front by coppices and ditches, with a rifing ground on his right; from whence he could fee the whole force of the enemy, and pafs a found judgment on the nature of their march. He perceived that the enemy was not acquainted with the ground; and that they would be foon entangled in

in its difficulties. With this expectation he or-A. D. 1758. dered his infantry to advance about 200 paces from the first hedges : he took a regiment from to receive Prepared his right and placed it in the coppice, in order to the enemy. fall upon the naked left wing of the enemy, which NACTE OI he faw uncovered, and gave orders to the other regiments to march with drums beating, up to the enemy, as foon as they fhould hear the fire of the regiment posted in the coppice, and to attack them with bayonets fixed. The enemy en- The enetered the dangerous ground as expected; and Ge-feated. neral Imhoff's orders were executed by the whole fix battalions, with fuch impetuofity and effect. that, after a refiftance of about half an hour, the enemy was put into confusion; fled towards Wefel, and left on the fpot eleven pieces of cannon, Lofsand a great many waggons and other carriages. with ammunition '; befides 354 prifoners, amongft whom were eleven officers; 150 killed, and 200 wounded : whereas the killed and wounded in General Imhoff's corps did not exceed the enemy, who advanced from Weiel .nem 002

His Serene Highnefs waited this event with General great impatience; and as foon as informed of this inforced, glorious victory, over an enemy triple the number of the conquerors, he detached General Wangenheim, with feveral fquadrons and battalions. to reinforce General Imhoff, and to put him in a

t The confternation of the French was fo great, that they threw down their arms : and 2000 mufkets were gathered from the ground, over which they ran away.

condi-

A. D. 1758. condition to make the utmost advantage of a victory as complete, as it was glorious to the arms of Great Britain and her allies. The allied army then proceeded, with an intention to pass the Rhine at Rhineberg, but that river had been swelled fo prodigiously by the continual rains, that the shore was inaccessible both at Rhineberg and at Rees, which obliged them to throw a bridge over at Griethuysen.

This bridge was laid over between the 8th and the oth. The enemy, having advice of this expedient, and the detriment it was to the allies to be kept in this bad fituation, fent four boats of a particular conftruction, to deftroy it, from Wefel, on the morning of the 9th. But this was not done fo fecretly, as to efcape the knowledge of our commander in chief : who fent the armed veffels, he had on the river, to intercept them : which they punctually performed. So that, the whole army paffed that day, and the next, without the leaft interruption, having withdrawn the garrifon from Duffeldorp; which, on the 13th, paffed the Rhine at Wefel. Soon after General Imhoff, reinforced to eleven battalions and ten squadrons, marched to meet the troops, arrived from England by the way of Embden, under the Duke of Marlborough, and happily fucceeded in their junction at Coeffeldt.

Thus as the advantage gained by the Duke de Broglio, at Sanderhausen in Hesse, deprived Prince Ferdinand of the good effects he had in view from the battle of Crevelt: so the action at Meer, with the

Joins the British troops. the feafonable reinforcement of British troops, not only facilitated Prince Ferdinand's passage of the Rhine; but prevented any material advantages being drawn from the battle at Sandershaufen.

The allied army being united, their comman-Allied arder, fensible of the fatigues his troops had under- my quargone, by the unwholefomeness of the wet seafon, the Lippe, and continual fervice, judicioufly chofe fome excellent pofts upon the river Lippe, and there placed himfelf in a pofture of defence, to prevent the enemy's penetrating by that way into Hanover. At the fame time he provided for the fafety of that Electorate, and the Landgravate of Heffe Caffel, by placing Prince Yfemberg, with the remains of his army, recruited with the Heffian militia, in fuch a manner, as to protect the courfe of the Wefer. M. Contades, difpairing of a paf- Soubize's fage over the Lippe, reinforced Soubize to 30,000 forced. men, by detachments from the grand army; in order to force a passage over the Weser. Prince Ferdinand, aware of the enemy's intention, de- General tached General Oberg, with a reinforcement of Oberg fent 10,000 men, to Lipstadt, to be at hand and join his mothe Heffians, in cafe of need : and the motions of the French foon obliged him to join. General Oberg took the chief command of this army, which did not exceed 20,000, and encamped at the ftrong post of Sanderhaufen, upon the Fulda, trying every scheme to provoke the French to attack him in his trenches. But the Prince of Soubize could not be drawn into fo dangerous an attempt, though his army confifted of near 30,000 effective

320

quit his trong

wamp.

A. D. \$758.

effective men. However, the French army being reinforced on the 8th of October, gave ftrong indications of their refolution, at last, to enter into action. General Oberg was fenfible of the enemy's great superiority : but yet his advantageous fituation, near Sanderhausen, determined him to wait the iffue, in hopes of profiting by fome favourable motion. But those motions were defigned only to deceive him, and to deprive him of that advantageous fituation. With this intention, on the 9th in the morning, Prince Soubize left all his tents ftanding, and marched his whole army; and, after making different motions, he in the evening took poffeffion of the camp near Waldau. General Oberg, with his troops under arms, was in hopes of being attacked. But the motions of the enemy were made at a diftance, and upon eminences, divided by hollow ways; and, as the superiority of the French enabled the Prince of Soubize to fend a large detachment, to Obliged to get round the Heffians, by the road of Munden, which would have been of very dangerous consequence, General Oberg's care was to prevent being turned. ' This determined him to decamp; which he did at four next morning, with an intention to entrench himself behind Luttenburg. The French, having gained their point, which was, to diflodge him, let him march unmolefted : but when he was come to the ground for his encampment, they were at his heels, and Oberg was obliged to form his troops in order of battle; with his right to the Fulda, and his left to a

thicket

thicket upon a rifing ground, defended by five fixpounders. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line : his rear was covered by the village of Luttenberg, and by a ftrong rifing ground furnished with four twelve pounders.

The French army kept a brifk cannonade while Oberg's army was forming; but with very little effect. A confiderable body of the enemy filed Their form of off at a diftance from his left, as if they intended battle. to get poffession of a wood on a hill, and fo take the Heffians in flank and rear, or pass by to Munden : but our hunters met with them and routed them. The French pushed forward still more troops, till they posted their left towards the Fulde, and their right far beyond Oberg's left, with upwards of 30 pieces of cannon in their front. adar Varati

General Oberg did all, that any one in his circumftances could do, to oppose the enemy in every part : and it was now four in the afternoon before the French made the attack in form. They began Battles with a very brifk cannonading; which did little execution : being badly fituated. At the fame instant, they fell upon Major General Zastrow, with their first line of infantry; which General Zastrow. attacked with the bayonet and routed. But these brave fellows were broke, in a moment, by the French cavalry, that took them in front and flank. The cavalry were then attacked by Oberg's cavalry, with advantage, till they were forced to yield to numbers. The French infantry, that had not been engaged, came on: which obliged the remains of the heffians to retreat. The French then VOL. III. X

321 A. D.

1758.

·A. D. 1758.

322

General Oberg retreats.

then came out almost upon the back of General Oberg's first line; and placed their cannon, at the fame time, that all the reft of their army was moving forward. The moment was critical: there was no view of fuccefs; and the only minute for a fafe retreat was the present. The general, who had constantly given his directions with admirable composure, feized the opportunity; commanded a retreat, which was made with tolerable good order, quite up to the wood, where the defile, which leads to Munden, begins.

Had the French pushed with their great superiority in cavalry, the pursuit might have been fatal. But they only continued the fire of their artillery; which, though it was very brifkly brought on by the Duke de Broglio, did no confiderable damage; except overthrowing fome artillery and waggons.

Evacuates Munden.

General Oberg paffed by Munden, at midnight; withdrew the garrifon; encamped on the plain near Grupen, on the other fide the Wefer; and next morning, (the 11th) marched to the camp near Guntersheim, without molestation. The French in all their motions had difcovered their defire to make themfelves mafters of Munden : which town they now found evacuated ; and they took poffeffion of it without opposition, tho' it had coft them much blood to get to it : but the feafon was too far advanced for them to reap any confiderable advantages further from this victory. Intentions However, it was evident, that the diffrefs of Hanover was their chief point in view. M. Soubize ravaged

of the French.

ravaged the country and raifed heavy contributions; retook Gottingen, and penetrated almost to the walls of Hamelen; which alarmed the regency of Hanover, who fent orders to the governor to open the fluices, and prepare for a vigorous defence; and, being afraid of the confequences, they once more fent away the archives, and other state papers, &c. from the capital to Stade.

In the mean time Captain Scheiter, with 500 Skirmifhes horfe, swam over the Lippe, fell upon a party of Lippe. 160 French horfe, took fome prifoners and totally defeated the reft. He then proceeded towards Wefel, feized a convoy of 30 waggons with flour and wine, and 100 oxen, without the lofs of a mian; tho' fired at from the ramparts of Wefel.

The defeat of General Oberg finished the campaign on this fide of Germany: and had it not been for the vigilance and wife dispositions of Prince Ferdinand, it might have been more favourable to the French. For they, who had been, French, in the beginning of the year, driven by the allies mafters of the Rhine. out of Hanover, Heffe, Westphalia, and back over the Rhine, were now mafters of both fides of the Rhine, in poffeffion of Caffel and Munden. threatning the gates of Hanover, and in a condition to penetrate into Westphalia; where they eftablished their winter quarters. Prince Ferdi-Prince nand fixed his head quarters at Munfter, and dif-Ferdinand goes into posed of his army in the landgravate of Heffe, winter quarters at and in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, Munster, and Heldesheim; the feverity of the season not permitting any attempt to be made upon the French X 2 after

1911

A. D. 1758.

323.

324 A. D.

after the junction of the British troops : whole 1758. commander in chief, the Duke of Marlborough, died of a dysentery, at Munster, a distemper contracted by the unwholfomeness of the climate, and by the fatigues, to which he had never been accuftomed.

Wife difposition of Prince Ferdinand.

ftroy the

in Heffe,

Sic.

But we must not finish this account without doing justice to the great generalship, shewn, on this occasion, by Prince Ferdinand. Had not his forefight established a ready communication of his troops all along the Lippe, the defeat of Oberg might have been fatal to the caufe of the allies : but this wife difposition of his army, prevented the advantage, which otherwife the French might have gained by that victory. His Serene Highnels, upon the first advice of the difaster, marched with the utmost diligence towards Rheda, and, having ordered Prince Yfemberg to fall back, joined his troops; and thereby he covered the Wefer, without lofing any thing on the fide of the Rhine. For, though the electorate of Hanover was fomewhat exposed by these movements; he knew the ftrength and polition of the enemy fo perfectly well, that he was under no fort of apprehenfion, that they could be able to make any establishment in it; nor act farther, than the damage, that might be done by their light troops; who were provided, by direction from their court, French de- to run all rifks, fo that they carried off, or deforage and stroyed, all the provisions and forage in the highprovisions er Lippe, about Paderborn and Warfbourg, in all Westphalia and Heffe, from Lipstadt and Mon-

fter,

A. D. 1758.

325

fter, as far as the Rhine; and from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Caffel; as you'll find particularly commanded and defcribed by M. de Belleifle's letters in the margin "; in order to prevent

" The Marshal Duc de Belleisse to Marshal Contades, dated Verfailles, July 23, 1758, in which there is the following passage :

" I am still afraid that Fischer fets out too late: it is, however, very important, and very effential, that we should raife large contributions. I fee no other refource for our most urgent expences, and for refitting the troops, but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we muft likewife procure fubfistence of all kinds, (independently of the money) that is to fay, hay, ftraw, oats, for the winter, bread, corn, cattle, horfes, and even men, to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged, and perhaps it may be neceffary, according to the events which may happen, between this time and the end of September, to make a downright defart before the line of the quarters, which it may be thought proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impoffibility of approaching us : at the fame time referving for ourfelves a bare fubfiftence on the rout. which may be the most convenient for us to take, in the middle of winter, to beat up, or feize upon the enemy's quarters That this object may be fulfilled, I caufe the greatest affiduity to be used, in preparing what is necessary for having all your troops, without exception, well cloathed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted, in every refpect, before the end of November, with new tents, in order that, if it shall be advifeable for the King's political and military affairs, you may be well able to affemble the whole, or part of your army, to act offenfively, and with vigour, from the beginning of January; and that you may have the fatisfaction to fhew your enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act, and carry on war, in all feafons, when they have fuch a ge-X 3 neral

A. D. prevent Prince Ferdinand's return to the Rhine, ^{1758.} or the Lohn, in the beginning of next campaign,

and

part

neral as you are, and a minister of the department of war, that can foresee, and concert matters with the general.

You must be fensible, Sir, that what I fay to you may become not only useful and honourable, but perhaps even neceffary, with respect to what you know, and of which I shall fay more in my private letter.

M. DUC DE BELLEISLE.

This was not the only letter among them, wherein directions were given for making a downright defert of the countries, for it appears by a letter dated in September following, (1758) as follows:

" You must, at any rate, consume all fort of sublistence on the higher Lippe, in the neighbourhood of Paderborn, and in the country which lies betwixt the Lippe, Paderborn, and Warfbourg; this will be fo much fubfiftence taken from the enemy from this day to the end of October. That you muft deftroy every thing which you cannot confume, fo as to make a defert of all Westphalia, from Lipstadt and Munster, as far as the Rhine, on one hand, and on the other, from the higher Lippe and Paderborn, as far as Caffel; that the enemy may find it quite impracticable to direct their march to the Rhine, or to the lower Roer; and this with regard to your army, and with regard to the army under Monf. de Soubife, that they may not have it in their power to take poffeffion of Caffel, and much lefs to march to Marpourg, or to the quarters which he will have along the Lohn, or to those which you will occupy, from the lower part of the left fide of the Roer, and on the right fide of the Rhine as far as Duffeldorp, and at Cologne."

In another, dated October 5, is the following paffage: "What makes it the more neceffary to reduce all Westphalia to a defert, is, that we have certain advice, that the King of Prussia has formed a project, which has been approved of by the King of England, for carrying on the war during a great

A. D. 1758.

327

and to keep their own quarters undifturbed during the winter .- This was a most barbarous and deteftable

pant of the winter, believing that this will be the fureft means of diffreffing us; and people are now actually employed at Hamburgh, and in all the great towns, in making great coats, light boots, gloves, caps, and calots for their troops. But if, after all these precautions, they shall be obliged to carry their forage from the lower Wefer by land, in order to attack our quarters on the lower part of the Roer and on the Rhine, they will never be able to fucceed in it, because of the impracticability of the roads at that feason of the year, and of the length of the way : they will therefore have no refource left but the lower Rhine, and even there they must go upon the canals and territories of Holland. I make no doubt of your being able to raife fufficient obflacles against any fuch attempt, and that you will take all the necessary precautions for that purpofe."

And in a third, (October 30) there is the following : "You know the neceffity of confuming, or deftroying, as far as posible, all the subsistence, especially the forage, betwixt the Wefer and the Rhine, on the one hand : and on the other, betwixt the Lippe, the bishopric of Paderborn, the Dymel, the Fulda, and the Nerra; and fo to make a defert of Westphalia and Heffe."

A paragraph in another letter is worded still stronger, as follows: " The upper part of the Lippe, and the country of Paderborn, are the most fertile, and the most plentiful; they must, therefore, be eat up to the very roots : and as Mons. de Soubife, for the reasons above-mentioned, neither must, nor ought, to follow the enemy into the country of Hanover, he will probably only keep with him what troops are neceffary for the fecurity of Caffel."

And in another part of the fame letter, he fays, " I fee Prince Ferdinand is at Munster: I am told, that he has ordered the magazines at Ofnabruck to be brought there. It will be very vexatious, if he should be able to maintain so great a quarter

A. D. 1758.

328

Affairs of Pruffia.

Ruffians march againft Cuftrin. Cuftrin defcribed.

detestable refolution in an enemy, that cries up their own humanity and politenefs on all occafions ! However, the gallant young general, that commanded the allies, penetrated into this ruinous fecret alfo, and took his measures fo effectually, that defeated a great part of their infamous scheme, We left the King of Pruffia in the enjoyment of fome advantages " after his raifing the fiege of Olmutz, and preparing to transfer the feat of war from Moravia into Bohemia. But he was foon deprived of that advantage by the Ruffans, who, after feveral months marching and counter-marching through Poland and Pruffia, in which they committed exceffes of violence and cruelty, to the difgrace of human nature, fat down, with 90,000 men, and a formidable train of artillery, to befiege Cultrin, a little town on the Elb, almost without fortifications, though the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburgh, fituate at the influx of the river Warte into the Oder, three German miles from Franckfort : which are the principal passages from the New into the Middle Marche. But its fituation is naturally ftrong : for the river Warte incloses one part thereof, till it falls into the Oder; and the Oder incloses almost the other part. The other avenues are encompassed by broad moraffes : and from its long fuburb there is

quarter, fo near you. This is one reafon more for depriving him of all other means, by wafting the country, efpecially what lies betwixt the Lippe and the Roer, and all that is in the country of La Marck and Waldeck."

* See page 156, Vol. III.

no other road to the city, but over a caufe way, three quarters of a German mile in length, with 52 bridges over the moraffes. Its chief artificial ftrength confifts in a bridge over the Oder, defended by a battery, and a well built caftle. The garrifon confifted of no more than one battalion of regulars, one battalion of militia, two companies of invalids, and about 100 huffars.

The first appearance of the Ruffians before this Ruffians city, was on the 13th of August, at three in the appear before Cuafternoon. This was a body of their huffars and strin. coffacks. The piquet guard in the fuburb was Skirmish. immediately augmented to about 300 men, who were soon attacked by the enemy: which skirmish lasted from four till seven in the evening; when the enemy retired; and the garrison broke down the bridge over the Oder.

Count Dohna, who commanded the Pruffian Garrifon army encamped near Frankfort on the Oder, bereinforced. ing applied to by the governor of Cuffrin, detached a reinforcement of four battalions of infantry, ten fquadrons of dragoons, and a fmall body of huffars, under Lieutenant-General Schorlemmer; who arrived next day. The huffars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet in the little fuburb, and the four battalions of grenadiers encamped on the Anger, between the fuburb and the fortification: the remainder of the ten fquadrons of dragoons encamped in the fields, to cover the long fuburb. At the fame time, there arrived Colonel Schack, with the commiffion of governor,

329

A. D. 1578.

A. D. 1758.

330

governor, or commander in chief, in cafe of a fiege.

There was little or no appearance of an enemy on the 14th, except a party of Coffacks, who purfued Gen. Schorlemmer and Governor Schack, quite up to the city gates, as they went with a small City bom- party to reconnoitre the enemy: but on the 15th in the morning, between four and five o'clock, the citizens were awakened and terrified by the noife and fhrieks of the huffars and coffacks, intermixed with cannon ball. As the enemy's troops advanced and took their flations, and brought their batteries to bear, the Pruffians, the piquet guard, huffars, dragoons, &c. were obliged to retire into the city, or wherever they could beft provide for their own fafety. Having no other object to combate than the town; the Ruffians, in lefs than half an hour after the battalions had retired from the Anger, threw fuch a multitude of bombs and red hot fhot into the city, that it was on fire in feveral parts, and burnt with fuch fury at nine o'clock, that there was no extinguishing the flames in the narrow ftreets; and the element appeared to rain and hail fire : which drove the inhabitants to feek for protection and fafety in the Diffress of open fields. The houses tumbled on all fides. Every body that could creep, got out of the town as fast as possible; and the crowd of naked, and in the higheft degree wretched people, was vaftly

barded.

On fire.

the inhabitants.

great, without diftinction of perfons : fome few with horfes and carriages, others with fick and bed-ridden upon their backs, thought themfelves happy,

happy, if they could escape the showers of bombs, cannon balls, and red hot bullets.

Not only the inhabitants, but many thousand ftrangers, from the open country and defencelefs towns in Pruffia, Pomerania, and the New Marche, that had fled here with their valuable effects, when the Ruffians entered the Pruffian territories in hopes of a fafe retreat, were now made most miferable, and reduced from opulent fortunes, to beggary. On the roads, nothing was feen but mifery : nothing heard, but cries and lamentations, enough to move ftones; as nobody knew where to get a morfel of bread, nor what to do for further fubfistence. The neighbouring towns and villages were foon filled with the most deplorable objects of diffres. Within, the great magazine, Houses, &c; the governor's houfe, the church, the palace, the burnt. ftore and artillery houses; in a word, the old and new town, the fuburbs and the great bridge over the Oder, as well as all the others, were reduced to ashes: The inhabitants, many perished in the flames, knocked on the head under the ruins, or were fuffocated in the vaults and fubterraneous caverns, where they, in their fright, fought for fafety. The public records or archives of the flate were destroyed, and a prodigious quantity of corn and flour was confumed in the conflagration. The fire was fo furious, that the cannon in the ftore and artillery houses were all melted : and the loaded bombs; the cartridges for cannon and mufkets, a large quantity of powder and other combustables went off, at once, with a horrible explosion.

331 A. D.

1758.

332

A. D. 1758.

ty of the

enemy.

-A spectacle so terrible, that no history can furnish a like example, except the destruction of Ie-Inhumani- rusalem. What is more inhuman, the enemy's fury was vented entirely upon the innocent inhabitants: for they did not begin to batter the fortifications, except a few shot, till the 17th, when the reft were all deftroyed. But what could be expected from an enemy, that had difgraced the name of human creatures in all their previous operations x.

> * What colour can the Russians give to their burning the villages of Zorndorff, Zicher, Wilkersdorf, Blumberg, Kutsdorf, Quartschen, and Birckenbusch, all which were in flames at the fame time, and of which the greatest part of the inhabitants were, fome killed, and others thrown into the flames. The public hath already been informed of the cruelties committed last June, by General Demikow, in Pomerania, and the New Marche. Above an hundred towns or villages were pillaged, and many women carried off and ravished. The Ruffians also fet fire to the village of Furstgnau, and killed the farmer's wife : Vorbruch, and the fuburb of Driefen, were likewife reduced to afhes. In the beginning of July, they pillaged the town of Friedeburgh, burnt the mill of Altenflies, and murdered the gardener of the bailiwick of Driefen. On the approach of the Pruffians, they turned the environs of Custrin into a defart, burnt the feven villages abovementioned, killed the farmer of Tamfel, and at Blumberg and Camin maffacred many peafants, and even infants with their mothers, whofe mutilated bodies were found in the houses and barns. The churches have not been spared; they opened even graves and vaults, to strip the dead ; which they did, particularly, at Camin and Birckholtz, where they flript the bodies of General Schladerndorf and General Ruitz, who were buried there. It will not be thought ftrange, that the name of barbarians fhould be given to perfons capable of fuch cruelties.

His Pruffian Majefty could not remain indiffe-A. D. rent on this occalion : and though he had all the - reason in the world to flatter himself with the King of Pruffia hopes of fuccefs in Bohemia, where he had occu-marches against the pied the post of Nuchod, by his Lieutenant Ge-Russians. neral Fouquet; and, in perfon, had driven General Laudhon from Oppotichau, and had obliged Count Daun to fortify himfelf on the hills of Libischau, he could not deny his faithful and brave garrison of Custrin his immediate affistance. He left his camp at Konigfgratz, and after fome fkirmifhes, wherein he loft General Saldern and Colonel Blanckenburg, who were killed by the Pandours, at the first discharge, as they retreated from the fuburbs of Konigfgratz ; he, on the oth of August, encamped at Landshut, and from thence proceeded with a detachment, in order to join the army at Franckfort under Count Dohna, where he arrived on the 22d; the garrifon of Cuftrin ftill holding out against the mighty army and inceffant fire of the Ruffians, without having a hovel to cover their heads from the heat of the day or the heat of action .- His Majefty's forces being joined, they were ordered to march at ten o'clock the fame night, and next day he paffed the Oder, by a bridge thrown over at Gatavife, and he took up his quarters at Golaffan. Here he refted his army till one o'clock next day at noon, and proceeded to Dirmitzel; where he encamped and made the neceffary dispositions for attacking the enemy next day.

1758.

On

On the 25th the Pruffian army marched in four A. D. 1758. columns, three of infantry, and one of cavalry; the van-guard confifted of ten battalions, com-Advanceth manded by Lieutenant-General Mantuffell. He towardsthe endeavoured, by this march, to wind round the enemy's enemy's left flank : fo that, having paffed the camp. fmall river Mitzel, he filed off by the foreft of Maffin, and the village of Bazels, into the plain; where both infantry and cavalry, fpread themfelves on the left flank, till they arrived at Zorndorff, on the back of the enemy; who had broke up the fiege of Cuftrin, and drawn up their army on a narrow ground, in four lines; forming a front on every fide, and furrounded with cannon and chevaux de frize. His Majesty arrived, in the prefence of the enemy, at eight o'clock in the morning, and immediately formed

Refentment of th Pruffian foldiery.

334

every place, through which they marched, ardently wifhed for the opportunity to engage, and to avenge their countrymen of fuch cruel enemies. They looked upon their prefent fervice to be, in the ftricteft fenfe, fighting for their country; and that nothing but victory could deliver it from one of the fevereft fcourges, with which Providence did ever chaftife a nation. Even the exiftence of the Pruffian crown depended on the fortune of the day. By thefe means the foldiers, nay the King himfelf, might be faid to have been exafperated to a pitch of military enthufiafm : and in this

in order of battle; his troops, exafperated at the fight of fo many marks of Ruffian cruelty in this enthuliastic rage they began and fought the A.D. most bloody conflict during the whole war.

The action begun at nine o'clock in the morn- The battle begun. ing (the 25th) near the village of Zorndorff, and lasted till feven at night. The fire of the artillery was inexpressible; for two hours, at least, the Pruffian artillery rained on the Ruffians like flowers from the heavens. Amidst this furious cannonade, The fury the most dreadful that ever man beheld, the Russians of the Prussians, of the ftood undaunted. The Muscovite infantry were attacked first, with an impetuofity enough to ftagger the bravest veterans of any civilized nation: but they flood like images: they fell in their ranks, and new regiments preffed forward to fupply new flaughter. They were fo infenfible The intreof danger, or indifferent, as to their own parti- pidity of cular fate, that when the first line had fired away fians. all their cartridges, they obfinately flood in that defenceless condition, to be shot at, like marks If this may be called refiftance; the Ruffian infantry must be allowed to have made a very great refistance; and that the only way to gain a victory over fuch troops, was to deftroy them. The flaughter, in courfe, became very great : but their army was numerous; fresh bodies continually prefented themfelves, and made the most vigorous efforts: and if they, who are fatigued, can be faid to give way, it is certain that the Pruffian infantry were fo fatigued with the work of carnage, that, at length, they gave way, even fo far as to make the action doubtful on the Pruffian left; till General Seidlitz, who commanded the Pruffian

A. D. 1758.

Their cavalry routed.

fian cavalry, feeing them flag and faint, and the Ruffian cavalry of their right wing endeavouring to improve the advantage, threw himfelf into the chaim, at the head of his own regiment of guardes du corps, and the gend-arms; routed the Ruffian cavalry, that knew not how to make ufe of the advantage, and then fell upon the infantry with an impetuofity, they were not able to withftand : for, being either fpent by the work they had already gone through, or difficartened by the approach of the horfe, and having loft their fupport, and the wind blowing the duft and Imoke in their faces, they fell back all on a fudden, broke their ranks in fuch confusion, that they fired upon one another, and plundered their own baggage. By this time the Pruffian infantry was rallied, and being led to the charge by the A terrible King in perfon, the flaughter became more flocking than ever. They drove the Ruffians into a narrow fpace, and continued the fight till feven o'clock with fuch regular fires, that every fhot had

flaughter.

its full effect.

Parted by the night.

Battle renewed.

Ruffians give way.

The Ruffians, forced, at last, to quit the field of battle, formed themselves into a square, in order to cover the remaining part of their baggage; and paffed the night in that position : the darknefs of the night obliging both parties to ceafe hoftilities; which the King, who likewife maintained his ground, renewed next morning by a cannonade. But the Ruffians foon gave way, abandoning their artillery and a great number of colours, standards, &c. The King did not give them

them time nor opportunity to recover; but harraffed them, all day, on every quarter. Neither could he put a ftop to the effusion of blood. The cruelties of all forts committed by the enemy, and the fight of the many villages round about, which the Ruffians had fet on fire, irritated the foldiers to fuch a degree, that it was almost impoffible to put a ftop to their fury.

Great dependance had been placed, by the con- Dependfederates against Prussia, on the fuccess of this Auftrians day. If victory should declare against Prussia, on this her monarch must have fubmitted to the terms of the confederacy. If the fortune of the day should turn in favour of Pruffia, it was to be feared, not only that his Pruffian Majefty would return with more vigour and ftrength, to complete his fcheme in Saxony and Bohemia, but that the Ruffians would be difpirited, and brought with difficulty, if at all, back to favour their operations this campaign. Therefore, when the news of this battle Misreprewas carried to Vienna, that court had the addrefs, fented by or rather the confidence, to decide the fate of the of Vienna. arms, in this engagement, in favour of their confederate Ruffians, in order to keep the Czarina in good temper towards her engagements *: but what

* The account, which the court of Vienna has thought fit to publish of this affair, is to this effect : " That on the 25th of last month the Prussians came up at nine in the morning to attack the Ruffians, who, in order of battle, waited for them ; but the first charge fucceeded fo ill, that the former were repulled with great lofs. The King afterwards made a new attack, which succeeded no better than the first. In fine, these VOL. III. Y two -0

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

338

what is most furprising, the very general that wrote to Count Dohna, for leave to bury his dead, afferts his claim to the victory of this day, in a letter to the Russian minister at the Hague ^r. The

two attempts having proved fruitlefs, the King, by a most rapid motion, brought all his cavalry to the center; and having thus changed the order of battle, he caufed his cavalry to ride full gallop against the center of the Ruffian army, whereby he feparated the two wings of this army, and forced the left to fall back into the moraffes that lay behind it.

"While this wing was in that perplexing fituation, it ceafed not firing upon its adverfaries, till a large detachment from the right came to its affiftance. This relief enabled it to charge in turn, and drive the enemy, who were purfued in fuch a manner, that the fame day, the 25th, it was just in the fame position as at the beginning of the battle. The 26th Te Deum was fung in the Russian army, which irritated the King of Prussia to fuch a degree, that he immediately ordered his army to advance, but was fo well received by the Russ fians, that he thought fit to order a retreat : yet, he made his troops return a fecond time to the charge, but they were re pulfed again.

"This relation, which one may look upon as certain, and bearing all the marks of ftricteft truth, fhews how cenfurable the Berlin Gazetteer is, for continuing to maintain facts abfo lutely invented, and the ftrange exaggeration which he has prefumed to utter on this event."

r The letter which Count Goloffkin, the Russian ministe at the Hague, received on this occasion, was to the following effect.

Head Quarters at Gross Camin, August 31.

in

" I have the honour to inform your excellency, that of the 25th of this month there was a bloody battle between th army under my command, and that of Pruffia, commander by the King in perfon, which lasted from nine in the morn

The Pruffians challenged the victory, and affert A. D. that their lofs did not exceed 2000 men killed, Lofs on wounded and prifoners : but make the lofs of the both fides. Ruffians 10,000 killed, 10,000 wounded, and molt of them mortally, and about 2000 prifoners : befides an immenfe train of artillery, thirty-feven colours, five ftandards, feveral kettle-drums, and their military cheft, containing 200,00001. fterling in fpecie.

Not only these extraordinary loss evidence the right of victory in favour of his Prussian Majesty; but it is clear from the consequences. The King delivered that part of his dominions from his enemies for the present; and was at liberty to march directly to the affistance of his brother. Besides the number of prisoners of rank, amongst whom were several generals, the loss of so great a train of artillery, and the necessity the Russians were under, to beg leave to bury their dead ^z, are corroborating

ing till ten at night, when the enemy abandoned the field of battle, and retired. The next day we buried the flain. We have taken twenty-fix pieces of cannon, and a great number of flandards and colours from the enemy. I am with the army in fight of the enemy, and only wait for M. de Romanzow's division, which is to join me to-morrow, to purfue and entirely difperfe the Pruflians. I do not fend you at this time the journal of the army, being too bufy at prefent, but will not fail to acquaint your Excellency with what may afterwards happen.

FERMER.

² Letter from General Fermer to Count Dohna.

"As this day's battle hath left many dead to be buried, and many wounded men to be dreffed on both fides, I have X 2 thought

A. D. 1758.

340

roborating circumftances to confirm the truth of the Pruffian account of the battle and victory over the Ruffian army near Cuftrin ^a.

17 000.01

thought proper to alk your excellency, whether it would not be fit to conclude a fufpenfion of arms, for two or three days? General Brown, who is extremely weak, by reafon of his wounds, having need of a room, and other conveniencies, which are neceffary in his prefent fituation, most humbly intreats his Majefty to fend a pallport for him and his attendants; that he may remove to a proper place. I have the honour to be, &c.

Camp, August 14, (25, N.S.) 1758.

Count Fermer.

000.0I

Count Dobna's Anfwer.

" I have the honour to anfwer the letter, which your Excellency was pleafed to write to me yefterday; and, in confequence of it, to inform you, that the King, my mafter, having gained the battle, and remained mafter of the field, his Majefty will not fail to give the neceffary orders for burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded of both fides. His Majefty thinks, that a fufpenfion of arms is ufual, in the cafe of a fiege, but not after a battle. His excellency General Brown, if fill alive, fhall have the paffports he afks moft readily; and all poffible relief fhall be given to the other generals, who are prifoners.

The cruel burning of villages, which is not yet difcontinued, fhews an intention not to fpare the King's effates in any fhape: But I fhall not now enter into repetitions, on a fubject I have fo often mentioned. I fhall only defire your Excellency to confider, what confequences fuch cruelties may have, if a ftop be not put to them. I have the honour to be, &c. Camp, Aug. 26, 1758.

^a His Pruffian Majefty's letter to his minifters abroad, was conceived in the following terms.

August 26.

" I would not defer for a moment giving you notice of the complete victory which heaven has just granted to my arms over

His Pruffian Majefty was equally as expeditious in his return, as he had been rapid in his march to Cuftrin. His abfence was no fooner known in trians take Bohe- advantage of his Ma-

over the grand Ruffian army, commanded by General Fermer. fence. The battle was fought yesterday, the 25th, between Custrin and Tumbfel. As I had to do with an army greatly fuperior, and provided with a very numerous artillery, the engagement was long and obstinate, and lasted till the close of night; but the defeat of the enemy hath been the greater and more decifive. Time will not permit me to enter into a detail of the circumstances of this action ; I shall referve a more ample account of it till next post. All I can tell you now is, that the lofs of the Ruffians is very great. I have taken three of their lieutenant-generals, many cannon, and their military cheft. My troops fought with uncommon bravery, and like men who defended their country. These are the first circumstances I can give you of this great event, which will give a new face to affairs, and in which heaven feems to have interposed fo remarkably, in order to enable me to difappoint the destructive projects which my enemies had formed for the devastation and ruin of my dominions.

FREDERICK.

« Whilf

This letter was foon after followed by a fecond.

Luben, Sept. 5:

" I have at length reaped the fruits of my laft victory over the Ruffians. Superior as they were in number, even after their defeat, they took an advantageous camp three leagues from the field of battle, where they halted till the 31ft of August, to collect the run-aways, and fecure their retreat. On that day they at last took a refolution to retreat towards Poland, by Lansberg, after fetting fire to the greatest part of their baggage. I have fent General Manteussel in pursuit of them; and General Malchowssy hath already had an opportunity to fall upon their rear, and hath taken three pieces of cannon.

Y 3

jefty's ab-

342

A. D. 1758. Bohemia, than the armies of Auftrians, Saxons and Imperialists, which dreaded every motion of his troops, fwarmed about the little army he had left, under the command of his brother Henry, at Dippolfwalde; and marched with full hopes of making themfelves mafters of Saxony, Silefia, and even of Brandenburgh and Lufatia. M. Daun undertook Prince Henry, and, quitting his ftrong encampment in the mountains, he brought his army to Stolpen, eaft of the Elbe, to cut off all communication with Drefden, and to favour the operations of his party. General Laudohn was detached to pillage the circle of Cotbus, &c. which he performed with great licentioufnefs. The Duke of Deux Ponts, who commanded the army of the Empire, entered Saxony, and made himfelf mafter of Pirna, and of the ftrong fortrefs of Sornenstein.

Never did a general make fuch long and flying marches, in fo fmall a fpace of time. Never did a powerful enemy difcover greater tokens of fear, than his enemies, at his return. His Pruffian

"Whilft I was employed againft the Ruffians, Marshal Daun, as well as the Prince of Deux-Ponts, advanced with all their forces, to the Elbe, to furround my brother Henry, which hath determined me to commit the further operations against the Ruffians to Count Dohna, and again to turn myfelf against the Austrians. I left the camp at Custrin on the zd instant, and am marching to Lusatia, bringing with me a good body of forces. I have reached Luben this day, the 5th, and I expect to arrive foon enough to difengage my brother Henty, and disconcert the vast projects of the Austrians.

FREDERICK."

Majefty

Majesty reached Graffenheyn, with twenty-four battalions and a great body of cavalry, on the 9th of September, and Dresden on the eleventh. As Fly at his his Majesty advanced, the Austrians withdrew from the frontiers of Brandenburgh; General Laudohn abandoned all the Lower Lufatia, and even the fortress of Peitz. Marshal Daun retired from the neighbourhood of Drefden, and fell back as far as Zittau b.

The

^b Marshal Daun, having taken advantage of the King's abfence, who was gone to fight the Ruffians, to fall upon Saxony with all his forces, in the month of July last, the army of the empire having entered it on another fide, by Peterswalde. Count Schmettau, governor of Drefden, thought that place in fuch imminent danger, that he found himfelf indifpenfably obliged to take every possible measure to guard against a furprize, and to hinder the Auftrians from carrying the place by a coup de main. An enterprize of this nature would have been the more eafy, as most of the houses of the fuburbs. from the gate of Pirna to that of Wilfdruff, abfolutely command the body of the town, both by their prodigious height. being fix or feven flories high, and by their proximity to the rampart. From this confideration Count Schmettau caufed it to be declared to the court, by M. de Bofe, chief cup-bearer, that as foon as the enemy fhould make a fhew of attacking Drefden, he would find himfelf under the difagreeable neceffity of burning the fuburbs; and that, for that end, he had just put combustible matters in the highest houses, and those next the rampart, that his orders for that purpose might be fpeedily executed, whenever the reasons of war obliged him to iffue them, in his own defence. The fame declaration was made to the magistrates, the governor having fent for the burgo-mafter to come to him. The court and the city earneftly implored, that this misfortune might be averted from the inhabitants; but the governor infifted, that it would be indif-Y penfably

343

A. D. 1758.

344

The

These motions were strong indications of ter-A. D. 1758. ror; but an overfight in the encampment of the Pruffian army foon changed the fcene, and fpi-King's rited up Count Daun into a refolution to furprize operations. their right flank. Though his Pruffian Majefty had joined his brother, he was not in a condition to diflodge the Imperialifts from the ftrong camp

> penfably neceffary to come to that extremity, if the enemy themfelves would pay no respect to the royal refidence; and caufed every thing to be got ready for the execution of his threats.

Mean while the city, as well as the flates of Saxony, who were then affembled at Drefden, fent a deputation to M. de Borcke, the King's minifter, to intreat him to intercede with the governor in their behalf. M. de Borcke, after conferring with Count Schmettau, answered them, that it depended on the court and the city themfelves, to prevent the attacking of Drefden ; but that if the Auftrians fhould attack it, it would be impossible to spare the suburbs, the houses of which commanded the ramparts, the governor having express orders to defend himfelf to the last extremity. The minister, at the fame time, pointed out to them the imminent danger to which the city and the caftle, and even the royal family, would be exposed, if he should be forced to come to that extremity, as the fire of the fuburb could not fail, without a miracle, to reach the town and make terrible havock : He at the fame time conjured the deputies of the flates, to use their utmost endeavours to divert the florm, and not to confider the governor's declaration as a vain threat, for he could affure them, upon his honour, that upon the firing of the first cannon against the town, they would fee the fuburbs on fire.

Marshal Daun happily changed his resolution, upon the King's approach, who was returning victorious from Zorndorff; and the governor of Drefden, yielding to the entreaties of the inhabitants, ordered the combustible matters, with which he had filled the houses, to be removed.

at Pirna; nor to attack M. Daun, encamped more ftrongly at Stolpen, with bridges of communication caft over the Elbe. He had no hopes in any other means, than fo to place himfelf, as to be able to cut off their provisions. With this intention his Majefty marched to Bautzen, in which ftation he could communicate with Prince Henry's army, cover Brandenburg and fuccour Silefia; which obliged Daun to retreat to Zittau; and from thence to Rittlitz; in hopes of fome favourable circumftance to enable him to attack the Pruffians with advantage, or to prevent the King from fuccouring Silefia, where the fiege of Neis was formed. As the Auftrian general retired, Auftrians his Majefty advanced, with the like hopes to force him to a battle, or to penetrate into Silefia. General Retzow was, for that purpofe, detached to take poffeffion of Weiffenberg, which he effected. The whole army marched, disposseffed the Auftrians from the village of Huchkirchen, and encamped in its neighbourhood : but neglected to occupy King's the heights, that commanded that village. This overnight. M. Daun overfight was readily improved by M. Daun. takes the By this way it was possible to penetrate through advantage. the flank of the enemy : and that was fufficient to disconcert, and in all probability, to ruin the whole Pruffian army. The cautious Daun feized the opportunity, and concerted measures with the Imperial general, for carrying his defign into execution; employed the flower of his whole army in this important service, and pitched upon a very dark night for the furprize. The night between the

345

A. D. 1758.

Preiffin S.

346

A. D. 1758.

Attacks him in his tents.

How conducted.

killed.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

the 13th and 14th of October, favoured his de fign. It was not only dark, but very foggy. Th troops moved, in three columns, with great fe crecy, and after gaining the heights, above-men tioned, they poured down upon the village of Huch kirchen, cut to pieces a few companies posted in it and gained poffeffion of that advantageous poft.

This flock was fo fudden and unexpected that the Pruffians had not time to ftrike their tents before the enemy was furioufly cutting their way in the midft of their camp. The three column were fo well conducted, that they arrived at their respective stations without confusion, before they were discovered. The Pruffians ran to their arms half naked; and without any order. The action began at Huchkirchen about four o'clock in the morning, and was continued fome time before the King was fufficiently apprized thereof. How ever, his general officers in that quarter made a vigorous fland, and without regard to precedence or regiment, affembled, arranged and led the troops, that could get their arms, up to the at-M. Keith tack. In the beginning of this engagement Marshal Keith was killed by two musket-balls; and Prince Francis, of Brunfwick, loft his head by a cannon-ball, as he was mounting his horfe. The lofs of two fuch principal commanders increafed the danger, as well as difficulties of this battle. The King had the whole conduct upon his own hands, when he most wanted affistance.

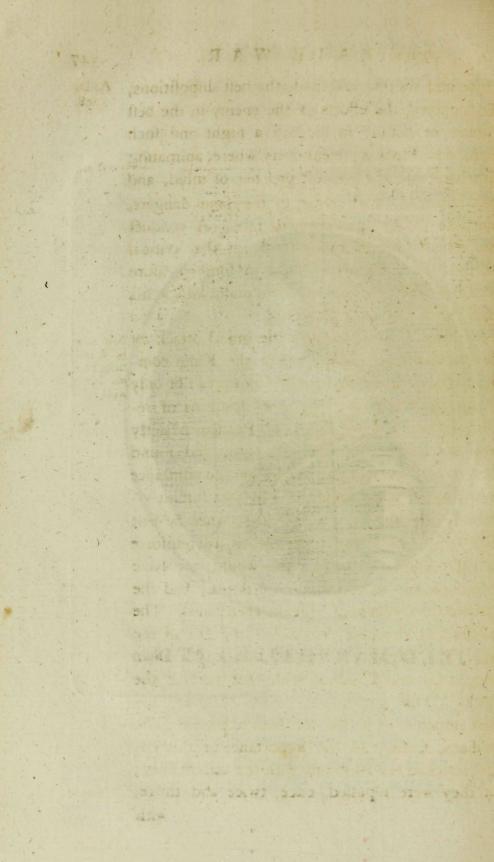
King of Pruffia's conduct and bravery.

The King, alarmed in the midst of an horrid carnage, exerted all his perfonal activity, recollection

FIELD MARSHAL KEITH.

and discounting on the village of Huch

And the second s



lection and addrefs, and made the beft difpofitions, and oppofed the efforts of the enemy in the beft manner he could, in fo dark a night and fuch confusion. He was prefent every where, animating his troops with the greatest prefence of mind, and by exposing his own perfon to the fame dangers, which he called upon them to face. A conduct that ferved him in more stead, at that critical juncture, than his arms; and in fome measure prevented the unfortunate blow, under which his cause might probably have funk.

M. Daun had undertaken the grand attack of Not able the Pruffian right wing, where the King com- to draw help from manded, and had taken proper measures not only his left wing. to furprife, but to deprive it of all means of reinforcement. So that, when his Pruffian Majefty grew diffident of his own ftrength, and found himfelf hard preffed, he could get no affiftance from his left wing, which was at that inftant vigoroufly attacked by the Auftrians, when he fent for a large detachment from thence, to reinforce his right wing. However, this would not have been, fufficient to oblige him to retreat, had the attack on the village of Huchkirchen failed. The poffeffion of this post determined the fate of the day. The difpute was hotteft there. M. Daun charged General Laudhon with that part of the attack. This general, as above, furprized the free companies in it, and cut them to pieces. The Pruffians, fenfible of the importance of this village, attacked the Auftrians with the utmost fury; but they were repulsed, once, twice and thrice, with

347 A. D. 1758.

division.

A. D. 1758.

348

with equal bravery on both fides. Yet a fourt affault carried the post after a most obstinate an bloody difpute. M. Daun's scheme dependin chiefly on the poffeffion of this village, he was the refolved to make every poffible effort to regain in and by reiterated attacks, with fresh troops con tinually pouring down upon it, he drove th Pruffians out, at last, but not without an exceeding great loss of his men.

setreat.

In good order.

Refolves to Thus deprived of his best officers; not in condition to draw any advantage from his left driven out of his most important post; having loft a great number of men and officers; and di pairing of victory, his Majefty refolved to retre about nine o'clock in the morning: and though the foldiers had never been properly drawn up order, and were embarraffed by their tents, which continued ftanding during the whole action, the retreat was performed in good order, and witho further loss, to the aftonishment of all, under t cover of a great fire from the Pruffian artiller which on that occafion was placed in the center his van.

Remarks on this action.

There is fomething extremely furprizi throughout this whole affair: and from eve point rays of glory encircle his Pruffian N. jefty. Here we read of an army under t command of the greatest generals of the age, fi prized in fuch a fatal manner, that the out-gua could not give the alarm of the enemy's approa Here also we read of an inferior army furprized their fleep; running half naked to their arn recover NUTER

recovering their order; fighting defperately for five hours, and at laft making fuch an orderly retreat, that the enemy durft not purfue. Here the King's generalship appeared with the greatest lustre, when he most wanted wifdom and courage. The wing attacked was at a great diftance from his own quarters : two of his principal commanders of it were flain at the first onfet; others were taken prifoners; the whole wing were ready to turn their backs upon the enemy : yet his Majefty gallopped up to the feat of greatest danger, drew fome regularity from diforder, arranged the different corps, altered politions, reinforced weak polts. encouraged the foldiery; twice repulfed the enemy; attacked them four times; and being overborn only by numbers and fatigue, made an orderly retreat. These are actions that were never found in any general before, and are to be looked for only in that grand refource of military abilities the King of Pruffia.

His Pruflian Majefty fell back with his right His own wing to Weiffenbourg : his left remained at Baut- account of this battle. zem: and he fixed his head quarters at Doberfchutz or Deebruchutz; from whence he wrote to all his ministers at foreign courts, " Having ac-" quainted you by the laft " poft with the first cir-" cumftances

c Whitehall, October 24.

This morning a meffenger arrived at the Earl of Holderneffe's office, with letters from Andrew Mitchell, Efg; his Majesty's minister to the King of Prussia, dated the 16th inftant from Drefden, importing,

349 A. D. 1758.

A.D. "cumftances of the action on the 14th, I nov 1758. "fend the annexed relation d of that affair, which "yo

> That on the 14th, at four in the morning, the right win of the Pruffian army, encamped at Hoh-Kirch, was unex pectedly attacked by the Auftrians, and put into fome confufion; but that the brave refiftance made by the regiments of the Margrave Charles, and the Prince of Pruffia, gave tim to the reft of the troops to get under arms; and that, the King of Pruffia coming in perfon to that part of the army the enemy was repulfed. His Pruffian Majefty afterward thought proper to remove his camp from Hoh-Kirch, an retire with his right wing towards Budiffin; fo that the poff now occupies, is between Budiffin and Weiffenburg, with th head quarters at Deebruchutz.

Marshal Keith, and Prince Francis of Brunswick, were un fortunately killed in the confusion at the beginning of the ac tion. Prince Maurice of Deffau, and Major-General Geiss are flightly wounded.

An authentic relation, by the King of Prussia, of the batt on the 11th instant.

In the night between the 13th and 14th, M. Daun attacke our right, and as, befides the obscurity of the night, whic was extremely dark, there was a very thick fog, the pandour having diflodged our battalion franc, which were at the ex tremity of our flank, flipped by into the village and fet it o fire, which obliged the battalion that covered the flank of th village to abandon it and retire to fome diftance; the Auftrian made feveral attempts to get by the village, but were repulse as well by our infantry as our cavalry : at the fame time Gene ral Retzow, was attacked by the Prince of Durlach, but after having repulfed the enemy and taken 300 prifoners, he cam to join the army, of which the left was attacked at the fam time that it had received orders to re-inforce the right.] consequence of these orders, the battalion de Seleist was de tached, and had nearly effected its purpofe, but being too f advanced, to repulse the enemy, could not re-join the arm

ai

350

⁴⁵ you may boldly publish in the place where you ⁴⁶ are, as an authentic piece, written according to ⁴⁶ the most exact truth; in which I own my loss,

and was therefore obliged to throw down their arms. The poft on the right had been fuftained four hours and a half, and it was ten o'clock in the morning when our army received orders to retire. General Retzow joined it, and it now occupies the poft of Biertitz and Dobrefchutz. We have loft Marfhal Keith and Prince Francis of Brunfwick, who can never be fufficiently regretted. Prince Maurice of Anhalt is wounded, and as he was going to Bautzen in a coach was taken prifoner. General de Geift is wounded in the arm, and Crockrow of the curaffiers in the fhoulder.

The King, the Margrave, and all the generals prefent in the action, received contufions, or had horfes fhot under them. We cannot exactly estimate our loss, but are fure it does not exceed 3000. The darkness of the night prevented the regiment on the right from striking their tents, which greatly incommoded them, and in confequence of which they fell into the enemy's hands; these, however, are misfortunes which in the chances of war, are fometimes inevitable. We have about 500 of the enemy prisoners, among whom is the General, Marquis de Vitteleschi. We hope soon to give the public better news.—To this relation it may be added, that fince the writing of it our loss is much diminiss by the return of a great number of soldiers, who were scattered in the confusion. The loss of the enemy is known to be far more confiderable than ours.

The Ruffian army is decamped from Stargard and is marching with great precipitation by Reetz and Kalies, two towns in the New Marche, on the frontiers of Poland.

Marshal Keith was shot dead the first discharge of the enemy's musquetry. He received the bullet in his breast, dropt down, and never spoke a word afterward.

Prince Francis of Brunfwick received his death by a cannon ball, which carried off his head just as he was mounting his horfe.

" which

35I

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

352

" which is not great, without having recourse to " fuch falfities as the court of Vienna and Peterf-" burg ufually spread on fuch occasions. You fee " also by this detail that it was not a battle, but " an attack of pofts only; by which the Auftrians " gained no other advantage, than that of diflodg, " ing my troops from an eminence, without daring " to follow me, and without being able to force " me to retire above half a league, where I keep " my ground and wait for them, ready to begin a " fecond engagement, as foon as the opportunity " offers. It is certain that the lofs of the enemy " is much greater than mine; a circumftance, of " which you will not fail to avail yourfelf: that " the Auftrians may not impose upon the public " by falle and exaggerated relations "."

Confide

• The reader may judge of the justness of his Prussian Ma jefty's remarks by the account that follows, first published in the Brussels Gazette, October 30.

Account of the battle fought the 14th of October, 1758, at Hoch Kirchen in Lusatia, by the Imperial and Royal army under Field Marshal Count Daun, and of the complete wictory it obtained over that of the King of Prussia, commanded by the King in person.

"The enemy marched on the 10th inftant, and came and encamped in fight of the imperial and royal army, their righ occupying the eminences of Hoch-Kirchen, and their left ex tending to Kottitz. The King of Prufia made the mor hafte to take that pofition, as he judged it most neceffary bot to fecure the communication with Silefia, by Gorlitz, and all to support the body of troops, about 8000 ftrong, which oc cupied the advantageous camp of Weissenberg, and which w resolved to attack on the 11th, and cut off from the main bod

Confider this reprefentation of the affair at Hockkerchen, and it will be found that his Pruffian Majefty's

of the army. This motion of the King determined the Marfhal to advance his right: he caufed the hill of Stromberg to be immediately occupied by five battalions, and the village of Gloffe by four battalions of grenadiers. Both these posts could be fupported by the right wing of the army. There was no time to lofe in taking this polition, which hindered the Pruffians from marching to Gorlitz, without giving them battle. The King advanced towards the imperial and royal army ; and at the fame time the corps of Weissenberg made a motion to take poffeffion of the hill of Stromberg, and confequently of the road to Gorlitz; but feeing their defign prevented, this corps returned to their former poft.

On the 11th, the Marshal reconnoitred the position of the enemy, and refolved to attack their right wing, though covered by the eminences, and the post of Hoch-Kirchen. The intrenchments and batteries upon the eminences, and at the village of Hoch-Kirchen, on which the King made his men work continually, rendered the execution of this defign very difficult. To make it fucceed, it was necessary to find a way through the thick woods behind our army, to come at the enemy with advantage. To judge by the event, it should feem. that the King of Pruffia never dreamt of the poffibility of fuch an enterprize. The advantageous position of the imperial and royal army feemed indeed to render it most expedient to wait for the enemy, who could not execute their defign without coming to a general action; but as foon as the marshal was informed, that the obftacle, occasioned by the difficulty of the roads, might be removed, the ardour of the officers and private men, who were most eager to engage, and the fecurity of the enemy, who by their motions appeared to have not the least expectation of being attacked, confirmed him in the refolution to begin the attack, notwithstanding the great difficulties he had to furmount.

The Marshal no sooner laid these motives before the general officers of his army, than an attack was unanimoufly re-VOL. III.

28

folved

353 A. D. 1758.

354 A. D.

A. D. Majefty's greateft lofs happened in the death of ^{1758.} his favourite general M. Keith. This was an irreparable

> folved on. It was to have been executed the 13th; but the large compass which the artillery was obliged to make, and the obstacles which stood in the way of fome dispositions ne ceffary for fecuring the fuccess of the enterprize, made it b deferred till next day. The more to deceive the King of Prus fia, the marshal had on the 11th caused barricades of trees to be made in the wood on his left, that is to fay, opposite to the right wing of the enemy; and redoubts to be raised at proper distances along the front of his own army. At the fame tim M. de Laudohn had orders to post himfelf near this wood.

> All these dispositions being at last completed, the Marshal plan was executed with all poffible exactnefs. The differer columns and the artillery, deftined for the attack, having tra versed the woods by very difficult roads, arrived about four i the morning, within gun fhot of the advanced pofts of th enemy, without being perceived. At five o'clock all the co lumns attacked at once; and though fome deferters had gon over to the enemy in the night, their reports only ferved t increase their security; for all that they could tell them wa that our left marched backwards. Before day-light the ac vanced guards of the columns, and the corps under M. de Lau dohn, had with great bravery made themfelves mafters of th post of Hoch-Kirchen, and also of the eminences behind th camp. At day break our foot were poffeffed of the eminence and were formed in order of battle in the very camp of th Pruffians. A few minutes after this the Duke of Arember attacked their left, and made himfelf mafter also of the re doubts the enemy had there. Notwithflanding the obflina defence of the enemy, they were forced to yield to the viva city of the attack made by our infantry, which, without b ing fupported by artillery, broke their ranks in fome place fword in hand, in others with their bayonets fixed.

> Our van-guard and grenadiers feeing the enemy driven from Hoch Kirchen, and their right retiring, liftening only to the ardou

reparable misfortune to lofe fo great a mafter experienced in the art of war. But every other damage

ardour of their zeal, purfued them, contrary to the Marshal's express orders. Mean time the enemy's infantry rallied, and obliged ours to retire. At the fame inftant Hoch-Kirchen was attacked by the flower of the Pruffian troops, and the fire of the artillery and fmall arms began to be extremely hot.

The enemy, after returning three times to the charge, at length made themfelves masters of part of the village: but as the fate of the day depended upon that post, they met with the most vigorous refistance. To fustain this post, the regiments of Clerici, Bathyani, Stachtenberg, Vieux-Colloredo, and after them those of Arbers, Los-Rios, and Puella, were made to advance fucceffively, as also the carabiniers and horse grenadiers, under the command of the Count d'Ayfias. The regiment of Clerici fuffered greatly on this occasion ; but that of Bathyani took four colours, and 300 prifoners. Whilft the marshal was doing his utmost to support our troops at Hoch-Kirchen, the reft of our left kept a continual fire upon the enemy without coming to a clofe engagement, till they were fure that we should be absolutely masters of that important post. The unshaken firmness of the imperial and royal troops having at length deprived the Pruffians of all hope of retaking it. they retired under the fire of a numerous artillery, which was placed in the center of their camp. Field-Marshal Keith, who commanded the right of the enemy in this bloody battle, was killed, as were Prince Francis of Brunswick and General Kleift. The former was interred, after the battle, with all the honours due to his rank.

While the battle was fought with fo great warmth on that fide, the horfe of our left were forced to give way; but by the indefatigable zeal of Count O'Donnel, general of horfe, and the other generals, they were immediately rallied; Count Lascy, on his fide, with five companies of horse grenadiers and carabiniers, draughted from the regiments of Deux-Ponts. O'Donnel, Serbelloni, Anfpach, and Buccow, fell upon the enemy's

Z 2

355

A. D.

1758.

TEL

riter Li

12 13

IN DI

in in

in in

ni nin in

2 in in

te le met

in III

INTE, I

1

Time in

ting a st

i an a

tata part

intial I

Ra I

mie mi

al man

Tapa

tienit, v

1100

herdit

Canta

hers, a

自注致

tien a

CR3

22

hi

20

21

¢ 12

Z

damage of his army might be eafily repaired. Therefore we fee his Majesty waiting for the enemy

enemy's foot which were marching against our left. The bravery of these troops soon recovered our former advantages, and the conduct of the general, who commanded them, greatly contributed to the success of the action. M. de Tillier, majorgeneral, merits the same praise. Both displayed, on this memorable day, no less skill than bravery.

The terrible fire of the Pruffian artillery and fmall arms having greatly thinned the ranks of our foot, the marfhal made them clofe as much as poffible, and again led them against the enemy. At the fame time, Baron Buccow and the Duke of Aremberg, forced their way through defiles, which they had orders to pass; and the continual fire they made upon the enemy, forced them to retire. A part of the infantry and cavalry, which composed the corps at Weissemberg, attempted to go to the affistance of the left of the Prufsians: but Baron Buccow immediately caused the regiments of O'Donnel and Anhalt Zerbst, commanded by the Generals Count de Zollern and Bettow, to advance, who attacked the head of this reinforcement with fo much vigour, that it was no fooner attacked, than routed.

Seeing themfelves thus vanquilhed on every fide, not by fuperiority of numbers, but folely by the valour of our troops, the enemy retired, to gain the eminences behind them, which favoured their retreat. At nine o'clock their fire flackened confiderably, and they wholly retired to the plain of Predlitz, where the good countenance of their cavalry gave the reft of their army time to form.

All was over by ten, and the Marshal fent M. de Laudohn, with three regiments of dragoons, viz. those of Lowenstein Dcux-Ponts, and Darmstadt, to pursue the enemy.

We took the whole camp of the Pruffians and all their baggage. The regiments of their right wing had fcarce time to take up their arms. The number of cannon we took at the beginning of the affair, during the action, and in the purfuit, amounts

my at about half a league diftance from the field of battle, (if this attack of pofts may be allowed that name) and daring the Auftrians to return to the charge, but without effect. Daun refumed his M. Dau old scheme of acting upon the defensive. He had after th paid very dear, in this last affair, for hazarding an battle. attack under the most favourable circumstances to promife him fuccefs. Having miffed of his aim, where he fought with every advantage on his fide; he dared not rifk another battle, upon equal terms,

amounts to 101, among which are eight 24, and thirty-feven 12 pounders. A great quantity of ammunition and warlike implements have also fallen into our hands, and more are still bringing in, as well as artillery. We have taken upwards of 28 colours and two flandards from the enemy. These undoubted proofs of victory were prefented on the 18th to their Imperial and Royal Majeflies by M. de Tillier.

We may compute the lofs of the enemy already, in killed, wounded, and deferters, at 10,000 at leaft. We cannot juffly tell what our lofs is.

The great number of dead that covered the ground, and the cold, which began to be very fevere, determined the marfhal to make the troops, already greatly fatigued, return to their old camp. His excellency, however, left the brigade of Count Colloredo, with the companies of grenadiers and carabiniers, on the field of battle, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded. The camp, of which we made ourfelves masters, was given up to be pillaged. According to the advices we have received, the enemy encamped the night after the battle at Klein Bautzen."

By a lift annexed to the above relation, the Austrians make the total of their killed 1020; and of their wounded 3972, the miffing not mentioned. Thus by the Auftrian accounts of their lofs, it exceeded that of the Pruffians by fome thoufands, the whole lofs of the latter in killed, wounded and miffing, being only 3000 men.

with

A.D 1758

35

A. D. 1758. with a general and an army, rendered more vigilant and refolute by the check they had received, and eager to wipe off that imaginary difgrace of fuffering an enemy, that flew from them by day, to furprize them alleep in their tents, like thieves, under the cover of the night. For, this very Daun, who boafted of his dubious victory, inftead of purfuing the Pruffians, or feeking to improve his pretended fuccess in the late action, entrenched his forces up to the teeth, and fortified himself with a numerous artillery on the eminences about his camp, to fecure his army from an attack, by those he vainly represented to be a vanquished enemy,

King of Pruffia's conduct.

His Pruffian Majefty in this fituation, having no hopes to draw the Auftrians to a fair engagement, and taught, by experience, the danger of attacking them in fuch an advantageous camp: feeing also the necessity of his immediate affistance both in Saxony, to counteract the united force of the Auftrians and Imperialists, and in Silefia, already over-run by the Auftrians, and upon the eve of forcing Neils to furrender to his enemies, determined in this dilemma, not to watch the uncertain motions of M. Daun, nor to prefer the covering of Saxony, to his more important intereft in Silefia, he ordered a large detachment to march under Prince Henry from Saxony, to enable him to raife the fiege of Neifs, and on the 24th of October, broke up his own camp at Doherschutz, and marched to Gorlitz. However, this was not done with that fecrecy, but Daun was

Marches to the relief of Neis.

foon

foon apprized of it, and penetrated into the King's A. D. 1758. intention. Gorlitz was a poft, which would give the party in poffession a confiderable advantage. The Auftrian general therefore made a pufh to fe- Purfued cure it before the Pruffians: But they got no fur- Auftrians. ther than Landferon. Here a skirmish ensued with the Pruffian vanguard. The Auftrians were Auftrians worfted and loft 800 men; by which Daun loft all worfted. the advantages gained at Hochkirchen, and his advantageous encampment after that action. General Laudohn was detached with 24,000 men to follow the Pruffians, but with no effect. The road was entirely open from Gorlitz into Silefia, and his Pruffian Majefty purfued his march without any material interruption to Noffen in the neighbourhood of Neifs; where his whole army arrived on the 6th of November.

Neiss had been invested ever fince the 4th of August, and profecuted with the utmost vigour by the Generals Harfch and de Ville, from the 2d of October. The garrifon defended it with The King the greatest bravery, determined not to furrender the neighwithout the King's special order; who, to their bourhood great joy, advanced to their relief on the 7th of November. The Auftrian General immediately Siege of raifed the fiege, leaving a confiderable quantity Neifs raifof ammunition and ftores behind him f, and re-

paffed

f 22,000 cannon balls of 24 lb. wt. 23,000 ditto of 12 lb. wt. 1700 bomb shells of 75 lb. wt. 3900 ditto 50 lb. wt. 6100 ditto of 30 lb. wt. 6000 ditto of 10 and 7 lb, wt. 200,000 granadoes; 500 iron crows, 1000 joifts, 500 thick planks for batteries, and 10 gunpowder magazines.

Z4

A.D. passed the Neifs; but not without confiderable 1758. lofs; for General Trefkow, the governor of Neifs, The Au-The Au-ftrians pur- who had behaved with fo much gallantry and conduct in the fiege, fallied out upon the fugitives, fued. and cut between feven and 800 pandours to pieces. Retirefrom The Auftrians, who had blockaded Cofel for fome before Co-time, received the panic, and made the best of their way to join the army retired from before Neifs; and thefe united retreated with great precipitation into Auftrian Silefia and Bohemia.

M. Daun meditates the reduction of Saxony.

Thus the main point, which was laboured by M. Daun, to prevent the King of Pruffia's raifing the fiege of Neifs, after the action at Hockkirchen, being rendered abortive; his next point in view was to take the advantage of his Majefty's absence, and the confiderable distance of his army, to wreft Saxony out of his poffefiion. So that having failed of fecuring the pafs at Gorlitz, the Austrian General, formed a scheme to reduce Drefden, Leipfick, and Torgau. For this pur. pofe, he undertook Drefden with the main body of his own army: he committed the reduction of Leipfick, to the Prince de Deuxponts : and Torgau, to a corps under General Haddick: on a prefumption, that Prince Henry had not fufficient ftrength to maintain his ground.

Marches

4

Intent upon this plan of operations, and havto Drefden. ing no force to obstruct his march, Count Daun, on the 6th of November, passed the Elbe at Pirna, with 60,000 men, in expectation of the furrender of Dresden upon his appearance. The army of the Empire had cut off Prince Henry's communication

nication with Leipfick, and had alfo invefted it. A. D. 1758. General Haddick marched with all expedition to Torgau.

Prince Henry in thefe ftraits, threw himfelf into Prince the city of Drefden, and retired to the otherfide treats. of the Elbe, and left General Schmettau, with 12,000 men, to defend the city, of great extent and badly fortified. The Auftrian General, on Daun apthe 7th, the very day his Pruffian Majefty raifed pears bethe fiege of Neifs, convinced the governor, that den. his defign was against the capital, and drove him Thegoverto the neceffity to replace the combustibles in the pares for houses of the suburbs, which surround the city its defence. ditch and command the ramparts, and had been removed in the July preceeding, when Daun retired from before that city, on the approach of the King of Pruffia, in his return from chaftifing the Ruffians near Cuftrin.

The neceffity of this refolution is accounted Reafons for, from the weakness of the suburbs; it being for burnimpoffible for the governor to prevent the ene-fuburbs. my's getting poffeffion of them by a coup de main; most of the houses within the suburbs, from the gate of Pirna to the gate of Wilfdruff, commanding the body of the town, not only by their proximity ro the ramparts, but by their prodigious height of feven and eight ftories. However this was a most deplorable expedient to fave the city. For, these suburbs were equal to one of the finest cities in Europe, and much fuperior to Drefden within the walls; both on account of its stately buildings, inhabitants, and curious manufactories. The

A. D. 1758. Thegovernor gives notice of this refolu-

362

The anfwer of the Saxon court.

tion.

placed.

Endeavours to

fuburbs.

The governor informed the court, by M. de Bofe, the chief cup-bearer, of his refolution, That if the enemy's army fhould approach the fuburbs. he would that inftant fet fire to them. Who received for answer, That the hands of the court being tied, they were obliged to acquiefce in all circumstances, and wait the last extremities; therefore the governor might follow the motion of his own will, or do whatever he thought he could answer. Accordingly on the 8th, the enemy's advanced troops having attacked the huffars and independent battalions, posted at Streissen and Gruene-Wiefe, and the Auftrians might find means, as the night drew on, to find their way pell-mell into the fuburb, by repelling and pur-Out guards fuing the advanced posts, he first detached Colonel Itzenplitz, with 700 men and fome pieces of cannon, on the 9th in the morning, to take post in the redoubts furrounding the fuburbs, to fupport the huffars and independent battalions in cafe of need; and then about noon, forefeeing all his care that way would be to no purpofe, he renewed his remonstrance to the magistrates of the town, prevent the ruin of the that it would be abfolutely incumbent upon him to fet fire to the fuburbs, upon the first appearance of an Austrian in them: and further told them. that this would be the last notice he should give

them. But he got no other answer from them, but fhrugging of fhoulders and deploring the misfortune of their fellow citizens; though the governor told them, that it was in the power of their court to avert the calamity,

While

While the governor tried thefe fair means to pre-A. D. vent a conflagration, the Auftrian van-guard attacked the advanced posts, and forced the huffars Austrians attack the and Monjou's independent battalion to quit the advanced great garden and retire into the fuburbs. They pofts. then attacked the fmall redoubts, forced three of them, and penetrated to Zinzindorff houfe, and the draw bridge of Pirna gate, on which they left one foldier killed; and during this attack, the enemy's cannon played into the city. Yet the governor did not proceed to extremities. Though this was an open attack upon both the fuburbs and the town, --- no house was fet on fire. The cannon Driven upon the ramparts drove the Auftrians back, and back by the cannon. before night he obliged them to quit the redoubts. In the mean time, the army under General Izenplitz marched through the city, paffed the Elbe, and encamped under the cannon of the New Town. General Meyer was charged with the defence of the fuburbs, with his independent battalions, and four others, with positive orders to fet fire to them, if he found reason to proceed to that extremity, after giving notice to the inhabitants.

The preparations for an affault, by the enemy's Auftrians erecting of batteries and planting cannon in the prepare to attack the night, and the fmart fire upon thofe, who were city. fent beyond the barriers to reconnoitre, being reported to the governor, and he being convinced, that his ftrength was in no condition to prevent the Auftrians making themselves mafters of the fuburbs, because the height of the houses obstructed the fervice of the cannon from the ramparts, and

1758.

and the magistrates and court not willing to inter-

A. D. 1758.

364

Suburbs ordered to be burnt.

pose in fuch a critical juncture, he permitted General Mayer to give the fignal, and at three in the morning of the 10th, the greatest part of the fuburb of Pirna, the houfes adjoining to the ditch, and two of the fuburb of Wilfdorff, were in flames 3. The fix battalions, with the 700 men from the redoubts entered the town by the three gates, which were immediately barricaded; and after fix in the morning, there was not a Pruffian in the fuburbs; notwithstanding the many falfehoods published on this occasion, by the court of Vienna, to impeach the humanity of the Pruffian general : though the court of Drefden were fo fenfible of his humane conduct, that they thanked him for the good order he caufed to be obferved during these troubles.

M. Daun pretended to be greatly furprized at M. Daun remonstrates againft this proceeding.

the fight of these flames, and fent Colonel Sa-

& A lift of the houses burnt in the suburbs of Dresden, from the certificate figned by the judges.

Houses, seven in the fishmongers quarter; 141 in the ram quarter; 82 in Pirna quarter; one in Halbe Gaffe quarter; two in Seethor quarter; nine in Poppitz quarter; 23 in the bailiwick quarter; the excife houfe, as also the excife house and guard house at Pirna gate, and the excise and guard houses at Seethor. In all 280 houfes.

Perfons killed or burt.

In ram quarter; two aged perfons burnt.

In Pirna quarter; a burgher killed by a cannon ball from the town; a girl of 14, and a widow wounded.

In Poppitz'quarter; a woman killed by the independent battalion.

voifky,

voifky to Count Schmettau, the governor, to enquire, ' Whether it was by order, that the fuburbs were burnt in a royal refidence, which, he faid, was a thing unheard of among Christians; and that he hoped that the city of Drefden would not be treated in the fame manner. The marshal further fent his compliments to the court, and threatened the governor to be made refponfible. in his perfon, for what had been done, and for what might be done against this royal refidence." Count Schmettau returned for answer, ' That he The gohad the honour to be known to the marshal; that answer. he had orders to defend the town to the last man that his Excellency was too well acquainted with war, to be ignorant that the deftruction of the fuburbs, which the marshal had attacked, was according to rule : that if he attacked the town the governor would defend himfelf from houfe to house, and from street to street, with the infantry of the whole army; and then, if driven to the extremity, he would make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city contrary to the command of his royal mafter."

Loud were the outcries against this act of mili- Complaintary power in a neutral city, and the refidence of ed of all a fovereign Prince. The governor, Count Schmer- rope. tau, exculpated himfelf of any act of cruelty or inhumanity, by the testimony of M. de Bose, the cup-bearer, whom his Excellency employed in all his meffages on this occasion to the court : and further by a certificate of the magistrates of Drefden, and of the judges of the fuburbs of the fame city

A. D. 1758.

365

A. D. city^h; in contradiction to the memorial of the Saxon ¹⁷⁵⁸ minister, the Refident M. Porikau's memorial to the

> h The letter from M. de Bofe, chief cup-bearer to the court of Drefden, to Count Schmettau.

> " I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, in anfwer to what you wrote to me this day; I muft own that ever fince you had the government of Drefden, I informed you of all that his Royal Highnefs charged me to tell you in his name, and I have likewife reported to his Highnefs, your Excellency's anfwers.

> " As to the first point, I also remember very well, that your Excellency charged me, in the month of July, to reprefent to his Royal Highnes, that if Marshal Daun should attack the city, you must fet fire to the fuburbs, particularly the houses that adjoined to the ditch; into which houses, your Excellency immediately ordered combustibles to be put. I also remember, that upon the folicitations, which his Royal Highness made, by me, to your Excellency, you ordered them to be removed when Marshal Daun retired; and of this I also made an humble report.

> " It is alfo true, that when Marshal Daun was at Lockowitz, on the 18th of November last, your Excellency charged me to acquaint his Royal Highness, in your name, that, if Marshal Daun should approach near the town, and attack it, you should be obliged to burn the suburbs, and the houses adjoining the town ditch. Although I made several remonstrances to your Excellency from the court, you declared, that you was ordered by the King your masser, to defend yourfelf to the last extremity, and that you could not change your measures, unless Marshal Daun should be prevailed with not to attack the town. To which I answered, in his Royal Highness's name, that he knew nothing of Marshal Daun's defigns; that he could not intermeddle in the operations of war, and would confequently be obliged to endure what he could not hinder.

> " Laftly, it is well known, that your Excellency, during the fire, took every poffible meafure in the town, to prevent thefe

the diet of the Empire. In which it is fet forth, A.D. 1758. " That by the violence of the flames, which was kept of the Em-

pire.

these excesses and diforders, which might have been apprehended ; and his Royal Highness charged me to return you his thanks for it. I have the honour to be, &c.

Dec. 4. 1758. JOACHIM FREDERIC de Bose."

Certificate of the magistrates of Drefden.

In confequence of orders received from his Excellency Count Schmettau, lieutenant general and governor, we certify what we know concerning the burning of the fuburbs. Two perfons were burnt to death, two killed, three hurt, by the fire, and two wounded by the foldiers.

We never heard, in any shape, of a waggon full of goods, which they were endeavouring to fave, and which it was pretended was covered with combuffibles, and fo fet on fire ; nor of ninety perfons faid to have perished at the Hart, nor of the Auftrian troops, who, it is pretended, affifted in extinguishing the flames.

Drefden, Dec. 4, 1758. (L. S.) The magistrates of Drefden.

Certificate of the judges of the fuburb of Drefden.

We the judges of the fuburb of Drefden, certify, and atteft. that at the time of the calamity that hath juft happened, things paffed in this manner. The combuffibles were re-placed on the 7th of November: and the magistrates ordered all the judges to attend them : accordingly, Simon Stelzner, judge; John Chriftian, alderman; John Michael Faber, and John Chriftian Kretschmar, judges, attended, and were told, (being enjoined at the fame time, to acquaint the other judges with it) to provide the houfes with water, to give notice to the landlords, and to keep the pumps ready, and endeavour to affift one another ; because, if any misfortune should happen. the people of the town could not come to our affiftance, nor could we go to their's; and of this, we informed all the burghers. On

A. D. 1758.

368

kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houfes and along the fireets, the whole was inftantly on fire .--That a shoemaker, endeavouring to fave his infant on a pillow, from burning in the flames, was ftopped by a volunteer, who fnatched the babe from him, and threw it into the flames .--- That a man having got his moveables loaded in a waggon, had them flopped by a Pruffian foldier, who covered the waggon with pitch, and fet it on fire. That a multitude of people, of all ages, inhabitants of those populous fuburbs, perished amidst the flames .--- That in the fingle inn, called the Golden-Hart, ninety perished .--- That the Austrian army beheld these horrible acts with indignation and rage. That they fent 500 carpenters into the fuburbs, to endeavour to extinguish the flames, and that, melting with compassion, their general

On the 8th and 9th the Auftrian army approached the town; and on the 9th, the Auftrian huffars forced their way to the fuburb of Pirna, and to Zinzendorf house.

On the 10th, at two in the morning, fire was fet to the quarters at Pirna, Ram, and Wilfdorf, which confumed 266 houfes in all.

There have been therefore in all, two perfons burnt, a man and a woman, greatly advanced in years, and whom it was impossible to fave; two killed, and two wounded.

What has been faid of a waggon is falle; and it is equally falle that ninety perfons perifhed at the Hart; only four perfons in all having loft their lives, as we have just mentioned. Lastly, it is false, that the Austrian carpenters assisted us in extinguishing the fire. We never faw one of them.

We certify, that all the above is firicily conformable to truth.

Dec. 4, 1758. Signed by the ten judges of Drefden.

tried

tried every method to prevent them." Such were the infamous methods made use of by his enemies, to stir up an animolity, and kindle a hatred against his Prussian Majesty; the greatest potentates upon earth, as they would be esteemed, inventing, or countenancing the most notorious fictions, to deprive him of the affections of good men by their lies, whom they were not able to destroy by their arms.

M. Daun, deceived in his hopes to take Dref-Siege in form beden by a coup de main, made a fhew of an inten-gun. tion to befiege it in form : but the news of Neifs being relieved; and of the retreat of the Auftrians before the King of Pruffia; and that his Majefty was returning to Saxony with his ufual rapidity, and ftrengthened by fuccefs, he raifed the fiege on the 17th, three days before the King could get to Drefden : and retired, with the army of the M. Daun retires.

As to the fate of Leipfick and Torgau. Count The fieges Dohna was ordered to march with 12,000 to the and Torrelief of Torgau. The fame orders were fent to gau raifed. General Wedel, who with a fmall army obferved the motions of the Swedes : who, being neareft to the place, threw himfelf into Torgau, before Haddick arrived there, and repulfed him with lofs; when he made his attack. Count Dohna, being come up foon after, they united and purfued the Auftrians as far as Eulenburg. The fate of Haddick, and the approach of the Pruffians, ftruck fuch a terror, that the Prince of Deux Ponts did alfo raife the fiege of Leipfick.

Vol. III. 28 The

A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1758.

370

Austrians rialists retire.

Winterquarters, ed.

The Auftrian operations had failed them. No one advantagewas gained : and there were no more and Impe- attempts thought of for this year. The Marshal having got all his forces into Bohemia and Auftrian Silefia, endeavoured to place them in fuch a manner for the winter; as to form an immense chain of troops; fo as to cover the frontiers of Silefia how form- and Saxony, and to communicate with the Imperial army, which continued the chain from thence, through Thuringia and Franconia; where this army joined the quarters of Prince de Soubize, extending westward, along the course of the Main and Lahn, to meet those of Marshal Contades, which ftretched to the Rhine, and connected the chain quite to the Maefe, fo as to command the whole courfe of the Rhine, upwards and downwards.

The operations of theSwedes.

greis.

The Swedes, who, in the beginning of this year, feemed averfe to the war against his Proffian Majefty i, were encouraged to enter upon action by the absence of the Prussian troops, obliged to undertake more important fervices than to watch the Their pro- motions of fo defpicable an enemy. Count Hamilton, who commanded the Swedish army, having no force to oppose him, when Dohna was marched with his troops to watch the motions of the Ruffians, and being reinforced with a confiderable number of men, took the field, diflodged the few Pruffians left in the frontier towns, recovered Swedifh Pomerania, entered the Pruffian territories

i See page 144, 145, Vol. III.

SIR

and

and threatened Berlin itself with plunder and devastation; for his detachments penetrated as far as Zenderick and Fehrbellin, and within twenty-five miles of that capital.

In this invalion the Swedes left fuch marks of Their barbarbarity and cruelty, that it should feem the barity. parties of the grand confederacy against Pruffia had engaged to exceed each other in acts of inhumanity. The Swedes, who, in former wars, had always maintained the character of a brave and generous enemy, debafed their martial fpirit with a meannefs, that is the ftrongest indication of cruelty in a fordid mind. Though their ftrength did now exceed the force opposed to them, at least as four to one, they did nothing but forage, pilfer, pillage, raife contributions, &c. Except fetting fire to houses, they surpassed all their confederates in this manner of making war; and whereever they came, they behaved worfe than Coffacks and Calmucks. For as they had no magazines formed, nor took proper measures to be fupplied with provisions, they ftripped every place, where-ever they came, quite bare. In a great number of villages, they not only carried away the produce of the earth, the cattle and horfes. which they afterwards fold to the Jews; but alfo, by order from their fuperiors, they trampled down and deftroyed the feed in the ground.

General Wedel was detached from Saxony, with Repulsed. a body of troops, to check and repulse these cruel invaders. Wedel arrived at Berlin, with eleven thousand effective men, on the 20th of Sep

Aa 2

A. D. 1758.

A.D. 1758.

September. General Hamilton immediately retreated, at the approach of the Pruffians, leaving a garrison of 1400 men in Fehrbellin, in order to ftop the Pruffian army in the purfuit of his main body, and with orders to defend the place to the very last extremity. Accordingly they fuffered a fevere cannonade, by which every house in the town was damaged; and then they difputed the ground from house to house. But the valour of the Pruf-Their loss. fian grenadiers prevailed, and the Swedes were at last driven out, having lost 500 men 14 officers killed; befides 222 private men and fome officers made prisoners. During this action the Prince of Bevern, who had been releafed, and retired to his government at Stettin, purfued the Swedifh army with a detachment, harraffed their rear, and ruined a battalion of volunteers, of whom 72 were taken prifoner, and 200 were flain. Which put an end to the fears of the city of Berlin, and obliged the enemy to evacuate the Pruffian territories, and feek for fafety once more under their own cannon of Stralfund; where they entered into winter quarters; and General Hamilton threw up his command, and refigned all his employments, rather than be laid under the odious neceffity of executing orders against the innocent and helplefs, without power to face an enemy in the field.

Siege of Colberg.

- General Fermor, after the battle of Zorndorf, was fenfible, that he could not maintain his ground in Pomerania, during the winter; except he could make himfelf mafter of a fea-port in that

pro-

province, and thereby open a communication with A. D. 1758. Ruffia by fea. Colberg, a fmall fea-port on the Baltick, and very indifferently fortified, prefented itfelf, as the most certain object for his defign. With this intention 15,000 Ruffians were detached; who arrived before Colberg on the 3d of October, and opened their trenches in form, but Repulsed. with fuch little fuccefs, that after twenty-fix days, Major Heydon, their brave governor, without any reinforcement or fuccours of any kind, obliged them to raife the fiege. In which difgraceful manner the whole Ruffian army evacuated Pomerania, and fought for winter quarters beyond the Viftula k.

Thus

* In the night between the 26th and 27th of October, the Ruffians before Colberg gave two fucceffive affaults; but in both were repulfed, with the loss of fome hundred men. Every thing was prepared for a general affault on the 20th. and troops were put into barges, in order to go down the river Persante, under the cannon of the town; but advice being received that Major-General Platen had defeated a Ruffian detachment near Greiffenburg, and that he was advancing by Treptow, the Ruffians determined the fame day to raife the fiege, to burn their bridge of communication upon the Perfante, and retire on the other fide of the river.

The garrifon feized this opportunity to fally out, under Lieutenant-Colonel Schladen, and ruin the batteries and other works that had been raifed by the Ruffians. Thefe, who were not yet gone far, endeavoured to cut off the detachment that fallied out; but being drawn under the cannon of the fortrefs, they were beat off with confiderable lofs. They retreated by Coflin towards Bublitz, on the frontiers of Poland.

In this march they compleated the ruin of the villages through which they paffed, ftripping the inhabitants of every

Aa 3

thing

373

Thus we conclude the campaign in Germany, A. D. 1758. between the King of Pruffia and his most formidof the King able enemies. A campaign, which for its variety of Pruffia's of events, and the fpirit and conduct of his Macampaign. jefty, exceeds all examples. We in the begining beheld him, with admiration, invading Moravia and invefting Olmutz : and all his fucceffes His various fordefeated, by one unfortunate stroke. We faw tune. him, with amazement, rife up victorious out of distress; penetrating into Bohemia, in spite of a fuperior army at his heels, obliging Koninfgratz to open her gates to him; marching to the Oder, routing an army of Ruffians three times the number of his own; returning to Saxony, and driving the Imperial and Auftrian armies before him. And, though he loft his moft able generals, and fuffered fo great a lofs in his men and in his camp at Hochkirchen, his Majesty found sufficient refource in his military abilities, alternately to relieve Silesia from an Austrian army, and to oblige the Auftrians and Imperialifts once more to evacuate Saxony; when he had to contend with armies, that were each of them greatly superior to his in numbers, and commanded by generals Great abi- of approved courage and known experience. Six lities and fieges were raifed, at Colberg, at Neiffe, at Cofel, fuccefs. at Drefden, at Torgau and at Leipfick, by him or his generals; and his Pruffian Majefty could not be faid to have loft one inch of ground this

> thing of value, killing the cattle, and throwing into bogs the forage and grain they could not carry off; befides committing an infinite number of other diforders not lefs enormous.

year, notwithstanding he was attacked by fo many A. D. formidable armies.

Though these are the principal actions between Measures the belligerants in Germany, during the year favour of 1758, it is requisite for their illustration, to lay the Austrian confebefore the reader some particulars, which were inderacy. tended to favour the enemies of Great Britain and their allies.

It has been frequently represented as a state Against invention, that religion had any share in the po- the Protelitical views, and powerful alliance between Auftria gion. and her allies : But, if reafon may be permitted to prefide, where judgment is to be paffed on the proceedings of the Imperial court, this year, it cannot be difputed, that there was not a fettled intention to crush the three great protestant powers in Germany, by an open proftitution of the powers lodged by the Germannic conftitution in the Aulic council. For, on the 21ft of August the fentence Decree of of the ban of the empire was confirmed by the the Aulic council Aulic council (the laft court of appeal from the against the dyet of the empire) against the King of Prussia; testant and, at the fame time, three decrees, or mandates, powers. were iffued against three other protestant members of the empire: the first against the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Brunfwick Lunenburgh; the fecond against the Duke of Brunswick Wolffenbuttle; and the third against the Count of Lippe Buckeburgh. In that against his Britannic Majesty the ban of the empire was threatened, for having joined his troops to those of the Elector of Brandenburgh, and taking into his pay the Aa4 forces

375

A. D. 1578.

forces of feveral princes, in order to fupport that Elector's rebellion ; --- for having ravaged the countries of Hildesheim, Osnaburg and Munster ;--for having taken a Prussian general to command his troops, and with force and arms invaded the countries of Paderborn, Juliers, Bergue, Cologne, Liege and Brabant, taking towns, befieging cities, raifing contributions, and feizing the revenues; and laftly, for bringing foreign troops into the empire, taking poffeffion of Embden, and oppreffing his co-eftates. His Majesty, for these offences, was ordered to withdraw his foreign troops from Germany immediately; to defift from fupporting the rebellion of the Elector of Brandenburgh; to difband the troops he has taken into his pay; to make good the damages he had already done; to give fecurity for his good behaviour for the future; and, laftly, to join his contingent to the army of the empire, in order to punish, in an exemplary manner, the rebellion that had been raifed, in open violation of the Imperial decrees.

His Britannic Mator of Hanover's reply.

Such an attempt, in favour of France, to tye jefty, Elec- the hands of his Britannic Majesty, Elector of Hanover, &c. from defending his Germannic dominions, and fuccouring his allies, from an enemy unjuftly and unprovoked attacking, plundering, burning and laying their countries, villages, and towns defolate, required a most explicit reply from the Elector of Hanover: and accordingly Baron Gemmingen, electoral minister of Brunswick Lunebourg, prefented a memorial to the dyet of the Empire,

376

Empire, in which he fufficiently exposed the iniquity of the mandate of the Aulic council, and the ingratitude of the Emperor and Empress-Queen, which could endeavour fo ungratefully to reward the fervices done by his Majefty to the Houfe of Auftria; as follows: " His Britannic His Bri-Majesty, during the one and thirty years of his tannic Ma-jesty, Elecglorious reign, hath observed fo irreproachable a tor of Haconduct towards all his co-estates of the Empire, mover'smewithout diffinction of religion, that no Prince of the diet of the Empire hath received greater proofs of effeem pire. and confidence than he can produce. His Majefty hath, as much as the weakeft flates, always observed right and justice. On the death of the Emperor Charles VI. he beheld the time, which will be a memorable æra in the hiftory of the House of Austria, when the crown of France poured numerous armies into the Empire to extirpate that Houfe, and make itfelf mafter of Germany. His Majesty, in his double capacity of King and Elector, placed himfelf in the breach ; he led in perfon the auxiliary army of her Majefty the Empress-Queen, the greatest part of which was composed of his own troops: at the battle of Dettingen he exposed his facred perfon for that princefs; and his Royal Highnefs, the Duke of Cumberland, his fon, still bears the fcars of wounds there received.

The year 1745, when his prefent Imperial Majefty was chosen Emperor, is still recent in the memory of all the states of the Empire, as well as the pains, which his Britannic Majefty took upon 377

A. D.-1758.

A. D. 1758.

378

upon that occafion. He purchafed the preferva. tion of the Houfe of Auftria, which was effected by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the blood and treafure of his fubjects, and by means of the most important conquests of his crown. He hath endeavoured to maintain the Imperial crown in that House, by negociations for the election of a King of the Romans. The treaty of fuccession concluded with the Duke of Modena, and the aggrandifement refulting from it to the House of Austria, were owing to his Majesty's friendship."

After setting forth the ingratitude of the House of Austria, it proceeds thus:

" His Majefty, as Elector, is charged, firft, With not conforming to the refolutions taken the 17th of January, and 9th of May, last year; but, on the contrary, refufing his concurrence, and declaring for a neutrality : fecondly, With giving fuccours, aid, and affiftance, to his Majefty the King of Pruffia, entering into an alliance with that Prince, joining his troops to those of Pruffia, under the command of a general in the fervice of his Pruffian Majefty, of fending Englifh troops into Germany, and making them take poffeffion of the city of Embden, and employing the auxiliary troops of fome other flates of the Empire : and, thirdly, It is complained that contributions have been exacted, in his Majefty's name, of divers ftates of the Empire.

With regard to the first charge, it is very true that, in the deliberations of the diet of the Empire, the beginning of last year, it was given as

his Majefty's opinion, as well as that of most of his protestant co-estates, that the present troubles should be amicably terminated. His Majesty, in giving his opinion, had, as ufual, no other view than what equity and the good of the Germannic Empire feemed to him to require. Whatever judgment shall be formed of the unhappy war that hath broke out, the public will always remember, that by a bare declaration of her Majesty the Emprefs-Queen, " That fhe would not attack his Pruffian Majefty," the rupture would have been avoided, and the effution of much blood, as well as the defolation of Germany, prevented. The flates that have fuffered by the calamities of the war, may judge whether the way, that was taken, was the shortest for the re-establishment of peace. fo much to be defired; and whether it were not to be wished, that, laying aside all private views. his Britannic Majefty's propofal had been followed.

It is true, his Majefty took no part in the refolutions which were contrary to his fentiments. But the laws of the Empire have not thereby received the leaft infringement. The queftion, whether in materia collectarum, the majority be fufficient, has been referred ad comitia imperii, by the inftrumentum P. W. Art. v. §. 52. and is yet undecided. It is not by the plurality of voices, that it can be there determined, but only by means of an amicable accommodation; fince otherwife that reference would have been a very ufelefs courfe; and it was well known, at the negocia379

A. D. 1758.

380 A. D. 1758.

gociations for the peace of Weftphalia, what was the tendency of the opinion of the Catholic ftates, which formed the majority; those very ftates, and all the other members of the Empire, ought however to confider well, whether it be their effential interest to acknowledge, in the present case, that every state of the Empire is obliged to submit to the majority of votes, in matters of confent, as in the present case; which the principal Catholic Electors have in other cases denied; and which will certainly be retorted upon them in proper time.

But whatever principles shall be assumed, with regard to this queftion, nothing is more evident, than that, confidering circumstances and the fituation of the affair then and now in queftion, his Majesty could never be required to give his troops to comply with those resolutions of the Empire. All Germany knows, though the decree of the Aulic Imperial council fays not a word about it, that at the very time when those refolutions were taken, his Majefty's Electoral dominions were most unjustly threatened with an invalion by France. In the month of March, that year, the court of Vienna figned a convention with France, by virtue of which the enemy was to pass the Weser in the month of July, and enter the King's territories. This invafion was made accordingly. The Empress-Queen joined her own troops to those of France; and, in return, stipulated by folemn treaties figned before-hand, to have half of the contributions that should be exacted.

acted. The damage which the King's subjects fuffered by this first invasion, exclusive of the fums, which the provinces were to furnish (and which have been paid out of the royal demennes) amounted to feveral millions. And still the unjust rage of his Majesty's enemies was not exhaufted. The French army, which entered on another fide, under the command of the Prince de Soubife, in company with the troops of Wirtemberg, which the reigning Duke, a thing of which there is no example, led himfelf, under a French general, against a co-eftate, hath again invaded, for the fecond time, his Majefty's dominions and those of his allies; exacted insupportable contributions; carried off the King's officers, entirely foraged the country, and plundered feveral places, and committed the greatest diforders, whilst the court of Vienna boafts of having ordered this invalion (the fole end of which was to ravage the King's dominions and those of Hesse) as an effect of its magnanimity, and as a merit with the Germannic body.

If, in fuch circumftances, his Majefty fhould be required to fufpend the preparations, he has begun, and join the troops, that he wants for his own defence, to thofe, which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, are led againft his Pruffian Majefty, by a Prince who doth not belong to the generality of the Empire, and on whom the command hath been conferred, without a previous conclusum of the Germannic body; the right of the ftates of the Empire to defend them-

3

381 A. D. 1753.

382

1758.

themfelves, when fuch defence fquares not with A. D. the views of the Imperial court, ought at the fame time to be fettled. It is hoped that things are not yet come to this pass in Germany. Selfdefence is the most urgent duty. The resolutions of the Empire cannot deprive the meaneft man, much lefs a free ftate, and an Elector of the Empire, of this right; nor require him to join the troops, he wants for that end, to those, which, jointly with the troops of France, have invaded his country, and shared in the contributions there extorted.

> In the fecond place, his Majefty doth not deny that he hath entered into an alliance with the King of Pruffia, which is entirely conformable to the rules of right: But as he is accountable to God alone for what he doth as King, on the other hand, in the report made of what he has done as Elector, the times, which preceded, have been confounded with those that followed the French invafion. From the beginning of last year his Majefty took every method to fhew, that the only thing he aimed at, without taking part, otherwife, in the war, was to oppose the French foreign troops, knowing that they were fent only to invade his Electorate, as indeed they have employed themfelves almost wholly in ruining effates comprehended under the guaranty of the Empire, as well those of the Duke of Saxony of the Erneftine line, of the Duke of Brunfwick Wolfenbuttle, the Landgrave of Heffe Caffel, and the Count of Lippe-Schaumbourg, as those of his Majefty.

Majesty. This just intention, founded on the laws, from which his Majefty hath been fo far from derogating in the finalleft matter, that no inftance thereof hath been, or can be brought, did not, neverthelefs, hinder the French troops, who were furnished with the Emperor's letters requisitorial, from entering Germany in the avowed quality of auxiliary troops to the Empress-Queen, in company with those of the House of Austria and the Elector Palatine. The Empire hath already been informed, on the 3d of December last year, of the first proposals made, both to the Imperial court and the court of France, for an amicable determination of differences; propofals, which could not have been rejected, had not an hoftile attack been refolved on. These offers, which, from the manner in which they were reecived, his Majesty hath reason to regret that he ever made, leave no fhadow of plaufibility to the reproaches that may be made on account of the engagement that enfued, in whatever light the King of Pruffia's caufe may be confidered. His Majefty is, indeed, fully perfuaded, that he might, at any time, have entered into an alliance with that Prince for their common defence; but no one can doubt, that in this urgent neceffity, when he was left alone, he had a right to feek affiftance, where it could be got. No fault can poffibly be found with that, which the King of Pruffia gave him to deliver the Electoral states of Brunfwick, and those of Wolfenbuttle, Heffe and Buckebourg. The very nature of this deliverance,

383

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

384

ance, and the prudence and bravery with which it hath been effected, have acquired immortal glory to his most Serene Highness Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lunebourg (who doth not command the King's army as a Pruffian general;) a glory, which is the greater, the more laudable it is for that Prince to have delivered, from fuch heavy and unjust oppression, the dominions of a King, from whole family he is defcended, and principalities in which he drew his first breath, where his anceftors have reigned, and where the Duke his brother still reigns. It is with an equally just right that this Duke, with the Duke of Saxe Gotha, the Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel and the Count of Schaumbourge-Lippe, put their troops into his Majefty pay. Posterity will hardly believe, that at a time when Auftrian, Palatine and Wurtemberg auxiliaries were employed to invade the countries belonging to flates of the Empire, other members of the Germannic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, were threatened with the ban. His Majefty ordered the English troops to be fent over, and possefion to be taken of Embden, in his quality of King; and hath no occasion to give account thereof to any. Mean while the laws of the Empire permit the states thereof to make use of foreign troops in their own defence; they forbid only the introduction of them into the Empire to invade the dominions of another, as the Emprefs-Queen hath done.

In the third and last place, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunfwick-Lunebourg, fent minifters particularly to the Palatine court, and that of Cologne, to divert them from joining in the defigns of France against his dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted that it would have been highly agreeable to him, if those courts had taken measures, that would have freed him from the burden of the war. But none can expect that his Majefty should, with indifference, fee himfelf treated as an enemy by his co-eftates. The Elector of Cologn, and the bishop of Liege, had no troops that were wanted in the French army: But, in confideration of fubfidies, opened to it the gates of their towns, and gave it all the affistance in their power; without which that army could not, at that time, have proceeded fo far as the Electoral eftates, where the Auftrian and Palatine troops behaved much worfe than the French themselves. How can it be expected that his Majefty, after God hath bleffed his arms with fuccefs, should not refent this treatment? The laws of the Empire forbid the attacking of the eftates of the Empire: but they permit defence against, and the purfuit of those, who, by their invalion, have violated the public peace.

If the crown of France be free to ravage the dominions of the Duke of Brunfwick, and the Landgrave of Heffe Caffel, becaufe they have given the King auxiliary troops; if the Emprefs_ Queen may, for the affiftance fhe hath lent the French King to attack the King's dominions, ap-Vol. III. Bb propriate

20

A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1758. propriate to herfelf half of the contributions raifed there, his Majefty ought to be equally permitted to make those states, who have favoured the unjust enterprizes of his enemies, feel the burden of the war."

Refolution of the Evangelic body. Such is the tenor of the famous memorial which the Hanoverian minifter prefented to the diet of the Empire, and which made fo ftrong an impreffion upon many of the members, that on the 29th of November, the Evangelic body publifhed a conclufum, purporting, That with refpect to the ban of the Empire, with which feveral Princes were now threatened, they would never confent to any innovation that fhall be propofed, contrary to the 20th article of the capitulation, which the Emperor confirmed by oath at his election; and that whatever fhall be done, contrary to that, fhall be looked upon by them as null and void, and fhall be treated accordingly.

The Saxon memorial concerning Drefden.

Another attempt was made in the diet of the Empire, to fpirit up a deteflation of the King of Pruffia's method of proceedings in Saxony. The complaint was founded upon the meafures taken by his governor for the defence of the city of Drefden againft M. Daun's army. In which memorial M. Ponickau, the Saxon minifter at the diet, was taught to reprefent that affair in the moft tragical view; affirming, That foldiers had been difperfed and flationed in the fuburbs, by the orders of Count Schmettau, to break open houfes and flops, to fet fire to combuffibles, to add frefh fuel, and then to clofe up the doors;

386

that he kept up the fire by red-hot balls fired into the houfes, &c. that the inhabitants were left without cover, and deftroyed by the cannon and fmall arms, and that fuch as efcaped were murdered by the bayonets of the Pruffian foldiers, posted in the streets for that purpose : he even enumerated feveral particular inftances, in confirmation of this inhuman reprefentation 1, and concluded with the number of houfes, which were burnt on this occasion.

However, this failed. Baron Plotho, the Bran- Refuted. denburg minister, refuted every article of this Saxon memorial, by most authentic certificates, as we have already thewn. His Pruffian Majefty, Obfervano doubt, was greatly mifreprefented on this par-tions on the King ticular occafion; it is to be wifhed his whole con- of Pruflia's duct towards Saxony had been as irreprehenfible. wards Sax-For at his first feizing upon that Electorate, it ony. was pretended to be no more than a cautionary expedient to prevent his confederate enemies taking any advantages against him on that fide. And when he difarmed the Saxon forces, it was under the fame caution, that they fhould not join his enemies ". But he was no fooner in full poffeffion of Saxony, and her troops difarmed, than he acted like an enemy; extorted heavy contribu-tions, under pain of military execution, and forced the Saxons to furnish him with a great number of recruits; he discharged the government in the state, and applied the public reve-

1 See thefe particulars on page 367, 368. Vol. III.

m See page 194, &c. Vol. I.

nues

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

nues to his own use: yet, always pretending that he did nothing, but for the fafety and common benefit of the Electorate and its Sovereign. However, fince the French King had shewn him an example, by establishing his administration in Hanover, which entirely changed the government and fystem of that Electorate, and also by his late decree for the administration of the Landgravate of Heffe; and the Ruffians had ill-treated the kingdom of Pruffia: and alledging the neceffity to which he was driven to take fuch a refolution, by the hoftilities repeated, in that Electorate, againft him by the Auftrians and Imperialifts; the Pruffian directory of war, on the 2d of December, 1758, fent a decree to the deputies of the eftates of Saxony, which, after having enjoined them to deliver a certain quantity of flour and forage, Declares it fignified in express terms, --- " Though the King " of Pruffia had hitherto treated the Electorate " of Saxony as a country he had taken under his " fpecial protection, that the face of affairs was

to be a conquered country.

" now changed in fuch a manner, that his Ma-" jefty would confider it, for the future, only as " a conquered country, out of which he had " driven his enemies by force of arms."

Seizes upon the revenues,go-8cc.

In purfuance of this declaration all the revenues of the Saxon minifters were fequeftered :--- And vernment, as the Ruffians had feized in Pruffia all the rents of the eftates in that country belonging to the Pruffian officers, the fame was done by the King of Prussia, in regard to the estates of Saxon officers in the Ruffian fervice. Twenty perfons were ordered 20013

388

ordered to depart for Warfaw in 24 hours, and the papers of the privy counfellors were fealed up, and the administration of the government was committed entirely to Pruffians.

Did it confift with truth ; they, that are in love His conwith his Prussian Majesty's heroic qualities, would dust unjufbe pleafed to fee a veil drawn over the miferies of Saxony, which can be imputed to none, but him. Instead of confulting means to make a country happy, to which he now laid a claim by right of conqueft, and which had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately punished with military execution : he rather feemed to feize on it as a prey to be pulled to pieces. Fresh contributions were demanded, and extorted by most inhuman severities; severities, that have extended to diftant nations, and whole effects are now felt moft heavily by the merchants in the greateft trading towns in that quarter of Europe. For, his Majefty carried off the merchants from the exchange by foldiers, and confined them in a more wretched condition than felons, on ftraw beds, &c. till they were obliged to draw bills for very His mealarge fums on their foreign correspondents; which fures the origin of bills are supposed the original of the late bankrupt-the prefent bankruptcies made at Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bremen, &c. cies. How far this was just, or justifiable by the laws of arms, is not a question to be decided here: but that it was a most fevere fcourge upon an innocent and blameless people, every one must agree. Ne- The Auverthelefs, it is far from bearing the cruel aspect frian allies more culand ruinous confequences of the total defolation pable.

A.D. 1758.

389

Bb3

brought

A. D. 1758.

brought upon all conditions, without diffinction of age or fex, by the confederates against him and the allies of Great Britain, as we have related in the marches of the Ruffians, French, and Swedes, in Pomerania, Weftphalia, Heffe, and Hanover. Where the ruin of their lands, houses, public edifices, manufactures and estates, can't possibly be repaired in lefs than half a century.

The Dutch, availing themfelves of their neu-

trality in this war, pretended a right, by treaties

Conduct of the Dutch.

with England, to trade with those people and countries, with whom we are in actual war, and to cover their property, in Dutch ships, from the power of the English ". So that the French navigation being entirely ruined by our naval fuperiority, these neutral neighbours took upon them Trade for not only to carry the produce and manufactures of our enemies to market, but also to supply them with every thing neceffary for carrying on a war by fea and land.

Obfervations on this conduct.

our ene-

mies,

Such a glaring inftance of perfidy, that fupported our enemies in the most effential manner, to carry on their trade and to continue the war, could not be fuffered to reign long. Our men of war and letters of marque, brought Dutchmen continually into port, laden with an illicit cargo, and they that were found with conterband goods, or with French property on board, were condemned in our court of admiralty by due courfe of law. The French had no fhips left; and their court

" See page 41. Vol. II.

directed

directed or permitted the governors of their islands and colonies to licence fuch Dutch ships, as would undertake to carry their produce and manufactures, and to fupply them with every thing they should want. The Dutch, fenfible of the fweets arifing from this lucrative navigation, ran all rifques. The French ports, both in Europe and America, were thronged with Hollanders : and the advantages they received from thence, fo blinded their understandings, that they, at last, claimed a right by treaty, to aid and affift our enemies; and a re- Complain folution of the States General, stigmatized the english captures of Dutch ships, made under those cir- for taking their ships. cumstances, by the name of robberies or piracies, purfuant to a memorial prefented to their High and Mightineffes, figned by 269 merchants, &c. ° The directors of the Amfterdam company applied

. "We the underfigned merchants, infurers, and others, . concerned in the commerce and navigation of the flate, moft humbly represent, That the violences and unjust depredations committed by English men of war and privateers on the veffels and effects of the fubjects of the ftate, are not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and exceffes carried to fuch a height, that the petitioners are forced to implore the affiftance of your High Mightinesses, that the commerce and navigation of the republic, which are the two finews of the flate, may fuffer no interruption, and be protected in the most efficacious manner, in order that the being of the State may be preferved, and that it may be kept from complete and final ruin.

The petitioners shall not infert here a long recital of their fhips that have been illegally flopped and feized, nor of the piracies and violences that have been committed for a confiderable space of time, on the subjects of the republic; nor of the

Bb4

391

A. D. 1758.

392

A. D. applied to the States for the fame purpofe. Several refolutions of the States were delivered to Mr. York,

> the acts of inhumanity, with which they were often attended, even fo far, that lefs cruelty might have been expected from a declared enemy, than they have fuffered, from the fubjects of a power, with whom the State is connected by the most folemn treatics of friendship. The whole is public and notorious.

> Nor will the petitioners enlarge on the infults offered to the Dutch flag, in contempt of your High Mightineffes, the natural protectors of the fubjects of the republic. These facts are known to your High Mightineffes.

> But the petitioners beg leave to reprefent, with all due fubmifion, that they cannot forbear to lay their just complaints before your High Mightinesses, who are the protectors of their perfons, their estates, their commerce, and navigation; and to lay before you the indispensable necessity of putting a stop, as foon as possible, to those depredations and violences. The petitioners offer to contribute each his contingent, and to arm, at their own charge, for the support and protection of their commerce and navigation.

> The petitioners flatter themfelves that their toils, and the rifk to which their effects are expoled on the feas, will have their proper influence on the general body of the flate, fince the traders of this country, finding themfelves left to the difcretion of a part of that nation, with whom the State is moft intimately connected, thoufands of tradefmen and others, who are connected with merchants, that have hitherto carried on a flourifhing trade, will be reduced to diffrefs and poverty ; thefe connections ceafing by the extinction of the effates of merchants, who have always approved themfelves faithful to their country, thefe will be forced to abandon it, to their great regret, and feek fhelter and protection elfewhere ; which will give a mortal blow to the principal members of the State.

> For these just causes, the petitioners have recourse to your High Mightiness, most humbly imploring them, both in their own names, and in the name of a multitude of unhappy peo-

> > ple,

York, the British minister, plenipotentiary on A.D. 1758. that account: and the merchants petitioned the Princess Regent no less than four times for redress against these piracies and violences of the English, as they called the captures of their fhips. But all their bluftering and pretenfions availed nothing. The English continued to take and to condemn their illicit traders. Mr. York alfo declared to their High and Mightineffes, That he was authorifed to fay, " His Majefty was determined not His Bri-" to fuffer the trade of the French colonies in tannic Ma-"America, to be carried on by the subjects of folute anfwer. "other powers, under the specious pretext of a " neutrality; or words to be interpreted as a li-" cence to carry on a trade with his enemies, "which, though not particularly specified in the " articles as contraband, was nevertheles ren-" dered fuch in all refpects, and in every fenfe, by " circumftances .- That as long as the licit com-" merce of the subjects of their High Mighti-" neffes, to which his Majefty never intended to " give the least interruption, was confounded with " that commerce, which his Majefty regarded, as "wholly illicit, all their reprefentations would be " fruitlefs." About the fame time the conduct of

ple, who are on the point of being fiript of all their effects, of finking into the utmost distrefs, and being reduced to beggary, that it may please your High Mightiness to grant to commerce and navigation such speedy, vigorous, and effectual protection, that the faithful subjects of this free State may enjoy their posfessions in full security.

And your petitioners, &c."

393

A.D. the government of Great Britain with refpect to 1758. neutral nations, was published at London, fairly Their cafe flating and refuting the claim of the Dutch to claim con- protect French property ^p: and as the Dutch perfuted. fifted

> P This pamphlet has irrefragably proved that no neutral nation has a *right* to fupport France against us, by protecting her property on board their vessels.

> §. 1. The right of a neutral power to protect the property of an enemy, must arise either from the law of nations, that is, principles of natural law, which are relative to the conduct of nations, or from some express treaty, by which communities, for their mutual benefit, have established some rights between them, which are not included in the law of nations.

> §. 2. Nations can have fucceeded to no other rights, than fuch as men originally enjoyed, as individuals; fo that now one nation is to another, as one man was to another, before they entered into fociety.

> §-3. An individual, in a flate of nature, would have had an undoubted right to protect *bis own* perfon and property; but he would not have had a right to protect the perfon and property of A, the enemy of B, againft B, fuppofing him to be in a flate of friendship both with A and B; for how, as a friend to B, can he protect A againft him? The protection of A againft B is a declaration, that the protector is B's enemy, and from the moment the protection commences, the protector must cease to be a neutral power. This therefore, by §. 2. is the law between nation and nation.

> §. 4. But a nation has a right, to which an individual, in a flate of nature, has no pretence; the right of dominion. By the right of dominion a nation enacts laws, and eftablishes jurifdictions, to which, not only its own subjects, but those of other countries, are obliged to submit, within the pale of its power; here then the trial, which the law of nations gives, is, as it were, superfeded, and hence arises the right which governments have always enjoyed, of protecting the property of an enemy within their own precincts.

> > §. 5. But

fifted in their claim, and were refolved to continue their illicit trade at all hazards, our fhips of war and

§. 5. But beyond the verge of thefe precincts, the general law of nations, as by §. 2 and 3, again takes place; the general law of nations therefore takes place upon the OCEAN. This reafoning is fupported by the authority of the most eminent writers, and by the practice of all maritime states.

§. 6. With respect to particular treaties, if our ancestors have betrayed the interest of their country by granting other nations unreasonable privileges, we, who have succeeded to their rights, are bound to abide by their concessions.

§. 7. There is an article in feveral of our treaties with Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and other powers, by which it is flipulated, that "the fubjects of the contracting flates refpectively fhould "have liberty to traffic throughout all countries, cultivating "peace, amity, or neutrality, with either of them; and that "the faid liberty fhall in no wife be interrupted by any hind-"rance or diffurbance, by reafon of any hoftility, which may "be between either of the faid flates and any other king-"doms."

§. 8. This article is intended as a confirmation of the right, which every nation had, by the law of nations, of trading to the ports of any flate with their own merchandize, and on their own account, though that flate flould be engaged in war with another. The confirmation of this right by express terms was made neceffary, by its having been frequently violated; fome of the powers at war having prohibited the commerce of neutral nations with their enemies totally. About the middle of the laft century, therefore, when the commercial regulations, which now fubfift between the European powers, first began to be formed, an article of this purport was inferted in all commercial regulations, and ufually placed among those articles of general import, which are commonly first laid down in treaties, as the basis on which the fubsequent flipulations were founded.

395 A. D. 175⁸.

A. D. 1758.

396

Lofs of French thips this year. and privateers picked them up at fea in the fame manner as declared enemies: for, by the lift of fhips

§. 9. That no right to protect the enemy's goods was intended to be given by these articles, is manifest from an express declaration in some of the treaties, that an attempt, under favour of this article, to protect the goods of an enemy, should be confidered as a fraud, and se erely punified.

§. 10. To eftablish a right, therefore, to carry freely the effects of an enemy, it was necessary to have it expressly mentioned; and it is accordingly expressly mentioned in two treaties, that contain the article just quoted beside, which alone would prove, that the two articles were inferted for different purposes.

§. 11. The right of carrying freely the goods of an enemy is expressly granted in an article in a maritime treaty between Great Britain and Holland, dated December 1, 1674, and in another between Great Britain and France, dated February 24, 1677. The article is this; "All which shall be found on "board the vessels belonging to the subjects of those countries "shall be accounted clear and free, although the whole lading, "or any part of it, shall belong to the enemies of Great Bri-"tain," and fo reciprocally.

§. 12. It is acknowledged, that by this article the right now claimed by the Dutch, of carrying French goods, was fully granted.

§. 13. But treaties of alliance are nothing more than flipulations of mutual advantages between two communities, and ought therefore to be confidered as a *bargain*, the conditions of which are always fuppofed to be equal, by those, who make it.

§. 14. He therefore who breaks his part of the contract, deftroys the equality or justice of it, and forfeits all those benefits, which the other part has stipulated in his favour. Of this opinion are Grotius and Puffendorf.

§. 15. Holland has broken her part of her contract with Britain in the following particulars. In a treaty between Hol-

land

fhips taken from the French in the courfe of this year, it appears that the neutral fhips, of which, the

land and Britain, concluded the 3d of March, 1678, the flipulations are, 1ft, A mutual guaranty of all they already enjoyed, or might hereafter acquire by treaties of peace in Europe only. 2dly, A mutual guaranty of all treaties that were then made, or might afterwards be conjointly made with any other power; and, adly, A mutual promife to defend and preferve each other in the possession of all towns or fortress, which did then, or should afterwards, belong to either of them. And, for this purpose, it is determined, that when either nation is attacked or molefted, the other shall immediately fuccour it with a certain number of troops and men of war, and fhall be obliged to break with the aggreffor within two months after the party that is already at war shall require it, and that they shall then act conjointly with all their forces, to bring the common enemy to a reafonable accommodation .- Now, Minorca, a poffession of the crown of Great Britain, in Europe, which the acquired by treaty, hath been attacked, which is a cafe in the first guaranty. By this attack of Minorca, a treaty that was made conjointly with Holland, the treaty of Utrecht, has been broken, which is a cafe in the fecond guaranty, and England hath been deprived of a poffession, which of right belonged to her, which is a cafe of the third guaranty. Yet Holland hath not yet granted the fuccours flipulated, and many more than two months have passed, without her having entered into war conjointly with England, as the treaty requires. [The treaty flipulates, that war shall be entered into by the party not already at war, after two months, if the party already at war requires it. If we have not required the Dutch to enter into our war with France, the Dutch have not violated this flipulation.]

§. 16. By a treaty between England and Holland, figned at the Hague, the 4th of January 1717, there is a mutual flipulation of the parties to protect each other in the possession of their dominions in Europe only, as established by the treaty of Utrecht, 397 A D. 1758.

A. D. the Dutch made by far the greatest part, exceeded ^{1758.} the French men taken at sea both in number and value.

> Utrecht, by the fame fuccours as in the former treaty; 1ft, interpofition of good offices; 2dly, a certain number of forces; and laftly, a declaration of war. This treaty was renewed by the quadruple alliance of 1718; again by the acceffion of Holland to the treaty of Hanover in 1726; and, laftly, by the 3d article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The guaranties of these treaties have been broken by Holland, as she has neither granted the spin streat functions, nor declared war against France upon our los of Minorca.

> § 17. But it is faid, that as the treaties, in which thefe ffipulations are made, are *defenfive* treaties, the flipulations of Holland are not binding, if we were not first attacked. To this it is answered, that though these treaties are called *defenfive*, it does not therefore follow, that they do not operate, except we were attacked *first*. They guaranty in general certain rights and possible of both parties, and when they declare what shall be done, in case either shall be *attacked*, or molested, *in those parts which are the objects of the guaranty*, it is not mentioned as necessary, that this should be the *first* attack.

§. 18. The evidence of facts, however, will prove, that England was first attacked in the prefent war : and therefore the treaties are binding, as defensive treaties in the firicteft fense. In America the present war has been little more than a continuation of the laft; repeated usurpations of the posfeffions of Great Britain have been there the conftant employment of France, almost from the hour, in which the treaty of Aix was figned; and thefe were at last followed by an avowed military attack upon a fort belonging to the crown of Great Britain, by regular troops acting under a commission from the court of France. [In 1754, the French took the block-houfe and truck-house of the Virginians, at Log's town, on the Ohio; cut off all the traders but two, and carried off goods and merchandize to the value of 20,0001.] France is alfo the aggreffor in the European war; if the intention alone be regarded,

398

value. The French loft 13 men of war; 49 privateers and armed merchantmen, which carried 619 guns

garded, the first hostile intention in Europe was the defign to invade Great Britain; a defign fufficiently proved and avowed by the preparations, which France made for it. If we look for the first overt act, the first overt act also was made by France in her attack upon Minorca, which was, in the opinion of all parties, the opening of the European war; for the captures that we made of the French vessels at fea, must be confidered as belonging to the American war; they were made in confequence of the hostilities there first commenced, and as reprifals for the injury committed there upon the property of the English. Upon this principle the legislature here hath expressly refused to distribute the captures among the captors, though they have distributed all other prizes.

§. 19. But it may still be objected, that though France was the aggreffor in America, Holland is not concerned in the quarrel, because the contested rights there are not contained in the guaranties; and though France is aggreffor in Europe alfo, yet the being aggreffor in Europe, only in confequence of hostilities committed in America, neither is Holland concerned in this. It is answered, that if the reasoning, on which these objections are founded, was admitted, it would alone be fufficient to deftroy the effects of every guaranty, and totally extinguish the confidence which nations mutually place in each other, on the faith of defensive alliances. It points out to the enemy a certain method of avoiding the inconvenience of fuch an alliance; for he need only make the first effort on fome place not included in the guaranty, and he may then purfue his views against every object of it with fafety: Let France first attack a little spot belonging to Holland in America, and her barrier would be guarantied no longer. The opinion of Holland, upon this question, is manifest from facts. Soon after Holland had concluded a defensive treaty with France. in 1662, (of which her treaty with England in 1678 is but a copy) the became engaged in a war with England. The first attack

399

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

400

619 guns, and 3824 men; 104 trading veffels, most of them coasters, of no considerable value; but

attack was then, as in the prefent cafe, made on a place out of Europe, on the coaft of Guinea: the caufe of the war was also the same, a disputed right to certain possessions out of the bounds of Europe, fome in Africa, and others in the Eaft-Indies. Hostilities having continued fome time in these parts, they afterwards commenced in Europe. Holland immediately declared, that the cafe of that guaranty did exift, and demanded the stipulated fuccours. These fuccours were granted, and France, by this conceffion, fnewed that fne was of the fame opinion, especially as it was not her interest to comply, for this very conceffion checked her youthful monarch in the first effay of his ambition, delayed for feveral months his entrance into the Spanish provinces, and brought upon him the enmity of England. That the fame was intended by the treaty with us of 1678, as was intended by this treaty, farther appears from their having been negociated by the fame flatefman, Van Beuningen, who claimed and obtained the fuccours from France, in confequence of the first treaty, before he negociated the fecond.

§. 20. But at once to put an end to all difputes arifing from the article fuppofed to give Holland a right of protecting French property, it was, by an article in a fubfequent treaty, long ago REPEALED. The treaty, in which this article was laft inferted, was concluded December 1, 1674; four years after this, a defenfive alliance was concluded, in which it was flipulated between England and Holland, that " if either " party fhould be attacked in Europe, the other fhould declare " war against the aggression in two months, if required," as has been before remarked. By this article, therefore, Holland must, within two months after England has been attacked by France in Europe, become the ENEMY of France herfelf. Except, therefore, it can be fuppofed, that to be the enemy of France means to preferve her trade, and protect her property, Holland can now have no right to do either; and if

the

but there are found 176 neutral ships, most of A D. them richly laden with the produce of the French What colonies, or with ftores of all forts to enable the number of French to continue the war. The loss of thips Dutch thips on the part of Great Britain amounts to 313, amongst them. amongst which are found no more than seven privateers; the reft are chiefly coafting veffels, empty English transports, and difarmed ships of no confiderable ships. value. A circumstance greatly in favour of the administration 9, which had difabled the French navy fo, as to fecure our trade and navigation, as well as our colonies; and took fuch meafures, as in a little time would put an end to their scheme of a pettit guere, or a war carried on by privateers; and to their commerce in Dutch or neutral bottoms.

Our ministry, at this time, had not the strength ; The policy but the policy of France to encounter. The of the French French ministry had these points in view, which ministry. must be attained, or they must be undone. Trade must be supported, or their finances must fail: their colonies must be protected, or their trade must be lost. And in regard to Great Britain,

the word enemy is not thus abfurdly taken, the article requiring the Dutch to become the enemy of France, is a direct and pofitive declaration, that the fhips of Holland fhall NOT have a right to protect the effects of the French.

An article of the fame purport occurs in two fubfequent treaties, in which it is also expressly declared, that whatever has been established by any later treaty, shall be understood and performed in the fense therein expressed, without any regard had to any former treaty.

9 See the note on page 48. Vol. II. and page 33. Vol. III. VOL. III. C C means 29

1758.

Lofs of

A. D. 1758.

402

Means ufed by the French to fuccour nies.

means must be contrived to interrupt their commerce, and to injure their credit. For these purpofes every ftratagem was contrived and executed. The desperate state of their colonies in North America, which they could not fuccour by open their color force', put them upon the necessity of risking fingle ships, or small convoys from fuch ports, as were thought leaft observed by the English, to take the advantage of dark nights, foggy weather, and even of feas and feasons, in which they could not expect to meet with any opposition from an enemy. While they made all the appearance of preparations to embark men and warlike impliments and ftores in the weft, their ftore ships and transports stole out of the southern ports, or in the channel, in weather, that had driven the English off their coast; and, if they escaped the vigilance of our cruifers, placed their future fafety in the foggs of Newfoundland, or in the ice of the river St. Lawrence; which none but the moft distreffed navigators would dare to encounter; or in the dangerous paffage through the straights of Belleisle, unnoticed by the English cruifers in the How obvi. bay of St. Lawrence. This did not escape the ated by the vigilance, nor fail of the care required in the minister, that watched to improve all advantages for

his country, and to diffrefs the enemy in every undertaking. Our fquadrons and cruifers were fo judiciously stationed and well instructed, that few of these desperadoes escaped.

r See the reason on page 54, &c. Vol. III.

Another

Another expedient no lefs fingular than the for-A. D. mer, was to threaten England with an invation by 1758. flat-bottomed boats. An incredible number of fion threat-An invathefe boats were reported to be built in the ports ned. of the Channel. They were stationed in three divisions, to land a powerful army at three distant places at one time. Troops were marched down to the coaft, and all forts of military ftores were prepared for embarkation : and the most amazing diligence was pretended at Rochefort, Breft, and other ports, to equip the whole remains of the French navy, to cover and fupport this invafion. By which means it was expected to diffract the Why. English councils, which heretofore had been for often frightened into a flate of inactivity by the terrors of an invafion; and thereby to difconcert their prefent vigorous meafures, and to prejudice the national credit. But this rather prompted the How preneceffity of increasing the vigour of our measures; to attack them on their own coafts; to burn their ships and magazines, and to find employment for their troops to defend their own country. This raifed our national credit to the higheft pitch, and brought the French gasconade of an intended invalion into contempt, and to be the fcoff of old women and children.

Every other project having failed, they at last, French difarmed and laid up their useless ships of war, encouragand encouraged private adventurers to fit out pri-ed. vateers of confiderable ftrength to interrupt our navigation and to diftress our trade, which did us confiderable damage on the coaft of Scotland and Cc2 Ireland,

403

A. D. 1758.

404

Their loss. Ireland, in the chops of the Channel, and from the Lands End to Holy Ifland, or the mouth of the Tweed; in the Levant, but moft of all about the Capes of Virginia and our fugar iflands, in which latitudes we fuffered moft. But they were not permitted to range those feas without chaflifement, as the number mentioned above amongst the captures, plainly convince us: and as it will more fully appear in the following actions.

The year was introduced by the capture of the Remarkable cap-Machault^s privateer, of 14 nine pounders and ture of the 182 men, in Dungeness road, on the 1st day of Machault. January 1758, by the Adventure armed fhip, commanded by Captain Bray for the King, and by Chriftopher Allifon for the owners, in contract with the government. Captain Bray in his correspondence with the admiralty, (dated the 2d of January) informs them, That while he laid at anchor on the first of January, he faw a fnow reach in for the Nefs, which, at first, he took for a man of war, but that he cleared ship and veered away to the fplice on the windlafs: that about two, cut the fplice, and made fail large: that, in a few minutes after, they began to fire at each other, when judging that the enemy intended to rake the Adventure, HE ordered the helm to be put hard a port; which had the defired effect of laying her a-thwart hawfe, her bowfprit coming in between his main-fail and mizen-masts. That WE (he fays) paffed the end of the mizentop-

* She came out of Dunkirk on the 1st of January in the morning.

fail fheet through his bob-ftay, and made it faft; but fearing to lofe fuch a good opportunity, and that they would get clear, got a hawfer, and paffed it three times round her bowfprit and the capfton on the quarter-deck; fo that the action depended greatly on the fmall arms, which was very finart about an hour. That fhe then ftruck her colours; that fhe began to fire again, when boarded; but was foon filenced; having 40 men killed and wounded; whereas the adventure had but one man killed and two wounded.

This was fuch a gallant action, that the Lords Remarks of the admiralty rewarded the captain, who af- action. fumes all the merit to himfelf, in this reprefentation, with the command of the Princefs Amelia, an 80 gun fhip. Captain Bray's merit, to be fure was worthy of the reward. But his generofity, his humanity, his justice would have appeared with greater luftre had he, according to the example of other great men, both in our fleets and armies. given due praise to him or them, who prompted fo happy and fuccefsful a measure; who worked the fhip, to bring it to bear; and who put the first and chief hand to its execution; which appears to be rather an act originally fuggefted, and most likely to be managed by a dextrous well-experienced navigator, than by the officer engaged in the fighting of a ship. Accordingly we have an account before us, which confirms this fuppofition, and claims the greateft fhare in the glory of this action, for Mr. Chriftopher Allifon, mafter Cc 3 of

405 A. D.

1758.

1758,

406

A. D. of the adventure for the owners t, who is ftill alive and profperous; though he has been totally neglected.

> Spithead, January 29th, 1758. * Mr. Reed, Your favour of the 13th I received on the 20th, wherein I find you want to know the particulars of our action. The following is the truth, to the best of my knowledge; which is, I believe, better than any in the ship can give. On the first of January, Dungeness-light east by north from us four miles : about twelve at noon faw a fnow fland in for Dungenefs; which fome took for one of our cruifers. Dinner being ready, Captain Bray gave orders for all the hammocks up, and clearing the ship, which was done in the time we were at dinner. Monfieurs, fmelling our beef, roaft-pork and plumbpudding, came down in order to deprive us of it; we dined on our beef and pork before they came : the pudding we fought for.

> Being informed by the officer upon deck, that the was bearing down with an English jack flying, we went up, and foon faw what the was. Our captain's order was to heave in the cable: I told him, we had not time; it would be better to bear away to the fplice and cut; in the mean time, loofed our top-fails and fore-fail, cut and bore away large: had not time to get our top-fails hoifted : being then within gun-fhot, we fired. He immediately down English and up French colours, but did not fire at us. I told Captain Bray, his intent was to rake us, and defired to port our helm ; which he gave orders for. Finding our fhip to lay in the ame polition, I run to the wheel, and found the helm a ftar-board, put it a port, as fast as I could, ship wearing very fast, and he shearing towards us, with full fail, could not prevent boarding us : feeing in what polition she was coming, I told Captain Bray, she was our own; only make her faft, fhe would not be able to get a gun to bear on us. From that I ran to cut the pikes down, expecting they had their men ready to board us, which they had ; but receiving fuch a continual fire, they could not stand it. I called out to the pilot feveral times, with anger, who had hold of the bob-ftay with his hand, to make her fast . I laid

neglected, both in the reprefentation of the fact, A D. and in the diffribution of public rewards.

The Honourable Captain Byron, of his Ma-Of the jefty's fhip the America, in company with the Co-&c. ventry and Brilliant, returning from a cruife to Plymouth-Sound, informs "M. Clevland, amongft

I laid down my mufket, ran forward for a tow line, fent fome of the main deck idlers to hand the end up, run aft with the end, reeved it through his bob-flay, brought it to the capfton, and took a round turn with the other part. In the mean time Captain Bray, and the pilot, had got the mizen-top-fail fheet paffed, and made it fast to a cleet on the mizen-mast, which came off. That being done I returned to the mufket, on which the action chiefly depended : about this time they made an attempt to rally their men, and to man their fore-caffle ; and dropt their fore-fail that we might not fee them. One of the four pounders, in the round-house, cleared a way for us. by firing part of their fore-fail ; renewing our mulquetry, with more vigour, from the quarter deck and round-house, they fled, to a man, for shelter: and I perceived their colours to be ftruck, which I called out accordingly, and fired my mufquet in the air : four of us jumped upon their fore cafile, barracading for boarding them, amongst whom was our pilot ; but unexpected, they gave us a volley of fmall arms; on which we returned, without any damage. The firing, on both fides, continued about ten minutes longer, with three or four great guns, and fo the action ended.

My mate, Mr. Headlam, who fignalized himfelf equal to any, received a flot in his wrift, and one of our marines a flight wound by a fplinter: these two were wounded after their colours were struck. One of our marines was killed the first of the action. I am

To Mr. Joseph Reed, ropemaker, near Sun-tavern Fields, London. Yours,

CHRIST. ALLISON.

• On January the 7th, 1758. C C 4

other

A. D. 1758. other particulars, That in an engagement with the Diamond, a fine veffel of 200 tons and upwards, mounting fourteen carriage guns, richly laden with the fineft furs from Quebec; all the afternpart of her blew up, burnt with fuch violence for half an hour, that fhe funk; only twenty-four out of feventy men could be faved; fome of which were fo miferably burnt that they died. That the Coventry had taken the Dragon privateer of Bayonne, a new ship, on her first cruife, carrying 24 nine pounders and 284 men; after an hour and a half's warm dispute. The privateer had four men killed and twelve wounded. The Coventry had only fix wounded; one of whom died. And that the Brilliant had funk, with her first broadfide, the Intrepide of Bayonne, a privateer of 14 guns and 130 men, ten of whom were killed, the reft were taken up by the Brilliant's boats.

The cruifers in the bay, and elfewhere, had moft extraordinary fuccefs about this time: the Stirling-Caftle and Loweftoffe took two large French fhips, laden with provifions, flores and foldiers for Louifbourg; being part of a convoy, that failed from the Ifland of Aix, under the care of the Prudent and Capricieux, and the Tripon and Heroine frigates. Two more flore-fhips from Rochelle and Louifbourg, were taken by the Dunkirk. The Huffar fire-fhip took a French frigate of 36 guns, 300 men, after killing 100 of the enemy: the Shannon alfo brought in a French frigate of 36 guns: and another of the fame weight weight of metal was funk by one of our men of A. D. war in the bay.

In the course of correspondence in this month, the admiralty received advice from Rear-Admiral Coates, That on the 21ft of October laft, Cap-Captain tain Forreft, in his Majefty's ship Augusta, with gallant the Dreadnought and Edinburg under his com- action. mand, cruifing off Cape François, was attacked by four fhips of the line " and three large frigates, intended to drive the fmall English fquadron off the coaft, and to clear the way for a large fleet of merchantmen, ready to fail from thence for Old France. Neither their number, nor ftrength, was able to frighten the three English captains, who unanimoufly agreed to fight them, and bore down upon the French fquadron : that the action begun about twenty minutes paft three, with great brifknefs on both fides, and continued for two hours and a half, at which time the French commodore made a fignal, and one of the frigates went immediately and towed him out of the line, and was followed by the reft of his fquadron, and by the same means .--- That the English men of war had fuffered fo much in their mafts, fails and rigging, that they were in no condition to purfue them; fo that the French, greatly difabled, were, by the help of the land-breeze, and their frigates towing them, got fafe into port. The French loft 300 men killed, and had as many wounded.

In the month of February Captain Elliot, in Of Captain his Majesty's ship Hussar, took the Vengeance of Elliot.

w The Intrepide, Opiniatre; Sceptre and Greenwich.

24 twelve

409

24 twelve and nine pounders, 20 fwivels and 310 men; and the Torbay took a frigate of 26 guns, eighteen and twelve pounders, and 350 men, amongst whom were 100 gentlemen volunteers, fitted out on purpose, and cruifing to take Captain Lockhart.

Of Captain Faulkner.

His Majefty's ship windfor, of 60 guns, Captain Faulkner, with the Efcorte frigate, being fent to intercept two French frigates and three ftore-fhips from Dunkirk-road to the weftward, on the 27th of April, fell in with them about fixteen leagues from the Ram-Head, when the two frigates brought to in a line, as if they intended to receive him, and the ftore-fhips continued flanding to the weftward. When the Windfor came within about two gun-fhot of the frigates, they made all the fail they could towards the coaft of France : upon which Captain Faulkner fent the Escorte after the store-ships, while he gave chase to the frigates, and continued it till four in the afternoon; when finding they greatly outfailed him, he gave it over, and made after their convoy, which could then but just be difcerned from the poop. The next morning, at day-light, only one of them was to be feen, which the Windfor came up with and took. She was called the St. Peter, of near 400 tons burden, and her cargo confifted of provisions, and 1000 stand of arms, intended for Quebec. Another of these store-ships was fallen in with, the fame day, by a fquadron of his Majefty's ships to the westward, commanded by Captain Pratten, and was taken by Captain Douglas

410 A. D

1758.

Douglas in the Alcide. She was called the Baden, A. D. 1758. about the fame fize with the other, and laden with provisions.

On the 29th, about three o'clock in the after- Of Captain noon, Captain Pratten feeing a fail to the fouth-Dennis. weft, made a fignal for the Dorfetshire, of 70 guns and 520 men, commanded by Captain Dennis, to give chafe; and foon after, obferving the chafe to be a large fhip, difpatched the Achilles, of 60 guns, commanded by the Honourable Captain Barrington, alfo after her, and then followed them with the reft of the fquadron. About feven o'clock the Dorfetshire came up with the chafe, which proved to be the Raifonable, a French ship of war of 64 guns, and 630 men, and Captain Dennis began to engage her very closely, and they continued warmly engaged till about nine o'clock, when the enemy's fhip, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, Chevalier de Rohan, struck, having fuffered greatly in her hull, and had 61 men killed, and 100 wounded. She was going from l'Orient to Breft, a new fhip, not above four or five months off the flocks. The Dorfetshire's masts, yard and fails, were greatly shattered. She had 15 men killed, and 21 wounded, in the action ; and one of the wounded is fince dead.

On the 12th of March the Buckingham and Of Captain Cambridge attacked and levelled with the ground, Tyrrel. a small fort in Grand Ance-bay, on the Island of Martinico, and deftroying three privateers, and converting the fourth into a tender. But what does the greatest honour to Captain Tyrrel, the commodore, is the following incident; when the fort

2

fort was demolifhed, a village fituated clofe by it A. D. was a ftrong temptation to men flushed with victory to attack, and they follicited warmly for leave to deftroy it, but their brave commander replied, " Gentlemen, it is beneath us to render a num-" ber of poor people miferable, by deftroying " their habitations and little conveniences of life; " brave Englishmen scorn to distress even their " enemies, when not in arms against them :" This prevailed, and faved the lives of the innocent villagers.

Capturesat Jamaica.

1758.

Advices from Kingston in Jamaica, give an account that his Majesty's ship Augusta, Captain Forreft, commander, had brought in, to that port, the Mars, a French frigate of 32 guns, twelve, nine and fix pounders, with her whole convoy, Le Theodore, of 22 guns ; La Marguretta, of 16 guns; Le St. Pierre, of 16 guns; Le Solide, of 14 guns; Le Flore, of 14 guns; Le Morrice le Grand, of 18 guns; Le Brilliant, of 14 guns; and Le Monette, a brigantine of 10 guns, bound from Port Prince to Old France, laden with fugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, &c. which coft 170,0001. The Mars ftruck upon receipt of the first broadfide, and all the reft followed her example.

Captain Mantle's gallant action.

A few days after arrived, at the fame port, the privateer-floop Thurloe, mounting 14 carriage guns, with 84 men, belonging to St. Kitt's, and commanded by Captain Mantle, with his prize the Deux Amis, a French privateer, Captain Felix commander, mounting ten carriage guns, with 98 men, belonging to Port Louis. The

Frenchman bore down on Captain Mantle, who prepared to receive her, and being come very near, gave her a very warm falute, with both his great guns and fmall arms. The Deux Amis returned the compliment, and then made all the fail fhe could to get off. But the intrepid Mantle prefently convinced him that he had met with a tartar, gave her chace, and foon ranged her alongfide of the enemy. The Frenchman having no choice but to fight or to ftrike, and defpairing of fuccefs by his great guns, refolutely boarded the Thurloe on her bow; which brought on the moft bloody and obflinate engagement, that had been heard of in those feas for many years, both fides being determined to conquer or die. This bloody fcene lasted almost three hours with pistols, fwords, granadoes, powder flasks, &c. fo that Captain Mantle expended near 300 powder flasks, 72 flinking pots, and 11 rounds of great and fmall arms; had ten men killed and twenty-five wounded : but the flaughter on board the Deux Amis was fo great, that there were only ten men found capable of bearing arms *.

Captain Douglas, of his Majesty's ship the Al- of Captain cide, having intelligence of a French frigate, called the Felicite, of 36 guns, and a flute, called the

* In the month of April, Admiral Broderick being ordered on board the Prince George man of war, appointed to carry him to the Englifh fleet in the Mediterranean, and to convoy a numerous fleet of merchantmen for the Streights, where the admiral was to relieve Admiral Ofborne, the faid fhip took fire 413

A. D. 1758.

A. D. the Robuste, of 24 guns, being failed from Bour-175⁸. deux, with ordnance, shells and stores, for the forts

> fire at fea, in broad day-light; of which we have the following accounts, which are worthy of attention.

From the Reverend Mr. Sharp, chaplain.

Glafgow, off Lifbon, April 20.

On Thursday the 13th instant, at half an hour past one in the afternoon, word was paffed in the ward-room, by the centry, that the fore-part of our fhip, the Prince George, was on fire. The lieutenants ran immediately forward, and myfelf, with many others, went directly on the quarter-deck, when we found the whole fhip's crew was alarmed. The pumps were handed out, engine and buckets carried forward, and every immediate remedy applied. The admiral, with the lieutenants on watch, kept the quarter-deck, from whence he fent fuch orders as he thought most expedient for the prefervation of the ship, and the souls in her. Captain Payton, and the lieutenants, on fearch, found that the fire broke out first in the boatfwain's flore-room, to which place large quantities of water were applied, but in vain; for the fmoke was fo very great and hot, that the poor creatures could not get near enough to the flames for their labour to have any effect. On which Captain Payton ordered skuttles to be made, that the water might be poured in by that means; but there he was defeated likewife, for only two carpenters could be found, and they had nothing to work with, for a long time, but a hammer and chiffel each. The lower gun deck ports were then opened, but the water that flowed in was not fufficient to ftop the violence of the flames. He ordered likewife the powder-room to be wetted, left the fhip fhould immediately be blown up, and every foul perifh in an inftant. This had the defired effect, and for fome minutes we had glimmering hopes. I mention the above particulars, as I was below myfelf, worked with the men as long as I could fland it, went up for air, and returned again inftantly, and confequently an

eye-

forts, and the use of the men of war stationed at Hispaniola, steered a course to intercept them, and

eye-witnefs, therefore declare them as facts. The fire foon increased, and raged violently aft on the larboard fide; and as the deftruction of the ship was now found inevitable, the prefervation of the admiral was first confulted. Captain Payton came on the quarter-deck, and ordered the barge to be manned, into which the admiral entered with near forty more; for now there was no diffinction, every man's life was equally precious. The admiral, finding the barge would overfet, ftripped himfelf naked, and committed himfelf to the mercy of the waves, and after toiling an hour he was at length taken up by a merchantman's boat. Captain Payton kept the quarter-deck an hour after the admiral left it, when he happily got into a boat from the stern ladder, and was put fafe on board the Alderney floop. I must be deficient even to attempt a defcription of the melancholy fcene that was before me ; fhrieking, cries, lamentations, bemoanings, raving, despair, and even madness itself presented themselves. It was now high time to think of taking care of myfelf. I looked from every part of the ship for my prefervation, and foon faw three boats off the ftern of the fhip. I went immediately to my cabbin, and offered up my prayers to God, particularly thanking him for giving me fuch refolution and composure of mind. I then jumped into the fea from one of the gun-room ports, and fwam to a boat, which put me fafe on board the Alderney floop. There are near 300 people faved, and more might have been faved had the merchantmen behaved like human creatures; but they kept a long way to windward the whole time; and if poffible, to their greater fhame be it spoken, instead of faving the men that swam to their boats, they were employed in taking up geefe, fowls, tables, chairs, and whatever elfe of the kind came near them.

From Mr. Parry, an officer, dated as above.

About half past one at noon, being in the office adjoining to the cabbin, I faw the admiral run out, with two or three of-

ficers;

415

A. D. 1758.

A. D. and was fo lucky as, on the 15th of September, ^{1758.} to come up with and to take the Robuste, about 20 leagues

> ficers; on enquiring the caufe, I was alarmed with the fhip's being on fire forwards, and it was believed in the boatfwain's fore flore-room : every method was taken to extinguish it, but the fmoke was fo violent, no perfon could get near enough to find where the fire was. About half paft two we made the fignal of diffres; but to render our fituation more wretched, the fog came on very thick, and the wind freshened, and it was near four before the Glafgow and Alderney got intelligence of our condition; when they repeated the fignal, hoisted out their boats, and stood towards us; but they not knowing we had taken care to float our powder, were under fad apprehensions we might blow up, and therefore could not (confiftent with their own fafety) give us the affiftance our deplorable condition rendered us fo much in need of. We attempted to fcuttle the decks, to let the water on the fire, but the people could not ftand a minute without being near fuffocated. About half past four the imoke increased, and the flames began to break out : the admiral then ordered the boats to be hoifted out, got the barge out, and went off, promifing to bring a ship along-fide of us. I observed her fo full her gunwale was almost with the water, and, in a few minutes after, faw her fink at fome diftance a-ftern, and not above three or four were faved out of near forty, among whom it pleased God to preferve the admiral. The weather was now become clear, but none of the merchantmen would come near us. Our officers behaved well, and endeavoured to keep the people to the pumps and drawing water, but they now were become quite ungovernable. About a quarter before five Captain Payton left the fhip, and promifed as the admiral; but was not able to accomplish it. About five the long-boat was endeavoured to be got out, in which were near 100 people; but as they were holding her out, one of the tackles gave way, by which the overfet, and almost every foul perifhed : we were now reduced to the greatest diffrefs. You

may

20 leagues west of Cape Finisterre, laden with 6 twenty-four pounders, 12 eighteen pounders, 6 iron

may have fome idea of our miferable condition, when I tell you the fhip began to be in flames fore and aft, fpreading like flax; people diffracted, not knowing what they did, and jumping over-board from all parts. I was reduced to the melancholly choice of either burning, with the fhip, or going over-board. Very few that could fwim were taken up, and I that could not fwim must have very little hopes indeed. About a quarter past five I went into the admiral's stern gallery, where two young gentlemen were lashing two tables together for a raft; I affifted them, and one of them proposed to make fast the lashing to the gallery, and lower ourselves down to the tables, then cut the lashing, and commit ourfelves to the mercy of providence : we hoifted over the table, but being badly lashed, one of them we lost; as soon as the other was down, I proposed to venture first, which they readily confented to : there was now three boats a-ftern; this was the time or never; down I went by the rope ; but as there was a great fwell of fea. it was impossible for any one to follow me, and I was turned adrift. By the cries of the people from the fhip to the boats, in about five minutes I was taken up, very near drowned.

	complement. paffengers to Gibraltar.	260 faved. 485 loft.
745	hineses our catches, shat, could	745

From a midshipman, dated as above.

On Thurfday the 13th, about half an hour paft one in the afternoon, we were alarmed with fire in the boatswain's fore store room, which put us all into great diforder; and it being a very thick fog, we could not fee one ship in the fleet. We kept firing guns of distress, and no ship appearing in sight for an hour, we were all in the greatest consternation; but the fog then dispelling, the Glasgow hailed us, to whom we told our condition, and earnessly begged of them to save our lives.

VOL. III.

The

417 A. D.

1758.

A. D. iron mortars, 3000 fhells thirteen inches diameter, ^{1758.} and with cordage, canvas, flour, and feveral other ftores.

> The fire fill increasing, we were obliged to holf out our boats, which from our confusion were near three hours fixing to the tackles, &c. every body being engaged in preparing to fave himfelf. The poop, ftern, and quarter galleries, with the fides, were lined with men and boys, crying out in a most moving manner to be affisted. During this time, out of twenty-three fail of ships, we had but three boats to our affistance, and those would not come near the ship for fear of being funk, the poor fellows continually jumping over-board; great numbers of whom were drowned in our fight.

> We got our boats out, which never returned after going once. By this time the fire had communicated itfelf to the middle gun deck, and nobody could go down below, every one expecting his death every minute, either by fire or water, and were taking leave of each other. Soon after going out of the admiral's cabbin, I faw the flames coming out in the hatchway of the upper gun-deck; I returned immediately, and took my leave of the petty officers that were there, and went over the flarboard flern ladder, to fave myfelf by fwimming, and thanks be to Almighty God, reached a boat, and was taken up.

> I had juft got clear of the fhip when the flames became general, and those poor unhappy wretches that could not fwim, were obliged to remain upon the wreck, with the fire falling down upon them. Shortly after the mafts went away, and killed numbers, and those that were not killed by the mafts, thought themselves happy to get upon them. But the fhip rolling, by reason of the great sea, the fire had communicated itself to the guns, which swept them off the deck in great numbers, they being all loaded and shotted,

> Such a terrible fight the oldest men in the fleet fay they never faw. Thus ended our unhappy ship, after burning fix hours and a half, who had as complete a crew, and was as well manned as any ship that ever failed from England.

> > Letter

419

A.D.

1758.

ftores. This was followed by the capture of the Caumartin privateer of Dunkirk, commanded by M. Jean

Letter from the master of a merchantman under convoy of Admiral Broderick.

Thurfday, April 13, Ufhant bearing east fixty leagues diftance, at noon I faw admiral Broderick hoift a fignal of diffress; upon which I made what fail I could and went down to him. At one in the afternoon I could difcern the Prince George on fire; at two drew pretty near her, but thought they might have quenched the fire. At three o'clock I faw plainly there was no quenching it. I was within a hundred yards of her stern, but durst not venture a long-fide, the fea beating high ; befides, the going off of her guns, and danger of blowing up. At four in the afternoon the admiral was taken up fwimming, by a merchant ship's boat, as then the fhips that had boats were all out, and a good many of them loft. The weather proving bad, towards night I was within piftol-fhot, and there remained fome time; and picked up four of her crew; and had not two of my men run away with my boat the night before we failed from St. Helen's, I am confident I could have faved fixty or eighty of them at least, as I was all the time nearer to them than any ship in the fleet. What made me venture fo near was, that I knew my fhip went well, and was under good command. At fix, what a difmal fight ! the mafts and fails all in a blaze; hundreds of fouls hanging by the ropes along-fide, I could count fifty of them hanging over in the ftern ladder, others in the fea on oars and pieces of wood; a melancholly spectacle; befides the difmal cries from the fhip, which ftill ring in my ears. Half an hour past fix the flames broke out at her broadfide. and in lefs than five minutes every bit of her was in flames. and fo continued till feven, when the over-fet, but did not fink. I then ran within twenty yards of her, but my people compelled me to go further off, for fear of ftriking on the wreck. All I can further fay of it, there never was a more flocking fight; pray God that I may never fee the like Dd 2 again.

420

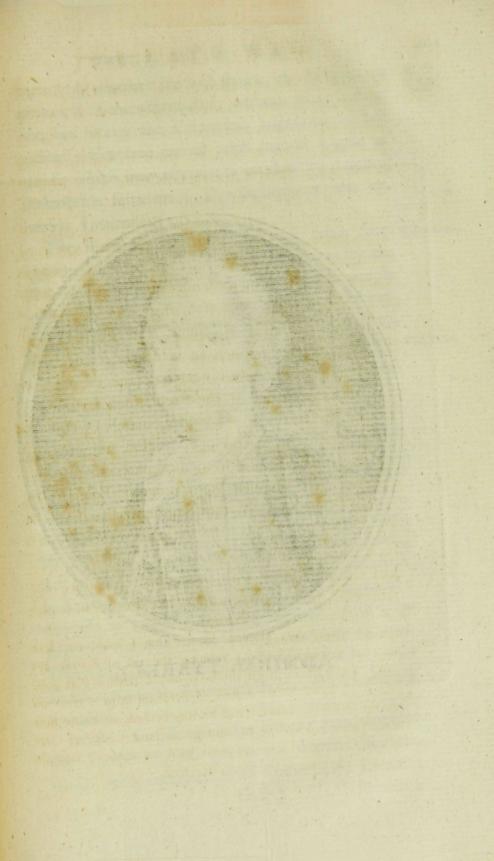
THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

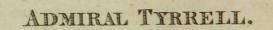
A. D. 1758.

Belliquieux taken. M. Jean Baptist de Cock, new from the stocks. mounting 16 fix pounders, fluck full of fwivels and mulquetoons, burden 280 tons, and carrying 147 men. She was taken by his Majefty's ship the Southampton, Captain Gilchrift, after an obftinate engagement of almost three hours. But the most furprifing capture was the Belliquieux, pierced for 66 guns, and had 64 mounted, with 417 men on board. This French man of war had got into Lundy-road. Which being noticed to Captain Saumerez, of his Majefty's fhip Antelope, lying at Briftol, he failed y in queft of the enemy; and beat down the Channel, as well as he could, with a contrary wind. And next day (the 1ft of November) got fight of the Frenchman at anchor, below Ilfrecombe; who immediately weighed, ftood towards the Antelope, hoifted her colours, as fhe drew near, and feemed prepared to engage : but soon after hauled them down. Being now within gun-fhot, Captain Saumerez fired at the Frenchman, and, meeting with no return, fent a boat with his first lieutenant, to know if they had furrendered. The boat not returning, the Antelope bore down under her ftern, and de-

again. It was very grievous for me that I could not fave more of her men, without running the rifk of fharing her fate. The 18th of April the Glafgow, a twenty gun fhip, hoifted the fignal for all mafters of merchant fhips to come on board, where the admiral had his flag hoifted, to know how many people we had faved amongft us, and to deliver them up. By the then lift it appeared, that the admiral, Captain Payton, and about 253 men, were faved.

y On the 31st of October, 1758.1





manding, whether she had struck, the Belliquieux answered in the affirmative, without firing a shot. She had taken the Carnarvan Indiaman in her paffage; but had parted with her in a gale of wind : which was afterwards retaken by Admiral Boscawen's squadron. The Belliquieux was valued at 150,000 l.

The Rinoceros, of 36 guns, 700 tons, from Rinoceros. Quebec, was taken about the fame time by the Ifis, Captain Wheeler, who took out her people and funk her. And two days after the Buckingham, of 65 guns, 472 men, able to do duty, Captain Richard (now Admiral) Tyrrel, com-Floriffant. mander, attacked the Floriffant of 74 guns, and 700 men; a frigate of 38 guns, and 350 men, and another of 28 guns, and 250 men. The engagement was close and obstinate, in which the captain was wounded and obliged to leave the deck and the command to the brave Mr. Marshal, his first lieutenant, who, having with courage and dexterity brought the Buckingham clofe up to the Floriffant, was killed by the first broad fide. The fecond lieutenant took the command, and with equal bravery and conduct fought the fhip till he made the enemy fheer off, with confiderable damage in their ships, and loss of men. Whereas, the Buckingham had no more than feven men killed, 17 dangeroufly, and 31 flightly wounded.

In the lift of King's ships loft this year, we find Litchfield the Litchfield, of 50 guns, Captain Barton, ed. which being feparated from Commodore Keppel's Iquadron

Dd3

421

A. D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

422

Ships of war taken my.

fquadron by a ftorm off Cape Cantin, in their expedition against Goree, was stranded on the coast of Barbary. By which accident 130 men were drowned, and 220 were feized by the Moors and carried into flavery, till redeemed, at a vaft expence, by the government. The Winchelfea by the ene- man of war, of 24 guns, taken in her passage from South Carolina, by a French man of war of 64 guns, and a frigate of 36. In the windward paffage, a French man of war of 74 guns, picked up the Stork floop; and the Bolton tender was taken off Mounts Bay, by a fnow privateer of 16 guns, after an engagement of three hours.

> So that the account of the fhips of war, taken from, and by the French in the course of this year, ftands as follows :

Ships of war taken this year from France.

French ships of war taken or destroyed.

2			
1	Ships.	Guns.	By whom taken.
	Foudroyant	80	Admiral Ofborne.
	Esperance	74	the Orford.
	Alcide	647	Admiral Bofcawen.
	Lys	645	rumar Dolcawen,
	Orpheus	64	Admiral Osborne.
	Raifonable	64	the Dorsetshire.
	Arc-en-Ciel	50	the Litchfield.
	Duc d'Aquitain	50	the Eagle.
	Aquilon	48	the Antelope.
	Royal-Chariot	36	the Torbay.
	Hermione	36	the Unicorn.
	Melampe	34	the Tartar.
	Emerald	34	the Southampton.

Nymph

Nymph	34	the Hampton-Court.	A. D.
Brune	iloggi 30: 11:	the Huffar.	1758.
Galatea	22	the Effex.	
anto and we	Vicilia and	I much bled actor with	

784

English ships of war taken by the French.

Warwick	603	In the Weft-Indies.
Greenwich	505	in the wett-indies.
Winchelfea	24	
	Sun Sun	and an and a series of the second
Creation Section	134	south of the troubles
colder a serie	Un ig mi ll	nore analterang and he
to Hanover	650	Balance in favour of
	- Wieninie	Englifh.

In this year we have feen the British flag reftored Remarks to its ancient dignity, and our enemies obliged to on the events of yield up the dominion of the feas to the fuperiority this year. of the British navy .- A year, which will for ever record the wifdom of our national councils, the conduct of our officers, and the bravery of our men employed in the public fervice, both by fea and land; and the chearfulnefs, with which all ranks and denominations amongft the people contributed towards their fupport .- A year most feverely felt by all that directly or indirectly ventured to difturb the peace, and interrupt the trade of the British dominions, or to carry on a clandeftine commerce with the enemies of Great Britain. -A year, which demonstrated by the great increafe of its commerce, that the ftrength and riches of the nation depend upon those measures, Dd4 which

423

the

A. D. 1758. which were then taken by the ministry to protect our navigation, and to beat all opposition out of the feas.

On the administration. The plan laid down by the ministry for the operations of this year, was to fecure this islandfrom invasion, and to defeat the schemes for ruining our colonies in America; in preference to any interest of our allies, on the continent; though not without paying a due regard to those treaties, and that interest, which require the aid of Britain in defence of the liberties of Europe in general, and of the protestant interest in particular.

For this purpose they did not apply to Hanover, Heffe and Holland, for a military aid, to be imported hither at an immenfe expence, to guard our coaft against a French invasion: a measure, by which former ministers had lavished away the riches of the nation; exposed the British courage to the ridicule and contempt of the enemy; encouraged them to hector over a difarmed people. terrified by every report of their motions towards the coaft of the Channel, and endangered the common liberty of thefe kingdoms, by placing our privileges, property and lives, under the protection of a foreign army. But they provided for. our internal fecurity by conflituting a regular and well-difciplined militia, whofe expence doth not amount to a tenth part of 10,000 foreign auxiliaries imported, and whole ftrength is ten times more to be relied upon. The hireling will flee in time of danger: but he, who takes up a weapon for

1 b Cl

424

for felf defence, will die rather than be made a A. D. Nave.

Our fleets were not blocked up in the ports of England, to wait the delusive motions of the French armaments and preparations, pretended to waft their troops in flat-bottomed boats into Britain : neither was our army augmented to confume the national treasure in idleness at home, and in unprofitable and expensive encampments and parade.-The British navy was permitted to carry its power into the ocean, and the army to enter into actual fervice .- The happy fruits of which councils, were gathered in the conqueft of Senegal, Goree, and Louisbourg, with other acquisitions in North America; and in the damages done to the enemy on the coast of France, exclusive of the deftruction of the French navy, and the total ftop put to their trade and commerce, both in their own and in neutral bottoms. Yet these great and glorious advantages are no more than an earnest of that fuccefs, which was obtained afterwards by the vigorous measures now adopted.

Till now the British lion had not been at liberty on British to make use of his natural weapons, and to exert courage. his strength; nor in a fituation to give proofs of his conduct and courage.—A long feries of pacific measures had almost worn out the veterans, and the navy and army were too much under the command of fine gentlemen, whose gaities, pleasures, felf-indulgence, and connections with those men in power, that preferred any measures to a necesfary war, were bad incitements to military glory. Yet,

425

Yet, that innate courage, which will always difcover itfelf in the Englifh, when led on to action, was no fooner delivered from the toils, which had for many years kept them in a ftate of inactivity, but we faw them brave all dangers: St. Maloes and Cherburg felt the power of their arms: St. Cas is a monument of their intrepidity: and the undaunted refolution, with which the landing was made at Gabarus-bay, fhews that our feamen and foldiers only wanted an opportunity to convince the world, that they are the defcendents of thofe heroes, who conquered France, and for ages heretofore maintained the dominion of the feas.

How far those measures tended towards composing all murmurings at home, and to influence foreign states in our favour, was immediately seen in the uniting of parties for promoting the national interess, and in that weight, which our advantages had amongst some perfons abroad, who might otherwise have been induced by family attachments and Gallic intrigue, to join our natural enemies.

By the measures, upon which the operations of this year were executed, our enemies were deprived of those means, without which it was impossible to continue that war with advantage, which they began with hopes to ruin their neighbours. Their navigation was entirely ruined; and their device to avail themselves of the friendship of Dutch carriers, turned out, not only to their greater loss, but furnished England with an opportunity to convince a treacherous ally, that who-

ever,

1758.

ever, under the cover of a neutrality, take upon them to council, to aid or to support the enemies of Great Britain, must expect to be treated, as her profeffed enemies, when taken in the act of covering the enemy's property.

Their diftress in France at this juncture is not Diffress of to be defcribed. The new manner of attacking France. them, this fummer, threw their ministry into confusion. The moment that the French were made to feel the weight of our natural ftrength, their councils, which had been cried up fo much for unanimity and confiftency, were divided, confused, and rendered incapable of doing any thing effectually, either for invading us, or for defending their own trade and dominions. Nothing profpered in their cabinet, nothing fucceeded in their operations, to effect, either by fea or land, during the whole year. Their merchants were no longer able to fupport their credit, their manufactures were at a ftand, and their whole land mourned over the ravages made by the diftreffes of a bloody, expensive, inglorious, and ruinous war.

From the time we adopted those measures, the Flourishnation has not been terrified by reports of a French ing ftate of Great Briarmy to invade us, and to cut our throats. We tain. have had no heart burnings at home about raifing of money to carry on a war for the fole advantage of fome petty ally; neither has our trade and commerce been exposed to the force of our enemies, nor to the treachery of our false friends.

The flourishing state of our colonies, of our islands, of all our fettlements and kingdoms, both

for

A. D. 1758.

427

A. D. 1758.

428

for their imports and exports, in the courfe of the year paft, exceed all that ever was before. Our merchants and manufacturers, our planters and navigators, were never in fo fair a way to ferve themfelves and their country. Both riches and feamen increafed under the protection of a wellregulated and appointed navy. The nation that can beft protect their trade, will be always moft capable of finding the finews of war; and the moft extensive navigation is moft likely to turn out the greateft number of able bodied feamen, without which a maritime nation cannot fubfift.

Such was the ftate of the nation when the parliament met, on the 23d day of November. The feffion was opened by commiffion: and his Majefty being indifpofed, the Lord Keeper, by his Majefty's command, made the following fpeech.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I N purfuance of the authority given to us by his Majefty's commiffion under the great feal, amongft other things to declare the caufes of his holding this parliament, his Majefty has been gracioufly pleafed to direct us to affure you, that he always receives the higheft fatisfaction, in being able to lay before you any events, that may promote the honour and intereft of his kingdoms.

That, in confequence of your advice, and enabled by that affiftance, which you unanimoufly gave him, his Majefty has exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to that defirable end, always to be wifhed; a fafe

The King's speech.

a fafe and honourable peace. It has pleafed the divine Providence to blefs his Majefty's measures and arms with fuccefs in feveral parts: and to make our enemies feel, that the ftrength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity.

We have it also in command from his Majesty to acquaint you, that the conquest of the strong fortress of Louisburg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, of the highest importance to our operations in North America, and the reduction of Senegal; cannot fail to bring great diffrefs upon the French commerce, and colonies; and, in proportion, to procure great advantages to our own. That nation has alfo been made fenfible, that, whilft their forces are fent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of their neighbours, their own coafts are not inacceffible to his Majesty's fleets and armies. This they have experienced in the demolition of their works at Cherburg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy this country; and in the lofs of a great number of fhips and veffels; but no treatment, however injurious to his Majefty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown.

In Germany, his Majefty's good brother the King of Pruffia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunfwick, have found full employment for the armies of France, and her confederates; from which our operations, both by fea, and in America, have derived the most evident advantage. Their fucceffes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and 429 A. D.

1758.

A. D. 1758. and the bravery of his Majesty's troops and those of his allies, have been signal and glorious.

His Majesty has further commanded us to obferve to you, that the common caufe of liberty and independency is ftill making noble and vigorous efforts, against the unnatural union formed to oppress it. That the commerce of his subjects, the fource of our riches, has, by the vigilant protection received from his Majefty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be parallelled during fuch troubles. In this state of things, his Majesty, in his wifdom, thinks it unneceffary to use many words to perfuade you to bear up against all difficulties; effectually to ftand by, and defend his Majefty; vigoroufly to fupport the King of Pruffia, and the reft of his Majesty's allies; and to exert yourfelves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Gentlemen of the Houfe of Commons,

The uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occafions it to be uncommonly expensive. This his Majefty has ordered us to declare to you, that he fincerely laments, and feels deeply for the burdens of his people. The feveral estimates are ordered to be laid before you; and his Majefty defires only fuch supplies, as shall be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the neceffary fervices.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Majesty has, in the last place, graciously commanded us to assure you, that he takes so much

430

fatisfaction in that good harmony, which fubfifts amongst his faithful fubjects, that it is more proper for him now to thank you for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it. This union, neceffary at all times, is more especially fo in fuch critical conjunctures; and his Majesty doubts not, but the good effects we have found from it, will be the ftrongeft motives to you to purfue it.

This speech was received with great approba- Remarks, tion by both houses of parliament, who had never and the adheard fuch an enumeration of national advantages, both houfes. in return for the fupplies, they had raifed for the fupport of wars, under former administrations 2.

They

2 The humble address of the right honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled.

Die Jowis, 23° Novembris, 1758.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majefty's most dutiful and loyal fubjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your throne, with hearts full of that duty and affection to your facred perfon and government, which become the most faithful subjects to the best of kings.

That conftant regard and attention, which your Majefty has thewn to the honour and interest of your kingdoms, have filled our minds with the most grateful fentiments, and we fee, with real fatisfaction, those active and vigilant efforts, which your Majefty, in your great wildom, has made, to carry on the war with vigour, in order to the defirable end, which we all wifh, a fafe and honourable peace.

Juffice and good policy required, that our enemies should feel, how dangerous it is for them to provoke the fpirit and ftrength of the British nation. We acknowledge, with becoming

43I

A. D. 1758.

432

A. D. They acknowledge their real fatisfaction with the i758. measures that had been taken: and fincerely congratulated

> coming thankfulnefs, the goodnefs of the divine Providence, in having crowned your Majefty's meafures and arms with fuccefs, in feveral parts; and we joyfully congratulate your Majefty, on the conqueft of the firong fortrefs of Louifbourg, with the iflands of Cape Breton and St. John, the taking of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal. The high importance of thefe fucceffes is apparent, in the reputation thereby acquired to your Majefty's arms, and in the diffrefs they cannot fail to bring upon the French commerce and colonies, as well as in the happy effects procured to those of Great Britain.

> We have feen, with the warmeft emotions of refentment, the exorbitant devaftations committed by the armies of France, upon the dominions of your Majefty, and those of your allies, in Germany. They must now have experienced how much, in confequence of their unbounded ambition to invade their neighbours, their own coafts are exposed, in the demolition of their expensive works at Cherburg, particularly intended for the annoyance of this country; and in the loss of fo many ships and vesses, as well privateers as others, in their ports. At the fame time, we cannot fufficiently admire your Majefty's magnanimity and moderation, in not having hitherto retaliated, on the innocent subjects of that crown, the injurious treatment which you have received.

> We have a just fense of the real advantages derived to the operations of Great Britain in particular, as well as to the common cause in general, from the wise conduct of the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Their great abilities, and the bravery of your Majesty's troops, and those of your allies, have been fignally confpicuous in the success, with which they have been attended, and must be acknowledged by all Europe.

> Nothing can possibly be of greater national importance, than the navigation and commerce of your subjects; and we

> > return

gratulated his Majesty on the success of his arms. They were sensible of the importance of our conquests;

return your Majefty our dutiful thanks for that protection and fecurity, which they have received from your royal care, in the difposition of your fleet, to which their prefent flourisfiing condition is fo much owing. The stagnation of our enemy's trade, and the taking and destroyed fo many of their capital ships of war, ought, in this view, to be reckoned amongs the most happy events.

Permit us to declare our grateful fenfe of that paternal tendernefs, which your Majefty has expressed for the burdens of your people. We receive from thence the ftrongeft encouragement to adhere, the more firmly, to the caufe of the proteftant religion and public liberty, against any unnatural union formed to opprefs it. In this just caufe we will, to our utmost, effectually stand by and defend your Majefty ; fupport the King of Prussia, and the rest of your allies ; and vigorously exert ourfelves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Our duty and fidelity to your Majesty, and our zeal for the protestant succession in your royal family, are uniform and unalterable; our prayers for the prolongation of your precious life, and auspicious reign over us, are fincere and fervent : and we beg leave to give your Majesty the strongest assures, that nothing shall be wanting, on our part, to improve union and good harmony amongst all your subjects, for promoting and fecuring these interesting and effential objects.

His Majefly's most gracious answer.

My Lords,

I return you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and affectionate addrefs. The fatisfaction which you express in my meafures, and the zeal you shew for my honour and support, the true interest of my kingdoms, and the affistance of my allies, as well as for pursuing the war with vigour, are highly acceptable to me: they cannot fail to produce the best effects in the present conjuncture.

VOL. III. 20 The

433

A. D.

1758.

434

A. D. 1758.

quefts; and with the warmest emotions resented the French inhumanity towards our German allies. They

The honourable the House of Commons presented their address to his Majesty, which was as follows:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majefty's most dutiful and loyal fubjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament affembled, return your Majefty our most fincere and hearty thanks for the speech delivered, by your Majefty's command, to both houses of parliament.

We beg leave to congratulate your Majefty, with hearts full of the most unfeigned joy, upon the many fignal fucceffes, with which it has pleafed divine Providence to blefs your Majefty's measures and arms in feveral parts of the world; particularly in the important conquest of the firong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, fo effential to our operations in North America; the reduction of the valuable fettlement of Senegal; the total demolition of the harbour and works of Cherburg, erected at fo great expence by the enemy, with a particular view to annoy this country; and the destruction of the fhipping and privateers in the ports of France

Your Majesty's faithful Commons feel, with the highest fatisfaction, how greatly these events redound to the honour and interests of your Majesty's kingdoms, to the upholding the reputation of the British arms, and to the maintaining and extending the glories of your Majesty's reign.

We have the moft lively fense of these happy confequences (under God) of your Majesty's wildom in the powerful exertion of the naval force of these kingdoms, to the annoyance and diffress of the fleets, trade, and navigation of France, whils the commerce of Great Britain flouristies in full protection and fecurity; and at the fame time, of your Majesty's justice and magnanimity, in steadily supporting your allies,

and

They allowed that the operations of Great Britain in America, &c. received real advantages from the

and in carrying on with vigour, in all parts, this arduous and neceffary war.

It is with joy and admiration we fee the glorious efforts made in Germany, by your Majefty's great ally the King of Pruifia, and those made by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, seconded by the valour of your Majefty's troops, and those of your allies; and that full employment has thereby been given to all the armies of France, and of her confederates : from which, our operations, both by sea and in America, have received the most evident and important advantages.

Permit us to affure your Majefty, that your faithful Commons, juftly animated in defence of the rights of your Majefty's crown, and of the proteftant religion, and the common caufe of liberty and independency, against the dangerous union, which hath been formed to oppress them, will bear up against all difficulties, and exert themselves to the utmoss, by granting to your Majefty such supplies as shall be necessary, effectually to stand by, and defend your Majefty, and vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of your Majefty's allies; firmly relying on the wisdom and goodness of your Majefty, that the same will be applied, in the properess manner, to push the war with advantage, and to reduce the enemy to equitable terms of a fafe, honourable, and lasting peace.

We beg leave, alfo, to express our most grateful fense of the paternal fatisfaction your Majesty takes, in that good harmony, which subsists amongst your faithful subjects; and of your Majesty's gracious acceptance of the universal zeal and affection of your people; which salutary union hath enabled us so effectually to exert our strength abroad, and hath preferved, at home, tranquillity, fastety, and public credit; and we trust, that the continuance of the fame truly national spirit will, by the blessing of God, be attended with the like happy effects for the future.

Ee 2

His

435

A. D. 1758.

the war in Germany, and promifed, to their utmost, effectually to stand by and defend his Majefty; and fupport the King of Pruffia, and the reft of his allies. They thank'd him for his royal care in the difposition of the fleet, to which the flourishing condition of our trade was fo much owing : and reckon'd the ftagnation of the enemy's trade, and the taking and deftroying fo many of their capital ships of war amongst the most happy events 2. And we shall fee that the parliament of

His Majefty's most gracious answer.

Gentlemen.

436

A. D. 1758.

> I return you my thanks for your dutiful and affectionate address; and for this fresh mark of your unanimous zeal in defence of me and my crown, and of my good brother the King of Pruffia, and the reft of my allies.

> You may depend on my conftant endeavours for the prefervation of my kingdoms, their trade, and colonies; and for the liberties of Europe.

2 Ships of war taken from the French fince Midjummer, 1755.

Taken by

64 Alcide ? By Admiral Bofcawen in North America.

64 * Lys \$ * mounted only 24 when taken.

50 ---- In North America, by the Norwich and Litchfield.

36 Chariot Royal, Flute. In the Bay of Bifcay, by the Torbay.

16 Escarboucle, Corvette. In the channel, by the Isis.

26 Emeralde, off Breft, by the Southampton,

28 Hermione, in the Bay, by the Unicorn,

28 Bienacquife, in ditto, by the Sheernefs.

Guns.

80 Foudroyant, { in the Mediterranean, by Adm. Ofborne.

22 Galatee, in the Bay, by the Effex.

64 Raisonable, in ditto, by the Dorsetshire:

of Great Britain did not mean these addresses to A. D. be mere echo or compliment to their fovereign, but

44 Loue, Flute, mounted only 36, when taken in the Mediterranean, by the St. Albans.

64 Bienfaisant

at Louisbourg, by Admiral Boscawen. 36 Diana

26 Eccho

16 Guirlande, in the channel, by the Rainbow.

14 Hanovre, in ditto, by the Lizard,

64 Belliqueux, in Briftol channel, by the Antelope.

Soo Guns.

French hips of war lost fince that time.

74 Esperance, sunk in the Bay, by the Orford.

64 Leopard, burnt at Louisbourg.

30 Concord, loft in the Bay.

46 Junon, loft at the entrance of Mahon harbour,

48 Aquilon, destroyed by the Antelope.

24 Nymphe, burnt by the Hampton-Court, on the island of Majorca.

36 Brune, funk in the Bay, by the Huffar and Dolphin.

24 Mutine, loft on the dogger bank.

64 Opiniatre

loft at Breft. 64. Eveille

50 Greenwich J

50 ----- burnt on the flocks at St. Maloes.

bourg.

74 Entreprenant

74 Prudent

64 Capricieux

64 Celebre

50 Apollon

24 Fidele

16 Biche

16 Cherre

26 Rofe, burnt on the island of Majorca, by the Monmouth. 16 Rhinoceros, funk in the Bay, by the Ifis.

All funk or otherwise deftroyed at Louis-

Besides two frigates, names unknown, burnt at 998 Guns.

347

1758.

A. D. 1758.

438

1759.

but that they were in earnest, and acted conformable to those declared fentiments; and that they had the pleafure to find their acts to be entirely fatisfactory to their conftituents, as well as to the court.

The irreconcileable disposition of the belligerant powers made it apparent, that the only way to procure an honourable and lafting peace was not to abate in our vigour, but as much as poffible to exert the power of Great Britain : and as this would add to the burden of the war, the Commons, with the greatest chearfulness and unani-The grants mity, voted 12,749,860 l. b for to enable his Mafor the year jefty

Ships of war taken by the French in that time.

Guns.

Taken by

60 Warwick, in the Weft-Indies, by D'Aubigny's fquadron. co Greenwich, in ditto, by Beaufremont's.

110 Guns.

English ships lost during that time.

66 Mars, in Hallifax harbour.

60 Tilbury, off Louisbourg.

officers of the hofpital

74 Invincible, near Langston harbour.

80 Prince George, burnt going to the Mediterranean.

280 Guns.

b Grants for the year 1759.

For 60,000 feamen, including 14,845 marines, and ordnance for sea service 3,120,000 For 52,343 effective men for guards and garrifons, and other land forces in Great Britain, Guernfey, and Jerfey .---1,256,131 For the pay of the general and staff officers, and

2 18

jefty to perform the intentions of his fpeech. It A will also be an illustrious and perpetual monument

For the forces and garrifons in the plantations and f. Gibraltar, and for provisions for the garrilons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal 742,531 For four regiments of foot, and one battalion, on the Irifh eftablishment, ferving in North America and Africa 40,879 For the charge of the office of ordnance for land fervice 220,790 For the extra-expence of the ordnance in 1758, not ? provided for 323,988 For the ordinary of the navy, including the half-pay to fea officers 238,491 For the support of Greenwich hospital ____ 10,000 For 38,000 of the troops of Hanover, Wolfen-1 buttle, Saxe Gotha, and Buckeburg, with the general and staff officers to you ------ boo 398,698 For 19,012 Heffians, with the general and flaff officers, and the officers of the hofpital, and train of artillery, purfuant to treaty _____ 339,480 Towards defraying the charges of forage, &c. for ... the army under Prince Ferdinand _____ 500,000 Towards paying off the debt of the navy _____ 1,000,000 For allowance to the officers and private men of the horfe guards, and regiment of horfe reduced, and the fuperannuated men of the horfe guards 2,959 To the reduced officers of the land forces and ma-34,368 rines For the penfions of widows of ditto, married before December 25, 1716 _____. 2,128 To the King of Pruffia, purfuant to the convention 670,000 To the landgrave of Heffe Caffel, purfuant to treaty 60,000 To defray the like fum, raifed last fessions, and 800,000 charged upon the first aids For Ee4

439

A. D. 1758,

A. D. 1758.

440

to the minister's honour, that this fum, which exceeds any that ever had been granted in that house

1	c
For building, rebuilding, and repairing his Ma-	£.
jefty's fhips	200,000
For the out penfioners of Chelsea hospital	26,000
For widening and enlarging the paffage over Lon-	B. tou.
don bridge	15,000
To the Foundling hospital	50,000
For transport fervice, and victualling the land forces	
for 1758.	667,772
For supporting the colony of Nova Scotia for 1759	9,902
For defraying the charges of fupporting ditto in	
1757	11,279
For the civil establishment of Georgia, from June	Fortheor
24, 1758, to June 24, 1759	4,052
To make good the deficiency of the additional duty	inder to T
on licences for retailing wine, the duty on coals	For 25.0
exported, &c. on the 5th of July 1758	24,371
To make good the deficiency of the duty on glass	
and fpirituous liquors	8,882
For fupporting the British forts on the coast of Africa	10,000
To Roger Long, D. D. Lowndes's aftronomical and	17 Dine
geometrical professor at Cambridge, for discharg-	- Harrison T.
ing a mortgage upon an effate devifed by Thomas	
Lowndes, Efq; (inventor of a method for melio-	Takana
rating brine falt) for the endowment of the faid	E
professorship, and other expences of the faid Dr.	in a rod
Long	1,280
For paying and cloathing the militia to the 25th of	.,
March 1760	90,000
For the extra-expences of the land forces, &c. in	90,000
1758, not provided for	466,786
For fortifying Chatham dock	708
For fortifying Portfmouth town	6,937
For fortifying Plymouth citadel	25,159
For fortifying Milford haven	10,000
For Lord For	For
	T AT

house before, was given with pleafure and harmony. Such was the implicit confidence of the re-Their faith presentatives, and of the whole people in ONE in his Maman, whole integrity and zeal for his country's jefty's councils. welfare they did not doubt; and of whole spirit and abilities for humbling the enemy they had already feen fuch examples, that they could not but rely on his known honefty and vigilance to-

For paying the debts upon the effate forfeited to the f., crown by the attainder of Lord John Drummond 69,911 To the East India company for defending their fettlements 20,000 To the provinces in North America, for the expences of troops raifed by them 200,000 To the innholders on which the Heffian troops were billetted in 1758 2,500 For augmenting the falaries of the judges in Great Britain * 11,450 To the widow of Nicholas Hardinge, Efq; for the ballance of an account for printing the journals of the House of Commons -----779 For interest for money laid out to purchase lands about Chatham, Portfmouth, and Plymouth 1,716 For purchasing lands about ditto 2,443 To defray any extra expense of the war in 1759 1,000,000 Total 12,749,860

* To the puisne judges of the King's Bench, and all of the Common Pleas 500 l. each ; the chief baron of the Exchequer 10001. the reft of the barons 5001. To the judges in Scotland, viz. the prefident of the court of Seffion, and chief baron of the Exchequer, 3001. each ; and to the other judges of these courts 2001. each. To the justices of Chefter and Wales, viz. to the chief juffice of Chefter 2001. and to each of the juffices of the Great Seffions in Wales 1501.

wards

441

A D. 1758.

A. D. 1758.

442

The Commons thanks to Admiral Ofborne, and his anfwer.

wards the British power and interest. A conduct, not supported by faction, but rouzed by the minister's intrepidity, firmness and vigilance, to revenge the national injuries upon a perfidious enemy. The House of Commons did further express their approbation of the measures pursued against France, by ordering their thanks ', by the Speaker,

• The Right Honourable the Speaker acquainted the houfe, that in obedience to their commands, he had fignified to Admiral Ofborne their thanks, and had received the following anfwer:

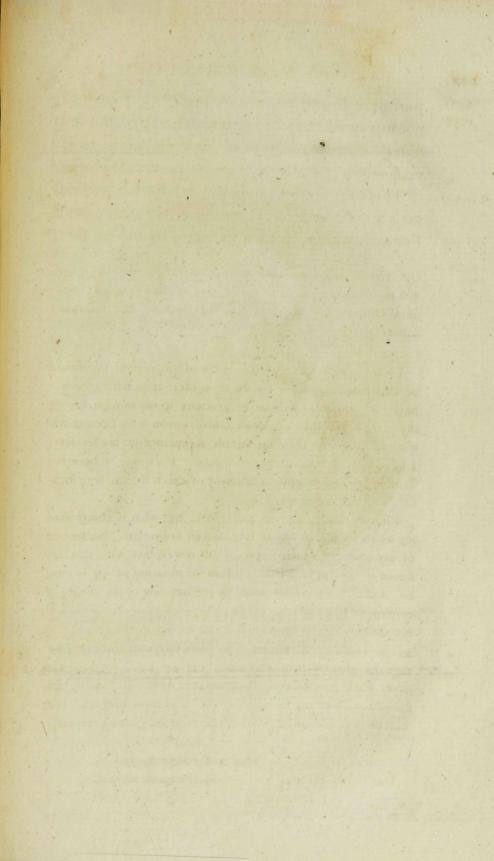
SIR,

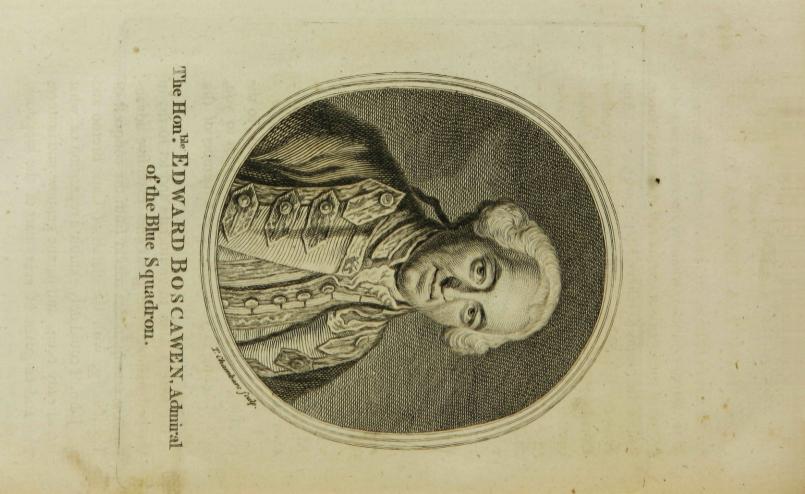
I want words to express my fense of the honour the house of Commons has been pleased to confer upon me, and only hope that you, Sir, will be as gracious to me in representing my gratitude to that august assembly, as you have been in acquainting me with their favourable acceptance of my fervices. I have done no more than my daty. I have only been the humble, though happy, instrument of executing the wife meafures directed by his Majesty.

I have no title, Sir, to any glory, but what is common to me as a feaman, and as an Englishman zealous for the fervice of my country, which is pleafed to reward me with this inftance of their approbation. From the fituation of my health, Sir, I can flatter myfelf with having but few opportunities of employing the remainder of my life, in a grateful exertion of my abilities for the honour and intereft of my country. But as the house of Commons is fo gloriously watchful to encourage the greatest merit, by rewarding the least, England can never want good officers; and however honoured I am by this diffinction, may my fervices be the most inconsiderable, that shall be thus acknowledged. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your moft obedient, and Dec. 8, 1758. Moft humble fervant, HENRY OSBORNE.

Sir,





to Admiral Ofborne, for his vigilance and fervice A. D. in the Mediterranean, whereby the enemy was deprived of the fervice of one half of their naval force, and of the means to relieve Louifbourg, &c. And To Admi-Admiral Bofcawen, returned from the conqueft of cawen. Louifbourg, having taken his feat in the houfe, (on the 12th) the Speaker, purfuant to an order of the Commons on the 6th, gave him their thanks as he ftood in his place, in thefe words, with an air of awful dignity, fuitable to the importance of the fubject, and to the affembly in which it was fpoken.

Admiral Boscawen !

THE house have unanimously refolved, that thanks should be given to you for the fervices you have done to your King and country in North America; and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you.

I wifh I could do it in a manner fuitable to the occafion, and as they ought to be given to you, now ftanding in your place, as a member of this houfe.

But were I able to enumerate and fet forth, in the beft manner, the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is, the genuine and uniform fense and language of every part of the kingdom. 443

A. D. 1758.

444

Their joy too has been equal to their fentiments upon this interesting event; and in their sentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude also to you, Sir, as a principal instrument in these most important acquisitions.

You are now therefore receiving the acknowledgments of the people, only in a more folemn way—by the voice, the general voice, of their reprefentatives in parliament :—The moft honourable fame that any man can arrive at, in this, or any other country. It is, on thefe occafions, a national honour, from a free people; ever cautioufly to be conferred, in order to be the more efteemed—to be the greater reward; and which ought to be referved for the moft fignal fervices to the ftate, and the moft approved merit in them: fuch as this houfe has ufually, and very lately, made their objects of public thanks.

The ufe, I am perfuaded, you will make of this juft teftimony, and high reward of your fervices and merit, will be the preferving in your own mind a lafting imprefiion of what the Commons of Great Britain are now rendering to you, and in a conftant continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory of your King and country, which have made you to deferve it.

In obedience to the commands of the houfe I do, with great pleafure to myfelf, give you the thanks of the houfe, for the fervices you have done to your King and country in North America.

Upon which Admiral Boscawen faid;

Mr. Speaker!

I am happy in having been able to do my duty : Admiral but have not words to express my fense of the dien's anflinguishing reward, that has been conferred upon fwer. me by this house: nor can I enough thank you, Sir, for the polite and elegant manner, in which you have been pleased to convey to me the resolution of the house.



THE

445 A. D. 1758.



GENERAL HISTORY

THE

OFTHE

LATE WAR.

BOOK IV.

Containing the progress of the war between the allies and France, and between the grand confederates and the King of Prussia. The battles of Bergen and Minden by Prince Ferdinand. The battles of Zullichau and of Cunnersdorf, by the Prussians. The various success of the Imperialists, Austrians and Prussians in Saxony, Silefia, Lusatia, &c. The measures of the British councils, and the success of their arms, in the West Indies and North America. The conquest of Guadaloupe. The battle and surrender of Quebec, and conquest of Canada, Ticondaroga, Crown-Point and Niagara. A French invasion defeated by our operations on the coast of France, and the destruction of their fleet from Toulon, by Admiral Boscawen off Lagos, and from Breft by Admiral Hawke off Belleisle. The war in the East Indies. The surrender of Surat. The

The treachery of the Dutch. The French defeated by Colonel Clive in Bengal, and their fleet by Admiral Pocock. Peace offered to their enemies, by his Britannic Majesty and the King of Prussia.

THE parliament having granted almost two I millions for the fole purpofe of carrying on the war in Germany, exclusive of the extraordinary expence of transporting and recruiting our national troops, in actual fervice upon that part of the continent; of the train of artillery, convoys, forage, hospitals and other contingencies of a campaign; the fubfidy was paid to Pruffia, renewed under the fame conditions, as had been flipulated by laft year's treaty; and the army, under Prince Ferdinand, was strengthened by fresh reinforcements from England, augmented with German recruits, and fupplied with every neceffary and convenience required to enable, and to encourage them to face their enemies. But the French, by an act of perfidy, at which they never boggle, when it is to their advantage to break their faith, had cut his Highnefs off from fome refources, which deprived him of many benefits for the opening of the campaign, and facilitated their own operations.

This was the furprize of the neutral Imperial Franckfort city of Franckfort. Without which the chain of treachercommunication, eftablifhed by the Auftrian confederates, at the close of the last campaign, could not have answered the intention of the French

opera-

3

A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759.

In what manner.

operations against the army of the allies under Prince Ferdinand. This city fecured to them that communication with the Austrians and Imperialists, and a supply of every necessary for their army by the course of the Upper Rhine and the Maine from Mentz, Spire, Worms and Alface.

The method the French took to gain this important post, was first a demand of free passage only for the regiment of Naffau. Which was granted on condition of being efcorted through the city by a detachment of its garrifon, under the promife and good faith of observing thrick discipline, and of committing no act against the neutrality, and the franchifes. But when the French regiment had penetrated as far as the gate of Saxenhaufen, the obfequious transmigrants halted, drew up in battle array and difarmed their guards, and in the midft of the furprize and confusion of the citizens, they were immediately fupported by five more French regiments, who feized upon the city, and there established the head-quarters of their General, Prince de Soubize, on the 2d of January, 1759.

Prince Ferdinand refolves to diflodge them.

Prince Ferdinand foon felt the effects of this fituation of his enemy; and was convinced of the neceffity to open the campaign with meafures to diflodge the French from Franckfort. But was retarded, till the month of April, by an irruption of the Imperialifts into Heffe, about the latter end of February; againft whom he was obliged to detach a confiderable party of horfe and foot, under General Urft, who was ordered to affemble

at

449

at Rhotenburg, and to march towards Vacha. A. D. Urft executed his orders with fuch fuccefs, that 1759. he furprifed the enemy in their quarters in the night between the 1st and 2d of March; took fome of them, and obliged the reft to retire, and to evacuate Vacha, Hirchffeld and all the Heffian bailiwicks. Which laid the foundation of Several **fkirmifhes** feveral skirmishes in this quarter. The Austrians, with vafupported by a ftrong corps of French from Franck- cefs. rious fucfort, returned and drove the Hanoverians out of their acquifitions: and this united force was, on the 31ft of the fame month, furprized once more. and feverely handled by the Hereditary Prince of Brunfwick, who led a confiderable body of troops through ways deemed impaffable, and killed and made prifoners a battalion of Wurtemburghers, a regiment of cuiraffiers at Molrichstadt, belides two battalions of grenadiers, belonging to the Elector of Cologn, and fome light troops, with a confiderable magazine at Memingen; and a battalion at Wafungen, after a smart encounter with, and the defeat of, General d'Arberg, detached with a ftrong corps of Auftrians to its relief. In the mean time the Duke of Holftein fucceeded in diflodging the French from Freyensteinau, where a captain and his company were made prifoners of war. Which ftruck fuch a terror upon the enemy's scattered parties, in those quarters, that they all fell back towards Bamberg.

Prince Ferdinand having fucceeded in these previous operations, and provided a corps of 11 or 12,000 men to guard Hanover, Hesse and parts Vol. III. Ff adja-

450

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

A. D. 1759.

of Bergen.

adjacent from a furprize, he marched, on the 10th of April, with about 30,000 choice troops drawn from the Lippe and from Heffe 2, to carry his defign against Franckfort into execution before the French reinforcement could arrive in that The battle city. But the M. Duke de Broglio being apprised of Prince Ferdinand's motions, and of the rout of the army under his command, penetrated into his intention, and feized (on the 12th) upon the ftrong post near Bergen, a village which lies between Franckfort and Harman, and must be forced before the allied army could have advanced to Franckfort. Accordingly, on the 13th, his Serene Highnefs meeting with this unexpected obstruction, did not hesitate a moment, but being arrived at nine in the morning facing the enemy, drawn up in order of battle, to receive them, he made his difpofitions behind a rifing ground, that covered his troops, from whence they fallied about ten o'clock, and the grenadiers of the advanced guards immediately began the attack upon the village of Bergen, with great impetuofity; in which were posted eight German battalions, supported by feveral brigades of French foot, placed behind that village. They were received with a very brifk fire from these troops; and though they were supported by feveral battalions, under Prince Yiembourg, who did all that an able and valiant General could

> a Composed of all the Hessian cavalry and infantry, of all the Brunswick battalions, ten squadrons of Prussian dragoons, three regiments of English horse, seven battalions and fix fquadrons of Hanoverian dragoons.

45I

do, till he fell in the action, and his troops being A. D. 1759. over-powered were obliged to retreat in some diforder. However, they rallied again and made powered. Overthree attacks, in the space of two hours and a half; but were not able to carry their point. It Retreats in was now the chief confideration of the Prince how der. to retreat with honour and with fafety, in the fight of a fuperior enemy. This could not be done by main force. Stratagem was to fupply the want of ftrength. The day was not half fpent. Night was the only means to cover the retreat. His Serene Highnefs, in this embarrafiment, put on an air of refolution to renew the battle with greater vigour. After remaining fome time behind the rifing ground, that covered the difpolitions of the allied army in the morning, he made a fhew of another attempt, by feparating his infantry into two bodies, one on the right and another on the left, and placed his cavalry in the center, with a small column of infantry before it. This carry- By a ftraed the appearance of an intention to attack both tagem. the village of Bergen, which made the right of Broglio's army, and fecured his flanks and center, and to attack the wood on his left, where the whole body of Saxons were flationed; and, if either of these attacks should succeed, to fall directly upon his center. But, though Prince Ferdinand carried this countenance of continuing the attack, and brought up a great number of cannon, with which they kept a brifk cannonade against the village; and also against the wood, where the volunteers were posted, nothing more was attempted Ff 2

A. D. 1759.

452

Lofs on both fides. tempted the whole day, but to gain time by amufing the French general, till night came on, when the allies fell back to Windeken without moleftation, with the loss of Prince Yfembourg, General Gilfoe, Count Schulembourg, and about 2000 men, with five pieces of cannon left in the village. The French acknowledge their lofs to be confiderable.

Prince Ferdinand's conduct applauded.

remains in the hands. of the French.

The conduct of Prince Ferdinand, in this action, deferves the higheft commendation, though he was worfted. For, his honour is greatly enhanced by the skill with which he planned and executed his retreat.

However, the effects of this battle was greatly in Franckfort favour of our enemies, and ruinous to the allies. The French still kept Franckfort, with all the advantages of its fituation; and were put into a condition to renew their operations with greater hopes of fuccels against the territories of the allies : but Prince Ferdinand was reduced to the neceffity of remaining upon the defensive, of fubmitting to many inconveniences, and of encountering many difficulties, for a confiderable time, upon the Wefer; which river his Serene Highnefs maintained, in defiance of the feveral attempts of the French to deprive him of that communication.

Operations of the French.

Nothing now could prevent the reinforcements' of the French armies, on the Upper and Lower Rhine. So that, about the middle of May, they were ready to take the field, and on the 3d of June they joined near Marpourg, under the chief command of M. de Contades, who took up his head-quarters at Corbach; and Caffel opened her

gates

gates to his light horfe, the troops of the Landgravate under General Imhoff having retired from that city to Paderborn. All their motions indi- How cated a refolution to cut off Prince Ferdinand's by Prince retreat to the Wefer : but without effect. The Ferdinand. Prince's endeavours were to throw as many obstructions, as possible, in their way. He left garrifons in Lipstadt, Ritberg, Munster and Minden. But they could not divert Contades from his principal object. He marched and encamped on the 12th at Stadtberg; and he detached Broglio to feize upon Munden and Gottingen in Hanover. Prince Ferdinand moved no further than to Lipstadt, and encamped between Soeft and Werle. From thence he proceeded, with his army, to the heights of Buren, and to Ritberg; on the 30th of June arrived at Marienfield; and on the 3d of July he encamped at Driesen, between Osnaburg and Minden ; where he was joined by General Wangenheim, and the Hanoverians, whom he brought first from the strong camp at Dulmen, and afterwards from under the cannon of Munfter. With this reinforcement Prince Ferdinand made feveral other motions, till he fixed his head-quarters in an advantageous camp near Petershagen. The French, in the mean time, were left to purfue their plan without opposition. Whereby they found Success of means to surprize Ritberg. M. Duke de Broglio took Minden by affault, and made there 1500 men prisoners, and took immense magazines. Monf. de Armentiers attempted the like against Munfter; but was obliged to befiege it in form, Ff 2 before

453 A. D.

1759.

A. D. 1759.

454

Encamp near Minden.

The allies at Peterfhagen.

The ftrength of the confederate armies againft Pruffia.

Meafures to ftop the Ruffians.

Deftroys their magazines in Poland. before he could force the garrifon, of 4000 men; to furrender prifoners of war: and then the main body of the French army halted, and took an advantageous camp near Minden.

We leave the allied army, under Prince Ferdinand, at Petershagen, and the main body of the French army near Minden, till we take a view of this campaign in the other parts of Germany.

The Auftrian confederacy threatened to furround and attack the King of Pruffia, with four hundred thoufand men. For which immenfe magazines of provisions, forage and military flores of all forts were formed, particularly in Poland by the Ruffians; on whofe operations, in concert with Count Daun, it was apparent the fuccefs of their next campaign chiefly depended.

The obstruction of the Russians became the primary object of his attention. He had not ftrength enough to detach a fufficient force to watch their motions and to give them battle, with any hopes of advantage. His measures must be schemed to deprive them of the power of action. Nothing could effect this grand project but to cut off their means of fubfifting; which depended, not upon the produce of the country or territories, through which they were to march, and already, in a great meafure, ruined and laid wafte by their last year's barbarities; but upon the magazines erected for their particular use in Poland. These he refolved to make feel the first blow of his arms in 1759, and to cut them off, if poffible; and for this purpose he detached forty-fix squadrons and

and twenty-fix battalions under General Woberfnow, from Glogau in Silefia, about the middle of February, who entered Poland, deftroyed feveral vast magazines belonging to the Ruffians, and particularly that at Poina, guarded by 2000 Coffacks, and contained as much flour as might have fed 50,000 men for three months b: fome accounts fay, 46,000 bushels of grain.

His next endeavours were to disconcert the in- Detaches a tended union of the Imperialists and French with the Auftrians; and then to attack the latter with the Impeadvantage. His fcheme fo far fucceeded, that he drove the Imperialists from their stations at Erfurth, Gotha and Eifenach, and then to burn and deftroy their magazines alfo. Which fervice was well executed by General Knobloch, with a detachment from the Pruffian army in Saxony, about the latter end of February; who carried off the forage and provisions to Saxe-Naumberg, and laid that part of the country under heavy contributions °.

b In this expedition the Pruffians attacked the caffle of Prince Sulkoufki, a Polifh grandee, who had interefted himfelf against the King of Pruffia, forced him to furrender, and carried him and his garrifon prifoners into Silefia; and loaded 300 waggons with provisions and forage, he had collected for the Ruffians.

· Major General Knobloch was detached from Saxony to Erfurth, of which he made himfelf mafter on February the 28th. General Guafco, after furrendering that city by capitulation, retired to Schleufing, with the four battalions, which he commanded. Two other battalions threw themfelves into the fortrefs of Petersberg, and promifed to ftand neuter. The Ff4 even-

ftrong bo-

The

455

A. D. 1759.

The troops of his Pruffian Majefty laid no-A. D. 1759. where inactive. Five thousand detached on the Other defide of Mecklenbourg, attacked Schwerin, one tachments. of the principal cities in that dutchy; from whence they drove a garrifon of 2000 men to feek shelter on a small island in the Lake of Schwerin^d: obliged moft of the young men in the town, able to bear arms, to enlift in the Pruffian fervice; and laid the country under contribution. From hence this corps penetrated into Swedish Pomerania, and forced the garrison of 200 men and eleven officers, in the town of Penamunde, to furrender prisoners of war.

Advant-

The Swedes were not below his attention. Nor ages over the Swedes, did the feverity of the winter prevent his purfuit of their flying army. For, the army under General Manteuffel, in Pomerania, acted with fuch fpirit, that his labours were recompensed with the furrender of Damgarten, Wolgaft and feveral other places, whole garrifons either retired in time, or immediately fubmitted to the Pruffian fummons: and he reduced Demen and Anclam by fiege, at

> evening before he had taken, near Erfurth, three officers and fixty huffars. The 2d of March M. de Kleift, lieutenantcolonel of the green huffars, pushed as far as Eisenach, where he made 124 prisoners. A detachment sent to Smalkalden and Vacha, took also 150 men. On the 4th, Lieutenant-Colonel Wunfch, with 300 men, attacked a body of grenadiers posted behind felled trees, near Frauenwelde, dislodged them from that post, took twenty-feven prisoners, and onepiece of cannon, a three pounder. After this expedition, the Pruffian troops returned into their quarters the 9th and 10th. d On the 15th of March.

> > the

the fame time; made 2700 prifoners of war, in-A. D. 1759. cluding officers, 48 pieces of cannon, mortars and howitzers; a large quantity of ammunition in Demen, and a very confiderable magazine in Anclam.

There remained but one more attempt, which, Attempts if executed with fuccefs, would compleat his plan, Count and place him in a condition to march in queft of Daun. the main Austrian army. This was, to cut off, or to ftreighten the fublistence of M. Daun's army, as much as poffible. With this view we fee his Majefty, immediately upon advice of the promifed fuccefs of his different parties, affembling his main army near Strigau, and entrenching his forces at Bolchenhayn, near Landshut in Silesia. By which difposition he both rendered the invasion of Silefia impracticable, cut off the fubfiftence of M. Daun's army from that quarter, and even from Moravia, on which great dependance had been placed by the enemy; and enabled his brother, Prince Henry, to march out of Saxony into Bohemia, about the middle of April, and by deftroying the Auftrian magazines in that kingdom, to render fubfiftence on that fide alfo extremely difficult. All which was performed without any other loss than at Griesenberg, on the frontiers of Silefia, where a battalion of Pruffian grenadiers, posted under Colonel Duringsheven, were furprifed and made prifoners by General Beck, who attacked that post with 4000 men.

Prince Henry marched in two columns for Prince Bohemia; one column marched by Peterswalde, Henry marches and into Bo-

and another, under General Hulfen, by Pafs-

berg and Commota. The vanguard of the co-

lumn, which marched by Peterswalde, found the eminence beyond that village fortified with a redoubt, with a strong barricade before it, guarded by 600 Croats and some Hungarian foot. This pass was forced: a major and thirty men were made prisoners, and fifteen stain. The time required to remove the barricade, facilitated the retreat of the

Deftroys the Auftri-

an maga-

zines.

enemy, who had leifure to draw off their troops. Neverthelefs, the Pruffian vanguard dividing into two bodies, one proceeded to Auffig and the other to Toplitz: the enemy fled precipitately every where. The magazine of Auffig was deftroyed, and the boats on the Elbe burnt. The vanguard returned, on the 16th, to the main body at Welmina, having feized the magazines at Lowofitz and Leutmeritz, and demolished a bridge they had lately built. General Hulfen found the pafs of Pafsberg guarded by a body of Croats, and the regiment of Konigfeg and Andlau. The horfe which marched by Pelfbourg, attacked the enemy in the rear, while they were attacked in front by the foot, who at length drove them from their intrenchments. General Renard, with fifty-one officers and 2000 men were taken, and three colours, two ftandards, and three pieces of cannon. Major-General Aschersleben, at the head of the vanguard of the column commanded by General Hulfen, was detached to Saatz; but the Auftrians burnt the magazine in that place, rather than fuffer

it to fall into the hands of the enemy. General

Meinick,

458

A.D.

1759.

Meinick, with his regiment of dragoons, and Colonel Kleift, at the head of the huffars, formed a paffage over the Egra, cut part of the guard to pieces, took three officers, and 120 men prifoners. and deftroyed feveral magazines e.

After this expedition of destruction, which filled Bohemia with confernation, Prince Henry returned to refresh his troops near Dresden. But their receis was only of a fhort duration : for in a few days they were ordered to march in two columns; one took the rout of Saalfeldt, the other to Hoff in Franconia: a motion concerted between the King of Pruffia and Prince Ferdinand, to difconcert the operations of the Imperialifts. For about the fame time that Prince Henry fet off, with 40,000 men, a detachment of 12,000 Hanoverians, under the command of the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, began to march from the allied army for the fame quarter ; and, having Routs the joined the Pruffians, their united force, on the Imperial army. 8th of April, fell upon the army of the Empire in three different posts, and completed their deftruction fo effectually, that the Prince of Deux

e The total destruction in the magazines amounted to 35,486 tons of meal; 37,400 loaves of bread, of 4lb. weight each; 136,820 Berlin measures of oats, and 86,300 rations of hay, of 81. weight each. In deftroying the magazine at Budin the flames fpread, and reduced the town to afhes ; though Prince Henry did all in his power to extinguish the fire.

The contributions raifed in this expedition were divided : to every field-officer 100 rixdollars, to every fubaltern 50 rixdollars, to every ferjeant 20 rixdollars, and to every private man one rixdollar, exclusive of all their plunder.

Ponts,

459 A. D.

1759.

A. D. 1759.

Saxony.

Advant-

gained.

460

Ponts, their commander in chief, demanded fuccours from M. Duke de Broglio, the French general at Franckfort. For, General Macguire was forced to quit Afch, and retire in the night to Egra: and the main body of the army of the Empire not in a condition to difpute the field with the Pruffian general, fled before him to Cullembach, thence to Bamberg, and again to Nuremberg. Prince Henry, in this purfuit, reduced Cronach and the cafile of Rotenberg. But when Obliged to return into he had advanced as far as Bamberg , he was recalled, and the Imperial army was delivered from his future motions, by a diversion made by the irruption of a body of Auftrians, under General Gemmingen, into Saxony. So that Prince Henry ages he had returned into Saxony, after he had made fifteen hundred prifoners, whom he fent to Leipfic, deftroyed all the magazines that fell in his way, and laid the marquifite of Cullembach and the bifhoprick of Bamberg under contribution. Though this diversion may be faid to fave the army of the Empire; their loffes fuftained by this expedition. difabled them from attempting any thing against the Pruffians. Indeed Count Palfy made a faint

> f Bamberg furrendered on terms, at his approach, but fome confusion happening before the capitulation was compleated, a party of Croats fired upon a party of Pruffians, who had advanced near one of the gates. Which being refented by the Prince, as a breach of the capitulation, his Highness gave the city up to be plundered by his troops : who pillaged during two whole days, in a most unrelenting and licentious manner. Which occasioned loud complaints, all over Europe, against the Pruffians, and afterwards produced a fevere retalliation.

> > attempt

attempt to harrafs their retreat with a party of Imperialifts; but that body was defeated with a confiderable flaughter near Hoff; which reduced their whole army to about 10,000 men, who returned to Bamberg: and Gemmingen having gained his point, to draw the Pruffian army back into Saxony, he retired into Bohemia at the approach of Prince Henry.

M. Count Daun was all this time encamped in Polition of a very advantageous post, with the grand Austrian Daun. army at Schartz in Bohemia, within the circle of Koningfgratz. His right was at Braunau, and the left extended to Gabel. The King of Prussia re- of the mained near Landshut : and a confiderable body Pruffia. of Pruffians, commanded by General Fouquet, were posted in the fouthern part of Silefia. Which difposition kept their enemies in awe, and at fhort allowance for provisions and forage; though there were feveral skirmishes between Fouquet and the Auftrian General de Ville, who commanded a large body of troops on the frontiers of Moravia. Here we behold the King of Pruffia and M. Daun watching each other, with the greateft attention and impatience, to feize a critical moment, that might happen through any incident or overfight in either party. His Pruffian Majefty had done all, that could be done in his circumftances, to diffrefs his enemies, and to oblige them to remain upon the defensive. Nor could his enemies dare to attack him, without the affiftance Ruffians of the Ruffians. These had fuffered greatly by their opethe destruction of their magazines in the winter. rations. But

Baido

A. D. 1759.

4.62

A. D. 1759.

But the neceffity of their aid put the Empress-Oueen upon every expedient to keep the Czarina fteady in her caufe, and to prevail with her Majefty to keep the field. The Czarina as defirous of the King of Pruffia's total ruin, as her confederates were, did not hefitate a moment at the requifition of the Auftrian minister; but rather more exafperated by the King of Pruffia's late fuccefs, and furnished with fufficient refources to repair the lofs of her magazines, her Czarifh Majefty ordered Count Soltikoff to lead her numerous army of favages into the dominions of Pruffia.

March towards the Vistula.

attention of the King of Pruffia.

Count Dohna ordered to oppofe them.

In pursuance of this order, the Russian army refumed their march over the Vistula. On the 21ft of April, they had finished two bridges acrofs that river. Their irregulars appeared immediately in the Pruffian territories, with their ufual barbarities, ravaging without pity the frontiers of Pomerania, Brandenburg and Silefra; and the main body of the Ruffian army followed about the middle of May, taking the fame rout, and Attract the exercifing the like barbarities. His Pruffian Majefty, at first, thought it fufficient to oppose their attempts by two parties; one posted under General Manteuffel at Grypfwalden in Pomerania, and another at Koningswalde, under General Schlaberndorf. But when certain advice arrived, that the whole army of the Ruffians were actually in motion to pass the Vistula, his Majesty ordered Count Dohna to return from Mecklenburg, where he had been making levies, and raifing contributions, to repair into Pomerania, and to take the

chief

chief command of the troops deftined to act against the invaders. With which he encamped near Cuftrin : and he was afterwards reinforced by the feveral bodies of troops under General Hulfen and General Woberfnow, with orders to march into Poland in queft of the enemy.

Count Dohna advanced to Meritz in Poland, Marches and published a manifesto in the name of his land. Pruffian Majefty, (dated the 15th of June) fetting Publishes a forth the neceffity he was under to enter the re- to excufe public of Poland, with a part of his armies, in this march. order to protect their territories against the threatned invation of the enemy; and declaring that this ftep must not be deemed a breach of respect he always had for that illustrious republic, nor leffen the good understanding hitherto fublisting between them; but to ftrengthen the fame by granting him the fame good-will as the Republic shewed to the enemy, than which he defired nothing more. He then demanded a supply of provisions, Demands corn and forage fufficient for 40,000 men, with for money. the utmost dispatch, upon promise of paying ready money for the fame, but threatning to take it by force, in the fame manner as the enemy had done, in cafe of a refufal or neglect.

His Majefty alfo made an attempt to draw re- A manicruits from Poland, and to engage fome of the fefto for recruits. Polifh nobility to take up arms in his caufe and to join his army. For on the 22d of the fame month, another manifesto or proclamation isfued from Count Dohna, importing, That if any one had an inclination to enter into the King of Pruffia's

A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759.

464

ti Another m againft harbouring Cu deferters. fi

And for punishing deferters.

fia's fervice, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he might apply to the head quarters, and be affured of a capitulation for three or four years: and that if any Prince or member of the republic of Poland were disposed to affemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company, the Pruffian army, to make a common caufe with it, he might depend upon a gracious reception, and that due regard would be shewn to his merit; at the fame time threatning difagreeable confequences to any perfon, that should either shelter, conceal or lodge, any deferter from the Pruffian colours, and promifing a reward to every perfon, that should bring a deferter back and deliver him at the first advanced post, or at the head quarters. A caution that was become exceeding neceffary, as appears by another manifesto of the 17th, wherein it is declared, " That it was with " the greatest astonishment that the King had " heard that feveral of his own fubjects had fuf-" fered themfelves to be feduced from their allegi-" ance fo far, as to enter into the fervice of a Po-" tentate, with whom he is actually at war: and " that all his fubjects ferving in the enemies ar-" mies, who shall be taken with arms in their " hands, fhall be fentenced to be hanged without " mercy, as traitors to their King and country." From which it is evident, that the Pruffian army in its march into Poland began to fuffer by frequent defertions; and that it was neceffary to bring the affair intended with the Ruffians to a crifis.

This was certainly the refolution and expectation of the King of Pruffia; his own army growing weaker and in danger of being diftreffed for provifions : whilft the enemy were in a fituation to be daily reinforced and fupplied by their fleet, now united with the Swedes^g, and commanding Swedift fleet join all the coaft of the Baltic, from whence recruits, the Rufammunition, provifion, and all forts of warlike fian. flores, could be eafily conveyed to the Ruffian army.

But Count Dohna diffident of his own ftrength, Count though he advanced as far as within five miles of Dohna's overcau-Poina, could not be prevailed upon to attack the tion. Ruffian grand army, under General Solticoff, in their ftrong encampment : which having the city Poina and the river Warta in their rear, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a numerous artillery, he thought would be impregnable, or at leaft could not be attacked with any degree of fuccefs. Therefore he contented himfelf with trying every means to harrafs the enemy, to watch their motions, and to cut off their convoys to the eaftward; till fuch times as his own army was reduced to the neceffity of falling back to the Oder for their own fubfiftence. So that all he could do was not fufficient to ftop their progress towards Silefia, who marched and encamped between Langemeil and Schmellau, in Silefia, by the time the Pruffian General got with his army to Zullichau, near Croffen.

s This united fleet had inftructions to feize all Pruffian veffels coming from, or bound unto Stettin.

VOL. III.

This

1759. Difagreeable to his Pruffian Majefty.

A. D.

This conduct of Count Dohna was extremely difagreeable to his Pruffian Majefty; who placed great confidence in the courage of his troops, in the skill of his commanders, and in the timidity of his enemies; whole piquets, and advanced guards at the approach of only five battalions of Pruffian infantry, supported by a few squadrons of horfe, retreated within their lines, and fuffered General Wabberfnow, with that fmall corps to reconnoitre the fituation of their camp, and to carry off eleven prisoners, without the least motion to cut off his retreat. Therefore his Majefty fuperceded this cautious general by the appointment of General Wedel to his command in chief; with ral Wedel. positive orders to attack the Ruffian army, which confifted of 70,000 men, though the Pruffian forces did not exceed 30,000.

General Wedel arrived at the Pruffian camp at Zullichau on the 22d of July, efcorted by 200 dragoons, commanded by Major Podewils; who in his march defeated a Ruffian detachment plundering the village of Radwitz, killed 69, and took 80 prifoners. General Wedel immediately re-Who preconnoitred, in perfon, the position of the enemy's pares to attack the camp, which still was at Langemeil. But next Ruffian morning, he discovered by their motions, that the Russians were preparing to quit their entrenchments, and to draw nearer the Oder, which afterwards appeared to favour M. Daun's motions against the King. So that General Wedel filed To difpute the paffage off with all poffible diligence, to dispute the paffage of that river. For this purpose he marched his

camp.

Oder.

Superced-

By Gene-

ed.

his army in two columns, one to march towards Kay, the other towards Moze. 1759.

Thefe motions foon brought on an engagement. For the van-guard of the column, that took the rout of Kay, and confifted of cavalry, had fcarce Skirmifhes; paffed the defile of Kay, before they fell in with the enemy's light troops : which they repulsed with great lofs. Skirmishes happened every where in favour of the Pruffians: and General Schorlemmer's cavalry did great execution at different times, in their march. Lieutenant-General Man-Engageteufell, with fix battalions, drove the enemy from ment. feveral batteries, which the Ruffians had erected upon the heights to cover them as they advanced. But the fire from those heights was fo well ferved, General and continued with fuch briskness, and the Pruf-liged to fians having the worft of the ground, and not defik. being able to bring their artillery to bear upon their enemies, that General Wedel was obliged to defift from the charge.

The Ruffians and their confederates greatly magnified this action to their own advantage. But when we confider that the Ruffians did not purfue Wedel's army; and let him quietly fit down and pitch his camp within cannon shot of their own, and with his right wing extending to the hill of Kay, where the action began : they could have no reason to boast of the success of the day. And His loss. though the Pruffians loft h 4000 killed, prifoners, and wounded; the Ruffians lofs was confiderably

Some accounts make the loss only 1000, others 8000 men. Gg 2 more.

A. D. 1759.

more. But the greateft lofs of the Pruffians was in the death of General Woperfnow, who was killed in attacking a battery. There were 3000 wounded, amongst whom was General Manteufell.

The Ruffians, though not in a humour to renew the battle, and to force the trenches of General Wedel, endeavoured to improve the opportunity, when they were well affured, that the Prusiians were not in a condition to venture another battle, till ftrongly reinforced. In this in-Ruffians takeFrank-fort on the terval Prince Solticoff quitted his camp, and made himfelf master of Frankfort upon the Oder, and Oder.

Motions of the Pruffians ans.

of Croffen, without opposition. His Pruffian Majefty, who had been obliged to make various motions, to counteract the schemes andAuftri- of M. Daun, endeavouring to draw nearer to the rout of the Ruffians, and to facilitate their operations against Silefia, in order to favour the plan, he had formed for all the confederate armies, to attack the Pruffians at one time; had guitted his camp in the mountains near Landshut, and marched by the way of Herchberg to Lahn. In this rout his vanguard met with the Auftrians under General Laudohn, who had entered Silefia by the way of Grieffenberg, and obliged him to retreat with lofs.

King of Pruffia watches the motions of the Ruffians.

His Majesty had his eye chiefly on the motions of the Ruffians; whole progrefs was to be ftopt at all events : and as all accounts concurred to make their motions daily more hazardous to his interest, the King resolved, after this repulse of Laudohn,

Laudohn, by which Silefia was fecured from any A. D. immediate attack from the Auftrian army, to wait, at Gepperfdorff, the fuccefs of his arms under General Wedel; having for that purpofe chofen His ftrong a ftrong and advantageous camp on the heights camp. a ftrong and advantageous camp on the heights before the village of Schmotfieffen, both flanks well covered: its left towards Liebenlhel, and Loewenberg behind its right wing. At the fame M. Daun's time M. Daun occupied the heights behind the camp. Quiefs, extending his right towards Grieffenberg, and his left to Lauban, with his head quarters at Gorlitz Heim in Lufatia.

The two armies were thus fituated, when the news of the action between the Ruffians and the Pruffians arrived in their camps. His Pruffian King of Majefty refolved immediately to march, in perfon, Pruffia's refolution to revenge the caufe of General Wedel, and there- to march by to defeat the Ruffians. M. Daun penetrated Ruffians. into this defign, and prepared immediately to re- M. Daun inforce the Ruffians with a ftrong body of Au- reinforces ftrian cavalry, of which they were in need. The fians. King put himfelf at the head of 10,000 choice troops, and marched for Wedel's army on the 1ft of August, leaving the rest of his forces under the command of his brother Henry, to watch M. Daun. M. Daun had already detached about 12,000 horfe and 8000 foot, under the command of General Laudohn in chief. These troops marched in two divisions; one column through Silefia, the other through Lufatia, and would have completed their junction had not General Wedel taken the post of Plauen, opposite to Croffen. Gg 3

Croffen. By which means his Pruffian Majefty came up with the column commanded by General Haddick, at Somerfeldt, who retired at the approach of the Pruffians; but not without confitachments. derable lofs in his rear-guard ; and in feveral fkirmishes : in which the Prussians made a large booty and 2000 prifoners. Yet it was not in his Majefty's power to prevent the Auftrians joining the Ruffians before he was in a condition to attack their main army.

The King joinsGene-

470

A. D. 1750.

Skirmifhes

between thefe de-

Waits for further reinforcement.

Joined by General Finck.

Strength of the Ruffian army.

Of the Pruffians.

Motives for fighting.

The King found General Wedel at Croffen, ral Wedel. which he had retaken from the Ruffians : and on the 4th of August, their forces were joined at Muhlrofe. But as the Auftrian auxiliaries had augmented Soltikoff 's army to 90,000, it was judged neceffary to put off the intended attack till his Majesty could receive further reinforcement : and his only refource on this occasion was to recall the 9000 men detached under General Finck, to cover Saxony in his absence. Finck joined his Majefty's army on the 8th, at Lebus: and from that moment it was determined to march in queft of the Ruffians, and to give them battle.

> The Ruffians and Auftrians together made an army of 90,000 men; and were entrenched between Frankfort and Cunnersdorff in an advantageous fituation, and defended by an immenfe artillery. The Pruffians did not muster 50,000 men: but the deferring of an action was leaving the enemy at liberty to over-run and pillage the best and richest part of his dominions; was giving up Saxony a prey to the Imperialists, who had

had already taken advantage of its defencelefs flate : it was exposing Berlin itself to the parties detached against that capital by M. Daun, and it was endangering all his dominions; which nothing could fave but a victory; or at leaft a battle, that might check the progress of the Ruffian army.

Difficulties in fuch a cafe were to be difregarded. Danger was to be braved. On the 11th the Pruf- Pruffian fian army paffed the Oder near Cuftrin, and form- battle. ed in order of battle near Efcher, purfuing its march to Bischoffsee. General Finck was charged with the corps of referve; with which he took post on the eminences, between that place and Trettin.

The 12th was the decifive day. The army began to march towards Repin at two in the morning, halted and formed in a wood, and then advanced towards the Ruffians. The left wing was kept back. The van-guard gained an eminence opposite to the enemy's left; on which the King ordered feveral batteries to be erected, intending to make his greatest effort on that fide. It was Battle be-II o'clock before his Majefty could bring matters gun. to bear for the onfet; when unmafking his batteries, there began a most furious fire upon the center of the Russian left, and upon its right point, with fuccefs: and, as foon as he perceived the diforder of the enemy, occafioned by the cannonade, his Majefty ordered fome battalions in columns, to fall upon the left point, and the flank of the left wing. The charge was made with fuch impetuolity, that the Ruffians were ftaggar'd Gg4 and

47I

A. D. 1759.

A. D. 1759.

472

King of Pruffia's hopes of victory.

and ready to give way. The Pruffians made themfelves masters of three batteries, on which they found 80 pieces of cannon : and for upwards of fix hours, the advantage was fo manifeftly on the fide of Pruffia, that the Ruffians themfelves began to defpair of victory, and his Majefty made himfelf fo fure of fuccefs, that he dispatched a meffenger with this billet to the Queen :-- " Ma-Fieldian " dam, we have drove the Ruffians from their " entrenchments, and have taken a vaft artillery. "You may foon expect to hear of a glorious "victory." But fortune played his Majesty a trick on this occafion. She led him through almost impenetrable intrenchments; enabled him to force one post after another, as far as Cunnerfdorff: but here she deferted, and left him a prey to his own rashness.

How deprived of his hopes.

Prince Soltikoff, finding himfelf thus defeated almost in every quarter, refolved to make his last ftand on his left wing, much shattered, but more entire than any other part of his army. He affembled the remains of his right wing; drew off the whole fecond line of the centre, and divided them both into fmall corps, or large battalions, formed in long fquares or columns, to fupport the flank of his left wing : and then the Ruffian general, under cover of an advantageous eminence, called the Jews burial ground, fortified with a ftrong redoubt, drew up a great body of his troops, by way of a forlorn hope, supported by all the Auftrian cavalry, which had not yet been engaged. The Ruffian advocates pass'd great encomiums

encomiums upon these motions and dispositions made by their general. ' Thefe motions, fay • they, were made with an order impracticable to any but the boldest and most intrepid troops: and that the King of Pruffia had no idea of a ' manœuvre fo cool and phlegmatic in the midft of fuch a hot fire."

The truth is this. The Ruffians were driven Remarks. out of their trenches; they fled before the Pruffians; and they placed their last refort for defence. and to fave the remains of their army, in a fituation really impregnable by an army fatigued, by the hard fervice of fix hours flaughter, in an exceffive hot day, and unable to bring up their artillery over bad ground, while they must be expofed to a great train, in defence of that poft. Had the King of Pruffia been contented with his advantages and maintained his ground, the Ruffians would have acted the fecond part of their conduct, under General Fermerⁱ, and had been heartily drubbed at Zorndorff. It is very probable, that in a few days they would have returned back by the nearest way into their own territories : but flushed with fucces, he could not be fatisfied with any thing lefs than a total overthrow of his enemies; without confulting the danger and difficulty of renewing the attack.

His generals remonstrated against fo desperate a Continues ftep; which could promife nothing but the de- the battle ftruction of his own troops, and the lofs of those the advice of his Ge-

nerals.

1 See page 334, &c. Vol. III.

advantages

2

A. D.

1759.

advantages, and that glory they had already ac-A. D. 1759. quired to His Majefty would hear no opposition to his opinion. It was refolved : the attack was made. The Austrian cavalry came fresh into the action, and beat the Pruffian horfe back, which put the foot into diforder. His Majefty did his utmost to retrieve the affair : thrice he himself led on his troops to the charge, and exposed his perfon to the greatest danger. He had two horses killed under him, and feveral balls paffed through his cloaths. But all thefe efforts were in vain. His troops were spent. The post was inacceffible : and fome of the enemy's cannon were brought within Defeated. 40 yards, and fired with cartouch. Therefore, perceiving that his men were exhaufted, and that he had been deceived in his opinion of the enemy's ftrength and courage, he came to the refolution to draw them off: in which he was favoured by the approach of night. For, that enabled him to get poffeffion of fome heights, which could be eafily defended : and by that means he covered the retreat of his troops, who were obliged to return to the place, where they began the attack, and quit all the advantages, they had gained in the beginning of the day.

As foon as his Pruffian Majefty was convinced of this fatal error, he difpatched another courier Letter to to inform his Queen, "That he had hazarded the Queen." another attempt, in which he had failed; and "commanded her to remove from Berlin with "the royal family; and to fend the archieves to "Potzdam. He alfo gave the city leave to make "conditions

" conditions with the enemy." For it was not A doubted, but that the Ruffians would make the beft of their way to plunder the capital of Brandenburg, and lay the Electorate under heavy contributions.

This was the most bloody battle the King of Loss on both fides. Pruffia had ever fought. He loft almost twenty thousand of his best troops. The enemy's loss was not fo great; though it is certain, that they had loft upwards of 10,000 men, before they retreated to the Jew's Burying-ground. But what injured the King most was, the great flaughter amongst his officers, and the lofs of his artillery. General Putkammer was amongst the flain; and scarce an officer efcaped without a wound. In this condition his Majefty, next day, retreated over the Oder, collected his fugitives, and faw with joy and aftonishment, the enemy remain inactive and quiet in their camp. He marched thence to Retreats Fustenwalde, a fituation that eafed him of all without moleftahis fears for Berlin; as it enabled him to cover tion. his capital from all incursions of the Ruffians, and preferved a communication for supplies of provifions, ammunition and cannon from the royal magazines in that city. Here also his Majesty was reinforced with 5000 men, under the command of General Kleift, whom he recalled from Pomerania.

When Soltikoff began to move, inftead of Ruffians taking the rout for Brandenburg he marched fur-^{join M.} ther into Silefia, with part of his army, joined M. Daun's army in Lufatia, and confulted with that general in what manner they might beft improve

475

A. D. 1759.

prove the late advantage; the Imperialists having already over-run Saxony, and reduced Hall, Leipfic, Torgau and Drefden. Their refolution was Refolve to befiege Great Glofor the Ruffians to beliege Great Glogau. But this defign was fruftrated by the penetration of the King; who, forefeeing their intention, detached General Wunck, with fix thousand men, to check the progrefs of the Imperialists in Saxony, and encamped with the reft of his army, fo as to cover Glogau from a furprize. Thus we see four great armies, commanded by

Situation of the armies.

476

A. D. 1759.

gau.

the King of Pruffia, Prince Henry, Count Daun and General Soltikoff, encamped in Lufatia and the borders of Silefia. They watched the motions of each other; while the war was carried on brifkly by detached parties. Wunch retook Leipfic, joined General Finck at Eulenburg, and in their rout towards Drefden, they frightned General Haddick from an advantageous post near Roth-Scemberg, and repulfed him, joined by the whole Imperial army near Meiffen, on the 21ft of Skirmishes. September. The Austrians and Imperialists attacked the two Pruffian generals in their entrenchments at Corbitz; and endeavoured to diflodge them by a furious cannonade from morning to night, under whofe favour they retired with a confiderable lofs in killed and wounded, and 500 prifoners in the hands of the Pruffians.

At Vehla. Prince Henry formed a scheme to surprize a confiderable body of Auftrians under General Vehla, at Hoyerswerda, about eleven German miles diftant from his camp at Hornfdorff, near

Gor-

Gorlitz. Which he executed with fuccefs on the A. D. 1759. 23d of October, and took the General and 1200 men prifoners, and killed fix hundred.

His Highness afterwards joined the troops under Finck and Wunch, which obliged M. Daun to abandon his camp alfo, and to march with all expedition to cover Drefden; which city, it was probable, that prince had refolved to attempt. Prince Soltikoff, on this occasion, feparated from Auftrians the Auftrians, and the fiege of Glogau being im- and Rufpracticable, they repassed the Oder at Neufalze, rate. and encamped at Franftadt: fo that the banks of the Oder, at this time, entertained three armies, the Ruffians at Franstadt, a body of Austrians, under General Laudohn, at Schlichtingskeim; the Pruffians, under their King at Koben.

Prince Henry's communication with the King Operations of Prince was entirely cut off; and his army was almost Henry. furrounded by Auftrian detachments : but by his vigilance and activity he gained feveral advantages over them. General Finck drove them out of Vogelfang; and with fix battalions and fome cavalry he croffed the Elbe, and joined a Pruffian corps at Wittenberg, retired from Duben before the Auftrians.

This was all that happened in these quarters Duke d'A. till the 29th of October, when the Duke d'Arem-remberg defeated. berg, with fixteen thousand Austrians, marched from Dammitch, to occupy the heights near Pretfch; and was attacked and defeated by General Wunch, who made 1200 prifoners, amongft whom were twenty officers and Lieutenant-General

A. D. 1759.

478

Prince Henry encamps near Torgau.

Joined by the King.

General

neral Gemmingen; and took fome cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage.

- After this action Prince Henry, encamped with all his party, called in at Strehla; from whence, on the 16th day of November, he marched to a ftrong camp near Torgau, to prevent his communication with that city being cut off. Befides, he was foon joined by the King himfelf and 20,000 men from Silefia.

The King had conceived a project to hinder the retreat of the Auftrians into Bohemia, by gaining poffession of the defiles of Maxen and Ottendorff. He detached nineteen battalions and Finck fur- thirty-five squadrons, under General Finck, for rounded. this fervice. But there was fome egregious miftake either in the project or in its execution. For though Daun, on advice of this motion, did retire to Plauen : yet it feems to have been with a defign to draw the Pruffians more into his power, by making them more off their guard. Finck was fcarce encamped on the hill near the village of Maxen, before he faw himfelf attacked by the corps de referve of M. Daun's army, which was encamped under the command of Baron de Sincere, near Dippodefwalda. The baron marched his troops in four columns through the woods, and furrounded the Pruffians, before they had the Bravery of leaft intimation of their approach. However, the his troops. conduct of General Finck, and the bravery of his troops, maintained their ground with great refolution, till they loft their redoubt, and were overpowered

powered by numbers : and then they made their A.D. 1759. retreat good from height to height, till, by favour of the night, they reached Falkenhayn. But this was of very thort duration. For at Obliged to break of day the general found himfelf fo en-furrender. clofed, by the difpolitions made by M. Daun, that it was impossible for him to escape; and had no alternative left, but to furrender himfelf, eight other Pruffian generals, and his whole corps, prifoners of war, with fixty-four pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five ftandards.

This certainly was the punifhment of an overfight in his Pruffian Majefty; who should have preferved a communication with Finck : but he, in the beginning of December k, met with another lofs, which could not be forefeen. This was, the General loss of General Diercke, and three battalions, on obliged to the banks of the Elbe, opposite to Mieffen. Ge-furrender. neral Diercke had been flationed at that post, and being recalled was obliged to transport his troops in boats, the floating ice preventing the ufe of his pontoons. When he and his rear-guard were left, a ftrong body of Auftrians attacked them, and after an obftinate defence took him and all his men, amounting to between 3 and 4000.

If the King of Pruffia is culpable for the lofs M. Daun's of General Finck's detachment, it is with amaze- inactivity cenfured. ment that all Europe faw M. Daun marching into Saxony, and occupying the ftrong camp of Pirna, after an action, that deprived his Pruffian Majefty

* The 3d of December.

Diercke

of.

A. D. 1759.

480

of 20,000 men, and otherwife injured his future operations; inftead of purfuing the blow, when it was more probable than at any period of the war, that one vigorous effort would have crushed the King of Pruffia, and put an end to the troubles in that part of Germany.

Weakness and con-King of Pruffia.

The King of Pruffia's ftrength being confiderduct of the ably reduced, by these two late blows, at the conclufion of a long campaign; and pleafing himfelf with the inactivity of his formidable enemy, who had almost 40,000 men more than himself, took all poffible measures to prevent a surprize, and obtained a reinforcement of 12,000 men, under the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, from the allied army; but when he faw M. Daun laid up at Pirna, his Majefty difmiffed thefe auxiliaries, and placed his own troops in winter-quarters.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME,

